

Thesis
3046

**The Book Trade and Public Policy
in Early Modern Scotland
c.1500 - c.1720**

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VOL I

'the fredome, libertie and previledge of prenting, homebringing, and selling of all suche bookis and volumis quhilkis ar allowit and nowise forbidden ... aught [to] be free to all His Majesties subjectis ... and not conferrit and gevin to ony one persone without the grite hurte and prejudice of the cuntrey, becaus every suche privat and plane fredome, libertie, and privilege is not onlie a monopolie of ane evill preparative and example, bot will gif occassioun to alter and raise, hicht, and change the pryces of all bookis and volumes at the appetite and discretioun of the persone and personis in whose favouris the said previlege salhappin to be conferrit; and for this effect the saidis Lordis ordanis the gift and privilege purchest be the said Andro Hairt [from the king] to be stayed, and on nawise to be past nor exped.'¹

¹ Decision of the privy council in 1614 . This related to protests by a variety of book merchants against a monopoly granted to Andro Hart by King James VI. *Register of Privy Council*, i, 10, 827-8 and 252.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and the work and research which it embodies has been done by myself and has not been included in other theses.

signed: 

date: 12/12/1997

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Abstract

Few historians would question the importance of national literature to the understanding of national history. Less frequently, especially in Scottish history, is equal attention given to the print medium. Publishing and the book trade represent a complex cocktail of conscience and commerce, of ideology and industry, and one of the tensions within the study of publishing, especially in the turmoil of the early modern period, is the assessment of motive underpinning the act of publication.

Two objectives are sought in this research of the book trade of Scotland c1500 to c1720. The degree, scale, structure and financial basis of the book trade are considered. In particular, data obtained from a large number of existing and new references to individual booksellers and printers has been accumulated in order to establish the extent, development, and general pattern of commerce. Secondly, the interaction of public policy and the book trade is explored with separate chapters on the policy of the burghs, the church and the government. As part of government control close scrutiny is given to the law of publishing with chapters devoted to copyright and censorship, two themes for which adequate Scottish study is long overdue. In addition, a bridging chapter is included dealing with trade links between Scotland and the Low Countries, and this reflects vividly the conflicting demands of permission and prohibition for book merchants and book regulators.

The research comes to two apparently contrasting conclusions. The book trade of early modern Scotland was in many respects similar to those of other European nations at this time, especially England and the Low Countries. The desire for profit and intellectual improvement, but also adequate controls, were common to all literate societies. Equally, although the beaches of Scottish print culture were battered by the influences of Dutch and English commercial, legal and administrative conventions, Scotland developed its own unique relationship to the printed word - a Scottish tradition.

Abbreviations

Abbotsford: Abbotsford Club publications
ABR: Aberdeen burgh records, extracted printed volumes
APS: Acts of parliament, Scotland, printed series
Bannatyne: Bannatyne Club publications
EBR: Edinburgh burgh records, extracted printed series
EBS: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions
GBR: Glasgow burgh records, extracted printed series
Maitland: Maitland Club publications
NLS: National Library of Scotland
RMS: Registers of the Great Seal (printed series)
RPC: Registers of the Privy Council (printed series)
RSS: Registers of the Privy Seal (printed series)
SHS: Scottish History Society publications
Spalding: Spalding Clubs publications
SRO: Scottish Record Office
SRS: Scottish Record Society publications
Wodrow: Wodrow Society publications

Notes

1. Other contractions for titles, manuscript records and archives are advised in the bibliography and footnotes.
2. Pounds 'scots' are used unless otherwise indicated.

Introduction

'A Scottish Tradition'

Surveying the historiography of the Scottish early modern book leaves an aftertaste of frustration. The historiographies of Europe and Britain, by direct dismissal or by act of omission from which we infer the same disregard, are rarely impressed by the significance of the Scottish book trade. The English typographer Stanley Morison, in his respected work *Four Centuries of Fine Printing* makes no reference to Scottish typography and printing until Ballantyne's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* by Sir. Walter Scott, printed in 1806. D.B. Updike, the American typographer, considers Scotland only worthy of a mention once the typefounder Alexander Wilson and the Foulis brothers commenced work in the mid eighteenth century. Colin Clair in *A History of European Printing* merely refers to those Scottish printers with English links, like Vautrollier and Waldegrave, ignoring the likes of Davidson, Bassandyne, Finlason, Raban and Hart who, for differing reasons, have as justifiable a claim on our attention. The bibliographer A.F. Johnson, who otherwise has produced important essays on the Scottish book, lumps Scotland with those peripheral nations whose printing 'although full of interest from the local point of view, was of no importance to the development of the book'. Johnson's co-author Margaret Bingham Stillwell, in her seventeenth-century survey, adds insult to injury by regarding Scotland as part of England and subject to Elizabethan printing restrictions, and by offering more references to printing in Carlisle than in Edinburgh! And even S.H. Steinberg in his seminal general history *Five Hundred Years of Printing* spares no quarter when he emphasises that 'Scotland had been almost the last of the civilised countries to see a printing press established within its frontiers', ignoring that the likes of Russia had no press until the 1550s, and most of Scandinavia barely pipped

Chepman and Myllar's press.¹ This is no basis for the serious consideration of the Scottish book trade.

English book historians, and indeed English historians in general, have also failed to adequately appreciate the tripartite nature of the book history of the British Isles - it is the history of three kingdoms, of three capitals, and of three centres of printing. If we exclude Oxford and Cambridge, whose output remained largely academic and theological, Dublin, Edinburgh and London were by 1600 three clear centres of literary and politico-religious publishing and printing - centres surrounded by very little printing activity elsewhere. In particular a printing wilderness separated the oases of Edinburgh and London.² Nevertheless, the comparative and summative account of the book in Scotland and Edinburgh has been unjustly treated by much English and European book historiography, and we would expect impassioned and enthusiastic rejoinders from Scottish historians.

Although Scottish history has experienced a renaissance since the 1950s, the condition of the publishing and printing history of Scotland is in some delapidation. It might be difficult for us to match the enthusiasm of the nineteenth century bibliophiles who formed their Bannatyne, Maitland and Spalding clubs and the various bibliographical societies, but the approach to Scottish book history has become increasingly piecemeal in the twentieth century. Although

¹ Stanley Morison, *Four Centuries of Fine Printing*, (1960); D.B. Updike, *Printing Types: Their History Formes and Use*, (Cambridge, Mass, 1937); Colin Clair, *A History of European Printing*, (1976); A.F.Johnson, *Selected Essays on Books and Printing*, (1970); A.F.Johnson, 'The Sixteenth Century', in Lawrence Wroth (ed.), *A History of the Printed Book*, (New York, 1938), 154; Margaret Bingham Stillwell, 'The Seventeenth Century', in Wroth, *The Printed Book*, 169; S.H.Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, (1974), 206.

² Dublin's first printer was the Englishman Humphrey Powel who started his press there in 1550. The earliest printing press in Northumberland was not found in Newcastle until the 'bishops war' of 1639. See Christopher Hunt, *The Book Trade in Northumberland and Durham to 1860*, (1975).

many pamphlets and articles appeared before the 1950s, and some thereafter, throughout the twentieth century book history has barely raised itself above the observation of typographical minutiae from a rare printed relic, or the monograph approach to a specific library, university or book maker.³ Ironically, for the country that produced the first history of printing in the British Isles - James Watson's *A History of the Art of Printing* (1713)⁴ - no single detailed volume has been published on, say, the history of Scottish libraries, the history of the Scottish printing since its first appearance, the legislative framework in Scotland for copyright, patents and censorship, and the economic history of book manufacture in Scotland. Much of the best Scottish social and economic historiography since the Second World War has given little prominence to the Scottish book trade: witness the few references in such as T.C. Smout's *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, 1660-1707*, and his *History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*; Houston and Whyte's *Scottish Society 1500 to 1800*; Michael Lynch's *Edinburgh and the Reformation*; and Cowan and Shaw's *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*.⁵ A preoccupation with cultural history of the purely 'literary' and 'artistic' variety, and a political history which is driven by events and transient political themes, however important, has failed to take account of the power of the press to breath life into economic, cultural and political

³ For example: Douglas Hamen 'The Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin: A Scottish Printed Fragment', *The Library*, fourth series, xii, (1931). or W.S. Mitchell 'The Common Library of New Aberdeen', *Libri*, iv, (1953-4).

⁴ A fact that is not recognised in John Feather's *A Dictionary of Book History*, (1980), a recent British reference work.

⁵ T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, 1660-1707*, (1963); T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*, (1972); R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society 1500 to 1800*, (Cambridge, 1989); Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, (1981); I.B. Cowan and D. Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, (1983). Some brief discussion of the book trade is to be found in Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, (1991), 257-261 and R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and society in Scotland and northern England, 1600-1800*, (Cambridge, 1985), 163-5.

developments. The history of the book may have the appearance of a specialist subject, but has relevance to all human thought and experience especially since the advent of the press.

Out of this disappointingly bleak state of affairs shine a few bibliographical beacons. Of the first rank are R. Dickson and J.P. Edmond's *Annals of Scottish Printing, 1507-1610* (1890), a book full of bibliography, extracted documents and correspondence, and typographical and collation details; J. Durkan and A. Ross's *Early Scottish Libraries* (1961), with an excellent introduction by Ross and a remarkable list of pre-Reformation book owners and their libraries; Dr John Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Societies of Scotland* (1824), containing much useful detail especially on the printing of scripture and, of course, Harry G. Aldis's *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*, (1904, revised 1970). This last volume provides not only a catalogue of Scottish books, a data-base ready for analysis and dissection, but also a considerable amount of auxiliary detail through an extensive index, supplementary index, as well as biographical information on the booksellers, printers and stationers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The research which follows would be impossible without *Aldis* and a small band of bibliographical historians who have built upon his work. But also worthy of mention are some of the best supporting historical surveys - *The Glasgow University Press, 1638-1931* (1931) by MacLehose, and *The Aberdeen Printers, 1620-1730* (1884) by Edmond, both of which provide detailed histories of printing outside Edinburgh, along with a large number of primary references and contemporary extracts, and lastly *A History of Scottish Bookbinding, 1432-1650* (1955) by William Smith Mitchell which, in spite of an expected narrow scope, gives us some novel analysis of the physical uniqueness of Scottish book production.⁶

⁶ R. Dickson and J.P. Edmond *Annals of Scottish Printing : from the introduction of the art in 1507 to the beginning of the seventeenth century*, (1890, reprinted 1975); John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries*, (1961); Dr. John Lee, *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland*, (1824) and *Additional Memorial*, (1826); Harry G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700: including those printed firth of the Realm for Scottish Booksellers*, (1904, reprinted and updated 1970) [Aldis]; James

Thanks to the consolation of the above, intellectual despair can be assuaged. It is clear, nonetheless, that much needs to be done to give the Scottish book trade the attention it deserves in the firmament of Scottish historiography. The following research is intended to give the book trade from c1500 to c1720 a detailed examination looking at booksellers, bookbinders, stationers and printers and their relationship to the forces of authority. The public rather than the private world of book dissemination will be examined - the scope of the research will not include the many personal and private library collections which adorned the libraries of the literate and landed. It will be seen though that the unique qualities of the printed book with its blend of commerce and technology on the one hand, and intellect and ideology on the other, ensured authority - burghs, church, government and law courts - provided a complex response of liberty and prohibition. Thus it was for all nations experiencing the arrival of printing, but as we shall see Scotland had its own particular range of dynamics, a distinct Scottish tradition.

MacLehose, *The Glasgow University Press, 1638-1931*, (1931); J.P. Edmond, *The Aberdeen Printers, 1620 to 1736*, (4 vols, 1884); William Smith Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding, 1432-1650*, (1955). The major bibliographical dictionaries essential for the study of the British book trade are R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640*, (Oxford, 1910, reprinted 1968); Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667*, (1907, reprinted 1968) and Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, (1922, reprinted 1968). Especially important for Scotland in support of Aldis are R. H. Carnie and R.P Doig, 'Scottish Booksellers and Printers, 1668-1775: a supplement' *Studies in Bibliography*, xii, 131-59, (1959) [Carnie (1)] and R. H. Carnie, 'Scottish printers and Booksellers 1668-1775: a second supplement' *Studies in Bibliography*, xiv, 81-96; xv, 105-19, (1961-2) [Carnie (2)].

Chapter 1

Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow: the 'printing burghs' and the book trade

Employers and Employees

The arrival of the printed book and printing in Scotland represented a dawning of new opportunity. With opportunity, of course, came responsibility and risk. Yet given the gradual maturity of the early modern Scottish burghs in the commercial, political and social spheres, we would expect to find the burgh councils and magistrates engaged with the printed media with confidence, and with an appreciation of the possibilities. The apparently ethical culture of burgh administrations, as reflected in the use of the community label 'common good' for burgh funds, allows us to anticipate burgh book policies to be aimed at the commercial and social advantage of the urban communities as a whole. Of course, community good could be just as easily served by book burning as by book manufacture.

The historiography of early modern printing in Scotland is modest, but the best of it does indicate the involvement of the Scottish burghs in book trade and culture, and especially in the three main centres of printing Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow.¹ The study of

¹ In particular, *passim*, for Edinburgh, Dickson and Edmond *Annals of Scottish Printing*; William T. Dobson, *History of the Bassandyne Bible*, (1887); and Lee, *Memorials*; for Aberdeen, Edmond, *The Aberdeen Printers*, and essay by W.R MacDonald, 'Some Aspects of Printing and the Book Trade In Aberdeen' in *The Hero as Printer* ed. C.A. McLaren, (Aberdeen, 1976), and for Glasgow MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, and R.A Gillespie, 'A list of Book Printers in Glasgow 1701-1775, with notes on the

the council and burgh records of these towns enables a thematic synthesis. Directly, through acting as employer, censor, licensor, patron and publisher, and indirectly, as a 'sustainer' of schools and libraries, the councillors and magistrates of these burghs regulated, and encouraged book commerce and book ownership. Although burgh concern over the printed book pre-dated the advent of printing in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow, the point at which these burghs became the employers of book makers marked a watershed and, therefore, it is appropriate firstly to consider their role as employers.

The arrival of printing in these burghs depended on the initiative of groups and not single individuals. Chepman and Myllar's Edinburgh press of 1507-10 came about by a combination of Chepman's merchant wealth and connections at court, the ability and preparedness of Myllar to travel to Rouen and learn the art of printing, the influence of bishop Elphinstone, whose *Breviarium Aberdonense* of 1510 was the press's *magnum opus*, and James IV's willingness to encourage and provide patents for the venture. The Edinburgh council records suggest no particular involvement by the council, although they must surely have lent their moral support and protection.²

Printers and Booksellers', (PhD, Glasgow, 1967), and Gillespie essay 'The Glasgow Book Trade to 1776' in *A Glasgow Collection*, (Glasgow, 1971). Important for general details are the manuscript histories NLS. Adv. Ms. 17.1.16. George Chalmers, 'Historical Account of Printing' (1825?) and NLS. Adv. Ms. 16.2.21/22, James Chalmers, 'Materials for an Historical Account of Printing in Scotland from 1507 to 1707' (1845?) with W.J. Couper, 'George Chalmers's Historical Account of Printing in Scotland' *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, vii, (1923), 62-89 and, of course, Aldis. See also Paul B. Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing Types and Ornaments of Scotland with an Introductory Survey of the Scottish Book Trade', (PhD, Oxford, 1992) which provides a preceptive analysis using mostly the bibliographical details gathered by Chalmers, Dickson and Edmond with the history of Lynch and Durkan.

² A Walter Chepman is mentioned in the council records no less than six times from 1509/10 to 1521, yet at no time is his identity made clear. Indeed, bibliographical history has still to discover any council connections for Chepman's 'immediate' successors John Story and Thomas Davidson, a measure no doubt of the precarious nature

The attitude of Edinburgh town council changed dramatically from the 1560s. The first 'official' record of the burgh as a print employer was not until Gideon Lithgow's appointment as college printer in July 1648,³ although there is plenty of earlier evidence of council concern for printing. The council developed a role as employer and facilitator. An example of this was in 1579 when the council agreed to waive the rent of the printer and bookseller Thomas Bassandyne who held property at the Netherbow.⁴

The key to Edinburgh burgh involvement as employer was the close relationship between the university college and town from the 1580s. Many aspects, from the state of college buildings to the student curriculum, were of concern to the council, and the retention of a college printer was also seen as vitally important. Sometimes the college printer was also the royal printer, as was Robert Charteris from 1603-8, Thomas Finlason from 1612-15, and Andrew Anderson and his heirs after 1663, but more often the greater number of presses in Edinburgh made it possible for the town to look elsewhere.⁵ Thus the likes of Henry Charteris in the 1590s, Andro Hart and his heirs from 1615, and Robert Bryson in the 1640s were employed on college and town business without being holders of the royal patent. What is most impressive, however, is the maintenance of a continuous line of college printers for the many volumes of theses emanating from the

of printing before 1560. For 'Chepman' see J. D. Marwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1403-1528*, (1869), [EBR, 1] under dates 27 January, 1509/10; 24 October, 1514; 18 April, 1516; 3 February, 1517/18; 8 June, 1519 and 16 July, 1521.

³ EBR, 8, 156.

⁴ Edinburgh City Archives, Manuscript Records of Edinburgh Council, Burgh Council Minute Books [ECR], 5,182. (24, December. 1579). Bassandyne died in October 1577, and this waiver must have been intended to assist his partner Arbuthnet with the printing of Scotland's first bible, or his widow Katherine Norwell. Norwell was not poor, however, judged by the stock she held in 1596. see *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, (3 vols) (1827-55), ii, [BM], 218. This volume contains thirty testaments of book traders dated 1579 to 1717.

⁵ Andrew Anderson's appointment was subject to his 'serving als weell and als easie in the pryces as uthers'. EBR, 9, 322.

Edinburgh college. The only notable gap was from 1633 to 1640 when, in spite of the continuing output of theses from St. Andrews printed by John Wreittoun and the Heirs of Hart, no Edinburgh theses seem to have survived. Censorship by the bishop of Edinburgh from 1633, and indifference by the London stationers who acquired the royal patent in 1632 are possible explanations. Nevertheless, so concerned were the council for continuity, and evenhandedness, that in the ten years after 1622 the work of college printer alternated each year between the Heirs of Hart and John Wriettoun - he who was not printer for Edinburgh college would in that year print the theses of St. Andrews. This remarkable arrangement suggests one reason printing failed to take root in St. Andrews was that its university was in close liaison with the 'town and gown' of Edinburgh.⁶

Such was the extent of book making connected with college and town that after the Restoration it was sometimes necessary to appoint a college bookbinder as well as printer, and we may be clear about this differentiation in spite of the fact that contemporaries could regard these terms as interchangeable. In Edinburgh Gavin Williamson was employed in this capacity in the 1670s; James Wardlaw was specifically appointed college binder in Edinburgh in 1710, and William Dickie, following the death of Wardlaw, and after working as college and town binder in Glasgow from at least 1696 to 1707, was transferred to Edinburgh to take up the position in December 1711.⁷ The specific label 'college binder' seems not to have been used in Aberdeen and St.

⁶ The brief periods of printing in St. Andrews by Robert Lekpreuik (1572-3), and Edward Raban (1620-22) can be discounted, although Raban was actually appointed college printer, and the fact that the printer sharing arrangement began just after Raban left St. Andrews for Aberdeen may be significant. see Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xi. John Scot, however, who printed circa 1552-58 for both St. Andrews and Edinburgh probably owed his appointment more to the former at which the likes of archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism* was produced in 1552.

⁷ *EBR*, 10, 233; *EBR*, 13, 200. For Glasgow see Glasgow City Archives [GCA], Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow, C.1.1.20, 121 (28 March, 1696) and J.D. Marwick (ed.) *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1691-1717*, (1908), [GBR, 4], 201; *ibid.*, 412 and GCA. C.1.1.22, 454 (18 September, 1707); *EBR*, 13, 227.

Andrews, although such a position could be tacitly assumed, and the likes of Alexander Cruikshank, known to have been bookbinding in the 1630s, and William Adamson, a bookbinder in the 1680s and 1690s (and also a college porter!), were participants in the literary output of King's College and St. Andrews university respectively.⁸

In the post-Reformation period the initiative for the employment and sponsorship of printers passed increasingly from clerics to magistrates. The involvement of the general assembly in the production and subscription of the Bassandyne/Arbuthnet bible in the 1570s, was something of a 'swan song', and even the employment of printers to the general assembly in the 1640s and 1650s, and from the 1690s onwards, did not significantly affect this trend (see chapter 2). However, the burgesses of Aberdeen and Glasgow, along with the academic literati at their respective colleges, also had to thank specific clerical support for the first introduction of the art of printing. Somewhat like the arrival of printing in Edinburgh in 1507/8, that in Aberdeen owed its circumstances to an amalgam of interest groups and individuals. Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen from 1618, played a significant role in attracting Aberdeen's first press.⁹ In fact Forbes and Aberdeen's first printer remained close friends until the death of the former in 1635. Dr. Robert Baron, having had some of his work printed by Edward Raban at St. Andrews in 1621-2, moved to Aberdeen and also encouraged Raban to move his press northwards. David Melvill, the Aberdeen bookseller, who later became Raban's partner and published many of his productions, may also have made initial approaches to Raban.¹⁰ But the involvement of the town, which went

⁸ For Cruikshank see Alexander M. Monroe (ed.), *Records of Old Aberdeen*, MCLVII-MDCCCXCI, i, (New Spalding Club, 1899), 352. 'Names of inhabitants of Old Aberdeen'; for Adamson, Carnie, (2), 85.

⁹ Andrew Strachan's *Panegyricus Inauguralis, Aberdoniis.*, (1631), 37. See translation in Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xiii.

¹⁰ As early as 1623, Melvill acted as cautioner for Raban in his agreement to rent premises from the town, and actually paid part of the outstanding rental a few months later. Aberdeen Charter Room, Manuscript Records of Aberdeen Council, Council

right to the top, was such as to make the arrival of printing in Aberdeen unique in Scottish history.

William Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen* describe the intervention of Sir Paul Menzies, lord provost, on behalf of town, college and bishop Forbes, and that Menzies obtained a patent from James VI for a printer to exercise his craft in Aberdeen.¹¹ Although this patent has been lost, the unusual nature of the agreement to employ Raban suggests that the council was particularly concerned to introduce book production to the burgh. The council records show that Raban was simultaneously employed as town and college printer in November 1622 and, as well as agreeing a salary of £40 per year, a unique arrangement was put in place whereby pupils of the grammar school, music and English schools were to pay out 8d quarterly to the printer, to be collected with school fees, in lieu of the printing and supply of school books.¹² Clearly the burgesses of Aberdeen thought that Raban's press would be able to meet the educational needs of the burgh. The burgesses of Aberdeen ensured an almost continuous succession of printers to the town and colleges, a not inconsiderable achievement when only one press operated in Aberdeen until 1752.¹³ Not for Aberdeen the Edinburgh interregnum of the 1630s. At least

Registers [ACR] 50, 562-3. (14 February 1623); 'Dean of Guild Accounts, 1622-23', quoted in Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xv.

¹¹ William Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen*. (Aberdeen, 1818) i, 175; Edmond *Aberdeen Printers*. xii-xiii who quotes again from Andrew Stachan; see also E. Gordon Duff 'The Early Career of Edward Raban, Afterwards First printer of Aberdeen' *The Library*, fourth series, ii, (1922), 239-256.

¹² ACR, 51, 20, (20 November 1622). Some time between this contract and 1625 it was agreed to offset Raban's salary against a 'mail' or rental of £40. payable by him to the town for his printer's house. See 'Accounts of the City of Aberdeen' in John Stuart (ed.), *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, (1852), v, 144-164. Payments recorded 1624-25, 1637-8, 1640-41, and 1644-5. Gaps in payment may have something to do with outstanding pay due to Raban for specific printings on behalf of the town. Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xiv and 9. Note use of imprint 'Universitatit Typographus' from as early as 1622.

¹³ In 1752 Francis Douglas and William Murray set up a press in competition to the then town and college printer James Chalmers. See MacDonald, *The Hero as Printer*, 31.

this monopoly helped to prevent disputes between the two colleges over appointments, and it became an automatic assumption that the college printer was in fact 'printer to the colleges'.

In general histories of the seventeenth century, it is recorded that printing came to Glasgow in response to appeals from the clergy - they required a press to be at hand when the 'covenanting' general assembly met there in November 1638 for which George Anderson, Glasgow's first printer, printed *The Protestation of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*.¹⁴ Anderson, who began printing in Edinburgh in 1637, and was the first printer in Edinburgh to actually operate a press within the buildings of King James's College, had already completed work for the church leaders, including an edition of the Confessions of Faith printed in early 1638. It was, therefore, natural for him to be asked to move his press to Glasgow, at least temporarily. However, the promptness with which the printer was paid by both the university and the town makes it doubtful that it was really the covenanters who brought printing to the burgh.¹⁵ This may be disputed, but the permanence of this arrangement was due entirely to the 'town and gown' of Glasgow, and not to the covenanting clergy.¹⁶

¹⁴ Aldis no. 923. This called for the abolition of episcopacy.

¹⁵ For university payments see accounts 1637/38 in Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Munimenta Alme Univeritatis Glasguensis*, (Maitland Club, 1854). iii, 572. MacLehose also expresses doubts. MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 22. Anderson's religious politics are unknown and his motives may have been simply commercial.

¹⁶ There is a consensus among bibliographers, led by Chalmers, that Anderson was still printing in Edinburgh up to September 1638, but the evidence of the Glasgow council records casts doubt. The earliest mention of Anderson was in January 1640 when he was paid for additional costs incurred when transferring his type from Edinburgh, and also for work completed in the period from May 1638 to November 1639. see NLS. Adv. Ms. 17.1.16. George Chalmers, f.343 and f. 239; NLS. Adv. Ms. 16.2.21/22, James Chalmers, i, under Anderson; W.J. Couper, 'George Chalmers's Historical Account', 82. All bibliographers accept the Chalmers/Chalmers version of events. *GBR*, 1, 407; *GCA*. C.1.1.11 (4 January, 1640); James D. Marwick (ed.), *Charters and Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow, 1175-1649*, (1897), i, 591-2.

While the clerics of the 1640s and 1650s took a back seat in the support of the Glasgow press¹⁷ - most of the work emanating from the general assembly and church leaders was by then given to the presses of James and Robert Bryson in Edinburgh - the professors of the university of Glasgow were as committed to the local press as those of the Aberdeen colleges. Especially noteworthy was Anderson's patron Zachary Boyd, who became rector and vice-chancellor to the university, and for whom the Anderson press produced at least fifteen separate theological works before 1647. In 1648, in one of several deeds to the university, Boyd left 5000 merks for the printing of his works, although this was not taken up by the authorities, perhaps for the lack of a printer after 1649.¹⁸ The magistrates of the town, nonetheless, created a commercially promising environment. The Glasgow burgesses set a reasonable annual 'fiall' for Anderson's appointment as printer to town and college, his award of 100 merks being somewhat higher than Raban's contemporaneous Aberdeen 'fiall' of £40. After Anderson's death in 1647, this salary, and the position of town printer, was allowed to pass to his heirs before they moved to Edinburgh in 1648/49,¹⁹ and was reintroduced when Anderson's son Andrew was persuaded back to Glasgow in 1657.²⁰ Less successful in ensuring the continuous presence of printing than the magistrates of Aberdeen, the Glasgow council made a more concerted effort to encourage and equip Andrew Anderson in 1657, and to have a ready replacement at hand in Robert Sanders, the elder, when the Anderson press moved back to Edinburgh in 1661.

¹⁷ The clergy would only reappear as a major factor from the Restoration to the Glorious Revolution when the regulatory power of the archbishop of Glasgow was reactivated.

¹⁸ *Glasgow Munimenta*, i, xlvi, 294. (11 December 1648). See also deed for books and buildings dated 9 December 1652. The college may have been forced to opt for bricks instead of Boyd books. *Glasgow Munimenta*, i, xlvii, 306-10. Note a merk was two thirds of a pound, or 13s 4d.

¹⁹ GBR, 2, 126-7, and GCA. C.1.1.11 (27 November 1647). His widow was paid for work during the last six months of his life. *ibid.*, (11 March, 1648); MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 25.

²⁰ GBR, 2, 348-9.

In terms of remuneration and working conditions the printing burghs seem to have been fair employers. The Glasgow council was efficient in paying the appropriate 'fiall' to George Anderson, his relict and to Andrew Anderson.²¹ However, Robert Sanders, the elder, was employed in 1661 at the lesser salary of £40 not 100 merks,²² and also some arrears of payment built up in the late 1670s. It was partially in lieu of this that the council allowed him to take feehold possession of his burgh property in 1676.²³ There is less evidence of similar tardiness by Edinburgh council, at least before 1688 when Agnes Campbell, relict of Andrew Anderson, was forced to petition the council for arrears of pay. The most glaring example of late payment was, however, the settlement in 1716 of £434 to Agnes Campbell for burgh printing from May 1707 to August 1714!²⁴ In the case of Edinburgh a more relaxed attitude to employment and prompt remuneration was possible after the Restoration because of the expansion in the numbers of printers. This contrasted most starkly with Aberdeen whose council seems to have promptly paid, from Raban in the 1620s to James Chalmers in the 1730s, both salary and fees for particular printings, although this did not prevent the near-bankruptcy of Raban in the 1640s. The very fact of an annual 'fiall' in Glasgow and Aberdeen, and the lack of such an arrangement for Edinburgh, illustrates the precarious existence of printing outside the capital.

For the Edinburgh printer, however, college premises and workshop space were made available since George Anderson's brief tenure in 1637 and 1638. This helps to account for the occasional

²¹ See 'Extracts from Burgh Accounts 1630-62' in *GBR*, 2, 506; *ibid.*, 511 and 514.

²² *GBR*, 2, 469, and *GCA*. C.1.1.14 (23 September 1661).

²³ James D. Marwick and Robert Renwick (eds.), *Charters and Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow*, ii, (1906), 370, no.820; *GBR*, 3, 226 and *GCA*. C.1.1.15 (9 September 1676); *GBR*, 3, 228 and *GCA*. C.1.1.15. (5 November, 1676). *Charters and Documents of Glasgow*, ii, 374, 'Discharges Granted to Treasurer 1678/9', ex. bundle 829, item 15.

²⁴ *EBR*, 11, 241. (9 September 1688); *EBR*, 13, 309; The fact that the printer John Moncur, who also printed for the town at this time, was paid in 1715 for work completed from 1712 to 1714 confirms that late payment was now endemic. *EBR*, 13, 280.

drifting of printers from Glasgow to Edinburgh.²⁵ To attract Andrew Anderson's press back to Glasgow in 1657, the town council of the burgh agreed a refurbishment and building programme to provide suitable domestic and printing premises. In 1680, Robert Sanders, the elder, was given permission to extend his premises, but at his own cost.²⁶ The burgesses of 'new' Aberdeen were, from the onset, aware of the need for specific premises, and accommodation was made available to the town printer for a small yearly 'mail', even though maintenance was sometimes a thorny issue.²⁷ After 1643 the shop of David Melvill, the bookseller, was added to the heritable property of the town printer, and both tenements passed from printer to printer until at least the 1730s.²⁸ All three burghs acted with a sense of commercial responsibility and followed accepted contractual practices, such as the recognition of the rights of a widow to inherit the burgh printer's gift provided, of course, that competence could be proved.²⁹

²⁵ Although Agnes Campbell was actually pressed to vacate the premises in 1703 as there were fears for the fabric of the library above her workshop. *EBR*, 13, 65. She did not finally leave until 1713 but clearly had premises elsewhere. *EBR*, 13, 251.

²⁶ *GBR*, 2, 371, and *GCA*. C.1.1.13 (11 July 1657); *GBR*, 2, 378, and *GCA*. C.1.1.13 (9 September 1657); *GBR*, 3, 280, and *GCA*. C.1.1.16 (7 June 1680).

²⁷ See agreement for employment of Raban, *ACR*, 50, 562-3. (14 February 1623); for maintenance dispute see *ACR*, 52(1), 53. (2 May 1632).

²⁸ Melvill died in early 1643. Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xxvii.

²⁹ In Glasgow George Anderson's widow was licensed in 1647, (*GCA*. C.1.1.11 (27 November, 1647)); Agnes Campbell was accepted as heir to Andrew Anderson in Edinburgh in 1676, (see confirmation of right 1685, *EBR*, 11, 159); and in Aberdeen Margaret Cuthbertson succeeded her husband John Forbes, the younger, in 1705, (*ACR*, 58, 3). For an account of women in the Scottish book trade see forthcoming Alastair Mann, 'Embroidery to Enterprise: the role of women in the book trade of early modern Scotland' in *Women in Scotland 1100-1750* (Tuckwell, 1998)

The Control of Commerce

A small but growing historiography of Scotland's early modern burghs has been created, and a convincing picture has been painted of conservative merchant and craft communities, only occasionally playing a key role in political events, and still less frequently appearing to be instrumental.³⁰ Lynch in particular has developed this view seeing, for example, the reaction of the Edinburgh burgesses to events in the twenty five years after the Reformation, as being characterised by 'erastianism, compromise and conservatism'. It is argued that this attitude continued in the seventeenth century through a cocktail of burgh authoritarianism, protection of privilege, and submission to the royal will.³¹ But some of Lynch's own conclusions partially undermine his analysis. His research into the membership of Edinburgh kirk sessions and town council in the 1570s and 1580s shows that many individuals were members of both and, therefore, it is only after a detailed examination of kirk session membership for the main burghs in Scotland, throughout the entire period, that firm conclusions can be drawn about burgh involvement in politico-

³⁰ A selection of the most important would include: W.M. Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs*, (1949); Michael Lynch, (ed.), *The Early Modern Town in Scotland*. (London, 1987); Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, (1981); Lynch, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Society' in Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society 1500-1800*; John Davidson and Alexander Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere: A study in the economic history of Scotland*, (1909); A. Ballard, 'The Theory of the Scottish Burgh' in *SHR*, xiii, (1916); T.M Devine, 'The Scottish Merchant Community 1680-1740', in R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner (eds.), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment*, (1982) [Devine, 1]; and Devine, 'The Merchant Class of the Larger Scottish Towns in the Later Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries' in George Gordon and Brian Dicks (eds.), *Scottish Urban History*, (Aberdeen, 1983) [Devine, 2]. Also important are Joyce K. MacMillan, 'A Study of the Edinburgh Burgess Community and its Economic Activities', (PhD, Edinburgh, 1984); J.J. Brown, 'Social, Political and economic Influences of the Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-38', (PhD, Edinburgh, 1985) and H.M. Dingwall, 'The Social and Economic Structure of Edinburgh in the late Seventeenth Century', (PhD, Edinburgh, 1989).

³¹ Lynch, *Edinburgh*, 45. Lynch, *Early Modern Town*, 1-35, 55-80.

religious affairs.³² Conversely, a more sympathetic appraisal of burgh political links by Stevenson, this time dealing with covenanting in the 1630s, confirms their political participation with some reservations, yet underlines that the burghs, of all groups, first approved the National Covenant at the convention of royal burghs held at Stirling in August 1638.³³ However, to the extent that burgh conservatism can be associated with that problematical political term 'reaction', then Lynch may indeed describe the character of burgh politics, for most of the period from the Reformation onwards. In a general sense commerce took priority over politics.

Foremost in the minds of the burgesses, especially those of the royal burghs, was the preservation of privileges and monopolies. This was the policy of all burgh administrations even in the late medieval period, although especially in Edinburgh where the larger scale of trading allowed the accumulated pressure of vested interests. What altered from the 1570s was that it became accepted for the convention of royal burghs to represent the interests of royal burghs against the encroachment of unfree traders - those traders not 'paid up' burgesses within the appropriate burgh - and from an increasing number of burghs of barony and regality.³⁴ Royal burghs, and their guildries, fought hard to preserve their privileges within their licensed liberty, but when in 1672 Falkirk (burgh of regality) won its case against Stirling (royal burgh), before the court of session, it was clear that the

³² Lynch, *Edinburgh*, appendix i and iii, 226-64, 267-80. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this research.

³³ David Stevenson, 'The Burghs and The Scottish Revolution' in Lynch *Early Modern Town*, 167-191. J. D. Marwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland 1677-1711*, (1880), [Burgh Convention Records], iv, 543.

³⁴ After the Restoration the threat also came from the huge numbers of markets and fairs, allowed by act of parliament, in non-burghal towns. Ballard, *Scottish Burgh*, 22. Some 246 places not actually burghs of any kind were awarded markets and fairs 1660-1707.

economic tide was making burgh monopolies anachronistic.³⁵ Moreover, as seen below, there is simply too much evidence of freemen engaged in trade with the unfree.³⁶

Edinburgh, like Stirling, had its disputes with neighbouring burghs and towns, and in particular Leith and Canongate. Although Edinburgh had been granted rights to the harbour of Leith from the fourteenth century, legal disputes over jurisdiction and trading rights were common, and even after superiority had been confirmed in Edinburgh's name in 1639, difficulties remained. In May 1661 the Edinburgh council saw fit to close all shops at Leith.³⁷ It is as well that neither Christopher Higgins or Evan Tyler operated their printing shops in Leith at this time. Glasgow and Aberdeen also suffered from such disputes - Glasgow, especially before it became a royal burgh in 1611, being at odds with Dumbarton, Renfrew and Rutherglen,³⁸ and Aberdeen, through its division into both Old Aberdeen (ecclesiastical burgh) and New Aberdeen (royal burgh). The Aberdeen council records suggest this last privilege war was of more concern to Old Aberdeen. As late as 1672 the burgh council petitioned the bishop of Aberdeen to raise with the privy council the activities of New Aberdeen 'for contravening of the acts of parliament in reference to the old townes liberties of merchandizeing'.³⁹ The Old town was no great threat to the more developed commerce of the New, and it may be a suitable metaphor for the business attitudes of the Old that, in

³⁵ The support of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh was crucial to the success of the unfree traders of Falkirk. See Sir. George Mackenzie, 'Pleadings Before the Supreme Courts in Scotland' in *Works*, (1716), i, 63-8.

³⁶ The royal burghs also licensed the activities of unfree traders in order to retain a level of control. R. A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment, Edinburgh 1660-1760*, (Oxford, 1994), 366-7.

³⁷ EBR, 9, 243. (3 May 1661); *ibid.*, 214, (28 September 1660).

³⁸ See Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs*, *passim* for details.

³⁹ Aberdeen Charter Room, Manuscript Council Minutes of Old Aberdeen, [OACR], 4, 67. (14 October 1672); *Records of Old Aberdeen*, 123.

1719, its council agreed to change the wording to Latin on its burghess tickets!⁴⁰

The high points for burgh action against individual unfree traders were the 1580s and 1590s. These coincided with the increase in tensions between the merchants and craftsmen of Edinburgh connected with the 'decreet arbitral' of 1582/3 which gave some burgh rights to craftsmen at the expense of merchants. Also, by then, both the extent of business and numbers of book traders in the capital had reached the stage where proper policing of book commerce became necessary.⁴¹ Typical in the capital was an action brought in September 1580 - the council looked favourably on a petition brought by Robert Lekpreuik, printer, and John Gibson, bookbinder, against the Englishman Robert Wodehouse for trading in books while being 'ane forane straynger and unfrieman'. Wodehouse was censured and instructed to desist, or forfeit his stock. The following June Robert Gourlaw, bookbinder, was warned to stop trading until he was a freeman. In April 1582 Thomas Vautrollier, printer, bookseller, and Anglo-Huguenot, with his servant John Cowper, lost a case before the bailies for unfree trade under challenge from Gibson and Henry Charteris.⁴² Trouble erupted again in 1592, this time for another Englishman, Norman Watts, who was accused of 'hamebringing of certiane buikis to sell and nocht given an entres thair of to the toun as use is' and thereafter fined £10. The following year a large group of bookmen and burghesses, including the 'poacher turned gamekeeper' Robert Wodehouse, brought an action before the bailies against the English bookseller John Norton, and his servant Edmond Watts, for

⁴⁰ OACR, 6, 8; *Records of Old Aberdeen*, 178.

⁴¹ It is likely that around 20 printers, bookbinders and booksellers operated in Edinburgh by this time (see chapter 7). The relatively small scale of the book trade in the other burghs before the mid seventeenth century, after which time it was less fashionable to prosecute individuals, must surely explain the lack of such references outside Edinburgh.

⁴² *EBR*, 4, 177-8; *ibid.*, 559; *ECR*, 6, 182-3 and *EBR*, 4, 233-4. Note Vautrollier was forced to pay customs for books imported into Scotland under pain of warding, (6 April 1580). *ECR*, 6, 32.

'wrangus usurping of the liberty of this burgh' by selling in an open booth. Norton appeared before the council in person, in opposition to Andro Hart and John Gibson, but lost his case and was instructed 'to desist [selling] in smallis'.⁴³

There are several lessons to be learned from these examples. Firstly, the punishment meted out by the bailies was never severe or lengthy, and most of the accused subsequently became significant in their own right: Vautrollier, after fleeing England to Scotland in 1584 to avoid imprisonment for printing the writings of Giordano Bruno, set up a fine press in Edinburgh before returning to London in 1586; Wodehouse, as we have seen, became part of the Edinburgh print establishment, and John Norton, although selling up his Edinburgh business in 1596, still had a successful partnership with Hart, and became one of the richest London book traders before his death in 1612. Secondly, while it is true that Robert Gourlaw was a Scot, the fact that so many Englishmen were arraigned suggests some sensitivity to outsiders. The frequent presence of John Gibson as representative of the 'offended party', makes it possible that he was some form of spokesman or unofficial dean.⁴⁴ And yet, the absence of any formal guildry for the printers or booksellers, meant that when issues of discipline and regulation were scrutinised the council members themselves were the arbiters. That cases against unfreemen in the book trade tended to disappear in the seventeenth century indicates that by then these merchants and craftsmen were operating within the general rules of trade.

The Edinburgh burgesses were as concerned with the activities of the 'unclean' as the unfree. What has been termed the Restoration's

⁴³ *EBR*, 5, 58; *ECR*, 9, 183 and *EBR*, 5, 80.

⁴⁴ Norton was Master of the Stationers' Company on no less than three occasions. Gibson did indeed become binder to the king in 1592, although the small value of his estate on his death suggests that he was no grand merchant like Henry Charteris or Andro Hart. For Gibson's testament see BM, 222, Value of his estate £213. scots. The sensitivity to outsiders was not repeated until the 1680s when fear of Catholics was connected. (see chapter 5).

'deliberate appeal to the values implicit in gentility',⁴⁵ was preceded by much earlier attitudes of refinement. Following the completion of Parliament House in 1639, the council took action to protect the grandeur and fine surroundings of the new buildings. This included, in December 1642, the summoning of four burgesses, including the soon-to-be-wealthy bookseller Andro Wilson, 'for keeping crames (booths) within the Parliament house with old buiks and cramerie wairis [something] prejudiciall to their uther nighbours', and their discharge from 'selling or keiping of crames within the said Parliament House or Parliament yaird in all tyme comeing'. The sale of second hand books and bric-a-brac from open booths was not conducive to the environment of the new complex. However, only four months later, when a list of acceptable trades was agreed for shops in Parliament Close, bookbinders' shops were considered on a par with goldsmiths and instrument makers, and as representing respectable business. By the end of the reign of Charles I, the status of booksellers and printers was high, and was recognised as such by the town authorities.⁴⁶

The most complex book matters to be resolved by the burgh authorities were the many trade disputes, and the lack of a Stationers' Company ensured the role of the bailie courts. The vast records of the Edinburgh bailie court processes indicate that many of the book trade cases concerned debt, and that book traders were as often creditors as debtors. In 1655 the printer Christopher Higgins, as agent for the London Stationers, brought an action before the bailie court for debts owed by Robert Bryson, printer and bookseller, for stock supplied by the London stationer Andrew Crooke. The Edinburgh bookseller Robert Malloch was in 1674 under process for cash debts owed to the Edinburgh merchant David Simson. A decade later, the ubiquitous Agnes Campbell (Mrs Anderson), royal printer from 1676, used the services of her business partner Robert Currie, wryter and bookseller, to pursue the bookseller Walter Cunningham for payment for 'six

⁴⁵ Lynch, *Early Modern Town*, 18.

⁴⁶ EBR, 8. 21; *ibid.*, 25. Note again that the terms 'bookbinder' and 'bookseller' were virtually interchangeable.

score paires of Staines proverbs'.⁴⁷ We also find that book merchants appeared in their share of petty offence cases, including the extraordinary proceedings in 1721 against James Freebairn, brother of the Jacobite printer Robert Freebairn, for his assault on the famous grammarian and printer Thomas Ruddiman.⁴⁸

More serious disputes were brought before the privy council or court of session. Some of these issues were internal, but others plunged opposing town councils into open conflict with each other, and one particular form of publishing reveals how intense the bickering could become. The most valuable patents from the Restoration were not those for bibles or liturgical works but for almanacs, print runs for which reached 50,000 copies. Because of this the desire to confirm ownership of licences to publish these almanacs, and to seek protection from pirates or counterfeit editions, was naturally great.

The most successful almanac of the period was the 'Aberdeen Almanack', first produced by Raban in 1623, but made famous by the Aberdeen printer John Forbes, the younger, in the 1660s and 1670s. In October 1667 the magistrates of Aberdeen showed their willingness to protect Forbes's almanacs. They upheld his petition against a chapman Alexander Gray for bringing in 1000 copies of an alternative almanac, probably based on the Aberdeen edition, provided that Forbes continued to sell 'at ane ordinarie valow'. Only the 'Aberdeen Almanack' could be sold in Aberdeen.⁴⁹ However, the Edinburgh

⁴⁷ Edinburgh City Archives, Bailie Court Processes, Box 1, bundle 2 (January 1655); Box 2, bundle, 5 (January 1674); Box 2, bundle, 4 (January 1683). The Edinburgh council archive has more than 300 boxes of bailie court processes. Some 3000 cases have been looked at at random, covering from 1603 to 1740, during which a mere handful of book trade cases were uncovered. There are obviously more needles in the haystack but further research will take many months.

⁴⁸ Edinburgh Bailie Court Processes, Box 1, bundle 2 (July, 1721). This was an extremely complex case with petitions and the evidence of various witnesses.

⁴⁹ ACR, 55, 66-7 and John Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1643-1747*, (1872) [ABR], 2, 245-6. Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xlv, (30 October

printer Andrew Anderson, having acquired the most wide ranging royal licence in 1671 - this included the unprecedented right to approve all publications by other printers in Scotland - attempted, along with his partners, to prevent John Forbes from printing without permission, and threatened legal action. Although not specifically admitted, this looks like an attempt to attack Forbes's most valuable asset - the 'Aberdeen Almanack'. The threat was taken seriously, both by Forbes, who knew the Glasgow printer Sanders, the elder, had just been raided by the Anderson cartel in the winter of 1671, and by the Aberdeen magistrates who were plainly outraged.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, before Aberdeen took its case to the privy council, the Anderson group realised they had pressed matters too far, and in February 1672 wrote to the magistrates of Aberdeen conceding the right of Forbes to print under licence of the town and local clergy, and in spite of the new royal patent.⁵¹ Unfortunately for Robert Sanders, the town council of Glasgow was not so helpful over his disputes with the Anderson press, which raged on from 1671 to 1683, with a large number of petitions from both sides put before the privy council. Moreover, the 'Aberdeen Almanack' was still under threat, and in 1684 Forbes was forced to protest to the privy council over deliberate pirating by Robert Sanders and Mrs Anderson, a strange alliance of erstwhile enemies, with Sanders having gone to the extent of copying the Aberdeen city arms. The privy council ruled that Forbes's and Aberdeen's copyright had been infringed, and counterfeits should cease but this did not stop the encroachment by Glasgow and Edinburgh.⁵² Meanwhile, James Paterson, the mathematician and author of *Edinburgh's True Almanack, or a New Prognostication*, obtained in 1684 sole licence for his own volume, along with protection from the burgh against

1667). The only comprehensive account of almanacs is William R. MacDonald, 'Scottish Seventeenth-Century Almanacs', *The Bibliothek*, iv, prt.1, 8, (1966), 257-322.

⁵⁰ RPC, iii, 3. 424.

⁵¹ ACR, 55, 362-3. (7 February 1672). Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xlvi

⁵² MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 67-8; Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, li-lii; Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, *The Decisions of the Lords of Council and Session from June 6th 1678 to July 30th 1712*, (2 vols. 1759-1761), i. 273.

'counterfites', with all the town printers forbidden to print any other than his edition.⁵³ The first known Glasgow almanac appeared in 1661/2, - it was compiled by the mathematician James Corse, and was printed by Sanders. There is no record of any infringement of its copyright, even though by 1664 Corse almanacs were emanating from both Glasgow and Edinburgh presses, which must have greatly confused an already complex copyright situation.⁵⁴ As far as almanacs were concerned, it was every printer for himself, regardless of the efforts of bailies and privy councillors to keep order.

Internal burgh commercial disputes usually set one group of tradesmen against another, and again the greater scale of the Edinburgh book trade allowed more opportunities for discord. In an attempt at group action by the Edinburgh stationers, a petition was put before the town council in December 1683 complaining of the bookselling of cramers throughout the city, most of whom were 'not in the leist frie aither as burgess or gild breither', charged low prices that 'undersold the said stationers' and, while paying only a little for their stalls, were not subject to the burgh taxes borne by free burgesses. Essentially, this was an attempt to extend to the entire burgh the accommodation of 1642, and beyond just a ban around the Parliament building. What is of particular interest is that cramers were accused of '[buying] books in sheits and [employing] book-bynders' - in other words, a number of bookbinders in the burgh were prepared to take work from cramers, regardless of their status, or the impact on the larger stationers. Nevertheless, the decision of the bailies was that cramers should open proper shops, and that those unfree should become freemen without delay.⁵⁵ By 1710 the control of print commerce was still problematical. In September of that year the council was forced to concede that its erection of the paper cryers into a society had failed, and many printers complained of the cryers'

⁵³ *EBR*, 11, 128. (12 November 1684). For the almanac licence granted to John Man, nephew of Paterson, see *EBR*, 12, 188. (17 January 1696).

⁵⁴ *GBR*, 2, 469, for Corse being paid for dedicating his almanac to Glasgow council (1 October 1661). See chapter 4 for copyright.

⁵⁵ *EBR*, 11, 96. (14 December 1683).

scandalous manipulation of prices. As a result, the council then agreed to dissolve the society, to allow anyone to sell printed papers, pamphlets, ballads and story books in the street, to appoint James Wardlaw, stationer and burgh bookbinder, to oversee the imposition of a fixed rate of prices per printed sheet, and that for each new printing Wardlaw was to receive 'two shillings Scots ... payed be the printer and six pennies Scots ... by each paper cryer for his paines'. We can only guess at the practicality of such a complex policing system in the expanding print market of early eighteenth-century Edinburgh.⁵⁶

The burgh councils controlled incorporation by the guilds. Therefore, if the paper cryers of Edinburgh were allowed to form a society, why not the printers and booksellers? In fact there is no evidence that such a society was ever formally established. Even though, by the 1680s, over fifty book traders operated in Edinburgh (see chapter 7), we might hazard several reasons why they were not incorporated. Firstly, somewhat like the hammermen, the guild that caused the burgh most difficulties since the Reformation, the book traders were a fractured group. They consisted of wealthy stationers, moderately comfortable printers and booksellers, small and large bookbinders, journeyman printers, and street traders and chapmen. The hammermen, a mixture of metal workers of all kinds from blacksmiths to goldsmiths, was a similar group divided amongst itself, and therefore difficult to control. Secondly, by the Restoration clear indications were emerging of specialisation between printers and booksellers and, as a result, what was in the interests of one, was not always to the benefit of the other. Lastly, for those book traders who were ambitious to become members of the council or magistrates, there were opportunities without the need for a specific society, and for these wealthier traders membership of the merchant guild was near automatic. The examples of Henry Charteris, council member,

⁵⁶ EBR, 13, 199-200. (6 September 1710). There is no sign that this odd arrangement survived the death of Wardlaw the following year. See chapter 7 for analysis of book pricing. It appears the paper cryers were also called 'running stationers'. See Edinburgh City Archives, Moses Bundles, [MB], 164, 6331 (16 November, 1747) for John Bryers mentioned in case of imprisoned printer Robert Drummond. Also, MB. 169, 6604 (1759).

bailie, burgh commissioner, and much else from the 1580s; Thomas Brown, stationer, bailie and treasurer in the Restoration period, and William Dickie, bookbinder in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and bailie of Glasgow just before the Union of 1707, are just a representative sample of those who rose to prominence. The fewer book trade council members in Glasgow and Aberdeen simply reflected the problems of accumulating significant wealth from printing and bookselling in the provincial towns.

In spite of this, book makers made some efforts to incorporate. Responding to a novel development in 1681, when the printers Patrick Ramsay, John Reid and Hector Aytoun [or Aysoun] incorporated themselves into the hammermen without permission of the council, all three were instructed to give up their burgess tickets to the dean of guild.⁵⁷ A more coordinated effort was made in 1722, when no less than fifteen printers petitioned the council to form a society. There seems to have been no immediate affirmative response, although by 1759 the journeyman printers had formed their own benevolent society, and an Edinburgh letterpress printers society was incorporated in 1758.⁵⁸ References are sometimes made in Scottish bibliographical history to the society of stationers which represented the Edinburgh interests of the English Stationers' Company from 1660 to 1671, and that brief 'society' with imprints dated 1689/90.⁵⁹ But all of these were merely groups of partners in printing and not representatives of the trade in Edinburgh. The same was true of the 'society of printers in Edinburgh' which was in dispute with John Forbes in 1671/72, even though Andrew Anderson's partners included important figures like George Swintoun, James Glen, Thomas Brown

⁵⁷ EBR, 11, 18. (8 June 1681). The relationship between hammermen and printers had evidently existed for some time. A Confession of Faith printed in Glasgow in 1638 has the imprint 'printed at Glasgow by George Anderson of the hammermen'. [Aldis, no. 907.1]

⁵⁸ MB. 152, 5952. (5 June 1722). Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 99; Sarah Gillespie, *Scottish Typographical Association, 1853-1952*, (Glasgow, 1953), 18.

⁵⁹ See Aldis, 120/121.

and David Trench. Theirs was a business relationship and not a true incorporation.⁶⁰

The most basic control of commercial activity exercised by the burghs was entrance to craft burghess or merchant guild membership. The Edinburgh Burgess Rolls from 1406-1700 indicate that approximately 170 book traders became burghesses and guild brethren, mostly after 1570. Book traders were relatively few before the mid-seventeenth century, although Edinburgh poll tax returns show that by the 1690s they were only outnumbered by goldsmiths and wigmakers in the capital.⁶¹ In the seventeenth century it became common in Edinburgh to pay 100 merks for burghesship, as did the printer John Reid in 1678. However, those book traders of position, such as the king's printer, or of value to the burgh and council generally received the honour *gratis*. Thus Robert Young, king's printer, became a burghess free of charge in 1632; Joshua van Solengen, a printer brought from Holland to print the acts of parliament, was made burghess in 1682 for doing such a fine job, and the bookbinder Alexander Ogston, on the recommendation of the lord advocate and college of justice, was granted a burghesship free in 1680 as he was 'useful to the town'.⁶² Meanwhile, the likes of James Watson, the younger, was censured in 1694 for printing when being a non-burghess, although five months later he obtained his ticket for the usual fee. In addition, it became more common to hold burghess tickets in two burghs after 1700, as John Reid, stationer, did for Peebles and Edinburgh in 1713, or to transfer burghesship from one burgh to another, as did the Edinburgh binder Alexander Gordon when he moved to Aberdeen in 1710.⁶³ Mobility was important, although after

⁶⁰ ACR, 55, 362-3.

⁶¹ C.B.Boog Watson (ed.), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren*, (1406-1700), (SRS, 1929). A number of known book makers are not on the roll. Ian D. Whyte, 'The Occupational Structure of Scottish Burghs in the late Seventeenth Century' in Lynch, *Early Modern Town*, 237.

⁶² EBR, 10, 355; EBR, 7, 109; EBR, 11, 51; EBR, 10, 392;

⁶³ For Watson see EBR, 12, 165. who was also accused of being 'a papist'; Reid, MB. 274, 8682; Gordon, ACR, 58, 215.

1660 the value of burghess tickets was becoming devalued with the increase in honorific membership, and not just of the aristocratic variety. In 1684 John Slezer, his majesty's engineer for Scotland, and compiler of the *Theatrum Scotiae* published in 1693, became a burghess and guild brother free of charge, as did the academic Robert Blau in 1688 as a reward for his *Rudiments* of 1681.⁶⁴ These examples show that burghesship was increasingly used by the burgh to reflect the interests of the council in letters and learning, and was a recognised badge of merit as well as of trade.

Under the system for controlling burghess and guild membership was that for apprenticeship, and throughout our period both booksellers and printers, in the three major burghs, practised the apprenticeship system, mostly over seven or five years. It was a fairly rigid system, but councils could and did allow some flexibility for exceptional reasons, such as when the Edinburgh burghesses allowed John Hart, son of Andro Hart, extra apprentices in 1630 for a planned bible printing.⁶⁵ Also, although convincing arguments have been made for the decline of the formal apprenticeship system being one of the factors accounting for the 'freeing up' of trade after the Restoration - all arguments to the contrary qualify rather than refute the theory of the removal of trade restriction - it was a surprisingly resilient regime, especially in the backwaters. As late as 1725, the merchant guildry of Stirling insisted that guildbrothers, including bookbinders, must not 'teach their apprentices any business but that of merchandising', and fixed a new apprentice fee of 400 merks. It was a slow not a fast decline, and in the book trade affecting booksellers and stationers in retailing more than printers and bookbinders in craft (see chapter 7).⁶⁶

⁶⁴ EBR, 11, 126; ECR, 32, 223. Blau's *Rudiments* were dedicated to the council.

⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the bible never materialised.

⁶⁶ W.B. Cook and David B. Morris, (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of Merchant Guild of Stirling, 1592-1846*, (1916), 90. 17 April 1725. For arguments over degree of freedom from trade restrictions after 1660 see Mackenzie, *Scottish Burghs*, 86-95, Devine (1), 95-6; Devine (2), 28-9. For Edinburgh see Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 375 and Dingwall, 'Edinburgh in the Late Seventeenth Century', 401.

Permission and Prohibition: burgh licensing and censorship

The licensing and censoring authority of the magistrates of Scotland was unparalleled in English history. Their role adds ambiguity to the licensing of the Scottish book, and disorientates the centralised cooperation of church and state after the Reformation. With the absence of a Stationers' Company, the burghs shared responsibility for approving and monitoring licences originating from the centre, as for example with the bible patent awarded to Arbuthnet and Bassandyne by general assembly and privy council in 1575. Soon after Arbuthnet completed Scotland's first bible printing in 1579, the Edinburgh magistrates warned him in April 1580 that, by charging separately for binding the Bible, he was in breach of the terms of his bible licence.⁶⁷ The council became even more exercised about the Bible in the following October and November. On 28 October a proclamation was issued 'commanding all nichtbouris, of this burgh, substantialis houshalderis, to haif ane bybill in thair houssis under the paynes contenit in the actes of parliament', and also advertised that the books were available in the booth of Andro Williamson. Two weeks later the council demanded sworn proof of ownership and appointed officers to enforce prescription.⁶⁸

Enforcement at this pitch was unusual, although prescription was common, and at a philosophical level formed a bridge between censorship and license to trade. In 1609 the magistrates of Peebles ordained that all those nominated by the council 'be provydit with psalm buiks ... under the pane of ane unlaw'.⁶⁹ This is a strangely timed act which may be connected with the acquisition of the psalm

⁶⁷ ECR, 6, 31-32; EBR, 4, 158.

⁶⁸ EBR, 4, 184; ECR, 6, 95; *ibid.*, 96.

⁶⁹ W. Chambers, (ed.), *Charters and Documents Relating to the Burgh of Peebles with Extracts from the Records of the Burgh, 1165-1710*, (1872), 359. (1 December 1609).

book licence by Thomas Finlason in 1606, part of the near 'clean sweep' of existing patents he acquired before becoming king's printer in 1612. These compulsive measures no doubt paid dividends for the printers of the works, but as far as the councils were concerned they were merely following dictat from the centre. Licensing could of course be devolved, as when the committee of estates in 1649 gave power to the provost of Aberdeen to license the printing of school books provided they did not deal with public affairs.⁷⁰

More positive and profitable book empowerment was facilitated by the burghs. In particular, the desire for printed news was encouraged by the licensing of weekly diurnals and daily newspapers. Aberdeen council in 1657 licensed and paid John Forbes, the elder, to produce a weekly diurnal 'for the use of the inhabitants'. It seems that the burgh which first developed almanac printing in Scotland was first to license the printing of diurnals.⁷¹ Glasgow was also concerned to have the latest news. Only a month later the council resolved to get diurnals from London, and throughout the 1660s and 1670s Robert Mein, postmaster, was paid to obtain news and gazettes from Edinburgh and London. Later he provided the same service for Edinburgh.⁷² Although a continuous chain of diurnal agents can be seen for Edinburgh and Glasgow into the first quarter of the eighteenth century, it was to newspapers produced in Scotland that printers and readers increasingly turned by the start of that century, and especially those from Edinburgh presses. The first true newspaper in Scotland was the *Edinburgh Gazette* published in 1699 by James Watson, the younger, with Watson using mostly the presses of John

⁷⁰ SRO. PA. Register of the Committee of Estates 11/6, 113.

⁷¹ *ABR*, 2, 165-6. (29 July 1657).

⁷² *GBR*, 2, 377 and *GCA*. C.1.1.13 (5 September 1657). He was replaced by a new postmaster of Glasgow, John Alexander, between 1677 and 1681, Mein himself moving to become postmaster of Edinburgh. *GBR*, 3, 133 and *GCA*. C.1.1.15 (14 May, 1670); *GBR*, 3, 301 and *GCA*. C.1.1.16 (27 September, 1681); *GBR*, 3, 321 and *GCA*. C.1.1.16 (30 September, 1682); *ECR*, 31, 206 (25 September, 1685); *ibid.*, 321 (31 March, 1686).

Reid rather than his own workshop.⁷³ This was 'published by authority' of the privy council. The privy council licenced another Watson creation, the *Edinburgh Courant*, and after the death of its editor Alan Boig, in February 1710 the burgh put the *Courant* in the hands of the English journalist Daniel Defoe. Given that the paper expired in that year, it looks as though Defoe failed to take advantage of this burgh licence. In the previous August, the council awarded David Fearn, formerly author of the *Edinburgh Gazette*, a licence to produce a newspaper called the *Scots Postman*. This was to be issued on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and in terms that clearly forbade other papers from appearing on those specific days.⁷⁴ The town councils were still capable of introducing restrictions to trade which, as before, were swept aside by the growing competition for an expanding readership.

The most puzzling license issue of the seventeenth century, and one worthy of more detailed research at a later date, was the controversy surrounding *God and the King*. Both Glasgow and Edinburgh town councils became embroiled in an unusual way. *God and the King*, written by Richard Mocket, was a catechism teaching royal supremacy which James VI desired, through his privy council, to plant in every Scottish household. In June 1616 James Primrose, clerk of the privy council since 1599, was awarded the monopoly for the printing and selling of this book, the use of which was at the same time made compulsory in Scotland's schools and universities.⁷⁵ It was

⁷³ Some will argue that the likes of the *Scots Intelligencer*, published in Edinburgh in 1643, had newspaper characteristics. For a list of surviving Scottish newspapers see J.P.S. Ferguson, *Directory of Scottish Newspapers*, (NLS, 1984)

⁷⁴ *EBR*, 13, 185. (1 February 1710); *ibid.*, 173. (17 August 1709). The demise of the privy council left the burgh to license printings. Possibly this 'Post' is the same as the *Edinburgh Flying Post* which commenced in 1708.

⁷⁵ *RPC*. i, 10, 535. According to the presbyterian historian David Calderwood this was approved by the Aberdeen general assembly in August 1616 which recommended the preparation of a new liturgy, book of canons, confession of faith and catechism. David Calderwood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, [Calderwood, *History*], vii, 229. For summary see Gordon Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, (1976), 208-9.

first printed in London and the first Scottish edition appeared in early 1617, and while there is a strange anonymity concerning the printer, Thomas Finlason's press is the most likely candidate. At any rate, in July 1617, during King James's visit to Scotland, the Edinburgh council dispatched commissioners to the court at Paisley to appeal to the king in person, and to show their opposition to the Primrose grant. James's solution, that a convention of royal burghs meet to consider the licence, was taken up, although the convention called in October 1617 appears not to have discussed the matter.⁷⁶ Following a further appeal to the privy council in December 1617, a special convention was called the following June 'to answer to the Privy Council anent the book callit *God and the King*'. The decisions of this commission are unknown.⁷⁷ It is not until April 1619 that the next reference is found in the council records of Edinburgh, and then it is simply agreed to pay Primrose £1000 for 2000 copies in Scots, and 500 in Latin, and to 'dispense the samen in the colledges and scools ... for aucht schillings the pece'. Even though the distribution of copies was very slow - Edinburgh still held over 1500 copies in 1620, and stock lingered until the 1630s - it seems the burgh capitulated, both on the question of prescription, and the Primrose grant.⁷⁸

Some further clues are provided by the dealings of Glasgow. Somewhat later, in May 1625, the Glasgow burgesses agreed to pay Primrose £120 'fur thrie hundrethe of his buikes to be gevin by him to this burghe, and ane pairt assignatioun and dispositioun to his patent concerning the burghe and territory thair of in thair favouris'. Although the wording is unclear, it appears that Primrose was, in selling his stock, relinquishing his copyright within the burgh of Glasgow or, at the very least, conceding that all distribution and control of price and sales would pass to the council. This, of course, would leave the council able to limit or expand supply according to their local religious and educational inclinations. It is probable that

⁷⁶ EBR, 6, 161; *ibid.*, 161-2; *ibid.*, 167. *Burgh Convention Records*, iii, 49-53. See also Calderwood, *History*, vii. 283-4.

⁷⁷ EBR, 6, 169; *ibid.*, 177.

⁷⁸ EBR, 6, 187. See also note on 'Treasurers Accounts' for stock 1620 to 1634.

this arrangement summarises the agreement reached at the June 1618 special convention. There is, however, a puzzling footnote for Glasgow - nearly ten years later the council 'lent to the college for thair defence ... the discharge grantit be Primrose to the town', and it may be that, before his death in 1641, Primrose was attempting to impose rights, either to insist on the use of the text by the college, or even to claim payment for copies not from his original printing.⁷⁹

The Primrose affair leaves many unanswered questions, but the most important must be, why did the burghs oppose the grant? The king's pronouncement from 1614, and the general assembly of 1616, provided Protestant reactionaries with warnings of where his thoughts were moving in the area of liturgical change. Nonetheless, it was only after the negative response of the St.Andrews assembly in November 1617 that opposition to liturgical change could gain focus, or that fearful councillors could be bullied into submission by a king threatening a replay of December 1596. Through the fact that opposition to Primrose's grant is recorded as early as July 1617, it can be inferred that objections were, in the first instance, for commercial and proprietorial reasons. The burgesses could understand distribution being handled by booksellers and printers, but not by a government official. Also, by the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the sense was growing of burgh responsibility for the condition of burgh education, and the prescription of texts for schools and colleges was felt to be properly their concern and, in the case of liturgy, for they and their kirk session to administer if not to prescribe. That a compromise over *God and the King* was reached in 1618 owes something to the good sense of all concerned.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ GBR, 1, 344 and GCA. C.1.1.8 (21 May, 1625); GBR, 2, 21 and GCA. C.1.1.9 (24 May, 1634). The immediate reaction of Aberdeen is unknown, but they will have been represented at the convention.

⁸⁰ Also important was the willingness of the king to carry controversial issues, where possible, through the appropriate constitutional body, in this case the convention of burghs.

This is in stark contrast to the controversy surrounding the introduction of the 'Laud' Prayer Book (or 'Service Book') in 1637. Then the book's imposition by royal proclamation galvanised opposition, led to the signing of the National Covenant, and forced Charles I to concede the damaging general assembly of November 1638. There was not though the unanimity of purpose that seemed to characterise the burgh approach to *God and the King*. The speed with which the Edinburgh council petitioned the privy council in September 1637, two days after a petition of peers, gentry and clergy was issued against the Prayer Book, and the quickly duplicated actions by Glasgow in November, show close concurrence.⁸¹ Aberdeen council, however, refused for a second time to sign the Covenant in July 1638, and greeted with some enthusiasm the 'King's Covenant' presented to it in October 1638 by the second marquis of Huntly.⁸² Nonetheless, the Prayer Book's introduction represented the most authoritarian prescription of a printed text in the early modern period, and many councillors and clergy would simply not cooperate.

A quantitative comparison of the levels of censorship before and after the Reformation is very difficult, given that the book trade was so relatively small before 1560. Books were certainly burned before and after. The post-Reformation role of the burghs as independent censors, and as agents of government policies against the undesirable, was extremely significant. Burgh or central censorship could be *a priori* or *a posteriori* in application (see chapter 6), but the latter was the most familiar - that is, censorship after the fact. Censoring of this kind was aimed at individual titles and authors. As early as August 1562 the Protestant magistrates of Edinburgh raided the press shop of John Scot as he was in the process of printing *The Last Blast of the Trumpet*, written by the Catholic controversialist Ninian Winzet. Twelve months later they confiscated Scot's type for further indiscretions. The following March the council put the type in the safe hands of

⁸¹ *EBR*, 7, 195-6. (22 September); *ibid.*, 197. (18 October). *GBR*, 1, 385 and *GCA*. C.1.1.10 (11 November, 1637); *GBR*, 1, 386 and *GCA*. C.1.1.10 (26 February, 1638).

⁸² *ABR*, 1. 136. (5 October 1638).

Bassandyne, although it seems that Scot had them back, and was printing again by 1567.⁸³

A hundred years later a more wide-ranging campaign was waged against Samuel Rutherford's *Lex Rex*, and James Guthrie's *Causes of the Lord's Wrath*. These popular works had been published by the famous Protestors in 1644 and 1653 respectively but, in response to a 1660 act of the committee of estates, the Edinburgh council directed 'the burning of the said twa books publictly at the mercatt cross of Edinburgh be the hand of the hangman'. Guthrie himself was executed in 1661, although Rutherford was fortunate to die before he could suffer the same fate. Certainly, the council seem entirely to accept the judgment of the estates that these works should be obliterated. It is one measure of the complete capitulation of the town council to the requirements of the Restoration regime.⁸⁴

Glasgow and Aberdeen councils also flexed their muscles to attack specific publications and circulating papers, although it is sometimes frustrating that their contents and titles are unspecified. In 1669 the Glasgow council was instructed to assist in the suppression of a paper passing within the synod of Glasgow as it was 'of a dangerous nature, tending towards the depraving of the laws and misconstruing of his Majesty and council, and illegal and unwarrantable'.⁸⁵ Seven years later bailie Gilbert Black of Aberdeen reported to his council his seizing of a Quaker book as it was being

⁸³ Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 155-156. ECR, 4, 79 (26 September 1653); *ibid.*, 79 margin note. (21 March 1564). Scott may have lingered in prison for some time.

⁸⁴ The edition of *Lex Rex* from 1644 has no printer in the imprint, only Edinburgh, but Robert Bryson was the likely printer. [Aldis. no.1144.7]; *Causes of the Lord's Wrath* was printed by the Heirs of George Anderson in Edinburgh in 1653. Johnston of Wariston was probably at least co-author. [Aldis no. 1472]. The proclamation against the books was printed by a Society of Stationers in 1660. [Aldis. no. 1663]. EBR, 9. 217-8. (17 October 1660).

⁸⁵ *Charters and Documents of Glasgow*. ii, 355.nos. 773 and 781: RPC, iii, 3, 78; *ibid.*, 82 and 84. Paper entitled 'a remonstrance'.

printed by John Forbes, the younger, - it was agreed to take advice from the bishop.⁸⁶ This was part of the campaign against the Quakers mounted by Aberdeen and Edinburgh councillors in the 1670s. In Aberdeen prejudices re-emerged after 1710, when Quakers seeking burgesship sought exemption from the burgess oath, and its presbyterian flavour. Eventually in 1714, after they repeatedly refused to allow this exemption, petitioned the privy council in London and ignored the rulings of the lord advocate, Aberdeen's magistrates were forced into acceptance, under pain of imprisonment, by an irritated Westminster parliament! As ever the city fathers were acutely reactionary. Edinburgh appears to have been more tolerant after 1710 than it was in the 1670s, but at their worst local acts, such as those regulating the burial of Quaker dead, were oppressive in both burghs.⁸⁷

Much ado about anonymous cases becomes even more frequent in the eighteenth century. In February 1712 Samuel Gray brought an action against Mr James Webster, one of the ministers of the town who, when the magistrates were examining printers and booksellers as to the publishing and selling of an 'aethistical' book, publicly accused Dr. Archibald Pitcairne of being an atheist.⁸⁸ The title of this 'aethistical' work is a mystery, but the reference is indicative of a change in attitude to book publishing as well. As we enter the eighteenth century *a posteriori* censorship cases involving printed slander became increasingly common.⁸⁹ The shift to the manners of

⁸⁶ Edmond believes the book was published anyway, and was probably *Quakerism Confirmed* by Robert Barclay and George Keith. Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, 121-122.

⁸⁷ For references to the prosecution of Quakers in Aberdeen see ACR. 54, 495; ACR, 55, 209; *ibid.*, 353, 561, 628; ACR, 56, 288. For the oath issue see ACR. 58, 213; *ibid.*, 262, 291, 366. Also, for Edinburgh acts against Quakers of 1676: ECR, 28, 125; *ibid.*, 144, in which Quakers and Catholics were fined and imprisoned in the same manner.

⁸⁸ MB. 166. 6435.

⁸⁹ For examples of such printed libel cases before the bailie court of Edinburgh in 1732 and 1747 see MB. 172. 6769 (case against printer Robert Drummond); MB. 164. 6331 (case against four printers for libel printed in *Edinburgh Courant*). Defamation had also

Enlightenment gentility made it more vital than ever to protect reputations.

The resort to *a priori* censorship - the advance warning to book makers and sellers to guard their future behaviour, not to print without authorisation, or produce and sell certain types of books - was less common. However, during times of particular anxiety, such measures were deemed appropriate. When in 1564 the types of Scot were put in the hands of Bassandyne, the magistrates made it clear that henceforth 'thair sall nathing be print quhill the samyn be first schewin to the baillies and counsale and thair licence had and obtenit thairto'. In particular, the council wished to prevent the printing of 'ony ungodlie wark'. They may have been reacting to pressure from the government, although no major new national censorship legislation had been introduced since that of 1551/2. The same censorship authority was emphasised in Lekpreuik's warning of June 1570. Yet, the Scot affair was the first example of magistrates asserting the right to authorise printing, and it reveals them as committed as the general assembly to the censoring of unacceptable religious works, in spite of the assembly's act of 1563 which claimed kirk jurisdiction over printing, and publishing 'tuiching religion'.⁹⁰ The clergy were, nevertheless, always in the background and had many burgh allies, especially in the Edinburgh council. Prompted by ministers, Glasgow magistrates also issued an act in 1608 'for repressing of ... cokalandis (scandalous speeches) oft publist and set out ... be profane and insolent personis, express contrar the acts of parliament and all Christiene behaviour in reformit commowne weillis'.⁹¹

become a common subject of Edinburgh commissary court cases. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 177.

⁹⁰ ECR, 4. 79 (21 March 1564 and margin note of 26 September 1563); Lekpreuik: ECR, 4, 256. (2 June 1570). For a discussion of censorship at this time see Julian Goodare, 'Parliament and Society in Scotland, 1560-1603', (PhD, Edinburgh, 1987), 346-404 and chapter 6 below.

⁹¹ GCA. C.1.1.6 (12 March, 1608). The word 'cockalan' indicates a comic or ludicrous representation, but also a scandalous speech or libel published abroad. The meaning in

Sometimes a one off difficulty with a single printer led to a general statement of town authority. After John Forbes, the younger, was rebuked by the Aberdeen council in 1683, for publishing a medical pamphlet without permission of the university and its medical doctors, it was made clear to him that 'he must print no pamphlets or books without the magistrates and counsellis authoritie therto, and inspection takin therof'. Fifteen years earlier Forbes was playing a more dangerous game. The Aberdeen town council had agreed in 1668 to pay John Menzies, professor of divinity, for putting to press his disputation with the Jesuit Mr. Dempster, alias 'Logane' or 'Rhind'. However, an answer to Menzies by Alexander Cone seems to have been published anonymously by Forbes, perhaps resorting to an overseas press. This is extraordinary, for Forbes was certainly not a Catholic. We are left to ponder if he had a Catholic patron amongst the landed of the North East.⁹²

In the early years of the eighteenth century Scotland's magistrates, especially those of Edinburgh, became more and more concerned to shut off the tap of dissent before it became a flood. In October 1703 the Edinburgh council, prompted by an ordinance of privy council that no work be printed without authorization, and feeling some pressure exerted by the lords 'for not restraining the said printers' who had 'transgressed this ordinance', declared: printers 'shall not for heirafter print any bookes pamphlets or other papers whatsoever unless duly allowed by publick authority under the penalty of loosing the freidome of the burgh and otherwayes fyned and punished at the will of the Magistrates'. In addition, all Edinburgh printers were to 'affix their names' to their productions, a requirement frequently ignored throughout the early modern period, and also to give bonds of caution for their behaviour. Such a bond was signed by John Reid, the younger, in 1711 'under penalty of ane hundreded

this 1608 case may be a combination of both. See John Jamieson *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, (Paisley, 1879-87), i, 464.

⁹² ACR, 57, 73. (31 August 1683). For the Dempster affair see ABR, 2, 247-248. (15 January 1668). Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, 109-111. John Forbes, younger, seems to have worked for Catholics and Quakers!

pound Scotts money'. Central authority took the initiative in censorship, but relied upon the magistrates as policemen, and especially after the demise of the privy council in 1708.⁹³

The most remarkable period of burgh authoritarianism in censorship was reserved for 1712 and, perhaps surprisingly, not 1714-15. Only a few months after the Toleration Act in February of that year, the Edinburgh magistrates frantically attempted to help dissipate the anger of those who saw this as an attack on the presbyterian system as settled after the Revolution and the Treaty of Union. In July, the printers John Moncur and Robert Brown were bound over for respectively printing two critical papers entitled *The Protest of the Lords* and *The Dying Words of James Shepherd*. In the same month a group of other printers were called before the magistrates and effectively threatened. The sharp, brief words of a burgh officer show how seriously the magistrates understood their responsibilities and the potential dangers:

[I have] personally warned John McKie printer in Edinburgh, John Reid, the elder, John Reid, younger, and James Watson all printers in Edinburgh to compier before the magistrates of Edinburgh in the Council Chambers ... the 3rd of Julie 1712 years by me William McNair, officer.⁹⁴

This is a rare example in Scottish book history of a group of senior book makers being summoned *en masse* and warned to mind their conduct. Behind this was the heavy hand of the government.

A variety of measures and tactics were open to the magistrates as they battled against undesirable literature. Confiscation, of printers' materials, sheets and books, was common, as testified by the examples of John Scot's type in 1562, and the Quaker books of John Forbes in 1676.⁹⁵ There were frequent efforts to search for undesirable works, and especially Catholic texts after the Reformation. In 1584, a

⁹³ EBR. 13, 63. (29 October 1703). The privy council supported these burgh initiatives in April 1704. see SRO.PC1. 53, 196. MB. 156. 5974. (16 August 1711).

⁹⁴ MB. 154. 5968. An interesting bundle of bonds of caution and for keeping the peace to the magistrates 1706-19, in which McNair's note is to be found.

⁹⁵ ECR, 4, 79; ABR, 2, 294

Frenchman called de Fontaine was 'arested by the bailies as [his cofferis were] suspect to contene papist buikis', and it was only on the intervention of the Arran government that the Edinburgh council was forced to return his goods, presumably as he was innocent. The burgesses agreed to search the cofferis of a suspicious Italian in 1593, looking for 'popish' books, and in April 1595, a Hary Younger, was commmissioned as searcher depute at Leith, an entry point for Catholic literature from the continent. Also, only weeks after the Restoration, the council appointed the treasurer to seize the 'Popish books pertaining to Johne Inglis out of the dwelling hous of George Mayne who sent them to Scotland'.⁹⁶

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that the anti-Catholic campaign was prosecuted with equal fervour throughout the land. The council records offer little insight to the attitude of Glasgow, although the ministers of the Glasgow diocese were as concerned as any in the land as seen in their petition to the privy council in 1673.⁹⁷ Aberdeen's burgesses were clearly more tolerant throughout our period, even in the immediate years after the Reformation. The church courts in the North East did, however, become exercised by the Catholic problem in the 1660s and 1670s (see chapter 2). Certainly Catholicism was not swept away from Aberdeen in 1560. King's College remained Catholic until 1567, and many of the clergy found it possible to be simultaneously members of both churches, as is seen by the presence of Catholics in the kirk sessions.⁹⁸ The council also acted as protectors of the Catholic clergy, although this continued in a 'semi-surreptitious' way, and with the background of the magistrates imposing the official religious texts on chaplainries. The most

⁹⁶ ECR, 7,112; EBR, 5, 81. (2 February 1593); *ibid.*, 131. (9 April 1595); ECR, 9, 205. (11 July 1660). The Inglis case came before the privy council in November - he was banished from the kingdom. RPC, iii, i, 72-3 and 84-5.

⁹⁷ RPC, iii, 4, 111.

⁹⁸ It was only in 1567, after the deposition of Mary, that parliament decreed that colleges and schools should be reformed. There is evidence from the Thirds of the Benefices that this could also happen in Glasgow. see J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577*, (1977), 234-6.

astonishing example is that of Thomas Menzies of Pitfodells, provost and post-Reformation head of the Menzies mafia that had dominated Aberdeen council politics since James III. Menzies sheltered his own Catholic chaplain within his house, a certain John Failford, a former prior of the Carmelites. This arrangement continued until Failford's death in 1576, but before then the chaplain had, at least until 1572, been in regular receipt of Catholic books from the continent.⁹⁹ Thus Leith was not the only, nor probably the major, entrepot of Catholic texts after 1560.

Book burning was, of course, the sport of the censor. In November 1596, the Edinburgh council concluded that forty eight 'popish' books 'set furth aganes Mr. Robert Bruce' should be delivered to be burnt. Thus, just weeks before the Edinburgh presbyterian riots of December 1596, the council were protecting the reputation of a major presbyterian. 'Episcopalian' councils also burnt papers and books, as did the Edinburgh magistrates in 1682, and even as late as 1734 Stirling magistrates instructed that certain books 'being false' were to be burnt at the market cross.¹⁰⁰

Book owners were punished as well as books (see chapter 6). The most repressive sanction meted out by the magistrates was imprisonment, and for thief or deviant printer this was always a grim prospect. Resorting to this extremity coincided with those periods when the authorities were most concerned to censor the printed word. In the 1560s and 1570s, the printers Scot and Lekpreuik were imprisoned for perhaps five to six years each.¹⁰¹ Three days after the Edinburgh riot of 17 December 1596, the council minutes record the

⁹⁹ John Stuart (ed.), *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, (1842), ii, 43; *Calendar of State Papers (Scotland)*, 4, no.168.

¹⁰⁰ *EBR*, 5, 166. (5 November 1596); *ECR*, 31, 101. (18 January 1682); R. Renwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, 1667-1752*, (1889), [SBR], appendix (1471-1752), 359.

¹⁰¹ Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 155-6; *ibid.*, 204-5. Lekpreuik was arrested for printing *Ane Dialogue or mutual talking betwixt a clerk and ane Courtier concerning for Parishe Kirkes till ane minster*.

imprisonment on behalf of the government of the booksellers Edward and James Cathkin, and Andro Hart, along with a number of ministers and burgesses.¹⁰² And, of course, nearly a century later the Edinburgh council, in the grips of the 1712 toleration crisis, imprisoned the printers John Moncur and Robert Brown.

Considering all the weapons of censorship at the disposal of the Scottish burghs, it is possible to get a general picture of those phases of local government anxiety that led to repressive action. Firstly, there were the 1560s and 1570s, when the Edinburgh council, though not yet Aberdeen or Glasgow, first became involved in censorship, at this time on behalf of the Reformation party. Then, in the 1590s, a strongly presbyterian, and Melvillian, Edinburgh council sought to censor Catholic and undesirable Protestant works before it was eclipsed by King James in December 1596. A surprisingly becalmed atmosphere characterised burgh regulation of the press in the 1620s and 1690s. In the 1660s, the new Restoration regime was anxious to assert control over undesirable literature, from *Lex Rex* to Catholic pamphlets, and Glasgow and Aberdeen began to exert some independent initiatives relevant to their own book trades. Lastly, there was the period from 1709 to 1712, at the end of which a general concern over censorship exploded in the summer of 1712 during the crisis over toleration. As will be seen below, periods of local activity did not always entirely match those of the centre. And yet the printers who felt the 'lash' of the bailies and magistrates were left in no doubt where power resided at local level, even though after 1660 town authority appeared more than ever to respond to promptings from the government. A victim's sense of resignation, fear and powerlessness is captured in the following bond of the printer John Reid written, in a rough and shaky hand, from his cell in 1709:

¹⁰² EBR, 5, 172. (20 December 1596).

Be it known to all men ... me John Reid, elder, printer in Edinburgh for as much as I am incarsirated in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh by the magistrates order for my printing a scurrulous paper ... against some persons and that the magistrates of Edinburgh are content to set me at liberty upon my granting of their [condition that I] shall in no time print any pamphlet or such paper from whence there may arise any complaint. (Served under the penalty of £200 Scots at the Baillie Court, witnesses Alex. Henderson, bookseller, John Reid, junior and Robert Seton).¹⁰³

¹⁰³ MB. 156. 5974. Unfortunately the identity of the scurrilous paper is unknown. For a discussion on the trends of censorship see chapter 6.

Publishers and Patrons

The burgh authorities behaved as publishers in direct and indirect ways: directly in the 'part-sponsorship' of printed works, the meeting of full costs of publication, or as distributors, such as with *God and the King* from 1619 to the 1630s; indirectly through patronage and the recognition of dedications. Burgh activity in 'part-sponsorship' or subscription of publications was mainly concerned with official business. Thus, in 1563, the burgh of Stirling agreed to lend £10 to Robert Lekpreuik 'for prenting of new buikis concludit by the kirk', an investment that relates to the wider burgh support for Calvin's Catechism printed by Lekpreuik the following year. In the secular field, in 1608 the Edinburgh council made a payment to the clerk register to defer the costs of printing the laws of the kingdom, and the next year Glasgow contributed £100, again to the clerk register, for printing the *Regiam Majestatem* executed by Finlason later that year.¹⁰⁴ Sponsorship for the enhancement of burgh pride can be seen when Glasgow and Aberdeen in 1641, and Edinburgh in 1647, paid James Colquhoune and James Gordon to produce maps of their burghs for inclusion in the Blaeu atlases published in Amsterdam in 1654 and 1662.¹⁰⁵

Edinburgh, in particular, felt a responsibility to finance the numerous celebratory and dedicatory texts to the king. In 1614, the Edinburgh council agreed to pay Alexander Yule (Julius) for Latin

¹⁰⁴ R. Renwick, (ed.), *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling, 1124-1705*, (1884), 211. (9 January 1563) [Aldis. no. 42.5]; *EBR*, 6, 46. (21 October 1608); *GBR*, 1, 300 and *GCA*. C.1.1. 7 (25 February 1609).[Aldis. nos. 416/417].

¹⁰⁵ *GBR*, 1, 430 and *GCA*. C.1.1.10 (12 June 1641); *EBR*, 8, 116. (2 April 1647), see also details over payments *ECR*, 19, 322 and *EBR*, 9, 121. Colquhoune's map of Glasgow was for the sketch used in the map of Clydesdale in the *Atlas Novus* (1654); Gordon's work for Aberdeen was to help prepare a description that appeared in the *Atlas Major* (1662) and also a separate printed plan, and Gordon's Edinburgh work, provided details for the Lothian map in *Atlas Major* as well as a printed plan of the capital.

poems regretting the death of Prince Henry in 1612, and celebrating the marriage of Princess Elizabeth - they had already been printed by Finlason, and were subsequently reprinted in London. In celebration of the visit of King James to Scotland in 1617, the council paid 'Mr. Henry Charteris (son of the printer of the same name) and the other [college] regents 200 li for the expense of printing their books dedicated to the king', and also in 1618 paid Finlason for producing the 'greit buik of the Kingis welcome', which was presented to James when he entered Edinburgh that summer. Similar council initiatives were carried out to celebrate Charles I's coronation visit in 1633. This small scale output stretched to the more overtly political, such as the swift printing and publishing of Charles II's warrant for the committee of estates to meet in 1660, or the payment made in 1714 to David Fearn, author of the *Edinburgh Gazette*, for printing 'the way and manner of the Solemnity of the Proclaiming George Duke of Brunswich Luxemburg to be King of Great Britain'.¹⁰⁶ The bailies and magistrates quickly fell into the Restoration and Hanoverian firmament.

Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh became active in larger and less exclusive publishing ventures, and all three particularly from the late 1650s, although sometimes before that period. In most cases the author dedicated his work to the appropriate council. In Edinburgh a variety of projects were taken on including, in 1627, the financing of John Adamson, principal of the college in Edinburgh, to prepare and print a catechism for the use of the college, and in 1706 the payment of £50 to George Mosman to produce 300 copies of the Edinburgh acts of council.¹⁰⁷ But it was in the provision of school books that the Edinburgh burghesses excelled, and it is likely that smaller burghs took stock from the capital. In 1658, the council asked Thomas Crawford to prepare a Latin Rudiments for the burgh schools, in part based on a manuscript he had already shown to the council. A more carefully

¹⁰⁶ *EBR*, 6, 115. (20 April 1614); *ibid.*, 166. (24 September 1617); *ibid.*, 181. (23 September 1618). See also council agreement to make book 25 June 1617, *ibid.*, 159; *EBR*, 7, 167. (30 September 1635); *EBR*, 9, 432 in 'Miscellaneous Papers appendix X. 1612-1821'. (29 May 1661). [Aldis no. 1718]. *EBR*, 9, 208. (7 August 1660); *EBR*, 13, 272. (11 August 1714).

¹⁰⁷ *EBR*, 7, 29. (29 June 1627); *EBR*, 13, 117. (11 September 1706).

planned attempt was made in 1660 to prepare a new Rudiments for use at the grammar school, this time written by Mr. Johne Hume, master of the school. In July of that year, it was agreed to produce a small quantity of forty copies for 'speidie tryell and examinatioun'. Just nineteen days later Gideon Lithgow presented these samples and, with unusual swiftness, was paid for his pains within two weeks. Edinburgh's commitment to supplying its schools with books continued into the next century. In 1701 the printer and bookseller George Mosman was paid £51 for supplying books for the 'high school', though it is not clear if these were supplied in his capacity as printer or bookseller.¹⁰⁸

Aberdeen council provided a different publishing profile, and this resulted from its very close relationship with the colleges, mostly, though not exclusively, Marischal College. The council was prepared to publish a number of sermons and academic works, finance being particularly forthcoming if the text was dedicated to the provost, bailies and magistrates. In 1633 Raban was paid by the burgh to print a tract by Robert Barron, suitably dedicated, and also verses written by David Wedderburn and George Robertson. Again, with full dedication to the council, it was agreed in 1657 to pay for the publication of a book by William Douglas, professor of divinity, entitled *Psalmodia Ecclesiastico Divina Vindicata*, one of the few books printed by James Brown.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile, the motives behind the main publishing ventures of the burgh of Glasgow were very similar to those of Edinburgh - the provision of texts for schools. The Glasgow council in November 1690 paid a John Pojolas £60 for printing a French grammar, as well as giving him £100 to help with the establishment of a French school. Almost sixty years earlier, the same burgh paid £40 to John Aitcheson, 'dreilmaster', for the supply of 220 books on exercises

¹⁰⁸ EBR, 9, 109. (28 July 1658). Crawford died in 1662 and probably before the work could be completed. EBR, 9, 205. (6 July 1660). For commission of Lithgow and payment see *ibid.*, 207 and 210. EBR, 12, 278. (11 April 1701).

¹⁰⁹ ACR, 52(1), 115. (19 June 1633); ABR, 2, 165, Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, 98. (1 April 1657) [Aldis no. 1566]

for the young, but at terms which made the burgh a little profit.¹¹⁰ Even the promotion of moral and physical welfare could be accompanied by a little profit-making.

There are difficulties differentiating burgh patronage from active burgh publishing, although the extent of patronage was great, and there are many specific illustrations of these indirect associations with book dissemination. As with direct publishing activity, it was only around the Restoration that patronage became a major preoccupation of town councils. Earlier occurrences, like the payment made to Peter Ewatt for a book dedicated to the Edinburgh council in 1621, and that of 200 merks to William Merse for printing poetry dedicated to Aberdeen council in 1633, were relatively unusual.¹¹¹ Both of these events appear to be retrospective patronage, where author or printer dedicated a book to the appropriate burgh in the hope of encouraging council largesse. Within this category was the payment to James Corse for dedicating his almanac to the Glasgow council in 1661, and the 200 merks paid by Edinburgh in 1684 to George Sinclair, schoolmaster of Leith, for having 'complemented the haill Counsell' with his book on religious controversy *The Trueths victorie over eror*.¹¹² Nevertheless, there are a number of instances of book patronage, also after 1660, which go beyond a mere reaction to gifts and dedications, and suggest an increasing role for bailies and magistrates as group patrons. The most striking example in Aberdeen began in 1663 when 100 merks was given by the council to John Forbes, the elder, printer and author of *Cantus, Songs and Fancies*. Forbes dedicated the work to the council, as he did with his 1666 edition, as also his son for the revised edition of 1682 which resulted in a burgh gratuity of £100. The council's

¹¹⁰ GBR, 3, 175 and Extract of Accounts, 520. GCA. C.1.1.18 (29 November 1690); GBR, 2, 15 and GCA. C.1.1.9 (24 August 1633).

¹¹¹ EBR, 6, 225. (22 August 1621); ABR, 1, 59. (4 June 1633).

¹¹² GBR, 2, 469. (1 October 1661) (see above for Corse and almanacs); EBR, 11, 99. (18 January 1684). Aldis shows the author as David Dickson. Perhaps Sinclair abridged the work.[Aldis no. 2497]. Printed by John Reid, elder.

enthusiasm for the project stemmed from its desire to maintain the strong reputation of Aberdeen for music and song schools.¹¹³

The Glasgow burgesses were also active patrons from the 1660s. In 1662 John Anderson, one of the doctors of the burgh grammar school, was made a gift of 'twentie dollouris ... for divers respectis, and for dedicating a book to the magistratis', although none of his books has survived. Fifteen years later the burgesses agreed to pay the distinguished Latin poet Niniane Patersone £10 sterling to assist with the printing of a book dedicated to the council. The book referred to forms part of his *Epigrammatum Libri Octo Cum aliquor Psalmorum Paraphrasi Poetica* of 1678.¹¹⁴

Edinburgh's gift of £20 sterling to James Sutherland in 1684, following the publication of his herbal *Hortus medicus Edinburgensis* (1683), reflects the magistrates' appetite for the new scientific learning of the Enlightenment.¹¹⁵ Indeed, Sutherland's herbal, and the wide and fertile stream of burgh publishing and patronage of which it was a part, provide clear evidence of a trend in book fashion, and the scale of publishing activity. From the late 1650s, and before the Restoration, the councils of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen started to become increasingly involved in publishing initiatives, and this tempo increased as we move towards the start of the eighteenth century. Patronage by Scotland's magistrates also broadened in the same period, although it seems not to have taken off until after 1660. The post-Restoration atmosphere of deference, gentility, and royal and noble retrenchment, was entirely conducive to the growth of patronage. As long as the demand was religious and

¹¹³ ABR, 2, 206. (18 March 1663) and ABR, 2, 302. (19 April 1682). See Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xxxviii - xlv.

¹¹⁴ GBR, 2, 482-3 and GCA. C.1.1.14 (22 March 1662); GBR, 3, 243 and 'Extract of Accounts', 500 and GCA. C.1.1.16 (29 September 1677). [Aldis no. 2134].

¹¹⁵ ECR, 31, 87 and EBR, 11, 25. (22 October 1684). [Aldis no. 2433]. Sutherland's *Hortus medicus Edinburgensis* (1683) was a remarkable book based on some 2000 species of plants already in the Physic Garden. The author would go on to become professor of botany at the Edinburgh college in 1695.

educational the Cromwellian years were not, of course, a complete barrier to council publishing efforts. However, the greater incidence thereafter of books of poetry, music, and science, as well as the news books and almanacs, confirms that the interests of the magistrates mirrored those in Scottish society as a whole. This was not a movement to destroy the demand for religious and pious works, but to supplement it with a new diversity. It was a recognition by patrons, publishers, printers and booksellers that after 1660 something more than reflections on 'god and the king' was desired by the reading public.

Letters and Learning and the Burgh Contribution

A sense of 'bookishness' characterised the early modern town council. Early references in the council records testify to this, such as in the 1590s when Glasgow council are found borrowing books from one another, and in the first half of the seventeenth century when Edinburgh burgesses rejoice at occasional gifted volumes. From the 1650s a regular engagement with the minutia of book culture is evident. Glasgow becomes obsessed with the need for printed news from the late 1650s. Numerous books were gifted to Edinburgh, such as those presented by Thomas Sydserf, the ageing and deposed bishop of Brechin and Galloway, in 1659.¹¹⁶ With much deliberation and sense of obligation the 'printing' burghs employed a succession of college librarians for their respective colleges. The management of mortifications and gifts, of premises, and even lending procedures was carried out with much conscientiousness, and the most frequent book references in the council records of the main burghs are those relating to their college libraries. Edinburgh in particular, with the largest collection, became obsessed with efficient catalogue printing, the correct temperature for book storage, and even in 1697 the need to ban women from the college library! Generally, Aberdeen and Glasgow were less concerned for the fabric of buildings and books which suggests that their colleges, with admittedly smaller libraries, developed a more independent approach after council involvement in their initial foundation.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ GBR, 1, 150. (31 March 1590); EBR, 9, 142. (23 March 1659).

¹¹⁷ A detailed study of the college libraries is beyond the scope of this research. For references to the formation of the respective libraries see: Edinburgh, EBR, 4, 175. (28 August 1580); *ibid.*, 350. (18 September 1584); ECR, 8, 157 and EBR, 4, 518. (24 April 1588); Aberdeen (Marischal): for details of bequests, appointment of Douny, first librarian, and delivery of high kirk library see ACR, 52 and ABR, 1, 40-45. (8 February 1632); ACR, 45, 128 1611; ACR, 47, 490. 1616; Glasgow: *Glasgow Munimenta*, iii, 411, see also Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577*, 310; GBR, 1, 365 and GCA. C.1.1.8 (5 April 1628); GBR, 1, 370 and GCA. C.1.1.8 (6 June 1629) ; GBR, 2, 1 and GCA.

Bookishness and responsibility came hand in hand. For individuals bibles could be supplied for the needy, while for the wider community civic duty demanded the provision of schools.¹¹⁸ Sometimes council involvement with schools was oblique, with the patronage of texts, such as the Forbes song books in Aberdeen from 1663, or Hume's *Rudiments* in Edinburgh from the 1660s. More directly the councils sought to license, equip and even pontificate over curricula. Nevertheless, there were periods of sustained and periods of occasional activity.

The council records of the three main 'book burghs' show that during the years 1656 to 1663 a remarkable degree of business was carried out concerning schools, and that either side of this frantic spell was relative inertia. But why should these years be so dynamic? Support for the view that the last years of the Cromwellian period were not so devastating to Scotland's economic prosperity, has gained credibility from Devine's analysis of the economic recovery of Aberdeen and Glasgow before the Restoration.¹¹⁹ Also, estimates of the numbers of active book traders in provincial centres, especially bookbinders and booksellers, indicate that numbers began to increase from 1650 (see chapter 7). Although, in the early 1650s, book trade activity levels dropped in Edinburgh, at no time did national levels fall below those for the first four decades of the seventeenth century.

C.1.1.9 (22 January 1631). Other dates, before foundation, for references concerning kirk library repairs 12 February 1631; 11 June 1631; 18 January 1634. It is something of a surprise that women were using the Edinburgh library in the first place. GCA. C.1.1.9. *EBR*, 12, 218-9, (25 August, 1697).

¹¹⁸ See Edinburgh council decision in 1611 to buy a bible for one of the burgh kirks, or that of Stirling in 1747 to buy 2 cheap bibles for the poor at a cost of £2.4s, although only after spending £87 in 1740 for 7 personal bibles for the burgh magistrates. The Edinburgh stationer James Jaffrey provided both with the more expensive no less than ten times more expensive! *EBR*, 6, 73. (31 May 1611); *SBR*, 1667-1752, 365. Michaelmas Accounts 1747; *ibid.*, 253. (12 February 1740).

¹¹⁹ T.M.Devine, 'The Cromwellian Union and the Scottish Burghs: the Case of Aberdeen and Glasgow, 1652-60' in John Butt and J. T. Ward (eds.), *Scottish Themes: Essays in honour of S.G.E. Lythe*, (1976), 1-16.

Therefore, the analysis of the Cromwellian depression must be qualified. In this chapter it has been shown that, in publishing activities, in the polite engagement with book culture and leisure, and in the desire for newssheets and diurnals, the late 1650s were the launching pad from which the cultural boom of the Restoration was propelled. The history of council concern over schools underpins this chronology, and helps to conflate the economic and cultural debate about the 1650s.

The council records reveal initiatives on burgh schools from the 1590s to 1640s, such as the formation of a new grammar school curriculum by Edinburgh in 1598, and the decision of Glasgow magistrates in 1639 that only 'four Inglish scooles an ane writing scool' were allowed in the burgh.¹²⁰ The end of this early, relatively disengaged stage arrived in 1656 with the decision of Glasgow council to pull down its old grammar school, and build again from scratch. Two years later the Edinburgh council agreed to finance the foundation of a library in their grammar school. Also, in 1658, the same council granted to James Chalmers 'libertie and licence to keip a common vulgar schooll ... for teaching of scholleris to read and wrytt Scotts and anlie to read Latine befor they goe to the Grammar School', and to James Corse, mathematician and almanac author, the right to open a public school for adults teaching 'Arithmetique Geometrie Astronomie and als utheris airts and Sciences belonging theirto as horometrie Planimetrie Geographie [and] Trigonometrie'.¹²¹ Foreign language schools became a new feature, especially in Edinburgh, and especially after the Restoration. In 1661, the Edinburgh council, in its role as superior, licensed a David Forbes to keep a vulgar school at Leith 'for teaching of young children to read and for aythmetick and to

¹²⁰ *EBR*, 5, 217. (21 July 1598). This reports a meeting that took place 9 January 1598. *GBR*, 1, 397 and *GCA*. C.1.1.10 (9 February 1639). For other Glasgow initiatives see *GCA*. C.1.1.8 (17 July, 1630); *GBR*, 2, 167 and *GCA*. C.1.1.12 (2 June 1649).

¹²¹ *GCA*. C.1.1.13 (15 February 1656); *GBR*, 2, 339 and *GCA*. C.1.1.13 (14 June 1656); *ECR*, 19, 267. (6 January 1658); *EBR*, 9, 81. (12 February 1658); *ibid.*, 93. (30 April 1658) (named sometimes Cors or Corse). The difference between Scots and English schools is not always clear.

keep a compt book and to teach Dutch'.¹²² In June 1662, the Edinburgh magistrates gave liberty to Jaques Bernadou to start a French school as did Glasgow to John Pojolas in 1690. Probably the most unusual school of this century was in Edinburgh and was licensed to a Mistress Christian Cleland in 1662 - pupils would learn 'reading wrytting singing playing danceing speaking of the French tongue arithmetick shewing imbrodering', and no doubt much else besides, in an institution with echoes of a nineteenth-century finishing school for girls!¹²³ Council education committees were to become a regular feature of burgh business at the turn of the century. In the deliberations concerning an overhaul of Edinburgh provision in 1710, the council were described by burgh academics as 'Honorable Patrons', and without a doubt through the expansion of schooling and reading the burgh councils were patrons of the printed word.¹²⁴

The burgh councils of Scotland, and certainly the three 'book burghs', were not mere passive spectators to the rise of reading and literacy in the early modern period. They responded to the challenges of simultaneously controlling books, and encouraging reading, with a mixture of self-interest, narrow dogmatism, high morality, fashionable gentility, commercial sensitivity, and literary curiosity. These generalised responses to the world of print were crucial to the development of the book trade - there was no organised guild of printers or booksellers which could prosecute an even greater degree of self-interest. Printers and booksellers were, and were not, a special case. However well-respected, they were subject to the codes of conduct befitting brother burgesses, and we have the examples of Edward Raban and his wife, imprisoned in Aberdeen for brawling in 1639, and the Edinburgh bookseller Robert Lindsay arrested in 1663 for keeping a

¹²² EBR, 9, 253. (15 August 1661).

¹²³ EBR, 9, 295. (2 June 1662); *ibid.*, 334. (6 November 1663); GBR, 3, 175 and GCA.

C.1.1.18 (29 November 1690) and see Extracts Accounts, 520; EBR, 9, 334. For a summary of Edinburgh schools see R.A. Houston, 'Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print in Enlightenment Edinburgh' *History*, 78, 254, (1993), 385-391.

¹²⁴ GBR, 4, 310. and GCA. C.1.1.21, 267 (24 October 1700); EBR, 13, 186-9. (8 February 1710).

'baudie hous', to prove the point.¹²⁵ When book makers fell on hard times, councils were prepared to provide help - alms were given to the poor bookseller James Brown in 1597, 200 merks to the destitute printer William Marshall in 1649, and in 1689 a pension was awarded to James Glen, stationer, in view of his great poverty, brought on by his arrest in 1687 for printing *the Root of Romish Rites*.¹²⁶ The brief reign of James VII had ruined his career. Therefore, only the council, outside the church, could provide relief for these men who had no guild to protect their welfare.

The lack of a trade guildry made it impossible for book makers to use that route to become councillors. However, membership of the merchant guild was the means of achieving high office, and for the wealthiest book makers membership was the norm. It was possible for the likes of Henry Charteris to become councillor and bailie, despite the fact that even wealthier men, such as Andro Hart, stood back from council affairs. Wealth could be the way to political influence, or equally provide the means to ignore it. In fact, the lack of council representation was not a serious disadvantage to book traders. Scotland's early modern councils have been accused of being bastions of paternalism and privilege, although this was their very source of strength for book history. These characteristics enabled the transmission of book culture, the benefits of council patronage, the willingness of the magistrates to act as publisher and employer, and the sense of civic purpose that saw books, libraries and schools as positive developments in an uncertain, secularising, and politically factional world.

¹²⁵ ACR, 52(2), 1749 (Burgh Court Book) (31 December 1639); EBR, 9, 317. (18 March 1663).

¹²⁶ EBR, 5, 178. (23 February 1597); EBR, 8, 206. (18 July 1649); EBR, 12, 22. (27 November 1689). For other details on James Glen see MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 60-61 and Plomer, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1641-67*, 83. (see chapter 2)

The pitfalls of historical source material do not need emphasis. The council records are certainly 'seldom better than laconic'.¹²⁷ Nonetheless, the burgh records provide a substantial framework to help construct the book history of Scotland. In the sphere of politics, the councils showed a considerable streak of independence until the 1650s, although in most instances they cooperated with censorship initiatives emanating from central government - by the time of the 1712 crisis the magistrates were effectively a weapon of the state. But the mid-century 'interregnum' was important. Publishing initiatives, the preoccupation with literary minutiae, without and within the council chamber, the desire for news information, the management of a growing number of library bequests, and the expansion of burgh education, point to a late 1650s watershed - the start of an historical 'gear change' where book culture and literacy expanded at a rapid and accelerating speed. It is true that the growth of patronage began after 1660, and that, after showing some increase in the late 1650s, the number of active book traders doubled between 1660 and 1680. Nevertheless, while the regal restoration came in 1660, the cultural revolution commenced in 1655. By 1660 a Scottish society, which before had been primarily besotted with religion, elite politics, kings, and faction, was gradually being infused with a new sense of polite culturalism, and mainly because it was reading more.

¹²⁷ Lynch, *Edinburgh*, 15.

Chapter 2

'great moyane with the clergy'¹: The Scottish Press and the Agenda of the Godly

Church Courts and Church History

Daniel Defoe, writing in 1706 and reflecting on the backward condition of Scotland, decribed it as 'the first sister to the Frozen Zone'.² Although the English novelist and pamphleteer is often admired for the frankness and realism of his journalism, this would not have been a fair judgement on Scottish cultural life at that time let alone 150 years earlier. The nation that produced, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the writings of John Major, John Vaus, and Hector Boece, a triumvirate of authors who gained an international audience and access to international presses, and also a youthful domestic press capable of Thomas Davidson's outstanding printing of Boece's *Hystory of the cronikilis of Scotland* (1526), was clearly not without intellectual and cultural merit. By the post-Restoration period Defoe's remark begins to look absurd.

It is axiomatic that in youthful civilised societies the most learned, wise and educated group are the engineers of public worship - the priests, ministers, monks, rabbis, and imams. The sixteenth-century clergy of Scotland, even before the Reformation, which was not the period of universal darkness that Protestantism sometimes suggests, was considerably engaged with literate culture. Before and

¹ 'Information anent his Majestie's Printers in Scotland', from James Maidment (ed.), *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, (1844), i 300. Words of printer James Bryson, written in 1641, describing the patent of king's printer being awarded to Robert Young on account of his intimacy with bishops.

² Daniel Defoe, *Caledonia: A Poem*, (1706), 1.

after the Reformation clerical involvement in the literature of the day, the mechanics of education at school and in college, the collection of books in libraries for personal and group instruction, and the development of contacts in the international sphere of ideas and knowledge was commonplace. There are two faces of this engagement - the private and the public. The main concern of this chapter is with the latter.

The most important sources of church history in the early modern period are the surviving records of the post-Reformation court hierarchy rising from kirk session to presbytery, synod and general assembly, with the addition of high commission and church commission records. Matters of general policy or appeals from lower courts were the main business of the general assembly and synods, and discipline of individuals, clerical or lay, fell to the kirk sessions with close monitoring by the presbyteries. Generalisations are dangerous, however, because the competence of each level of the hierarchy varied according to whether the regime was presbyterian or episcopalian, and when the latter a considerable degree of personal authority rested with the bishops. In addition, the ecclesiastical court of high commission, which existed from 1610 to 1638 and 1664 to c1666, considered those serious religious disciplinary matters that would have fallen at other times to the general assembly, with support and ratification by the privy council. Although no general assembly was convened from 1653 to 1690, after 1666 this form of discipline was devolved down to diocesan bishops and synods, or up to the privy council. Cases concerning book publishing, censorship and any other matter where the printed word and book regulation were involved followed the above court procedures, just as did breaches of canonical law on marriage, adultery or other misdemeanours. Nonetheless, these courts were not only for the hearing of cases, and the minutes show the involvement of the ministers and elders in many aspects concerned with printing and publishing.³

³ For an introduction to Scottish church courts see Gordon Donaldson, 'The Church Courts' in *Introduction to Scottish Legal History*, (Stair Society, 1958), 363-373 and James Kirk, (ed.) *The Records of The Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, 1589-96, 1640-*

Court records over many years should offer the opportunity for research in both a vertical and horizontal manner, that is into the relationship between lower and higher courts, and the regional variations between, say, the presbyteries of Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh. Unfortunately, the horizontal approach already used in research for town councils is impractical for the church courts as so many records have been destroyed by fire. The Edinburgh presbytery lost its registers covering the period 1638 to May 1701 in a conflagration in October 1701 and, although the account of the clerk Nicoll Spence, leaping from his window to save the then current volume, is highly colourful, the tragedy is very frustrating for the historian.⁴ In the case of the presbytery of Aberdeen no records exist from 1611 to 1672, and for the Glasgow presbytery, while the records are almost complete from 1592 to 1727, they were damaged by fire in 1793 to the point where deciphering is extremely difficult. More widely

49, [LTSR], (Stair Society, 1977), i-viii. The use of these courts with regard to discipline is colourfully summarised in Smout, *Scottish People, 1560-1830*, (1969), 74-81. For the high commission see George McMahon, 'The Scottish Courts of High Commission, 1610-38', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xv, prt iii, (1965), 193-209. But of course there are a number of secondary sources which are important, such as I.B.Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, (1982); D. Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution, 1644-51*, (London, 1977), *The Scottish Revolution, 1637-44*, (Newton Abbot, 1973) and 'A Revolutionary Regime and the Press: the Scottish Covenanters and their Printers, 1638-51', *The Library*, sixth series, ii, (1985), 315-337; M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, (1981), with especially excellent appendices, and 'Calvinism in Scotland, 1559-1638' in M. Prestwich ed, *International Calvinism, 1541-1715*, (Oxford, 1985), probably the most concise summary of these years although it draws some debatable conclusions on the relative strength of the church parties; D. G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland, 1560-1638*, (1986); J. Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk*, (1989); G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, (Cambridge, 1960), and A. I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625-41*, (1991).

⁴ SRO. Church Records CH2/171/4, 73-4. Edinburgh Presbytery Records, May 1701-October 1703,

known is the destruction of general assembly records in the great fire at Westminster in 1834, and the loss of almost all records relating to the high commission, leaving us with Calderwood's *History* and *The Book of the Universal Kirk* to provide most of the remaining picture. Nevertheless, sufficient records exist, through different localities and levels of court, to enable a survey of the relationship between the church and the book trade, and this will start with an examination of the church as employer and direct sponsor of presses and pressmen.

**'Printer to the kirk':
the church as employer and customer**

The church could be a direct or indirect employer of book makers, indirectly through the role of initiating the establishment of presses and in providing tracts and authorised texts for printing, and directly as the provider of remuneration. That hard to define word 'patronage' could be used as a label for both indirect and direct activity. With the predominantly religious output of Scotland's press before the Restoration, and the initial crucial role of the clergy in creating centres of printing (see chapter 1), we might expect the post of 'printer to the general assembly' to be a continuous line of appointments soon after 1560. This is certainly not the case. The first printer to obtain this formal title was George Anderson in 1638, his heirs succeeding him from 1648 to 1653. Before then the assumption was that the king's printer, usually licensed to print the Bible and the Psalms, was *de facto* printer to the kirk. Given that from 1560 to 1590 only one or two presses existed at a time this is not surprising. The notion of choice vanished completely from 1586 to 1590 when, following the death of Alexander Arbuthnet in 1584, and the departure of Thomas Vautrollier back to London the following year, the only press in Scotland was that of Henry Charteris.⁵

About a year after the first 'assembly' of the Protestant church in December 1560, the general assembly agreed to lend Robert Lekpreuik £200 Scots 'to help to buy irons, ink, and paper, and to fee craftsmen for printing of the Psalmes'. Although it seems to have taken Lekpreuik three years to produce this work, he at least was able to

⁵ See Aldis, where the number of known books printed in these years was very small, and none survive from 1586. There were then practical reasons for the clergy to welcome to Scotland the puritan printer Robert Waldegrave in 1590. Charteris never became royal printer but remained the kirk's man and produced many editions of the psalms in the 1590s.

count on the further support of the church, it being ordained by the assembly of December 1564 that every minister must have a copy of 'the Psalme bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh'. There can be no doubt that he was regarded as 'church printer' and after being confirmed king's printer by the regent Moray in January 1568, he was in the following April awarded a twenty year licence to produce an edition of the Geneva Bible in English. Unfortunately he never exercised this right.⁶ Also, throughout the Marian civil war Lekpreuik adopted the mantle of printer to king and the Reformation, in competition to the queen's man Thomas Bassandyne. A battle of the presses then ensued, and the general assembly supported Lekpreuik by raising from kirk funds an annual fee of £50.⁷

The church adopted a remarkably pragmatic approach, nevertheless, and accepted the proposal of Bassandyne and his partner Alexander Arbuthnet, as presented to the general assembly in March 1575, to print Scotland's first home produced bible. An authorised Geneva text was swiftly passed to the printers in April, and an overseeing committee established. A subscription scheme was launched, the first in British book history, with the aim of advancing payments of £4. 13s 4d per copy to be collected by the end of April 1575, with all monies passed to the printers by June. A sense of urgency and anticipation is conveyed by the official general assembly record.⁸ It is

⁶ David Laing, (ed.), 'Notices Regarding the metrical Versions of the Psalms Received by the Church of Scotland' in *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, (1842), (3 vols), iii, 526-7; Calderwood, *History*, ii, 284; Lee, *Memorials*, 86-88; *ibid.*, appendix no.iii, 7.

⁷ Thomas Thompson (ed.), *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland from the year 1560 [to 1618]*, ('The Booke of the Universall Kirk'), [BUK(1)], i, 164. Raised by the collectors of Lothian, Fife and Angus. For Lekpreuik's politicisation see conclusion.

⁸ BUK(1), i, 327-9; Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 275-280; Robert Wodrow, *Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers*, (Maitland, 1834), i, 214; Lee, *Memorials*, 32-34. George Young was appointed corrector. This is the same Young who obtained the licence to publish a grammar in 1576. SRO. PS.1. 43, 55r (2 February, 1575/6)

clear, however, that from the beginning the project ran into difficulties, and there were three particular problems. Firstly, Arbuthnet complained in August that the subscriptions were slow in coming in, and the general assembly agreed to appeal to the privy council, who after all had endorsed and legislated for the plan, and could issue a proclamation of enforcement. Secondly, Arbuthnet was an incompetent printer, and was left to produce the Old Testament after his partner died in 1577 leaving behind printed sheets of a contrasting and fine New Testament. Also, as early as July 1576, Arbuthnet requested a nine month delay in his publication date which should have been the previous March.⁹ In fact it was autumn 1579 before the complete bible was delivered to subscribers. In August a new bible licence of ten years was awarded to Arbuthnet, simultaneously with his elevation to king's printer.¹⁰ However, the fact that the banning of bible imports was not mentioned in Arbuthnet's licence, while it was included in the original bible licence dated June 1576 in favour of him and Bassandyne,¹¹ suggests the privy council were conscious of the dangers of unreliability. Thereafter church and state proved very reluctant to grant an incumbent bible printer such an extensive patent that would restrict necessary bible imports. The Scottish press was never large enough to satisfy the public and clerical demand for scripture. Other general lessons had been learnt from the Arbuthnet affair. Never again would the whole church, rather than a small elite, have such a close relationship with printers as it had over the Bassandyne and Arbuthnet project. The subsequent increased role of town councils, working on behalf of the church, must have been a recognition that the commercial skills of burgesses and merchants were more relevant to controlling publishing finances and dealing with intransigent suppliers.

⁹ Lee, *Memorials*, 32-34, Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 281-2; RPC, i, 2, 544-46, Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 283-6.

¹⁰ SRO. PS. 1, 46, f.43 (August, 1579) (see Lee, *Memorials*, appendix no.vi, 9-10): Calderwood, *History*, iii, 452; (see Lee, *Memorials*, appendix no. vii, 10-12).

¹¹ For 1576 licence see RPC, i, 2, 544-546, or Lee, *Memorials*, appendix, no.v, 8-9.

Almost every available book licence had been accumulated by Thomas Finlason by the time he became king's printer in 1612. This included the licence for printing the Bible which he acquired in 1606 from James Gibson, the royal bookbinder.¹² Nonetheless, Finlason's religious output was modest. The mantle of unofficial printer to the church passed to Andro Hart. As well as having impeccable presbyterian and financial credentials he had, along with the heirs of Henry Charteris, commissioned in 1601 editions of the Geneva Bible, Psalms in Metre, and CL psalms of David in prose and metre from the presses of Isaac and Abraham Canin of Dort. Church policy of going abroad for the printing of liturgical texts and scripture was an extension of the use of Vautrollier's London press in 1587. Thus, in 1594 and 1597, psalms and catechisms for the church of Scotland were printed in Middleburg. In 1599 John Gibson acquired a seven year licence to import a new parallel text edition of the Psalms - this had the novelty of having both metre and prose on the same page and was also printed at Middleburg that year.¹³

When in 1610 Hart began printing on his own account he immediately set about producing his celebrated Geneva Bible (1610). Dr. Lee makes the observation that, as in 1575, the church organised a wide subscription for Hart's edition. He fails to make the point that in this case brethren were invited to purchase copies after and not before publication. In 1611 the synod of Lothian required a copy to be purchased by every parish, and the synod of Fife that each kirk do likewise, and that ministers encourage their parishioners to purchase one, price £6.¹⁴ What is more remarkable is that this is the same year that the 'King James version' was published in England, the outcome

¹² Lee, *Memorials*, 48 and *ibid.*, appendix no.xii, 17-18 extract of SRO. PS.1.71, (31 July, 1599).

¹³ McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1557-1640*, 67. Lee, *Memorials*, 48

¹⁴ Lee, *Memorials*, 55-6; Calderwood, *History*, vii, 129; *Selection from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife, 1611-1687*, [SFR] (Abbotsford, 1837), 10.

of a project started in 1604,¹⁵ and yet no restriction on the Geneva Bible, or prescription of the 'King James' took place before an ineffectual canon law of 1636. The most pressing consideration for the clergy was adequate bible supply. There is no Scottish equivalent of the 1632 English high commission case against Richard Bancroft who was indicted for importing Geneva bibles.¹⁶ In Scotland the transition to 'King James' happened gradually, although it was virtually complete by the 1660s.

By the time the Englishman Robert Young had been appointed king's printer of Scotland in April 1632, the role of the general assembly as patron of the press had been negated for a simple reason - no general assembly met from 1618 to 1638. The Aberdeen assembly of August 1616, out of a series of policies designed to suppress 'popery', did agree that a liturgy and form of divine service be printed, in other words a new service book, and also to a number of other publishing initiatives, which were ratified at the Perth assembly in 1618 along with the controversial Five Articles.¹⁷ However, from this date, progress over major projects, like the Book of Canons and the Prayer Book, depended on a few bishops and nobles, like John Maxwell, bishop of Ross and William Alexander, earl of Stirling, and the printers Robert Young in Edinburgh and Edward Raban in Aberdeen. James Bryson, in his pamphlet of 1641, expressed his resentment at not being made king's printer instead of the absentee incumbent Young, and accused Young of having the patronage of bishops. The English printer must have found this a strange criticism, and even in Scotland

¹⁵ According to Spottiswoode the general assembly at Burntisland in May 1601 agreed to the king's suggestion that a new translation of the bible be carried out, although nothing happened until after 1603. John Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, (1655, Spottiswoode Society, 1847-51), iii, 98-99.

¹⁶ Samuel Rowse Gardner, (ed.), *Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission*, (Camden Society, London, 1886), 274. Bancroft was also in trouble for importing 'libels' from Amsterdam and no doubt this was where his bibles had originated.

¹⁷ Alexander Peterkin, (ed.), *The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, [BUK (2)], (1839), 595-6 and Calderwood, *History*, vii, 229.

there were precedents for episcopal involvement. When in 1626 Charles I agreed to respond to petitions from Thomas Finlason, requesting the right to export his books into England, it was Maxwell's predecessor Patrick Lindsay, bishop of Ross, who was despatched to negotiate a trade agreement.¹⁸ It was typical to find Charles following English practice - in Scotland such matters would traditionally have been left to the privy council.

Much has been written about the preparation and introduction of the Service Book, the so called 'Laudian Prayer Book' of 1637.¹⁹ Archbishop Laud was not the author, although he was responsible for overseeing the printing of the first impression which came from London in the winter of 1636/7. He procured the royal proclamation of September 1635 which compelled Young, or his agents, to repair to Scotland and ready the printing of the book, and to take with him a suitable 'blacke letter' or gothic type.²⁰ This last point is of great metaphorical significance. In contrast to England, Scotland, following its Reformation, chose roman type for printing bibles in imitation of the Geneva Bible, rather than the textura or gothic look of Wittenberg, and Lutheran texts. As late as 1611 Laud insisted that the 'authorised version' was printed in textura, and not roman as was Hart's Scottish Geneva of 1610. It is in the light of this precedent that typographical decisions were taken for the Scottish prayer book, and this can only

¹⁸ Bryson, 'Information' 299-300; W.W. Greg (ed.), *A Companion to Arber*, (Oxford, 1967), 61, 208 and C. Rogers (ed.), *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters relative to the Affairs of Scotland*, (1885), i, 72, as well as summary in David Stevenson, 'The Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 317-8.

¹⁹ Gordon Donaldson, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637*, (1954). It is generally accepted that the Prayer Book (or Service Book) owed more to the authorship of John Maxwell, bishop of Ross, James Wedderburn, bishop of Dunblane, and the perseverance of William Alexander and John Spottiswoode, archbishop of St. Andrews, than to Laud himself.

²⁰ British Library, MS Add. 23112, Register of the Secretaries of State of Scotland, f.5r. date 15 September, 1635. See also Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 319-20; Baillie, *Letters*, i, appendix, no.xii, 436-7; NLS. Wodrow Manuscripts [Wodrow MSS] folio lxvi. no.20.

have increased the sense that it was an alien production outwith Scottish traditions. The typographical differences symbolised the contrast in national religious character - Anglican conservatism versus Scottish Calvinism. However, in spite of fears expressed by William Alexander - that Young was a poor and unreliable printer and worse than Raban whose edition of the Book of Canons of 1636 was hardly error free - after several aborted test printings, Young's first Scottish edition of spring 1637 was of very high quality.²¹ Also, for all that Young was the victim of much presbyterian odium, and was forced to flee to England and to forfeit some of his fee for printing the Service Book,²² his press had for first time in Scottish book history delivered yearly editions of the Bible and New Testament in octavo and duodecimo.²³

Although the covenanters initially employed the press of George Anderson in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1638-39, the main printers to the new regime soon became the Edinburgh brothers James and Robert Bryson, who operated separately but sometimes with dual imprints, and the first of whom acquired the presses and licences of the heirs of Andrew Hart in 1639. These two presses were the covenanters' main printers from that year to 1641. The last production to emanate from the press of Hart's heirs was a volume of the acts of assembly published in early 1639, and therefore the Brysons had legitimate claims to be printers to the kirk based on Hart's earlier incumbency. This strengthens the case that Anderson's press in Glasgow was used for convenience by the famous general assembly of November 1638, and that he was enticed there by the 'town and gown'

²¹ Baillie, *Letters*, i, appendix, no. xiv, 439-40; Wodrow MSS folio lxvi no.22.

²² James Watson claimed that Young was 'ruined' by the covenanters but this sounds an exaggeration as he carried on printing in England until his death c1650. James Watson, *History of the Art of Printing*, (1713), preface, 10.

²³ An almost continuous line of editions is seen from 1633 to 1638. See Aldis. These printings (all of the 'King James' edition) were intended for the English market, which was one of the reasons Young and his partners bought the Scottish king's printer patent, but many copies were sold in Scotland.

and not the clergy. It was also a characteristic of the covenanting regime to be highly centralised around Edinburgh.

The Englishman Evan Tyler emerges as a major figure in Scottish printing from June 1641 when he and Young, his now absent former employer, were appointed joint king's printers by Charles I. Remarkably the covenanters accepted this and, in spite of protests from the 'loyal' Brysons, the decision was ratified by parliament, although some three years later.²⁴ Tyler was also effectively printer to the general assembly from 1641, although some particular projects came to the Brysons, such as Boyd of Trochrig's *Commentary upon the Ephesians* which was licensed solely to Robert Bryson by an act of assembly in February 1645.²⁵ Also, Robert Bryson was duly paid for his efforts on behalf of the government, for his printing of declarations explaining the invasion into England, and for actually entering England to distribute these papers.²⁶ But the crucial factor, for church and state, seems to have been the scale of Tyler's workshop, which must have contained several presses. From 1641 to 1652 a vast output of proclamations, acts of assembly and of parliament, and papers of communication between the covenanters and the English parliament, came from his press, along with a few editions of the Bible and a New Testament. Before and after Tyler left for England in 1653,²⁷ to be replaced by Christopher Higgins, the only competitor for church business was Gideon Lithgow who, as well as being appointed printer

²⁴ RMS, ix, no. 967; APS, vi,i,257-58. See Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 325-6 for summary.

²⁵ Alexander Peterkin (ed.), *Records of the Kirk of Scotland containing the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies from the year 1638*, (1838), 432-3, dated 12 February, 1645.

²⁶ SRO. PA. 14/1, Register of the Committee for Common Burdens, 1641-45. f.156r, 157r. Payments of £877 and £166 for the likes of *The Lawfulness of our Expedition into England Manifested* (1640).

²⁷ For details of Tyler's hopeless position during the crisis of 1650-51 and failure to get the government and church to pay up for past work see SRO. PA. 11/8, Register of the Committee of Estates f.178v-79r and Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 332-3.

to the university of Edinburgh in 1648, printed regular editions of the Psalms in Metre, some Confessions of Faith, along with his academic output of theses and reprints of vernacular poetry. There was no suggestion that any of these individuals were formerly licensed as 'printer to the kirk'. Indeed, when in autumn 1643 it came to the mass printing of the seminal Solemn League and Covenant simultaneous impressions were made by Robert Bryson and Tyler in Edinburgh and Raban in Aberdeen at the instigation of Johnston of Wariston, clerk to the assembly.

The lack of a general assembly before 1690 resulted in no printer to the kirk being appointed in the 1670s and 1680s, but there is evidence that some printers outside the royal press were engaged to fill gaps in the printing of religious texts. Thus Robert Sanders in Glasgow and James Glen in Edinburgh ensured that the Confessions of Faith was reprinted in the 1670s, when only a few such editions emanated from the king's press of Andrew Anderson. Much scripture printing came from the Anderson press in the early 1670s, but the output dried up. The Andersons abandoned New Testament printing after the edition of 1678, perhaps still smarting from their dressing down by the privy council for an error-strewn edition of 1671.²⁸

After the Glorious Revolution of 1689, and the restoration of presbyterianism in 1690, a printer to the kirk was at last appointed at the general assembly of November 1690. Although Agnes Campbell, the wife of Andrew Anderson, and heir to his presses and royal patent, petitioned for the post, the assembly's choice was George Mosman.²⁹ No book trader, other than perhaps James Glen who disappears and perhaps died at this time, had the presbyterian credentials of Mosman. In March 1669 Mosman was fined £200 by the privy council for attending a conventicle the previous month at 'Mrs Paton's house in Edinburgh', an infamous meeting place. He was summoned to appear

²⁸ For details of the badly printed and banned New Testament of 1671 see *RPC*, iii, 3, 265; *ibid.*, 292, 682.

²⁹ Lee, *Memorials*, 149. *RPC*, iii, 15, 558. SRO. ch 1/2/60 General Assembly Papers (7 November, 1690). Campbell continued to petition for the post for the next 25 years!

again before the court for a similar offence in 1685.³⁰ There is no suggestion that Mosman was an extreme covenanter, but only that he was a firm presbyterian who adhered to the constitution of 1638. In contrast, Agnes Campbell's press had proved apolitical in the religious sense - the position of royal printer left her with little choice. However, Campbell's failure must have been the result of her press's reputation for a low output of scripture. No complete bibles issued forth from the king's press from 1678 to 1694 - Glasgow's Robert Sanders, the elder, had become almost the only printer of New Testaments - and the incidence of editions of the Psalms was very erratic, showing the need for an increased reliance on imports and occasional printings from the likes of Glen, Sanders and John Reid, the elder. Furthermore, Mosman was a good printer who quickly got into his stride printing the acts of assembly in early 1691, presbyterian counterblasts, such as George Rule's *Just and modest reproof of Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (1693), and showing considerable energy, as seen in one of his most astonishing publishing efforts - the simultaneous publication in 1693 of four differently sized editions of the Psalms of David in Metre!³¹

When Mosman died in 1707/8 the general assembly was quick to allow his wife to succeed as printer to the kirk, as long as she could show she had the necessary presses and skilled workmen.³² She went on to print the acts of assembly from 1708 to 1711, probably the date of her death. At last, in early 1712, Agnes Campbell became printer to the kirk, although she soon died in 1716. The problem for 'Campbell the monopolist' was that her tactic of attacking the religious proclivities of her opponents, as she did with success against episcopalians and Jacobites like James Watson and Robert Freebairn, was not effective against the pious Mosman. Campbell was finally appointed because her press was the only one with sufficient funds to buy up the £3300

³⁰ Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, (1721/2), (1828 edition), (4 vols), ii, 122

³¹ All the details relating to bible editions are taken from analysing Aldis.

³² SRO. ch 1/1/18, 521. Records of the General Assembly. 1702-8 (27 April, 1708).

of old acts of assembly stored in the Mosman's warehouse.³³ Mosman's children had insufficient liquidity to continue to trade, and this may tell us that the licence of printer to the kirk was not necessarily an especially lucrative one. There were certainly continual problems in remunerating Mosman.³⁴ In August 1705 the presbytery of St. Andrews acknowledged a letter from John Blair, clerk to the general assembly, that Mosman had to be 'payed the pryce' for the acts of assembly and 'overtures anent Discipline'. All presbyteries, including Edinburgh, received in 1706 a letter from the commissioners of the assembly with a petition from Mosman 'concerning the buying and observation of the Act of General Assembly'. Mosman complained that these acts were 'not taken off his hands, and even some who call for them [had] not yet paid for the same'. Mosman had agreed to deliver stock wherever required, but he refused to 'give the acts to the agents of the Church unless they [undertook] to pay for what they receive, some of these formerly taken from him by the agent being lost and no account got thereof through the negligence of carriers'.³⁵ One of the commercial difficulties of being the printer of clergy was that your customers were spread throughout the parishes of Scotland. Elevated station was no guarantee of elevated profits. Half a century before, the return of Evan Tyler to Edinburgh in 1660 signalled a change in the public religious character of Scotland's book makers. No overt presbyterian or covenanting printers remained.³⁶ By the 1670s church non-conformity and its press was forced underground or overseas while simultaneously scripture was everywhere more visible.

³³ Lee, *Memorials*, 168-9.

³⁴ The commissioners of the general assembly in the 1640s also had trouble collecting the printer's dues from presbyteries, and this can be seen in the Cupar records for 31 December, 1646. See *Ecclesiastical Records of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar, 1641-1698*, 'Cupar Presbytery Records' [CPR].(Abbotsford, 1837), 105.

³⁵ SRO. CH2/1132/1, 12. St. Andrews Presbytery Records 1705-1713; SRO. CH2/121/6, 207-8 Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 1705-8.

³⁶ For politicisation of the press after the Restoration see chapter 6.

Permission to Print: license and licences

The employment of book traders by the clergy was almost exclusively at national level, either involving the general assembly and its commissions, or the bishops and archbishops during episcopal periods. Bishops were important at diocesan level, especially in Glasgow and Aberdeen where the survival of the press was precarious, but the relationship was patron to merchant, rather than employer to employee. The involvement of presbyteries and kirk sessions was negligible, and even synodal records provide us with very little food for thought. Although this is absolutely not the case for every aspect of the church's relations to book publishing, this position is equally true for the granting of licences, and general permission to publish. Clerical authors and publishers sought the consent of the highest clerical authority, even though in many instances the church insisted on supporting legislation by the secular courts, usually the privy council. These arrangements made commercial sense for theological authors and printers alike, as authorisation from the highest clerical court opened the possibility of printing and wide circulation, and in some cases of actual prescription. Meanwhile, privy council legislation provided patent or copyright protection.

In spite of the desire for cooperation between church and state there could be moments when the lines of demarcation were blurred, and when a degree of institutional jealousy arose. As early as 1563 the general assembly agreed that superintendents could license the printing of religious texts, and the kirk should have jurisdiction over books 'touching religion'.³⁷ Leaving the responsibility for vetting printings to individuals rather than a committee was an interesting precedent for later episcopalian controls. However, in 1574 a commission was formed by the assembly to oversee books to be printed, although we have no record of its deliberations or

³⁷ Calderwood, *History*, ii, 226; *BUK* (1), i, 35.

effectiveness.³⁸ Following the revival of full episcopacy in 1610, religious licensing was put squarely in the hands of bishops. A royal proclamation of July 1612 declared that 'all prentaris and sellaris of bookis in this kingdom' must obtain license to print or sell books of 'divinitie or devotioun ... historie [or] humanitie ... [and the] law' from, respectively, the archbishops, king's secretary, and a committee appointed by the chancellor and college of justice.³⁹ One theoretical aspect of demarcation was that bishops had powers to consider books for sale at diocesan level, while only archbishops could judge their suitability for printing. Nonetheless, after Raban's press arrived in Aberdeen in 1622, Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen, certainly assessed books independently of Glasgow and St. Andrews. In addition, in June 1615, these regulations were buttressed by a second proclamation which forbade the sending of manuscripts 'of quhatsumever subject' for printing overseas without first being 'revised and approved' by the archbishops and 'by his Majesties secretarie of estate Certifieing them that salbe fundin to contravene and transgres'. We can infer from this that bishops were to have a more general authority to license printing overseas, but with the support of secular authority to deal with offenders. Specific reference to pamphlets printed in Middelburg makes it clear that this enactment was an assault on the early non-conformist output of exiled ministers, such as John Forbes, minister of Middelburg from 1611.⁴⁰

One of the early petitions of the 'covenanting' general assembly of November 1638 was an insistence on the right of the church, as opposed to the crown, to control the printing of religious texts. This affirmation was, of course, largely a response to the imposition of the Service Book, but also an attempt to return to the licensing conditions of 1563 and 1574.⁴¹ As a result the church, through the general assembly, was confirmed in its role as religious censor, and the

³⁸ Calderwood, *History*, iii, 338; *BUK*(1), i, 298.

³⁹ *RPC*, i, 9, 400-1; Lee, *Memorials*, appendix. no. xvii. 29-30. 2 July, 1612.

⁴⁰ *RPC*, i, 10, 339-40; Lee, *Memorials*, 71-72. and appendix. no. xviii, 30-31.

⁴¹ Lee, *Memorials*, 127. Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 39.

covenanting regime legislated accordingly in 1646.⁴² However, the Engagement crisis of 1647-48 ended the consensus. The printing by the general assembly of tracts against the Engagement in the spring of 1648 led the Engager dominated committee of estates to pass an act prohibiting, 'under the pain of death', the publishing of *any* printed matter without licence of 'the committee of Estaitts'. The general assembly of July 1648 protested at this attack on its authority. It had to accept the position until news arrived of the defeat of the Engagers at Preston the next month, after which all legislation of the Engagement was annulled.⁴³ Nevertheless, when in November 1649 the synod of Lothian agreed to print and circulate a statement of the rules of incest and marriage, its agent was instructed to seek a warrant for printing from the estates. Earlier in the same year the commission of the general assembly sought 'civill ratificatioun' of its decision to print the Confession of Faith and the Little and Shorter Catechism, which was forthcoming in an act of estates in February 1649.⁴⁴ As long as the initiative was with the church it was happy to get secular approval for its decisions to license printed editions.

The Restoration brought the apparent return of the qualified licensing authority of the church as established in 1612, that is, clerics to vet religious texts only. Bishops had now returned to their pre-1638 authority after seven years of secular control of the religious press by Cromwell's English judges and magistrates, along with the town councils for some non-religious output. Of course, no general assembly met from 1653 to 1660, but the synodal records from those years show no activity to license printings - it was a period where discipline and the apprehending of 'papists' and Quakers were the predominant concerns of all remaining church courts. Certainly much

⁴² *APS*, vi, i, 551

⁴³ For instruction to print anti-Engager proclamation see Mitchell and Christie (eds.), *The Records of the Commissioners of the General Assemblies, 1646-52*, [GACR], (3 vols), (SHS, 1892-1909), i, 385; SRO. PA. 11/6, Register of Committee of Estates, 1648, f. 26v, 16 June 1648; Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 498, and 500 for protest by general assembly.

⁴⁴ *LTSR*, 288; SRO. GD45/13/331, f.92r; *GACR*, ii, 196. and *APS*, vi, prt ii, 161.

episcopal authority over the book was reasserted after 1660. In 1662 when the privy council agreed that Robert Sanders, the Glasgow printer, could have the same trade privileges as the presses of Edinburgh, it was subject to 'any book or paper ... [being] allowed by the Archbishop of Glasgow'. This suggests sweeping powers for the Glasgow archbishop and beyond the merely religious. It is true that for the bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen local book controls were so linked with local patronage that they could approve or prevent all manner of printings - as undoubtedly did the town councils and even the colleges in some cases. It seems unlikely, however, that the post-Restoration episcopate controlled much outside liturgy, theology and scripture. Thus the 1684 privy council ruling that the Glasgow press could not operate without license 'from the Bishop of the dioces for any thing in divinitie; the Dean of the Facultie for the Law; the President of the College of Physicians for phisick, the clerks of the Councill to licence any thing els' was not only in sympathy with the national arrangements agreed in 1612, but confirmed the actual position as it had developed in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow from 1660.⁴⁵

Permission to print was granted by the clergy for a number of individual publishing projects, and it is useful to highlight a selection. A number of bible and psalms licenses were granted to various printers from Lekpreuik to Andrew Anderson. Yet, less profitable licences were awarded from time to time. For example, permission was granted by the general assembly in March 1598 to print Patrick Sharp's *Lessons on the Catechism*. Sometimes permission was subject to revision by a committee, as with John Howisone's three books against Bellarmine which the assembly licensed in 1602.⁴⁶ Episcopal licensing was invariably more connected with the king and prerogative, while presbyterian licensing was tied to parliament and

⁴⁵ RPC, iii, 1, xlv; MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 60-61; RPC, iii, 8, 384.

⁴⁶ BUK(2), 476; *ibid.*, 513. Occasionally licenses to publish could even be granted after printing, as occurred when Alexander Henderson's 'guide to family worship' was licensed in 1640 after printed samples were viewed by the general assembly. Baillie, *Letters*, i, 248-50

privy council. Thus when the episcopalian general assembly of August 1616 licensed and prescribed the catechism *God and the King*, it was merely a response to royal proclamation and the gift of copyright to James Primrose the previous June. Archbishop Spottiswoode and the high commission, not the assembly, were the instigators of the nineteen year licence granted to the episcopalian bookseller Gilbert Dick in 1619 for the Book of Common Prayer and two further catechisms. The simultaneous harassment of the presbyterian book traders Andro Hart, James Cathkin and Richard Lawson split the Edinburgh book trade into two opposing camps, as occurred in the 1680s.⁴⁷

Of course, the 1637 Service Book was in its licensing, and its prescription to all brethren, imposed by proclamation and via royal prerogative, without recourse to parliament let alone a general assembly. Therefore, the imposition of the Service Book broke both secular and clerical conventions in terms of book licensing, and there was a strong case for its illegality. Meanwhile, the likes of the 'King James Psalms' was at least confirmed by the privy council - a thirty-one year licence being granted to William Alexander in December 1627 - if not an actual assembly.⁴⁸ When in the 1640s the commissioners of the general assembly adopted, after years of negotiations and revision, the Directory of Public Worship, Catechism, Confessions of Faith and amended edition of the Psalms, great care was taken to ensure the estates enacted the licensing and prescription of these works of uniformity. The story of the new psalms edition that was authorised for use from 1 May 1650 is incredibly convoluted but always scrupulously constitutional, and although much of the credit for this may go to Wariston, he was merely carrying out good practice as exercised before the Service Book debacle. Ecclesiastical and secular authority formed a counterbalanced and regulating partnership as far as the book trade was concerned.

⁴⁷ Calderwood, *History*, vii, 229, Lee, *Memorials*, 73-4, RPC. i, 10, 535 (see chapter 1); SRO. PS.1. 87, f.227; Lee, *Memorials*, appendix. no.xx., 33-35.

⁴⁸ SRO. PS.1.100, f.305. Lee, *Memorials*, appendix. no.xxi, 36-38; Baillie, *Letters*, iii, appendix. 530.

The Control of Ideas: matters of discipline and prescription

The major preoccupation of the lower courts of Scotland's post-Reformation church was the maintenance and monitoring of discipline. The most serious breaches were considered by synods and occasionally the general assembly, although most concerning parishioners were dealt with by kirk sessions, and those of ministers and elders by presbyteries. In episcopal periods, as said above, considerable personal jurisdiction rested with bishops, sometimes exercised through diocesan synods, and in major cases through the courts of high commission, when active, or the privy council. The management of book culture was an important element in this desire for discipline and two control methods were employed - firstly, monitoring and examining the reading behaviour, pastoral methods and sermons of ministers, and secondly, the prescription of texts for the use or information of brethren. The former of these was usually devolved to the lower courts, the latter instigated by the centre and often supported by secular statute. Some of these measures appear authoritarian, but many were also simply to ensure the effectiveness of the ministry in disseminating the word of God.

Although it rarely intervened directly in local matters of literate discipline, the general assembly favoured the setting down of guidelines for the use of sessions and presbyteries. Thus the assembly of March 1596, in suggesting remedies to 'Corruptiones in the office', made it clear that ministers 'not carefull to have books' should be deprived, while in November 1602, as part of its deliberations over the 'Tryell of Pastors', it concluded that ministers should be tested for their knowledge of a demanding list of texts:

... let it be inquyret of him what helpe he hes for the advancment of his studies; if he hes the text of the Scripture in the originall languages, in caice he be sene in the tongues; if he hes Tremellius' translatione of the Old Testament and

Beza's of the New, with the vulgar English translatione; if he hes the Common Places; ... the Ecclesiaticall historie; ... what Commentaries ... upon Scripture ... Acts of the Councill of Trent and what uther wreits of the controversies of religione ,⁴⁹

At local level these generalised examinations were popular. In 1600 the Aberdeen presbytery concluded the need to test the literate qualifications, in addition to the moral and theological, of all ministers, and proceeded to apply these tests to Archibald Rait, the proposed minister for Kintore. The synod of Fife began in October 1624 a detailed examination of its ministers, including their skills at languages, and knowledge of religious controversy and theology, as well as the content of their sermons. In Aberdeen these inspections were extended to potential students of divinity, and in 1667 the synod of Aberdeen concluded that 'all expectants' be put under trial for Hebrew and Greek. No doubt the clerical authorities of Glasgow, St. Andrews and Edinburgh were just as concerned to maintain high standards.⁵⁰

State politics and church politics were a continual backdrop to clerical discipline. In April 1620 the synod of Fife deprived a number of ministers for not conforming to the edicts of the Perth assembly of 1618 in matters concerning the Five Articles. Other synods followed suit.⁵¹ Sometimes the initiative appeared to come from the centre, such as in May 1662 when the chancellor and parliament summoned six ministers for not taking the oath of allegiance and 'threatened [them] for their rebellious principles and disloyal practices', yet the

⁴⁹ Calderwood, *History*, v, 403; BUK(2), 427. Melville states that the general assembly was in April 1596. Robert Pitcairn (ed.), *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, (Wodrow, 1842), 348; Calderwood, *History*, vi, 171-2; BUK(2), 517-8.

⁵⁰ SRO. CH2/1/1, 37v, Aberdeen Presbytery Records, 1598-1610; SFR, 103; John Stuart (ed.), 'Selections from the Registers of the Synod of Aberdeen', [ASR] in *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen*, (Spalding, 1846), 284.

⁵¹ SFR, 92, (25 April, 1620). It is interesting that this should happen before parliamentary ratification of the Five Articles in 1621.

catalyst was probably archbishop Sharp.⁵² Meanwhile, the Aberdeen synod, under the guidance of its bishop, was very keen to underpin the authority of the episcopacy through its own episcopalian manifesto. In October 1662 the synod issued a wide range of ordinances including the imposition of an oath of 'canonicall obedience', to be taken by ministers and teachers, compulsory prayers for the king, and deposition for ministers who failed to kneel at prayer or to wear suitable clerical attire. The following day a John Menzies was suspended for not signing the oath of canonical obedience.⁵³ This regime of enforcement intensified in the 1680s. On the introduction of the Test Act and Oath in 1681, intended as they were to ensure an unconditional acceptance of royal supremacy and prerogative from all in public office, the likes of the presbytery of Lanark insisted that all scholars, let alone ministers and teachers, took the Oath. The Aberdeen presbytery in August 1681 noted the instructions of the bishop that the Oath and Test be taken in public, and that he be provided with a list of subscribers. A year later St Andrews presbytery recorded its group contentment at accepting the Test although, as will be discussed later, there were dissenters.⁵⁴

The Glorious Revolution threw the Aberdeen church courts into some confusion, a condition common to the whole ecclesiastical community after the advent of the Toleration and Patronage acts of 1712. However, when it came to taking action against 'erroneous

⁵² The ministers were John Carstares, John Newsmith, Matthew Mowat, James Veitch and Alexander Blair. Others conformed before appearance before Parliament. James Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the year 1678*, (ed. Stewart), (1993), 79.

⁵³ SRO. CH2/840/10, 6. For confirmation that canonical oath was intended also for chaplains and teachers see ASR, 307 (22 April, 1675).

⁵⁴ *Ecclesiastical Records: Selections from the Records of the Presbytery of Lanark*, [LPR], (Abbotsford, 1839), 113; SRO. CH2/1/2, 340; 'Selections from St Andrews Presbytery Records, 1641-1698' [St.APR] in *Ecclesiastical Records of the Presbyteries of St Andrews and Cupar*, (Abbotsford, 1837), 93. Typically, when James VII acceded to the throne the synod and bishop of Aberdeen were the first to insist on obedience over prayers for the new king's birthday. SRO. CH2/840/10 (1681-88), 365 (October, 1685).

books' local church courts could act decisively by the turn of the century. The synod of Aberdeen came to rigorous conclusions in April 1700 -

the Synod considering the overture anent such Persones as must offend or disseminat Books containing erroneous or Blasphemous Doctrine Doe Herby seriously recommend it to the Several Presbytery to make diligent enquiry for discovering such Persons and Upon discovery made, that the respective Presbytry convene the said Parties before them, put the matter to the outmost tryall and proceed therein as they find just.⁵⁵

It is not clear from whom the overtures were communicated, and it could have been the general assembly or the civil magistrates. Six years later, when the presbytery of Edinburgh acknowledged the request of the general assembly that 'all Ministers and presbyteries within this kingdom use their endeavours for hindering the selling or dispersing of atheistical books or pamphlets', the assembly cited a number of acts of parliament from the reign of James VI to emphasise the legality of preventing the 'importing, printing, vending or dispersing of erroneous books and papers'. The privy council may have initiated the request for action.⁵⁶ Regardless of the source, this new authoritarianism must have been carefully observed by the booksellers of Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

The implications for individual clergymen charged with breaches of discipline could be serious if rarely life-threatening. George Semple, minister of Killillan, was excommunicated by the Glasgow presbytery in 1613 for a catalogue of crimes amounting to blasphemy, immorality and corruption. The initial charges, brought by the elders of Paisley, included possession of a book 'of unlawful artis', that he had been seen to buy 'the profane *Albertus Magnus*' and that he was 'want to mak lascivious ballades and sonnets', even though the final account of sixteen charges failed to refer to books at all! That Semple denied the charges made no difference because of the testimony of numerous

⁵⁵ SRO. CH2/840/11 (1697-1705), 164

⁵⁶ SRO. CH2/121/6 (1705-1708), 207

witnesses. In another case, this time in 1647, the commissioners of the general assembly decided to intervene and to confiscate the papers of a James Symson 'under suspicion of Antinomian tenets'.⁵⁷

The 'mighty' were also subject to examination. In one of the ironic moments of history David Calderwood was in 1598 interrogated by the presbytery of Glasgow to establish his religious views, and to answer the charge of possessing 'popish' books. Just as ironic was the way in which Archibald Johnston, clerk to the general assembly, was accused of 'popery' in 1639 for appending a Latin licence to the kirk's printed 'Protestation' of that year.⁵⁸ In fact the question of language remained a symbol for ecclesiastical disputation at least until the Restoration. In 1583 Stirling presbytery deprived a church reader for baptising in Latin, and yet only three years later the king, through archbishop Patrick Adamson, instructed the masters of St Andrews colleges to give their public theological lessons in Latin. The general assembly in 1645 decreed that all key texts should be in the vulgar tongue, even though the commission of 1649 decided to have translations of the new catechism and Confessions of Faith prepared in Latin for the benefit of the godly overseas.⁵⁹ This apparently confusing state of affairs can be summed up simply - for presbyterians Latin could be printed but the language of domestic services, preaching and liturgy had to be English.

For the printed word the most authoritarian aspect of church discipline was the prescription of texts, and when church courts merely recommended books the tone was often one of compulsion. Generally prescription derived from the general assembly or

⁵⁷ Glasgow City Archives [GCA], CH2/171/2a, ii. f.72-74. Glasgow Presbytery Records; 'Extracts from the Registers of the Presbytery of Glasgow, 1592-1601 and 1603-26', [GPR], in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, i, Part First, 420-425; GACR, i, 348.

⁵⁸ GCA. CH2/171/1a (1592-1600), 95r; George Paul (ed.), *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-39*, (SHS, 1911), 409.

⁵⁹ James Kirk (ed.), *Stirling Presbytery Records, 1581-87*, [Stir. PR], (SHS, 1981), 127-131; Calderwood, *History*, iv, 607; Melville, *Diary*, 249; Lee, *Memorials*, 109-10; GACR, ii, 176.

episcopacy, supported by act of parliament or privy council, and sometimes through royal proclamation. Whatever the initiating authority, the level of compulsion was likely to be as great - bishops were no more prescriptive than presbyterian courts. Protestant prescription began before the Reformation with the decision of the 'Lords of the Congregation' in 1557 that services were to be carried out according to the English Book of Common Prayer. This was a clear invitation to import stock from England.⁶⁰ Invitation soon became insistence. During the period of presbyterian resurgence leading up to the 'Golden Acts' of 1592, the general assembly of August 1590 agreed that all ministers had to subscribe the Book of Policy under pain of excommunication, and all presbyteries must purchase a copy of the book 'under the paine to be openly accusit in the face of the haill Assemblie'. The synod of Lothian, however, appears to have pre-empted this by ordaining exactly the same three months before! By July 1591 the general assembly was forced to issue a threatening reminder to non-subscribers and non-purchasers alike.⁶¹

The provision and distribution of catechisms for the use of clergy, schools and parishioners was a major concern for the church and in the order of fifty editions, of varied authorship, appeared from 1560 to 1700. Sometimes the prescription of these was more generally applied. The assembly of May 1592 concluded that John Craig's 'Examination before the Communion', which had already been printed, should be carried by every pastor as he travelled among his flock 'that they may buy the samen book, and read it in their families' and also used by teachers in schools instead of the old Little Catechism.⁶² Three years later, however, communion examination in St. Andrews continued to be carried out via the Little Catechism. It was necessary to utilise what was at hand. After the reinstatement of episcopacy, and the deliberations of the royalist general assembly of August 1616, it was

⁶⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, i, no.480; Lennox, (ed.), John Knox, *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, (1905 edition), book 1, 34, see also D. Laing, (ed.), *The Works of John Knox*, (5 vols, 1856), i, 275.

⁶¹ BUK(2), 347, Melville, *Diary*, 288; SRO. CH2/252/1, 22r; LTSR, 21; BUK(2), 352.

⁶² This was the translation of Calvin's Catechism first printed in Scotland in 1564

ordained that children from all schools, and parishioners generally, should be taught from *God and the King*, that remarkable catechism which emphasised royal prerogative and supremacy over the church.⁶³

The introduction of the Bassandyne/Arbuthnet Bible of 1579 was supported by nationwide subscription drive rather than prescribed publication. In the case of Hart's 1610 Geneva, as seen above, both the synods of Lothian and Fife applied pressure on parishioners and brethren.⁶⁴ These synods may have responded to the shortage of bibles, petitions from Hart, or the excellent printing quality of his edition, although, unlike the 1579 bible, or the 'King James version', Hart's never had the support of parliamentary or royal dictation. It is also surprising that clerical prescription of the 'King James version' in Scotland did not occur until 1636, and then only in addendum to the authorisation of the new Service Book.⁶⁵ The fact that not a single reference is made in any church court records to the command to use this edition shows that ministers simply used what they had, bibles still being in short supply, although equally that the 'King James' was broadly respected, and not the subject of any sustained attack.

Although Charles I took it upon himself to ensure that his father's translation of the Psalms was published, and issued letters of

⁶³ Calderwood, *History*, v, 159; BUK(2), 359; St.AKSR, ii, 809 (12 November, 1595); Calderwood, *History*, vii, 229; Lee, *Memorials*, 73-74.

⁶⁴ Calderwood, *History*, vii, 129; SFR, 10. The synod of Fife enforced this at visitations, for example, in May and July 1611 in Strathbogie and Linlithgow. SFR, 21-23.

⁶⁵ *Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical*, 1636, chapter xvi, f.1 quoted in Lee, *Memorials*, 103-4 : ' In every church there shall be provided at the charge of the parishes a Bible of the largest volume with the booke of Common Prayer and Psalms (King James), newlie authorised. The Bible shall be of the text of King James, and if any parish be improvided thereof, the same shall be amended with two months at most after publication of this constitution'. It is worth noting, however, that the Book of Canons was annulled by royal proclamation in June and September 1638 and by the General Assembly in December 1638.

intent and licences in 1626 and 1627, the actual prescription of this edition had to wait until 1634, three years after it was first printed to a mixed reception. David Calderwood, for example, published his powerful critique *Reasons against the Reception of King James's Metaphrase of the Psalmes*, and indeed when the book was reissued in 1636 many of Calderwood's criticisms were taken into account. In October 1632 the archbishop recommended the new Psalms to the synod of Fife, and also invited any criticisms and opinions, but the king's attitude had hardened by late 1634 when he instructed the privy council to forbid the printing and importation of any other edition. The effectiveness of this command is questionable.⁶⁶ Two years later prescription of the Service Book in late 1636 was given with secular, though not parliamentary, authority with a proclamation by the king of 18 October, followed by act of privy council in December.⁶⁷ Every parish was to purchase two copies. The episcopacy did its best to enforce compliance. Lindsay, bishop of Edinburgh, wrote in April 1637 to the presbyteries in his diocese encouraging obedience, and in the summer of 1637 a letter went out in the name of all bishops demanding that each minister acquire two copies. The bishop of Galloway actually toured his diocese in an effort to cultivate obedience.⁶⁸ This level of episcopal pressure simply fuelled the fire of resentment.

The covenanter regime and ecclesiastical authorities were just as inclined to be prescriptive. The Directory of Worship, concluded after lengthy negotiations by the divines at Westminster, was imposed on

⁶⁶ Letter Charles I to Spottiswoode, 25 August, 1626. Baillie, *Letters*, iii, appendix, 530; Lee, *Memorials*, appendix. no. xxi; SRO.PC.1.100, f.305. For Calderwood critique see *Bannatyne Miscellany*, i 227-256; *SFR*, 113-4; Baillie, *Letters*, iii, appendix, 531. Legislation for prescribing the psalms was not finally passed until 1637. *RPC*, ii, 6, 409-10.

⁶⁷ Baillie, *Letters*, i, appendix, no.xv, 440-1, Lee, *Memorials*, 103-4.

⁶⁸ Baillie, *Letters*, i, appendix. no. xviii. 442-3, Wodrow MSS, Folio lxvi, no. 40; Baillie, *Letters*, i, 16-19. In an interesting footnote a council in Dalkeith in February 1638 agreed not to enforce the use of the Service Book in the schools and college for fear of alienating parents! Baillie, *Letters*, i, 26-7.

all brethren 'according to act of uniformity', and this directive was enforced by the synod of Lothian in May 1646. The presbytery of Cupar in early 1648 went to the extent of carrying out a survey by session of the number of 'Directories for Familie Worshippe' they would require per parish, arriving at a total of 320 copies.⁶⁹ This multiplied through every presbytery in the land would have produced a valuable print run for the licensed printer. Also stemming from the Westminster negotiations, the general assembly and estates authorised the printing and use of a new catechism and Confession of Faith in February 1649. A new psalm book was affirmed after numerous committee meetings. From May 1650 it was to be the only printed, sold and used text 'in any congregation or family' within Scotland.⁷⁰ Evan Tyler printed the text in a variety of formats in the summer of 1650, and this edition remained the authorised text right up to the nineteenth century.

One of the features of the post-Restoration church and government was its reluctance to prescribe liturgy and texts - books were sometimes forbidden, though not imposed by compulsion. Archbishop Sharp, secretary of state Lauderdale and Charles II had no wish to repeat the tragic mistakes of the 1630s. Ministers were 'provided' with a 'copy of the canons' in 1673, but the initiative for imposition passed to local courts. In the diocese of Aberdeen the atmosphere could be authoritarian. In October 1663 the synod, at the insistence of the bishop and in an interesting act of neo-episcopalianism, concluded that ministers should purchase the royalist works of the Aberdeen Doctors from the printer John Forbes. Three years later the bishop and synod proceeded to threaten with censure brethren who had not acquired copies, or who remained in debt to Forbes. It must have been very beneficial for the Aberdeen printer to have church courts to do his debt collecting.⁷¹ The language of virtual compulsion was again in evidence when in 1689 the Glasgow synod encouraged ministers to take copies of William Jameson's book explaining the Quaker heresy, and when the St.

⁶⁹ GD45/13/331, 25r; *LTSR*, 180 ; *CPR*, 118

⁷⁰ *GACR*, ii, 196. *APS*, iii, pt ii, 161; Baillie, *Letters*, iii, 97; *GACR*, ii, 328.

⁷¹ Kirkton, *History*, 197; *ASR*, 270 (28 October, 1663) and 282 (20 October, 1666).

Andrews presbytery in 1706 did likewise with a 'little book containing a summa of the popish principles with short scripture reasons against them, printed in Edinburgh'.⁷² Often texts were merely recommended. Thus in 1646 the synod of Fife recommended to the brethren the Hebrew Grammar of John Row, minister of Aberdeen, on receiving a letter from the author confirming the approval of his work by the general assembly. The very same synod in October 1683, noting the acts of privy council in favour of William Geddes's *Ane Historical Memorial* and his *The Saints Recreation*, invited all presbyteries and ministers to subscribe in advance of printing according to the terms of the advertisement circulated by the author himself. Meanwhile, the Glasgow synod in 1688 recommended to ministers, elders and 'all well affected gentlemen' to purchase 'Mr Pitcairne's book De Justificatione' and 'the Scriptural Songs translated and composed by the Rev. Mr. Patrick Simpson'.⁷³ Two decades later the same synod pressed upon its presbyteries the subscription of a London reprint by Thomas Parkhurst of Patrick Gillespies' *The Ark of the Testament* and Robert Wodrow and the bookseller William Dickie were commissioned to coordinate the project.⁷⁴ Here we see local church courts behaving as literary enablers. They carried out a significant role in wider cultural communication.

The most forceful examples of prescription were at local rather than national level. This was largely because policy was often set by the central authorities, while monitoring strategies and most sanctions were matters for local control. In 1604 Aberdeen kirk session ordained that 'all men and wemen in this burgh quha can reid ... sall have bybles and psalme buikes'. Similarly, the synod of Fife agreed in March 1641 to adopt as a provincial act for 'restraining vyces' the suggestion of the presbytery of St. Andrews that 'everie howse able

⁷² 'Selections from Glasgow Synod Records' in *Miscellany of Maitland Club*, iv, Part 1[GSR], 266 (1 October, 1689); SRO. CH2/1132/1, 24, St. Andrews presbytery records 1705-13, (6 January, 1706). The title of the 'little book' is not clear.

⁷³ *SFR*, 149 (8 October, 1646); *SFR*, 195-6 (4 October, 1683); *GSR*, 226 and 238-9. (3 April and 3 July, 1688)

⁷⁴ CH2/464/2, 107 (1706); *ibid.*, 115 and 128 (1707); *ibid.*, 143 (1708)

have a Bible and Psalme Book'.⁷⁵ The effectiveness of the policing of these measures, across all who could read or all households, is impossible to judge, but there was sometimes an implied threat of almost physical force. With astonishing authoritarianism Glasgow presbytery, in 1618, responded to a petition from James Primrose, clerk to the privy council and licensee to the rights of *God and the King*, concerning the catechism. There is a menacing tone to the presbytery's conclusions:

The presbyterie at the earnest request of Mr. James Primrose hes agried and ordained that everie minister within the said presbyterie give up faithfullie the names of these members of their familie that can reid within thair parish, and send the officer of the kirk with his officer of arms ... upon the said Mr. James Primrose's charges and know the said families and persones that they maye purchase the book God and the King.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ 'Selection from Aberdeen Kirk Session Records' [AKSR], in *Selection from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen*, (Spalding, 1846), 40 (14 October, 1604); *SFR*, 124-6 (14 March, 1641). The obsession with household ownership of bibles and psalms dates from the 1570s (see chapter 5).

⁷⁶ GCA. CH2/171/2b, ii, 134r. (13 August, 1618).

The Control of Ideas: the church and the clerical censor

The censorship responsibilities of Scotland's early modern church included unquantifiable numbers of sermons, written letters, and manuscripts as well as printed books. Consideration will mainly be given to known printed texts and efforts at their constraint. The legislative framework for permission to publish, that is licensing, coexisted simultaneously with the powers of censorship, and the disentanglement of these concepts from the wording of ecclesiastical or secular legislation is problematical (see chapters 5 and 6). Often what was ordained from church or state was the authority to 'control' books which simultaneously inferred the right to license printing and censor undesirable works. Furthermore, the perception of censorship as a weapon to maintain discipline ensured that all levels of clerical court could become censors, and did so particularly over the common enemy, Catholicism.

The legal authority of the church courts as censors was confirmed by act of parliament before the Reformation. The printing act of 1551/2 placed the authority with bishops.⁷⁷ Some vagueness was reflected in the authority given to the episcopacy enshrined in the 'black acts' of 1584, when no mention is specifically made of unsound books in the roll-call of disciplinary violations. Nevertheless, out of anxiety at the threat of counter-Reformation, as rumours of the impending Spanish Armada spread, 'anti-popish' parliamentary legislation in 1587, and further joint general assembly and privy council anti-Catholic measures agreed in late 1592, put practical powers in the hands of ministers in their locality. The position of the church was confirmed as a conscience to the state with an obligation to police the printed

⁷⁷ APS, iii 488-89 c26.7 and Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 154. J.

Goodare, 'Parliament and Society in Scotland, 1560-1603', (PhD, Edinburgh 1989), 354.

word.⁷⁸ It is therefore surprising that the terms of reference of the courts of high commission set up in 1610 included no mention of a responsibility for books, merely 'impertinent speeches'. It was not until the new commission granted in 1619, four years after the unification of the two archdiocese courts, that specific action against wayward authors and printers was promulgated.⁷⁹ In the 1640s much power seemed to have rested with Archibald Johnston, clerk to the kirk, both as a central censor and licensor. Nevertheless, there was considerable debate in the general assembly from 1644 to 1645 on whether censorship powers were adequate, and these pressures culminated in 1646 with an act of parliament which confirmed the right of the church to censor religious printings.⁸⁰ The swiftness with which parliament and the general assembly claimed conflicting censorship authority during the 1648 Engagement crisis in part resulted from the sophistication of the deliberations on book control a few years before.

No such conflicts arose in the reign of Charles II where the restoration of episcopacy, finally introduced by statute in October 1662, brought back disciplinarian censorship by bishop over religious texts. The re-introduction, by royal prerogative in January 1664, of a court of high commission with a wide censorship remit,⁸¹ was a sign of a desire to return to pre-covenanting policing methods. Yet, the fact

⁷⁸ Melville, *Diary*, 194-6; APS, iii, 430,c4 This 1587 legislation instructed burgh councils to assist ministers in searching for Catholic propaganda; Calderwood, *History*, v, 185; Melville, *Diary*, 301-305.

⁷⁹ Calderwood, *History*, vii, 57-62, RPC, i, 7, 417-420; Calderwood, *History*, vii, 384-388, RPC, i, 10, 605. See also George McMahon, 'The Scottish Courts of High Commission 1610-1638' from *Records of Scottish Church History Society*, xv. part iii, (1965), 196-7. Anxiety over texts against the Five Articles led to the inclusion of sanctions against books and pamphlets.

⁸⁰ For debate see SRO. PA. 11/3 Register of the Committee of Estates, 1644-45. f119v-120v; Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 432-33 and APS, vi.i.551.

⁸¹ The remit was to censure 'all who speak, preach, write, or print, to the scandal, reproach, and detriment, of the estate or government of the church or kingdom, as now established'. Wodrow, *Sufferings*, i, 283-286; Kirkton, *History*, 114-116.

that the commission was allowed to wither within two years, with important cases now taken before the privy council, was confirmation that the nobility had regained complete control of those powers of magistracy given up to the church since 1610. There was to be no return to 1637.

One of the major characteristics of early modern censorship was the close cooperation between church and state. The church did sometimes step in to plead for individual clergy.⁸² Yet, there were few major disagreements between the majority of the clergy and the secular authorities, other than 1637-38, when the dispute was with the king and not with parliament, and 1687-88, when clerical alarm at James VII's Catholicism and its implications for obedience was widespread. In this respect the historiographical consensus of the seventeenth century - a period rife with religious conflict and division - needs qualification. Most ministers throughout our period conformed to the prevailing ecclesiastic authority as supported by the state. It was only a minority of clergy that refused the oaths of 1584, 1606, 1661, 1712, and even that of 1681, in spite of the reported enthusiasm for dissent recorded by presbyterian historians. This degree of unanimity was, though, equally true of subscription to the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643. Less clear was the real degree of fervid opposition to the Five Articles after 1618, or the extent of clerical support for the Engagement of 1648. Nonetheless, this fairly broad consensus made it possible for church and state to agree on most matters of proscription relating to the book trade.

The most consistent and consensual theme of censorship after the Reformation, at least from 1572, was the suppression of Catholic books. This, like the suppression of all non-conformity, helped create an ever-present measure of the level of book suppression. Government was prompted by clergy. The Perth convention of ministers which met in August 1572, submitted a series of articles

⁸² Calderwood, *History*, iii, 335 (general assembly support for John Davidson); *ibid.*, v, 490, Melville, *Diary*, 509 (general assembly questioning privy council authority to censor writings of David Black).

against 'popery' and the regent Morton and the privy council responded twelve months later with clear intentions to act against heretical books.⁸³ At this point the new Morton regency was especially sensitive to press criticism.⁸⁴ The church also feared imported 'popery'. In 1579 it appealed to the crown through the general assembly to ban education overseas, and in 1583 the commissioners representing the synod of Lothian were mandated by the synod to appeal to the king for measures to control the bringing home of 'popish' books.⁸⁵ The regime of the earl of Arran was lukewarm to these petitions, but by 1588 government and clergy agreed to take action against the spread of Catholicism's 'poisonable doctrine'. A region by region list of the chief recusants was recorded, and in January 1589 a new commission to counter 'papists' was appointed with the printer, and publisher of Buchanan, Henry Charteris a burgh representative.⁸⁶

The presbyterian David Calderwood claimed that in the first decade of the seventeenth century episcopacy was introduced under cover of 'much ado about papists', although the presbytery records indicate there was also concern at lower levels. The king's 1606 proclamation against 'papists' was, of course, inspired by the Gunpowder Plot as well as criticisms of the treatment of the Aberdeen ministers. In July 1608 the general assembly, in its 'overtures for redeeming causes' of 'popery', emphasised the need for searchers and customs officers to seize 'bookes of apostates and professed Papists', along with a request that all booksellers show their stock to ministers

⁸³ *ibid.*, iii., 229; *ibid.*, 296. Mass books and the works of the likes of Hay, Tyrie, Winzet, Leslie and Blackwood were the main targets. *RPC*, i, 2, 334.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 301-2. Also *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* xii, 375 for indication that others were asked to give up 'prentit rhymes'; R. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i, 126. Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 271.

⁸⁵ Calderwood, *History*, iii, 446 and *BUK*(2), 189.

⁸⁶ Calderwood, *History*, iv, 651-657, *BUK*(2), 328-332, Melville, *Diary*, 265-7; Calderwood, *History*, v, 3-4; *ibid.*, 224-231.

before making titles available for purchase.⁸⁷ The threat of recusancy was iconographic as well as ideological. A general assembly act of 1616 condemned all persons found to have 'beads, cross, crucifixes, or ... other house idols or images, or in their books such things'.⁸⁸ Also, it was confirmed that all accused papists should come before the high commission, although four years before a Patrick Gray had already appeared, at the instigation of the synod of Fife, charged with having 'popish' books, including a work by Nicol Burne, probably his *Disputation concerning the controversit headdis of Religion haldin in the Realme of Scotland* (Paris, 1581).⁸⁹

Covenanters were certainly anti-Catholic although the church court records are relatively quiet on the subject. In fact, presbyterianism provided the most detailed ecclesiastically inspired plan to counter Catholicism in Scotland. This was set out by a Melvillian convention of ministers which met in Edinburgh in November 1592. Not only were regional representatives of the church appointed to search and watch for 'popery', but James Carmichael was chosen as 'ordinarie Agent' with a remit to 'travell diligentlie, be all meanes, to be informed of the practises of Papists, as be merchants and passingers coming from uther countreyes, and all sic as from anie part of this countrey resorts to Edinburgh'.⁹⁰ Carmichael's powers to police the resolution of the local clergy, and to ensure local nobles and

⁸⁷ For an example of local fears see the Glasgow presbytery concern in 1600 that its own ministers were being accused of 'popery' and its institution of a rigorous testing procedure. GCA. CH2/171/1b, 149v; Calderwood, *History*, vi, 752; *ibid.*, 585-6; *ibid.*, vi, 764 and 767; BUK(2), 579 and 581.

⁸⁸ BUK(2), 590 and Calderwood, *History*, vii, 224. This measure was entirely in tune with the thoughts of Archibald Johnston when, in 1638, he looked on in horror at a copy of the bible printed 'by Our priviledge' in Scotland which had been bound with 'pictures of the several stories of the Gospels ... after the manner of the Romish Church'. The illustrations of this 'picture bible' were printed at Antwerp. Wariston, *Diary*, (1632-39). 370-1.

⁸⁹ SFR, 45; Calderwood, *History*, vii, 443-4; RPC, i, 12, fn.277 and 419-20 (Patrick Anderson case).

⁹⁰ Melville, *Diary*, 301-305.

magistrates brought recusants to the full rigour of the civil law, confirms the extent of presbyterian counter measures.

Although the strategy of making lists of recusants is occasionally inferred by the anti-Catholic measures in the 1620s and 1630s, in the Restoration period it becomes an obsession, and the synod of Aberdeen is the first church court to start the trend. The Aberdeen area seems to have found itself in the grips of a twenty year 'Catholic problem' which began in 1656 and 1657 with two cases of discipline relating to the possession of Catholic books. The cases concerned firstly, a Thomas Moncur and Patrick Whyte, elder, and secondly, an Andrew Dickson - the first case resulted in excommunication, the second merely with public repentance.⁹¹ By October 1662 the Aberdeen synod saw the need to take 'particular notice of all papists' and ordained that presbyteries supply lists for the bishop for him to pass to the privy council.⁹² No record of a catalytic act of privy council requesting such lists has been found before 1666, but it must be assumed that similar instructions were issued to the synods of Glasgow, Lothian and Fife.⁹³ By the mid 1670s the problems of recusancy in the Aberdeen diocese had become fused with those of Quakerism and general non-conformity, and this reached the stage in 1676 where a committee of the synod was chosen to meet three privy councillors who had come north solely to assess the extent of religious non-conformity. The habit of lists and alarm persisted, and Aberdeen presbytery presented a recusant list in 1683, uncovered Catholic cells in the 1690s, and as late as 1714 the synod felt the need to plan further measures to cure recusancy in what it ironically termed its 'popish presbyteries', that is those of Aberdeen, Kincardine and Garioch.⁹⁴

⁹¹ AKSR, 137-8 and 140-1.

⁹² SRO. CH2/840/10, 3 and ASR, 264.

⁹³ RPC, iii, 2, 135. The synod records of Glasgow and Lothian have not survived for the 1660s.

⁹⁴ SRO. CH2/840/10, 38; LPR, 105 and St.APR, 85. Lanark and St. Andrews noted receipt of Sharp's letter in March and June 1666 respectively; ASR, 286-8; SRO.

CH2/840/10,103; ASR, 310-11; SRO. CH2/1/2, 399; CH2/840/2, 331. For warrants from

The difficulties of drawing a comparison between the regional church courts of Scotland have been alluded to, and the lack of Edinburgh presbytery, and Lothian and Glasgow synod records after the Restoration, is especially disappointing. Nevertheless, some conclusions can be attempted for the rest of Scotland's book trading diocese. Judging by the surviving Glasgow presbytery records recusancy was not a particular problem for the west. There was the case of the parishioner John of Hamilton who was interrogated for conferring with 'papists' in 1666, but the archbishop was forced to remind the presbytery of Lanark the following year to try harder to search for Catholics!⁹⁵ In the diocese of Fife no cases have yet been found involving book crimes, although lists of papists were prepared in at least the late 1660s and 1680s, and it seems likely that some of these were wayward book owners.⁹⁶ Meanwhile, both the synod of Lothian and presbytery of Edinburgh appear somewhat hysterical about 'popery' from 1695 to 1713, as no doubt they were during the late 1680s. A large Catholic cell was uncovered in 1695 and the fears of priests in the town were raised in 1699, and these instances confirm that some Catholic cells and chapels, and no doubt book buyers, continued in secret after the Glorious Revolution. Almost annually revised lists of recusants were created in this eighteen year period, and in 1702 the lord advocate was exhorted by Edinburgh presbytery to ensure he took appropriate civil action against those on their latest list.⁹⁷ Yet, throughout these years the core concern for the Edinburgh church courts, and their main contact with literate culture, was the

privy council to interrogate northern 'priests' in 1690s see SRO. PC.1.50, 417 (March, 1696) and PC.1.51, 453-4 (July, 1698).

⁹⁵ GCA. CH2/171/6a, 38r; *LPR*, 109.

⁹⁶ See *St.APR*, 85 (1666); *SFR*, 195 (1683).

⁹⁷ SRO. PC.1. 50, 130; CH2/252/7, 49 (1 June, 1699); PC. 1. 51, 572-3. For Edinburgh recusant lists from 1701 to 1712 see SRO. CH2/171/4, 6, 137, 175; CH2/121/6, 207; CH2/252/7, 327 and CH2/121/8, 237.

monitoring of the religious proclivities of teachers and schoolmasters. This reflected the policy laid down by the general assembly in 1700.⁹⁸

Occasional alarm was expressed by presbyteries at the activities of sectaries and anabaptists, especially in Fife and Aberdeenshire in the 1650s and 1670s, although Quakerism was the other heresy that worried these and other church courts from the mid seventeenth century. The first major outbreak of Quakerism was not in the more recognised Quaker burghs and environs of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, but in the diocese of Glasgow. While a small number of Quakers appeared at East Kilbride as early as 1653, in late 1655 Robert Baillie reported the presence of a growing population of Quakers in the general Glasgow area, and in the following year in Clydesdale. English government encouragement of independent sects did not mean it was tolerated locally. The presbytery of Lanark was forced to instruct its ministers in autumn 1656 to keep a register of Quakers, and in January 1657 a number were apprehended, interrogated to establish their philosophical and reading errors, and frequent 'fellowship of English Quakers'- excommunication followed. By the late 1660s the Quaker problem had retreated in Lanark, although it was to reappear in its parish of Douglas in 1705.⁹⁹ In 1663 the synod of Aberdeen was also receiving intelligence on Quaker meetings in its diocese, and its request for advice on how to deal with these dissenters, accompanying its petition over 'popery', resulted in the privy council laying down, on the advice of a committee, procedures for interrogating suspects. This included examining their 'writing, books and papers' and appearance before the lord advocate. In 1666 archbishop Sharp wrote to all the synods and presbyteries instructing them to keep up-to-date lists of Quakers. The cases against Andrew Robertson, Anthony Hoggart, a certain Radburn and Charles Ormiston, merchant of Kelso, indicate that severe cases were sent to Edinburgh rather than prosecuted locally, and that the normal practice was to imprison under

⁹⁸ For General Assembly advice see SRO. CH2/252/7, 84. For example of Edinburgh presbytery checking schoolmasters - CH2/171/ 4, 49. (August 1701).

⁹⁹ Baillie, *Letters*, iii, 281-292 (Letter to Spang 31 December, 1655) and *ibid.*, 318-9 (to Spang, 1 September, 1656); *LPR*, 102-3; *ibid.*, 139.

suspicion before collecting pre-trial evidence.¹⁰⁰ This cruel regime was not to last - just before the Revolution of 1688/9 greater toleration was encouraged by the government and civil courts.

In the Aberdeen area the problem was more intense with Quaker conventicles reported in Monkegie in the presbytery of Garioch in 1671, and numerous incidents in and around Ellon.¹⁰¹ Indeed, by the 1680s there were signs that Aberdeen was out of touch with the new mood of toleration.¹⁰² As late as 1712 the Aberdeen synod petitioned the general assembly for advice on handling Quakers, but a committee of the assembly provided only a timid list of censures. The frustrated clergy of Aberdeen, like the burgh council which in 1714 had been forced under threat of imprisonment to accept Quakers as ticketed burgesses, was most reluctant to be conciliatory over nonconformity and its attendant reading matter.¹⁰³

Returning to the practicalities of prohibition rather than the contextual atmosphere, the church, like the government, was concerned at the arrival of undesirable works printed overseas.

¹⁰⁰ ASR, 270; SRO. CH2/840/10, 38; LPR, 105 and *St.APR*, 85; Wodrow *Sufferings*, ii, 6

¹⁰¹ ASR, 295; *ibid.*, 310-11. It seems the presbytery of Ellon was split on how to deal, or deal at all, with Quakers and especially over the case of one George Mill. see ASR, 312-324

¹⁰² The main issue was whether the Quaker school and meeting houses in Kinkell parish and Aberdeen should be demolished. SRO. CH2/840/10, 296-7. Also appeal made to sheriff and magistrates for help, *ibid.*, 300 (17 April, 1683); CH2/1/2, 421 (20 November, 1683); *ibid.*, 446 (15 April, 1684) advice from privy council via bishop; *ibid.*, 463 and CH2/840/10, 344 (October 1684).

¹⁰³ SRO. CH2/840/2, 279 (7 October, 1712); *ibid.* 292 for assembly response noted April 1713 which suggested they try to convert them back to God, to pray for them if they were recalcitrant, and only in the last resort use the highest censures of the kirk. An example of Edinburgh presbytery's leniency is seen in the 1703 case of the daughter of a Quaker who was compassionately processed in October of that year. see SRO. CH2/171/4, 425. Edinburgh was no doubt as repressive in the 1670s and 1680s, but the presbytery and town council records indicate a softer approach after 1700 aimed at saving souls rather than retribution.

Almost all the known deliberations on this question seem to have been carried out at the highest ecclesiastical and civil levels. The first post-Reformation concern expressed by the general assembly was in 1574 when, included with its articles to the regent Morton, was a complaint against 'diverse bookes sett out by Jesuits and other hereticks, and erroneous authors ... yit are daylie imbrought in this countrie'.¹⁰⁴ Fine words rather than action emanated from a regime preoccupied with consolidation. However, proposals suggested by a convention of ministers in 1592, regarding the commissioning of local agents, and a detailed procedure for the searching of ships at port, were accepted by the privy council even though the measures proved inadequate. This explains why the Burntisland general assembly of May 1601, in its report on 'Causes of the defection from the Puritie, zeale and Praictice of Our Religion', was able to cite 'the iniquitie of skippers, mariners and owners of shippes, that under the name of passingers, transport from other places, and bring within the countrie, Seminarie Preests, Jesuits and uther traffiquing Papists, with their coffers and bookes; and the impunitie of such as convoy and sparpell their bookes through the countrie'. Under 'remedies for the causes' the assembly proposed that all passengers and books remain on board ship until 'they reveale a warrant of the ordinar magistrat', and that only ports with such a magistrate should be used for disembarking.¹⁰⁵ The clergy were unhappy at the failure to implement an act of privy council against Jesuit books introduced in December 1600. Subsequently, customs officers were given greater powers to search and seize.¹⁰⁶

The period of episcopacy in the first third of the seventeenth century made no difference to how the church authorities perceived the threat of the overseas press, even if the enemy was now two-headed - presbyterian and Roman Catholic. The 'proclamatioun anent the prenting of Bookis beyond sea' of June 1615, through which the

¹⁰⁴ Calderwood, *History*, iii, 335-6.

¹⁰⁵ Calderwood, *History*, v, 185; Melville, *Diary*, 301-5; Calderwood, *History*, vi, 115-119; *BUK*(2), 492-5.

¹⁰⁶ *RPC*, i, 6, 185-6.

sending of manuscripts for overseas printing was vetted by archbishops and government secretary, confirmed that undesirable works were still entering Scottish ports. The 1625 royal proclamation against forbidden books printed in the Low Countries, suggests that the searching and port procedures, as recommended by the kirk in 1600, were now in place.¹⁰⁷ Calderwood could nevertheless gloat that at the time his own books were passing into Scotland from the Low Countries.

Censorship could also be exercised at source even to restrict the overseas press. Consideration is given in chapter 3 to the attempts by Charles II and his agents to silence Scottish authors in exile, although to some extent the clergy became involved in such activity. In 1581 the general assembly empowered the minister at Campvere (Veere) to 'proceed against papists', and to gain the full cooperation of the conservator of the staple. This action was an attack on their books as well as their general religion. Certain overseas authors could be singled out as particular targets. Robert Baillie, on reading the first part of Robert Johnstone's *Historia Rerum Britannicorum* (1641), asked William Spang to use his influential position with Dutch printing to have Johnstone's works 'suppressed' as they condemned the 'Reformation of Religion in this Kirk'. Five years later the commissioners of the general assembly took up the same cause by writing in Latin to Alexander Petrie, minister at Rotterdam, and again to Spang, pleading with them to 'labour earnestly' with the printers to hinder the printing of Johnstone's '*historiam crimosam, mendaciorum*'. Spang may indeed have been successful in interfering with the completion of this work, for the full edition, published posthumously, did not appear until 1655. Obviously one way to prevent anti-presbyterian works reaching Scottish shores was to stop them being printed in the first place.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ RPC, i, 10, 339-40; Lee, *Memorials*, 71-72 and appendix, no. xviii. 30/31; RPC, ii, 1, 11-12; Calderwood, *History*, vii, 634.

¹⁰⁸ BUK(2), 236; Baillie, *Letters*, ii, 9 (10 May, 1642); GACR, i, 343-5.

Given the expansion in the international book trade, and the general increase in North Sea trading activity, the chances were not good for effective import controls after the Restoration. The perception that an import problem needed to be addressed is conveyed by the decision of the privy council in 1671 to commission the ninth earl of Argyll, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, to seize 'popish' books landed at Leith. This action was taken after complaints from north east ministers. A more severe case came before the privy council in the winter of 1680/81. This concerned the covenanter, apothecary and merchant John Spreul who had previously suffered imprisonment, torture and banishment in 1667. Spreul then made his fortune as a merchant travelling between France, Ireland and Holland, before returning for the battle of Bothwell Brig in June 1679. The following year he was re-arrested and imprisoned on the Bass Rock for six years. One of the reasons for apprehending Spreul was his position as a conduit for, and financier of, pamphlets and books, the distribution of which he was well able to carry out given his international trading connections. This was a common role for merchants and skippers of whatever church party. The presbytery of Edinburgh took reports in October 1703 that the ship of a James Cuthbertson 'come from abroad, [brought] a parcell of popish new books for influencing youth'. Presbytery officers were promptly appointed to 'wait upon her majesties advocate' and to ensure that the rigour of the law was brought to bear on the guilty.¹⁰⁹

The 'rigour of the law', in terms of direct action to apprehend the dissemination of forbidden literature, was more a matter for the secular than ecclesiastical authorities. This was the case despite the fact that monitoring and search and seizure regimes were sometimes recommended by the clergy, as they were by two politically divergent general assemblies in 1592 and 1608. Nevertheless, the clergy were often participants in such measures. This can be seen in 1584 with the involvement of archbishop Adamson's officers in searching for

¹⁰⁹ Wodrow, *Sufferings*, ii, 187-8 and Kirkton, *History*, 207; Wodrow, *Sufferings*, iii, 251-5. For Spreul's release see *ibid.*, iv, 412; SRO. CH2/171/4, 427. The titles of the books are not given.

subversive 'letters and wryttes' in the house of James Melville and throughout the college community of St. Andrews, and also in 1640 when officers of the general assembly in Aberdeen ransacked the house and library of the late Robert Baron. When the magistracy took direct action against authors, printers and printed material the clergy were present to add God's imprimatur.¹¹⁰

Many individual authors as well as individual books were victims of the clerical censors, such as Thomas Hepburne who in 1576 was censured by the general assembly for an erroneous article.¹¹¹ The lower church courts could also be punitive in dealing with individuals. In 1653 the St. Andrews presbytery, by now tired of the 'levitie' and 'raileing lybells' of Samuel Colville, author of a *Mock Poem, on the Whig's Supplication*, threatened the humorist with the censures of the kirk.¹¹² Censorship was not always effective, especially in the long term. Although in 1679 James Gordon, minister of Banchory, was temporarily deposed for his tract *The Reformed Bishop* - this was an attack on the slack morality of the episcopate - he was reinstated early the following year, and his book was subsequently reissued in 1680 and 1689.¹¹³ It seems that the truth of his criticisms were not lost on some of the clergy and secular magistrates.

Book traders were as vulnerable as authors to the severities of censorship, although in their case none paid the ultimate price (see chapter 6). It is often difficult to detect the precise role of the church in the known incidents involving printers and booksellers. When the magistrates of Edinburgh raided the Edinburgh press room of the printer John Scot in August 1562, and promptly imprisoned him for being engaged in printing Ninian Winzet's pro-Catholic work *The*

¹¹⁰ Calderwood, *History*, v, 185; Melville, *Diary*, 301-2; Calderwood, *History*, vi, 767; BUK(2), 581; Melville, *Diary*, 167; James Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs*, J. Robertson and G. Grub (eds.), (Spalding, 1841), iii, 237-8; Edmond, *The Aberdeen Printers*, xxv-xxvi.

¹¹¹ Calderwood, *History*, iii, 373.

¹¹² *St.APR*, 66-7 (17 August, 1653). Colville's *Mock Poem* was not printed until 1687.

¹¹³ Kirkton, *History*, 105-6. The book was also printed in England.

Last Blast of the Trumpet, the likelihood is that clerical intelligence led to his discovery.¹¹⁴ The censure of Thomas Bassandyne by the general assembly in 1568, for printing the erastian *Fall of the Roman Kirk*, reveals a post-Reformation clergy that monitored the press rooms of Scotland's early press.¹¹⁵ The clergy were confidants as well as policemen in the eyes of book merchants. The arrest after the December 1596 riots of three such stalwart presbyterians as the booksellers and printers Andro Hart, and James and Edward Cathkin greatly concerned the ministers of Edinburgh, if not the king and his immediate clerical cronies.¹¹⁶

The surviving records suggest the most intensive badgering of the book trade by church authorities came about between 1619 and 1624, carried out mainly under the auspices of the court of high commission. The initiative for the suppression of literature in the 1630s and 1680s came from the government with episcopal involvement, although not the hierarchy of the church courts. This atmosphere of oppression in the reign of James VI was of course caused by the Five Articles, but also the support given by some burgesses for deposed and censured ministers. The details of these episodes form a fascinating case study. In February 1619 the booksellers Richard Lawson and James Cathkin, and the merchant John Mein were arraigned before the high commission for the 'crime' of having open booths and not attending church on Christmas Day. Word then reached the authorities that two elders, John Mein and a revered and pious merchant Bartholomew Fleming, who according to John Livingstone traded in books, had argued heatedly with the ministers of the kirk session of Edinburgh, and against the Five Articles. The arrival of David Calderwood's book *Perth assembly* in the summer of that year further infuriated the government and the bishops, and resulted in the houses and booths of Hart, Lawson and Cathkin being searched for the book, and Cathkin himself, who was in

¹¹⁴ Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 155-6.

¹¹⁵ Calderwood, *History*, ii, 423 and *BUK*(1), i, 125.

¹¹⁶ Calderwood, *History*, v, 510-12 and 520-1.

London at the time, being arrested and tried before the king.¹¹⁷ The following March and April the same burgesses, except the aging Hart who died in 1621, were warded and threatened with banishment for supporting the rebel ministers who had been found guilty by the high commission for opposing the Five Articles. Added to the company of these book burgesses was the wealthy merchant and Edinburgh bailie William Rigg. Leniency in 1620 was followed by more heated disputes over the Five Articles at the Edinburgh kirk session in 1624, and the subsequent arrest of Rigg, Mein and other merchants by the privy council.¹¹⁸ It seems that Rigg's special crime was to be perceived as the financier of the nonconformist press.

After the Restoration there were few examples of a clerical role in disciplining printers and booksellers. An increase in secular policing over secular subjects occurred after 1660. Nevertheless, in 1661 the crown's intervention to silence the slandering of moderate ministers by Thomas Sydserf's royalist diurnal the *Mercurius Caledonius*, and the fining of the covenanting printer George Mosman for attending conventicles in 1669 and 1685 are indicative of an episcopal and government strategy to encourage moderates and silence the disruptive press.¹¹⁹ The desire, by the leaders of both estates, was for the clergy and press to act within the law.

The monitoring of the book trade was carried out under the control of the central authorities of church and state with support

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, vii, 348-9; 357-364; 380-82. For Cathkin interrogation in London see *Bannatyne Miscellany*, i, pt.2 (1827), 199-215. For Livingstone see NLS. Wodrow MSS Quarto. xvii, 'Professors in the church of my acquaintance' with 'The Life of Mr John Livingstone minister of the Gospel and some observations of the Lords dealings towards me during my lifetime' (1666). My thanks to Vaughan Wells for this reference. Fleming certainly imported the related product of printed playing cards. SRO. E71. 29/7, 24v (April, 1622), Edinburgh Customs Books, first series.

¹¹⁸ Calderwood, *History*, vii, 433-441; *ibid.*, 447-8; Spottiswoode, *History*, iii, 268-9 and Calderwood, *History*, vii, 596-611 and 618-9.

¹¹⁹ Baillie, *Letters*, iii, 468 and Wodrow, *Sufferings*, i, 215. The diurnal stopped 28 March, 1661; *ibid.*, ii, 122 and 484.

from the burghs. The fact that most printers were located in Edinburgh brought their policing nearer to the corridors of power. There were, nonetheless, occasions when provincial church courts were engaged in the process. In October 1599 the Glasgow presbytery summoned the bookseller Alexander Muir accusing him of selling a number of undesirable books including 'ane buik callit Aurea Legenda ... Morall Philosphia ... ane buik quhilk is written aganis Mr. Robert Bruce, [and] Burnes Catechisme', a mixture of anti-presbyterian and Catholic texts. A month later the Glasgow bookseller Alexander Master was censured for reportedly claiming 'that men aucht to praye to sanctis, and that the ministers workis aggries not with thair word'.¹²⁰ Aberdeen also exercised some moral jurisdiction over local book traders. Thus in 1676 the town council, with the support of the local ministers, confiscated books and admonished John Forbes, the younger, for printing Quaker texts.¹²¹

The Scottish court of high commission of 1610 to 1638 and 1664 to 1666 would be expected to be the great episcopal weapon against nonconformist books and ideas, as was the English equivalent in the reign of Charles I. And yet tracing the history of the commission to confirm its business and competence is made difficult by the absence of its records. McMahon's study of the work of the commission from 1610 to 1638 shows us that some sixty cases are known to have been heard concerning non-conformist ministers who either rejected the headship of the king, or the Five Articles of Perth.¹²² To this can be added perhaps forty cases concerning recusants, burgesses and wayward nobility. Because of the detailed nature of Calderwood's *History* our knowledge of the majority of known cases stems mostly from his references which regrettably stop in 1625. We have, however, no reason to suppose that the activity of this court was less during the

¹²⁰ GPR, 94-95.

¹²¹ Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, 1-li; ABR, 2, 294.

¹²² McMahon, 'Scottish Courts of High Commission', 200-203 for lists of accused ministers. The list is not complete and excludes the likes of John Ker, minister in Preston Pans, who was before the high commission in 1624 for refusing to kneel. Hew Scott (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, i, 388.

reign of Charles I. McMahon briefly mentions that 'there are what appear to be original summons papers among the Wodrow MS', and indeed there are. Unfortunately, those summonses so far located refer to cases already known to us and they, although interesting in themselves, do not allow us to take any further our understanding of the impact of this court on the book trade.¹²³ Nevertheless, given that the high commission was both a court of appeal for the lower church courts, be the cases about adultery, fornication, slander, church behaviour or divorce, and a body that considered the most serious cases of religious and moral indiscipline from whatever quarter, the known case-load must be a fraction of the actual number. The task of assessing the impact of the commission is made doubly difficult by the fact that there was clearly a jurisdictional dispute, overt and covert, between it and the privy council. The council sometimes decided to take over a particular case, or to overrule a commission ruling, especially if the accused had noble friends.¹²⁴

As said above, it is curious that the terms of reference granted to the first courts of high commission in 1610 made no mention of books, only to 'impertinent speeches'. The same was also true of the ordinance that united the archdiocesan courts in 1615. Nonetheless, the court considered itself to have competence in book matters. Thus it was that the recusant Patrick Gray appeared before the commission

¹²³ Examples are the summons of William Arthur in 1619 for 'publiclie' preaching at clandestine meetings and for administering communion 'with no appeirance of any kneilling to the contempt [of the] ministrie and of the General Assemblie [of 1618]', Wodrow MSS Folio. xliii, no.86. f.168, and also extensive details on Calderwood's case of 1617 including his summons, judgement and his accounts of the courts dealings - respectively Wodrow MSS Folio. xliii, no.85. f. 165; no. 83. f. 163 and Quarto lxxxvi, no. 1 ff.1-9, no.6, and no.7.

¹²⁴ See for example the protection given to Alexander Gordon of Earlston by the seventh earl of Argyll. Gordon came before the high commission in 1634 for opposing an appointment made by Thomas Sydserf, bishop of Brechin and Galloway, and was fined and banished before Argyll intervened. John Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland from 1558 to 1637*, (Wodrow, 1842), 389; A.A. Boner (ed.), Samuel Rutherford, *Letters*, (1894), xi. 132-133.

for possessing Catholic books in April 1612, and three years later John Malcolm was summoned before the court for his 'Epistle Dedicatorie' prefixed to his *Commentarie on the Acts of the Apostles*.¹²⁵ But following the general outcry of opposition to the Five Articles, starting in the winter of 1618-19, the revised commission granted in June 1619 was the first to make a specific mention of books. Constituted specifically in terms for the protection of the Five Articles, the court was to punish 'writers of pamphlets in the contrarie of anie of the constitutions of the kirk, and printers of the said books and pamphlets'.¹²⁶ And yet, in spite of these terms of reference, and the continuing case against the Edinburgh burgesses and booksellers in 1619/20 and in 1624, relatively few further cases of book censorship are known to have come to the court before 1638. We know of only one more major case affecting authors before the dissolution of the commission in 1638, and that resulted in the confinement of Samuel Rutherford in Aberdeen in late 1636 for his anti-Arminian *Exercitationes apologetica pro divina gratia* (Amsterdam, 1630).¹²⁷

If available details of the high commission's work before 1638 are inadequate, those of the Restoration high commission are virtually invisible. It is not even clear how long the court functioned after its creation by royal proclamation in January 1664. James Kirkton suggests the court continued for two years - 'this Craill Court dissolved after they hade sitt about two years' - but the latest known case was that against James Hamilton of Aikenhead who was fined and banished in

¹²⁵ RPC, i, 8, 417-420; RPC, i, 10, 435-437n; SFR, 45 (23 April, 1612); Calderwood, *History*, vii, 211-2. Malcolm made a written explanation to the king but it is not clear if his book was ever published.

¹²⁶ Calderwood, *History*, vii, 384-8 and RPC, i, 10, 605n.

¹²⁷ Calderwood, *History*, vii, 443-4; Baillie, *Letters*, i, 8 (Letter to Spang, 2 January, 1637); Rutherford *Letters*, lxi. 136-138 and Row, *History*, 396-7. Rutherford was summoned to appear in 1630 but as Spottiswoode was unable to reach the court by boat due to storms the charges were allowed to lapse. See Rutherford, *Letters*. xl. 52-54. For new 1634 commission see Baillie, *Letters*, i, appendix. no.iv. 424 and Wodrow MSS quarto (Church and state papers) lxxvii no.16.

November 1664 for refusing the oath of allegiance.¹²⁸ Collating mainly the references from Wodrow and Kirkton only seven cases have been found and not one of them has a connection with printers, booksellers or authors. The main indiscretions were attending conventicles and qualms at taking the oath. Serious cases of non-conformity, including those concerning the book trade, were re-affirmed as the jurisdiction of the privy council - secular courts, as so often before, acting at the recommendation of the clergy. The role of the clerical censor was, since the Reformation, a source of political tension. Censorship was like a loaded gun, available for use at any time, relentless in its impact on the chosen target, and a tempting weapon for those in clerical as well as secular authority.

¹²⁸ Kirkton, *History*, 118; For commission see Wodrow *Sufferings*, i, 384-6, Kirkton, *History*, 115-6 and Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, (London, 1850), i, 143; For Hamilton see Wodrow, *Sufferings* i, 391-2 and Kirkton, *History*, 118-9.

Editors, Educationists, Bibliophiles and Book Buyers

The clergy was the largest nursery for budding authors in the early modern period. Proportionately, the church courts were very active publishers, and without this input into literate culture Scotland's infant book trade would have been very diminutive. Even though the predominant role of the clergy had receded by the late seventeenth century it was never commercially unimportant until the twentieth century.

Projects could be large, as with the publication of Scotland's first bible (see above), and the preparation of the material for Blaeu's *Atlas Major*, or deceptively small, as when in 1573 the general assembly granted Richard Bannatyne costs to assist him with the editing of Knox's *History*. The smaller scale projects often concerned liturgy, such as the assembly's agreement in 1581 to pay to print Thomas Smeton's 'methods of preaching', and the authorisation of Alexander Henderson's 'exercise in families', a catechism which it approved in 1640 on examination of pre-printed copies provided by the author.¹²⁹ Local publishing and distribution initiatives, however well-intentioned, could fall foul of higher courts. In July 1688 the synod of Glasgow saw fit to recommend Patrick Simpson's *Scriptural Songs* (1686) to each presbytery and to brethren at the price of 'ten [shillings] Scottis the coppie'. Unfortunately, three months later the synod recorded the decision by the general assembly to revise the book through a committee of six ministers and, in order to clear existing stock, local ministers were asked to sell it off at eight pence a copy.¹³⁰ This early example of remaindering must have been an acute embarrassment to the synod.

¹²⁹ Calderwood, *History*, iii, 276-7. The first Scottish edition of Knox appears to be that of 1644; BUK(2), 219; Baillie, *Letters*, i, 250.

¹³⁰ GSR, 250.

Liturgical publishing was managed successfully at local level. Thus in 1612 the synod of Fife set up a committee to set down a short and clear Confession of Faith for its parishioners. The Aberdeen presbytery and synod, between 1683 and 1688, developed a complex plan to publish a new catechism. Committee meetings began in October 1683, and a year later it was agreed that a reduced committee should meet in the 'Bishopis dwelling' under his chairmanship. After four years of inertia the presbytery decided that a draft catechism should be drawn up by Dr. Sibbald of King's College. When Sibbald withdrew due to illness the synod stepped in and in October 1688 appointed Dr. George Gordon as a replacement. We do not know if he ever delivered his text.¹³¹

Larger clerical publishing projects were organised and managed by general assemblies or bishops. The most significant multi-title projects were those of the 1560s to establish the liturgy of the Protestant church; the liturgical revolution from 1616 to 1637, when a complete new series of church texts was introduced from the catechism *God and the King* (1617), the 'King James Psalms' (1631), the *Book of Canons* (1635) and the Service Book (1637), and the covenanters uniform liturgy which was created and authorised between 1643 and 1650. The licensing and subscription of the Arbuthnet and Bassandyne bible in the 1570s, and the modest support given to the Hart Geneva bible of 1610, were innovatory and surprising respectively, but uncontroversial.

The covenanting liturgy was especially complex in its introduction. In a reflection of the internationalism of covenanting, in 1641 Alexander Henderson suggested a uniform liturgy for the Scottish and English churches.¹³² However, it was not until the agreement of the Solemn League and Covenant, in the summer of

¹³¹ *SFR*, 44-5; for 1620 catechism see *ibid.*, 94. For Aberdeen catechism see *SRO*. CH2/1/2, 428 and CH2/840/10, 316; CH2/1/2, 463; CH2/840/10, 374; CH2/1/2, 528; CH2/840/10, 416. The records of these courts show no references to this catechism after the Revolution of 1689 which suggests it was an episcopalian project.

¹³² Baillie, *Letters*, i, 365.

1643, that the divines in Westminster could begin to carry out his proposals. Robert Baillie was clearly one of the main architects of this bold publishing strategy as it meandered its course in London negotiations from 1643 to 1647. There were many delays and false starts. While Baillie confidently predicted a new catechism by May 1644, this did not appear until the end of the process in January 1647. Between these dates a new Directory of Worship was created and by December 1644 approved by both English houses of parliament. In Scotland it was prescribed by 'act of conformity' in May 1646, although the first Scottish edition was printed the year before. Progress on the new Confession of Faith was as sluggish as with the catechism, but by late 1646 the former had gone to press in London. The greatest difficulty was in finalising a new edition of the Psalms. In the end it was agreed to publish a revision of Francis Rouse's text of 1643. By the summer of 1646 amendments had been agreed in Edinburgh and London, and effectively by 1647 liturgical uniformity was complete.¹³³ Although it was 1650 until the Scottish clergy finally approved and prescribed the first Scottish printing of the Psalms the speed of this liturgical revolution was remarkable.¹³⁴ Episcopacy took twenty years to achieve what had taken covenanting a mere seven.

Not every publishing project, small or grand, came to fruition - thus it was with the plan to publish an official history of the kirk. This project stemmed from the desire to set the record straight in an age of controversy in church affairs. Although mention of such a chronicle was made by the general assembly in 1592, when the agent to the kirk, James Carmichael, was asked to assemble documents for a 'Memoirs of the Kirk', the idea was given firmer substance in 1647. In October of that year a committee of twelve was chosen by the commissioners to consider how the material could be gathered, although the group was reduced in November and now consisted of 'the Lord Advocate, Lord

¹³³ *ibid.*, ii, 172; *ibid.*, 250-1; *LTSR*, 180 ; SRO. GD45/13/331, 25r; Baillie, *Letters*, ii, 401; *ibid.*, 280; *ibid.*, 379; *ibid.*, iii, 1-3.

¹³⁴ For the intense debate in Scotland over the Directory and psalms see *GACR*, i, 304-5; *CPR*, 118; *GACR*, ii, 196 and *APS*, iii, pt.ii. 161. *GACR*, ii, 141; *ibid.* 295; *ibid.*, 302-3; *ibid.*, 328 and 339; *St. APR*, 54. *SFR*, 160; *LTSR*, 237; SRO. GD45/13/331, 64r; *CPR*, 123.

Humbie, Mesr. David Calderwood, George Gillespie and John Smith, along with the Moderator and Clerk'. Nine months later, in a positive move which unfortunately may never have happened, the commissioners agreed to award the zealous Calderwood £800 to defer his costs for collecting material. Robert Boyd was granted copyright on behalf of the general assembly. Discussions then took place on the selection of an appropriate author, with the appointment of John Livingstone being confirmed by the general assembly in autumn 1649. Whether the agreement in November 1649 to collect recent public papers to prevent 'the prejudice of [their] cause', and then to print them in a book, refers to the same general history is not clear, but either way, as far as is known, nothing was published.¹³⁵ They, like historiography, would have to wait for the posthumous history of that zealous presbyterian.

Presbyterians and episcopalians regarded themselves as the guardians of education, and as collective and individual bibliophiles. The church's role in maintaining and monitoring education was of course continuous before and after the Reformation, but gained the extra impetus of formal policy in the First and Second Books of Discipline. Nevertheless, the church court records do not reveal the intensive consideration of education that is found in, say, the 1650s and 1660s from the council records of the major burghs. Education was, to a degree, taken for granted. For the clergy the major concern was the discipline of teachers and ensuring their adherence to the 'true religioun' in the political and religious sense. Thus teachers had to adhere to the Confessions of Faith, the Covenant, the oath of allegiance, the canonical oath, the Test Oath and so on. Kirk sessions and presbyteries stepped in to discipline teachers over drunkenness or fornication just as they would for other senior members of the lay community. Fines for such crimes were in turn used to sustain poor

¹³⁵ Melville, *Diary*, 303-4; *GACR*, i, 319; *ibid.*, i, 338/9; Baillie, *Letters*, iii, 59-65; *GACR*, ii, 303; Baillie, *Letters*, iii, 96; *GACR*, ii, 329-30. The editor of *Fasti* confuses this history with that of Calderwood but the appointment of Livingstone shows the former was not intended to be the author, perhaps because Calderwood was already over 70 years old at the time. *Fasti*. i, 384.

students, often highlanders or 'Irishes', and to help them buy books. Texts had to be provided for schools of course, and naturally catechisms in particular which were prescribed for all schools and masters. Meanwhile, at the universities the main concern was the maintenance of theology teaching, and the vetting of those seeking places as well as the continuation of bursaries and scholarships.

There are few examples of local church courts taking a strongly pro-active position on the management of the school system, and mostly it must have been left to individual ministers and masters unless serious irregularities came to light. The synod of Fife in the 1640s is an exception to this, and its constant petitioning of the general assembly for more help to establish a school in every parish was accompanied in 1647 by a six point plan to underpin education. This plan, for 'effectual training up of childrene at schooles', required the ministers to - press in their sermons parental duty to send children to school; to keep a roll of children between five and ten years; to encourage parents to send children under their own charge, but if they were unable for the session to help; for masters of schools to advise ministers and sessions of withdrawals; for ministers to visit schools regularly and to check the roll and the masters diligence over poor scholars, and lastly for 'masters of families [to] be exhorted to use means for learning thar servants to reid'. This is an impressive education drive without a particular parallel elsewhere, although the objectives in other regions where records have not survived, must have been broadly similar. More typical was the concern to appoint the right man as school master. The education committee of Edinburgh presbytery in 1713 confirmed its four point vetting procedure: had he subscribed the Confessions of Faith, were his testaments good, was his 'manner of teaching' and the 'government and discipline of the school' effective and lastly, were there 'sufficient salaries' for the appointment and the number of students.¹³⁶ For most church courts the commitment to education was implicit, like maintaining the fabric of church buildings or ministering to the poor, but it was nevertheless an important subtext to the development of a wider literate society.

¹³⁶ SFR, 152-3; SRO. CH2/121/9, 4-5.

The detailed study of the vast number of book collections accumulated by clerical bibliophiles is outwith the scope of this research. Many literati, clergymen and academic divines left bequests to college libraries from Clement Little (advocate) to Edinburgh in the 1580s, James Boyd to Glasgow in the 1620s and Robert Leighton to Dunblane in the 1680s. But the involvement of the church courts in constituting and managing libraries in general was minimal, although St. Andrews presbytery did try to impose its own choice of college librarian in 1642, and the synod of Aberdeen was instrumental in the foundation of a new theology library at King's College in 1700. The one area of widely practised responsibility concerned the assistance given to James Kirkwood's plan for Highland libraries. This was approved by the general assembly in 1703/4 and proceeded with support from the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1703 and 1705 the Edinburgh presbytery urged the raising of funds in aid of this plan for a library in every Highland parish. The Aberdeen synod demanded and received reports on the state of Highland libraries within its parishes in 1711 and 1713 as did the synod of Glasgow in 1706 and 1708. When in April 1712 the Lothian synod considered the extent of its support for the Scottish Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge its accounts showed that a remarkable £25000 (Scots) had been collected for the planting of libraries and schools.¹³⁷ Helping with inception of rural libraries was now considered a legitimate and worthy activity for the church courts, in spite of the fact that long before most college libraries had gained a strong degree of independence from local church courts or bishops.

The early modern clergy were the most consistent customers for the Scottish book trade in this period, as can be seen from the many clerical debtors in the testaments of book traders. There are numerous anecdotes and reference in diaries and memoirs to the outrageous price of books, the poor quality of domestic printings compared with

¹³⁷ *St. APR*, 21; SRO. CH2/840/11, 167; CH2/121/5, 26; *ibid.*, 6; CH2/840/2, 250 (libraries in presbytery of Alford); *ibid.*, 292 (libraries in Alford and Kincardine presbyteries); CH2/252/8, 39. CH1/2/23, 289 (Assembly papers) (19 August, 1703). CH2/464/1, 94 and 142 (synod of Clydesdale formerly of Glasgow and Ayr).

those from overseas, and sometimes even the scandalous behaviour of an opportunist press that printed editions without permission or adequate correction.¹³⁸ It is typical in commercial history for the greatest customers to be the greatest critics. And yet the clerical reader and book maker and retailer were inextricably bound requiring each others commercial patronage to continue the spread of the civilising business of books. Of all the authoritarian sectors in Scottish society at this time the church, in demanding controls of the press - a desire to produce a book trade 'in Gods image' - had no wish to restrict the circulation and proliferation of books and readers. The Reformation killed off the general premise that reading was an elite activity. Therefore, the impact of the clergy and its courts thereafter was not merely to penetrate the souls of men and women, but to plant deep in society the practical notions of literacy and reading. As was understood by the many sons of ministers who became book trade apprentices, the expansion in supply delivered by the press needed that expansion in demand promoted by the godly.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Robert Baillie was a particular critic. See Baillie, *Letters*, i, 24 and ii, 175.

¹³⁹ The role of Edinburgh apprentices from 1583 to 1755 shows over 20 sons of ministers apprenticed to the book trade and the list included successful individuals such as the printer John Wreittoun (apprenticed 1609) and bookseller Alexander Ogstoun (apprenticed 1651). See Francis J. Grant (ed.) *Register of Apprentices of the city of Edinburgh, 1583-1666*, (SRS, 1906) and Charles B. B. Watson (ed.) *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices 1666-1700*, (SRS, 1929) and ditto, *1700-1755*, (SRS, 1929).

Chapter 3

The Scottish Book Trade and the Low Countries

'there is no ploughman or servant who steps out without holding his bible, for as soon as he has the opportunity he wants at once to take up the Book and to obey the word of God, and to read it at home or in the field'

(Joseph Athias, bible printer, 1688)¹

Scotland in Europe

Economic historiography is unanimous over the crucial importance of Scotland's trade with the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² Even though the significance of

¹ From the preface to a bible printed by Athias in 1688. Translated from the Dutch.

² The three most prominent economic surveys, I.F. Grant *The Social and Economic Development of Scotland Before 1603*, (1930); S.G. E. Lythe's *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, 1550-1625*, (1960) and Smout, *Scottish Trade* outline trading links with Scandinavia, the Low Countries and France, but do not discuss the expanding trade in books. Lythe's chapter on the overall trade with the Low Countries is a good general summary, see 232-246 as also Smout, 185-194. In addition, there are some important articles that shed light on Scotland's overseas trade in this period - James J. Brown, 'Merchant Princes and Mercantile Investment in Early Seventeenth-Century Scotland' in Lynch, *The Early Modern Town*, 125-146 and Brown's 'Edinburgh merchant Elite, 1600-38'; Margaret Sanderson, 'The Edinburgh merchants in Society, 1570-1603: the Evidence of their Testaments', in Cowan and Shaw, *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, 183-199; T. M. Devine and S.G.E. Lythe, 'The Economy under James VI: a revision article' (*SHR*, L, 1971), 91-106; Devine, 'The Cromwellian Union and the Scottish Burghs' 1-16, a comprehensive revision of Theadora Keith on the weakness of trade in the Cromwellian period in her 'Economic Condition of Scotland

the trade relationship was greatest for the weaker economy of Scotland, the fact that trading towns like Bruges, Middelburg, Veere and Antwerp were prepared in this period to compete for the right to be Scotland's staple port, confirms that Scottish trade was both valued and desirable. The gains for Holland, Zeeland and Brabant appear to have been France's loss. Yet a close examination of shipping records shows that Franco-Scottish trade was remarkably resilient.³ While the ardour of the 'auld alliance' faded after 1560, Scotland's ships continued to trade with French ports until the end of the seventeenth century. Until the Edict of Nantes was rescinded in 1685, and the political atmosphere finally became too poisonous for commerce, the French wine trade with Scotland was enormous and, importantly for our topic, France was the main source of quality white paper for book printing, though much of it was bought at the markets of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. It is only after 1685 that England, and to a lesser extent Scotland, experienced the expansion of domestic paper manufacture, and that Scotland began to use English paper in large quantities.⁴

In the early modern period the question for Scotland was not if but how it should trade with the Low Countries - should it funnel its goods through a single staple port, a 'stabile emporium',⁵ or via a

under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate' (*SHR*, v, 1908), 273-284 and also J. MacMillan, 'Edinburgh Burgess Community'. (see chapter 5)

³ For example, in Leith customs records from November 1649 to July 1650 a total of 62 ship arrivals are recorded with 4 from Veere, 8 from the Low Countries in total, but 34 from France, including 23 from Bordeaux. Figures calculated from printed accounts of Gilbert Moore in appendix of G. Wood, (ed.), *Edinburgh Burgh Records 1655-65*, (*EBR*, 9), 'Miscellaneous Papers', (1940).

⁴ For Scottish paper industry see chapter 5 and A.G. Thomson, *The Paper Industry in Scotland, 1590-1801*, (1974) and especially 1-25. Paper from Italy, notably Lombardy, was common in Scotland in the early seventeenth century, see Sanderson, 'Testaments', 197.

⁵ SRO. Register House Papers RH 4.25 (microfilm) MSS Relating to the Church and Staple at Campvere, no 2. 'Some Observations upon the Ancient and Modern State of

variety of 'free' trading centres; if the former, which port offered the best commercial opportunities, and which commodities should be defined as staple goods? Some of these decisions could be arrived at by a straightforward consideration of the economies of these trading partners - Scotland, a weaker underdeveloped economy with basic raw materials on offer such as hides, fish, wool, salt, coal and the like, contrasted with the more advanced markets and economy of the Low Countries, with manufactured items and luxury goods.⁶ In many respects it was the ideal marriage during a historical period when the economies of England and Scotland were too similar in type, if not in scale, for such effective symbiosis. By the seventeenth century Scottish-Dutch trade had become sophisticated involving mutual chartering from each others merchant fleets, and agreement over multiple trading destinations. Thus, in 1607, the Portuguese merchants of Amsterdam Anthonio Rodrigues de Mora and Simon de Marcado chartered the ship the 'Margriete' from the Scottish captain John Law, and in 1623 the Amsterdam merchants Jan and Hendrick Domner likewise contracted the 'St. Andries' from 'Jan Issacksz van Dundee' to ship out to Portugal and Rotterdam. Scottish merchants employed Dutch mariners - in 1609 the Edinburgh merchant Robert Mentieth engaged the Dutch ship 'de Vliegende Leeuw' owned by Jacob Adamson, an Amsterdam captain, to sail to Rochester near London via 'eiland Lochquaber'. The destinations could certainly be varied. In 1675 the Scottish merchant William Fraser chartered the 'Margaita van Brisnoos' from Jan Omfry to sail to Rochelle and Riga. Middelburg merchants also chartered the merchant fleet of Amsterdam for the trade with Scotland.⁷

the Scots Staple Trade in the Netherlands', 1 (Campvere MSS), ex New College Library, Edinburgh.

⁶ For a summary of what constituted a staple commodity, a definition that altered over time, see Davidson and Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, 354-360.

⁷ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam [GAA], Notarial Archive, [NA].110. 71-72; 210. 39v; 115. 19-20; 3864. 45. For Middelburg / Amsterdam, see Jan and Jacques de Clerck merchants of Middelburg chartering 'de Cap Raven' of Amsterdam for Scotland in 1613. GAA. NA.

The position of books in this complex and long-standing trade relationship was ideal, and doubly so as the expansion of general trade between Scotland and the Low Counties came 'chiefly after [their] Reformation from Popery' in 1560 and 1566 respectively.⁸ Thus Scottish ships laden with wool and hides could be transformed for their return journey into conveyors of a range of manufactured items, including quantities of books that reflected a common religious philosophy. Unfortunately, the difficulty for the historian is the matter of scale, both in the slight value and physical innocuousness of small quantities of books. Even a thousand copies of all but the largest format of bible could pass unnoticed in the historical record. The intellectual 'scream' of an influential text is in sharp contrast to its physical 'whisper'.⁹ Nevertheless, if we accept that the most common means of transporting books was as part of the returning cargo of the general merchant, then our assessments of the frequencies of voyages can, along with the application of bibliographical knowledge, allow us to draw some general conclusions about an expanding level of book activity.

Many merchants and sea captains were involved in the overt and covert activity of importing books into Scotland, often as a lucrative side-line.¹⁰ Sadly no early modern account book, or diary of a professional book merchant, such as the extant records for Christopher

131.163-4. The notarial archives of Amsterdam are a rich source of information on the general Dutch/Scottish sea trade.

⁸ SRO. RH 4.17.2. (microfilm) MSS Miscellaneous notes and Correspondence of the Scots Kirk at Rotterdam, seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, doc. no.24 'A Short Account of the Trade between Scotland and Holland, especially at Rotterdam' (c1779), 8. ex Scottish Church archive, Rotterdam.

⁹ The Scottish Port Books reflect the importation of books but they were rarely subject to duty before 1660 (see chapter 5).

¹⁰ For instance, Andrew Russell, son of the successful Stirling merchant John Russell, traded from 1668 out of the Low Countries, and was asked by Scottish customers to bring back books and other general 'goods and equipment' in exchange for staple goods like cloth, tallow, skin and butter. Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 104.

Plantin at Antwerp, has survived for Scotland which could give us a comprehensive picture of dealings with sea captains and overseas suppliers. The most comprehensive overview of the illicit book import trade of England and Scotland is that provided by the English printer Matthew Symmons in 1638. This arose from an interrogation by the magistrates of Leiden at the insistence of the English ambassador Sir William Boswell. Symmons had learned his trade from, and worked for, the Leiden puritan printer Willem Christiaensz van der Boxe, and in 1638 Christiaensz was being pursued by archbishop Laud and Boswell for printing nonconformist tracts, such as William Prynne's *News from Ipswich*, and part of George Gillespie's *A Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies Obtruded upon the Church of Scotland*.¹¹ The written report by Symmons was received in London in April 1638. For our understanding of book financing, distribution and importation this is a valuable document. English language books from the Low Countries, offensive tracts and unlicensed bibles, were financed and transported by numerous merchants and exiles, such as the Cameronian Glasgow merchant John Spreul, active in the 1660s and 1670s, or the fugitive Scottish lawyer William Hage (Wilhelm Haeke), who financed from Leiden anti-prelatical works such as *An Abridgement of That Book which the Ministers of Lincoln Diocese Delivered to His Majestie* (Christiaensz, 1638). The pirates of pernicious literature were based at both ends of the trading conduit. Symmons reported how the books were gathered and landed: 'Manie merchantes bye great quantities of them there and packe them up in towe and other goodes and so bring them over' or ship them disguised as 'white paper' to dupe the English and Scottish customs searchers, some of whom were happy in any case to turn a blind eye. But many of the consignments avoided customs scrutiny altogether:

¹¹ The last piece was a remarkable co-production with the separatist press of John Canne of Amsterdam. The practice of sharing the printing, and financial and political risk, was quite common. In 1629 Alexander Leighton's book *An Appeal to the Parliament; or Sions Plea* was printed simultaneously by the successors of Giles Thorp and Jan Fredericksz Stam, both located at Amsterdam.

The ship masters have a way as they say to cozen the devell, thast is if they have anie prohibited goodes on there ship, then they strike upon the sandes of [Queensborough] and send away all there passengers and deliver a; there prohibited goodes in some small boate ... then [to] com off the sandes without any danger.

Parallels can be drawn with David Calderwood's boastful account of the successful importation of his banned book *Perth Assembly* in April 1619.¹² The landing of the books at Burntisland before transfer by small boat to Leith, and the uninterested attitude of the customs officials at Burntisland, provide a familiar picture.¹³ The techniques of surreptitious book importing were similar in Scotland and England. Once the books arrived at their place of destination the informal network of dissent took over distribution.

The trading and religious relationship with the Low Counties was fairly similar for Scotland and England throughout much of the period. Ministers and worshippers from both nations attended the same churches in cities like Amsterdam, Delft, Dort, Leiden, Middelburg and many other centres. Only in Veere and Rotterdam, the largest Scottish community from the seventeenth century, were specific Scottish churches formed, in 1614 and 1642 respectively. The major Scottish regiments of the Low Countries, formed in 1586, 1603 and 1628 in order to fight the Spanish, did have their own chaplains, the longest serving being Andrew Hunter who ministered to the

¹² This was printed by the Pilgrim Press at Leiden only weeks before.

¹³ For the Symmons report see Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic [PRO, SP] 16/387/79 'The Informacion of M.S.'; Keith Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Leiden, 1982) [Sprunger (1)], 310-12, 315; Keith Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600-1640*, (Leiden, 1994) [Sprunger, (2)], 30-31, 149 and perhaps the most concise account in Dutch historiography P.G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de beurs: De geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart*, (Amsterdam, 1987), 102-3; Calderwood, *History*, vii, 380-1. For a discussion of book distribution see Keith Sprunger(2), 156-169.

soldiers from 1590 to 1630. Nevertheless, Scots and English regiments had been formed to face the same enemy.¹⁴ In trade, both nations used mostly the same ports of Zeeland and Holland, with their markets, warehouses and banking facilities, even though the Scottish staple was almost always located at Veere [or Campvere], while the English staple, and home of the Merchant Adventurers, moved from Antwerp to Middelburg (1582-1621), then Delft (1621-35), Rotterdam (1635-55), and finally Dort (1655-68), before the Adventurers lost their monopoly of unfinished English white cloth. Presses were also shared, and the close proximity of the Scottish and English centres of Veere and Middelburg was crucial to the 'underground' printing of Anglo-Scottish works in the reign of James VI and I.

The career of the Scot William Spang, minister to the Scottish church of Veere (1630-53), and of the English reformed church of Middelburg (1653-64), symbolises so much that was in contrast and in common in this Anglo-Scottish environment.¹⁵ Spang was a committed presbyterian, and a major conduit for publishing activity supporting his cause. Urged on by his cousin Robert Baillie, Spang helped organise a pamphlet campaign against independency, which included Alexander Forbes's *Anatomy of Independency* (1644), Thomas Edward's *Antapologia* (1644) and a much coveted pro-presbyterian tract from the divine Willem Apollonius, on behalf of the classis of Walcheren, entitled *Consideratio quarundam controversiarum, ad regimen ecclesiae spectantium quae in Angliae regno hodie agitantur; ex mandato et jussu Claasis Walcheren* (London, 1644). Ministers like Alexander Petrie at Rotterdam and, before his death in 1638, John Paget at the English church in Amsterdam, helped produce this tide of presbyterian polemic. It could be difficult to hold the line. The likes of Paget in the 1630s had to fight

¹⁴ J. Ferguson (ed.), *Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the service of the United Netherlands, 1572-1772*, (SHS, 1899) i, 57. William Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, (Edinburgh/Rotterdam, 1832), 338.

¹⁵ For details of Spang see Sprunger (1), 188-90; *ibid.*, 205-11, and Davidson and Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, 278; *ibid.*, 293-99; *Fasti*, vii, 540-1.

off pressure from his own congregation to move in the direction of congregationalism, while Spang was accused by his members of creating a Scottish rather than an English church in Middelburg. Spang's description of the church as 'British' let alone 'Scottish' did not go down well with English members of the congregation.¹⁶ Essentially, the strong religious contrasts between mostly Scottish presbyterianism and mostly English congregationalism soured relations between the respective nationalities. There was plenty scope for religious, as well as commercial, rivalry and factionalism, although the theological bonds between the Scottish churches and the Dutch Reformed Church were generally strong.

The particular unique qualities of Scotland's book trade with the Low Countries must be considered along with this 'partial' Anglo-Scottish consensus. Unfortunately, some of the best historiography on the book history of the Netherlands and Britain does not comprehend the separate development and context of Scottish book publishing. In his excellent study of printing in Amsterdam and Leiden, Keith Sprunger states confusedly - 'Shipping in unbound sheets, in addition to ease of smuggling, also offered a slight hope for contravening the British book laws, which originally forbade importation of "books" without mentioning "sheets" '- but not until 1681 was legislation passed in Scotland to restrict the importation of bound sheets and to protect the book binding trade.¹⁷ There were other reasons for transporting in sheets, such as ease of concealment, the specification of the bookseller, or even part-shipments to England and Scotland, as

¹⁶ Baillie, *Letters* ii, 193. For summary Sprunger (1), 365-6. Dutch and English editions of the Apollonius tract were printed in London in 1644 and 1645 respectively. For Spang's 'British' sympathies see Rijksarchief Zeeland [RAZ], Middelburg Consistory Register, I, 91, 197. For Baillie's general and successful campaign through Spang to get Dutch support for presbyterianism see Baillie, *Letters*, i, 110, 357; *ibid.*, ii, 75, 107, 179-80.

¹⁷ Sprunger, (2), 160. He has taken this erroneous line from Leona Rostenberg, *The Minority Press and The English Crown: A Study in Repression, 1558-1625*, (New York, 1971), 192. See chapter 5 for sheet pricing.

when in November 1637 a ship from Delft containing books by John Bastwick and other tracts went to Newcastle with stock for Scotland on board.¹⁸ In addition, and equally as false, is the notion that Scotland mirrored England's legislation between 1515 and 1534 which set out to limit foreign workers in the book industry.¹⁹ Provided you were a registered burghess of the burgh in question you were entitled to trade regardless of your nationality. The large number of foreign and English printers in Scotland, from Thomas Vautrollier in the 1580s to Christopher Higgins in the 1660s, testifies to an 'open door policy', helped by the fact that there was no Stationers' Company to restrict the number of presses within Scotland, or provide a focus for institutionalised xenophobia. Also, at no time in the period were foreign bibles entirely excluded from Scotland.²⁰ It was not a closed monopolistic book market that hindered the expansion of Scotland's book trade but the weakness of her overall economy.

¹⁸ PRO. SP. 16/387/79.

¹⁹ The Dutch bibliographer Christian Coppens repeats this misconception in the introduction to his *Reading in Exile: The Libraries of John Ramridge, Thomas Harding and Henry Joliffe*, (Cambridge, 1993), 1-2, and in his essay 'Challenge and Counterblast: The Book as a Weapon in the English Controversy during the Second half of the Sixteenth Century' in the excellent *Antwerpen dissident drukkerscentrum. De rol van de Antwerpse drukkers in de godsdienstsrijd in Engeland (16de eeuw)*, (Plantin - Moretus Museum, exhibition catalogue, Antwerp, 1994), [*Plantin exhibition catalogue*], 34.

²⁰ It is precisely because of Scotland's less monolithic control of book commerce that English bible printers became so concerned about bound Dutch bibles entering England via Scotland. When Andro Hart imported bibles into Scotland in 1601 he was behaving legally - when his English partner John Norton took them overland into England he was not. For a summary of Hart and Norton's activities see McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557-1640*, 127-129, 203-5 and for the dispute over bible printing Acts of the Privy Council [England], New Series, xxxii, 14-15 and RPC, i, 4, 439.

Scotland and the 'Golden Compass'²¹

Bruges was the staple port of Scotland for most of the fifteenth century but, by the period of the 'appointment' of Andrew Halyburton as conservator of the staple (1493-1503), Scottish trade was concentrating in the province of Walcheren, and especially at Middelburg. In book trade terms, however, Halyburton's ledger shows that, by the end of the fifteenth century, Antwerp was already providing quantities of printed books for the Scottish reader. James Cumming, a Scottish student and book dealer, purchased books from the Antwerp bookseller 'Garad van Arnssurd' in 1495, and two years later shipped '29 goldyn guldynis' of books to Scotland for John Fowler. In late 1493 James Watson, who partnered Cummings in some book business, supplied '500 crounis in gold' of books to William Scheves, archbishop of St. Andrews and a noted book collector. It is likely that this stock also came from Antwerp - a few months afterwards Halyburton even had to pay to have Watson released from the town prison! In January 1504/5 Halyburton himself acquired in Antwerp, for the lawyer Richard Lawson, a kist of 'viii volomys contenand the corss of bath the lawys, cost xxviii guldynis'.²² Law books, breviaries and theological texts were all supplied. The first printer arrived in Antwerp in 1481, but these orders confirm the presence of booksellers 'before' book printers.

The general decline of Bruges as a centre of Scottish and English trade was matched by the meteoric rise of Antwerp. By the 1540s it was

²¹ This was the imprint and colophon of the Plantin Press.

²² Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, 1492-1503*, (1867), 102-3; *ibid.*, 6-7; *ibid.*, 273. For a Cummings/Watson joint shipment (June, 1493), *ibid.*, 100. A summary of the activities of these 'dealers' is to be found in Paul B. Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing', 9, although he does not make the connection with Antwerp and misattributes the Lawson order as the work of Cumming.

the greatest trading emporium in Europe. Antwerp was also the sixteenth-century home of the English Merchant Adventurers, that is until 1582 when they transferred to Middelburg. In terms of printing the capacity of Antwerp was becoming vast - it was the Amsterdam of the sixteenth century. By the 1540s half the presses of the Netherlands were located in the city, and some fourteen presses had already engaged for commercial or pious reasons in the production of the Protestant works that fuelled the European Reformation.²³ But in spite of Antwerp's commercial enthusiasm for English Protestant texts before the late 1540s, the bulk of the printing was both Latin and Catholic. The famous Christopher Plantin press, started in 1555, made its fortune in the 1550s and early 1560s supplying Catholic liturgical works, breviaries, missals and the like, to Spain.²⁴ Any hope of continuing with the supply of printed texts to both sides in the religious divide disappeared in 1567 with the onset of the Revolt of the Netherlands.²⁵

The economy of Antwerp was hit badly, though not catastrophically by the events of 1566-7. Other crises lay ahead. The

²³ Halyburton worked out of Bergen, Bruges and Antwerp as well as Middelburg, and his remit was the entire Netherlands. Davidson and Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, 173; *ibid.*, 363. For a summary of Antwerp's early printing importance see F. de Nave, 'Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre in the 16th Century: General Synthesis' in *Plantin Exhibition Catalogue* 11-19; F. de Nave *Protestantse drukken en prenten uit de hervormingstijd te Antwerpen*, (Antwerp, 1985), and L. Voet 'De typografische bedrijvigheid te Antwerpen in de 16de eeuw' in *Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis, Antwerpen in de XVIe eeuw*, (Antwerp, 1975).

²⁴ Leon Voet, *The Golden Compass: A History and Evaluation of the printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, (2 vols, Amsterdam, 1969), i, 89. An excellent history of the press. Plantin was employed directly by Philip II of Spain, but in the late 1580s refused to be re-employed in this role. Philip was slow in paying his bills! See letters M. Rooses and J Denuce (eds.), *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, (8 vols, Antwerp, 1883-1920) [CCP] viii-ix, nos. 1235, 1279, 1283 (March - July 1587).

²⁵ For a general account see Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, (London, 1985).

unsuccessful siege of Spanish held Antwerp, by William, prince of Orange in 1576, led to unpaid Spanish troops running riot, killing many of the inhabitants and torching much of the city. Plantin lost his stock but his press survived - other printers were not so lucky. A period of prosperity lasted from 1578 to 1585, under the control of a Calvinist government and the personal rule of the prince of Orange, but the successful Spanish siege in 1584-85, along with the physical blockade and closure of the river Scheldt, was ultimately devastating for the economy of Antwerp - it 'crippled the officiana' of Plantin. Protestant printers fled the city, and only from the late 1590s do we see the gradual recovery of the Antwerp press as a mouthpiece of militant Catholicism and counter-Reformation.²⁶ To the extent that Antwerp traded in books with Scotland the above chronology is of crucial importance.

A detailed study of the manuscript account books and journals of the Plantin press, in the archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, provides an interesting picture of Plantin's trade with Scotland. Between 1576 and 1583 some twelve Scottish book merchants, some identified as printers or booksellers, such as 'Charteris libraire escosois', were supplied with stock by Plantin (see table 1).²⁷

²⁶ Voet, *The Golden Compass*, i, 85-86; ii, 340-341; F. de Nave, *Plantin Exhibition Catalogue*, 16-17.

²⁷ The references to each entry are as follows: Museum Plantin-Moretus [MPM] Archives, Plantin Journals volume no.54, folios 91v; 96v; (no.58), 96r; (no.60), 57v; 60v (2 orders); 88v; 90r; 111r; 111r; 175r; 185r; (no.61), 25r; 49v; 72r; 73v; 89v; 145r; 151r. The transactions of the Journal for the years 1576 to 1588 were scrutinised but no further references to Scotland were found. Also MPM Archives no. 17 manuscript account book *Grootboek Boekhandelars* (1568-1578) and the manuscript Journals of Jan Moretus, Plantin's successor after his death in 1589, have been checked from 1599 to 1608 (archive nos. 171-180) yet with no details of Scottish trade being found for earlier or later years.

Table: 1: Scottish Orders from the Plantin Press

<u>Date of order</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Stock Volume</u>	<u>Dutch Value (fl./st)</u>
22/5/1576	Alexander Douglas	4	0/22
02/6/1576	Thomas Bassandyne	41	6/15
29/7/1580	Henry Charteris	2006	99/13
10/4/1582	James Robertson	10	24/0
11/4/1582	James Thomson	10	27/12
28/5/1582	John (Ian) Davidson	66	39/16
30/5/1582	Jacob Bell	?	7/18
10/7/1582	'N'. St. Andrews'	87	44/17
10/7/1582	Henry Charteris	93	45/0
25/10/1582	Robert Smyth	36	35/14
10/11/1582	Jacob Bell	11	12/7
08/3/1583	Robert Smyth	125	43/4
27/4/1583	Andrew Rae	6	5/14
07/6/1583	John (Ian) Davidson	121	47/14
08/6/1583	Jacob Bell	13	6/14
08/7/1583	Henry Charteris	107	58/8
09/11/1583	John Angus	58	21/7
23/11/1583	John (Ian) Small	103	35/21

There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from the details of Scottish orders supplied by Plantin, and particularly the pattern of trade.²⁸ The tendency to order in the early summer and late in the year follows closely the timing of the Frankfurt book fairs of spring and

²⁸ Colin Clair discovered orders from Davidson (for the first name he opts for Ian rather than the Dutch Jan for John), Bell, Angus, Smyth, Small, Charteris and Roberston, but Douglas, Thomson, Rae, the undecipherable St. Andrews trader, and most importantly Bassandyne have been discovered anew. Clair's remark on 'constant references' in the Journals to Scottish booksellers 'during the decade beginning 1580' misses the general picture, and does not explain why the activity suddenly came to a halt. Colin Clair, 'Christopher Plantin's Trade-Connections with England and Scotland' in *The Library*, fifth series, xiv, (1959), 28-45. For Scottish traders, *ibid.*, 43-45. Plantin also supplied Scotland with type, paper and ornaments. Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing', 43-4, 50, 54-5.

September, at which Plantin regularly attended in search of the latest books for himself and his customers. The point here is that for Scotland, England and other book markets, Plantin, and no doubt other Antwerp book merchants, acted as wholesalers for the book production of continental Europe. Plantin did not merely supply his own printings. Indeed, Plantin had his own warehouse in Frankfurt, and it is possible that some customers were supplied direct from there and not via Antwerp. The sophisticated European book market was understood and used by Scottish merchants even in the sixteenth century. From these figures, the case can also be made for a small increase in Scottish trade from 1582 to 1583, but along with significant inflation for book prices from 1576 to the 1580s.²⁹

Several characteristics of the books ordered can be gleaned from studying the records on a title by title basis. The first and major point is that all the stock ordered was in Latin, and Antwerp was the dominant supplier of Latin books to Scotland from the 1550s to the 1580s. Grammars, bibles, psalm books, ancient Greek and Roman texts and the writings of Peter Ramus were popular, but there were very few works of the early Christian fathers. The importance of Plantin as a source of ancient writers is the most striking feature. A Henry Charteris order, that made in July 1583, included Homer, Socrates, Pindar, Horace, Scipio, Virgil, Terence, Cicero, Sallust and Ovid. To this were added quantities of Hebrew bibles, psalters, grammars, 'Tolities logica' and 'Psalterium Buchanani', the famous psalm book composed by George Buchanan, in this case from the Plantin press which produced its own edition in 1565-6. Buchanan's biographer I.D. McFarlane speculates that the stock of Buchanan's work in the inventory of Thomas Bassandyne (d. 1577) was probably not printed in Scotland but the Low Countries. The surviving order placed with Plantin by Bassandyne, dated June 1576, does not mention Buchanan's psalms, yet it is more than likely that Plantin supplied Bassandyne with the work. Such was the demand for Buchanan in Scotland that

²⁹ For Scottish book prices see chapter 7.

Davidson and Smyth also ordered the Plantin edition in 1582 and 1583.³⁰

Returning to the question of how the pattern of trade between Plantin and Scotland related to the instability of The Netherlands in the 1570s and 1580s, it is possible to make some general observations. It is likely that the trade with Scotland would have continued after 1576 had it not been for the devastating consequences of the 'Spanish fury' of November that year which almost ruined Plantin. With Bassandyne's death in 1577, Robert Lekpreuik's imprisonment in the 1570s, and the king's printer Alexander Arbuthnet proving to be incompetent, the conditions for Scottish importing in the late 1570s were not encouraging, although the wealthy Henry Charteris was active throughout this time and commissioned 2000 Rudiments from Plantin in 1580. However, by 1580-81 Henry Charteris, Robert Wodehouse, Andro Williamson, John Gibson and Thomas Vautrollier were all active booksellers in Edinburgh, and were in a position to order from Plantin - they did not.³¹ The time needed for trade to recover in Antwerp, and the fragile state of the book trade in Scotland, seem equally to account for the gap in orders from 1576 to 1582. That the ordering should stop in 1584 is surely down to factors in Antwerp which was in a continual state of siege from late 1583 to 1585. In Scotland the Ruthven regime, which lasted from August 1582 to June 1583, made not the slightest difference to trade with Antwerp. Nonetheless, regardless of events in The Netherlands, the atmosphere

³⁰ MPM Archive no. 61, 89v; I. D. McFarlane, *Buchanan*, (London, 1981), 261; MPM Archive no.60. 66v; no.61. 25r; 72r.

³¹ Vautrollier, along with Jan Desserans, became the London agent for Plantin in 1567 and it is possible that when Vautrollier began importing books into Scotland in 1580 that some of the stock was from Antwerp, although Vautrollier acquired stock from other printing centres including Paris. CCP i., 144-147, 163-165, 173-176, 262-264 (Correspondence July 1567 to March 1568); Clair, 'Christopher Plantin', 31-32. Clair says Desserans may have resumed his partnership with Vautrollier in 1599, but Vautrollier died in 1587, and it must have been his son Thomas II who was the 'new' co-partner.

in Scotland in 1584, where in July the booksellers Edward and James Cathkin were banished for refusing to accept archbishop Adamson's 'letter', may not have helped the book trade to continue confidently with its import business.

The religious beliefs of Christopher Plantin are very difficult to surmise. He was an associate of the 'Het Huis der Leifde' (Family of Love), a heterodox, anabaptist sect, and was certainly not a conventional Catholic. He even helped Heindrich Niclaes and Augustijn van Hasselt establish Protestant presses in Kampen (1561-63) and Vianen (from 1566) respectively.³² One of the great commercial disappointments of Plantin's career was that he failed in his desire to publish Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* or his *De Jure Regni*. The printer had few scholars of England and Scotland with whom he had regular communication, but he realised that Buchanan offered exceptional commercial possibilities. Even the Catholic world was in awe of the lyricism of Buchanan's Latin prose and verse, and the Scot had an impressive track record with his *Rudimenta Grammatices*, and various psalms editions, appearing in dozens of imprints from all the major presses of Europe. It seems that in the 1560s Plantin communicated with Buchanan through the author's continental 'agent' Osbert van Giffen, the French humanist. In June 1567 Van Giffen sent to Plantin Buchanan's latest corrections for the psalm paraphrases, and in his letter declared his admiration for the author in spite of his religion, '*Pene omiseram quod maxime tamen scriptum cupiebam*'. In the early 1570s Plantin wrote directly to Buchanan stating that he was happy to print any of the Scot's works, and this was still his position in October 1581 when the printer expressed his interest in the *Historia* and, if given the manuscript, promised '*de*

³² Voet, *The Golden Compasse*, i, 21-30; ii, 260-1; F. de Nave, *Plantin Exhibition Catalogue*, 15. For Plantin's relationship with the moderate Catholic Arias Montanus see CCP, ii. 215-6; 213-4.

belle grosse lectre et le plus correctement qu'll nous sera possible'.³³

Unfortunately, nothing came of all this. The death of Buchanan in 1582, and the capitulation of Antwerp in 1585, probably ended any possibility of Plantin editions. The reaction to *De Jure Regni* by the Catholic authorities, and the counter manifestos by recusant exiles like Adam Blackwood, indicate that it was in Plantin's best interests to fail to publish this particular firework.³⁴

The Antwerp book merchants and presses satisfied the Scottish Latin trade for three decades or more, but did the Scottish recusant community use the same medium? Certainly there were strong links between English recusancy and the presses of Antwerp and Louvain. Louvain became the 'Catholic Oxford' and the focus for theological and university life for English recusancy, with Antwerp the book manufacturing centre fully geared to Catholic propaganda, apart from the periods 1566-7 and 1578-85. The works of English recusants, like Thomas Harding, Nicolas Harpsfied, William Rastell, Nicolas Sanders, and Thomas Stapleton came streaming from the press, much of it to continue the endless and sterile dispute with the anglican John Jewel and the Church of England from 1558 to 1568. Jan Moretus (Moerentorf), who succeeded Plantin in 1589, a Catholic printer out of conscience and necessity, had a close, if sometimes strained publishing relationship with Thomas Stapleton.³⁵ John Fowler, meanwhile, was the most famous English Catholic publisher and printer exiled in the Low Countries. He began his first press at Louvain in 1565 and continued, until his death in 1579, to print both there and at Antwerp, and also to commission other printers from these cities. Using imprints naming Antwerp and Louvain he published the works of

³³ For editions see McFarlane, *Buchanan*, appendix a, 490-518. The publishing history of the psalms is especially complex. *ibid.*, 247-286.; CCP, i. 110-113; *ibid.*, 141; *ibid.*, vi. 313-14.

³⁴ Adam Blackwood's repost to *De Jure Regni* was *Pro regibus agologia*, (Poitiers, 1581).

³⁵ For the raging controversies see Coppens, *Plantin Exhibition Catalogue*, 45-49 and also J. De Landtsheer, 'The relationship between Jan Moretus and Thomas Stapleton as illuminated by their Correspondence', in *Plantin Exhibition Catalogue*, 75-83.

Rastell, Harding and Sanders. His use of imprint and place names is a considerable bibliographical puzzle, and was in part to confuse the authorities, the political situation not gaining some certainty until after his death.³⁶ Meanwhile, Fowler's importance to Scottish recusancy lay in the anonymous publishing of some tracts in favour of Mary Queen of Scots written by John Leslie, bishop of Ross - *A Treatise concerning the Defense of the Honour of the Right High, Mightie and Noble Princesse Marie Queene of Scotland* (Louvain, 1571), (a reprint of the 'London printing' of 1569 which in fact emanated from the press of John Fogny of Reims); *A Treatise of Treasons against Q. Elizabeth* (Louvain, 1572), and *The Copie of a Letter written out of Scotland by an English Gentleman* (Louvain, 1572/3). The Catholic, informal book import network could be as effective for these works as was that for Protestant nonconformity.³⁷

The presses of Antwerp/Louvain were not so significant to Scottish as to English recusancy. Two books by abbot Ninian Winzet, *The buke of fourscoir-thre questions tueching doctrine, ordour, and maneris proponit to the precheouris of the Protestants in Scotland, be the Catholiks* (1563), and *Vincentius Lirenensis of the natioun of Gallis, for the antiquitie and veritie of the catholik fayth* (translated by Winzet)(1563) did derive from Antwerp, probably from the press of Giles Coppens van Diest. As late as 1600 John Hamilton, Catholic controversialist and rector of Paris university, had his *A Facile Traictise* printed at Louvain. The Paris press, however, was still the most significant mouthpiece of Scottish recusant writing, notably

³⁶ For details on Fowler see DNB, 7, 526-527; W. Schrickx, 'John Fowler, English Printer and Bookseller in the Low Countries (1564-1579)', *De gulden passer*, 54, (1976), 1-48; A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559-1582*, (London/Glasgow, 1950), 342-344; Coppens, *Reading in Exile*, 18-20.

³⁷ The import activities of the likes of Thomas Menzies of Pitfodells, provost of Aberdeen, and his chaplain John Failford in the 1570s were just the tip of the iceberg. Aberdeen was most probably the major entry point for Catholic texts into Scotland in the late sixteenth century. See Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 441-2. For Menzies, *Spalding Miscellany*, ii, 43; CSP (Scot). iv. no.168.

James Tyrie's *The Refutation of Ane Ansuer made de be Schir Johne Knox to ane letter, send by James Tyrie* (1573); the Jesuit John Hay's *Certiane Demandes concerning the christian religion and discipline proponed to the Ministers of the new pretended kirk of Scotland* (1580); Hamilton's *Ane Catholik and Facile Traictise* (1580), and Nicol Burne's *The Disputation concerning the controversit headdis of Religion haldin in the Realme of Scotland ... Betuix The praetendit Ministeris of the deformed Kirk in Scotland and Nicol Burne Professor* (1581), an account of the disputation during his imprisonment in Edinburgh the year before. Southern makes a strong typographical case for the last three titles coming from the same press, that of Thomas Brumen.³⁸ That a single Paris press could commit itself to represent Scottish recusancy when the Franco-phile Esme Stewart came to power in Scotland is a curious coincidence. Yet for thirty years before, the book market of Antwerp had had a prime position for the literary life of Scotland. Although historians have conceded that staple trade with Antwerp had diminished by 1560, and that 'Scottish trade in the Low Countries already focused mainly on the ports of Walcheren',³⁹ Scotland's Latin book trade doggedly broke the rule that luxury imported goods must follow staple exports. The coastal trade between Scotland, England and the Low Countries, with ships hopping from port to port, such as in the case of the Edinburgh wine trade, must have been essential for the survival of the book trade with Antwerp. Of course this could only last until the fall of Calvinist Antwerp in 1585, by which time the development of printing in

³⁸ Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, fn.423. More research is required on the Brumen press. For bibliographical details of these works see Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 394-6; *ibid.*, 414-416; *ibid.*, 422-424; *ibid.*, 438-449; *ibid.*, 504-505; *ibid.*, 510-516.

³⁹ Devine and Lythe, 'The Economy of Scotland under James VI', 103-4 commenting on Cosmo Innes's observation on Ludovico Guicciardini's gloomy views on Scottish trade with Antwerp in his *Description de tous les Pays-Bas*, (Antwerp, 1567). see Innes, *Halyburton*, xl-xli.

Holland and Zeeland made a commercial virtue of political necessity.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The Antwerp/Scottish trade will have continued indirectly, either through Frankfurt or through a third party. The Middelburg bookseller and printer Simon Moulart was a customer of Moretus in 1609, and traded in books for England and Scotland in 1617-19. See Voet, *The Golden Compasse*, ii. appendix 3, 488; RAZ. Middelburg, Inventaris Rekenkamer C.2de stuk: Rekeningen en Bijbehorende Stukken Betreffende de Adminstratie te Water Ingebrocht ter Rekenkamer van Zeeland (Door de Tresarier Ontvanger Generaal, 1573-1795). [Accounts of the Bailiff of the Water - admiralty records] 508.6500, 111r; 508.6510, 118v-119r; 508. 6520, 113r. Stock being shipped included 1300 copies of *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britannica*, in 1617 and stock entitled *Ecclesiastica Marcus Anthonius de Domini*, and *Dissercatio de Governatione Ecclesia*, in 1618.

The Scottish Staple: Veere and the book trade

The history of the Scottish staple in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is extremely murky.⁴¹ At various times charters were granted and rights claimed by the Scottish crown, merchants and numerous towns and superiors of the Low Countries. Bruges, Middelburg, Bergen-op-Zoom and Antwerp all disputed with one another, and showed remarkable enthusiasm for obtaining a monopoly of Scottish trade which belies its apparent small scale. In 1541 Veere became the staple port for the first time, but the competition for the title continued to be severe.⁴²

Particularly from the point that the staple returned to Veere in 1578, after a brief period in Bruges (1572-78) from the start of the Revolt of the Netherlands, the claim of a monopoly of Scots trade at Veere became increasingly untenable as, first to Middelburg and then

⁴¹ We are well served by three histories of the staple in English - the Veere minister James Yair's, *An Account of the Scotch Trade in the Netherlands, and of the Staple Port of Campvere*, (1776); Matthijs P. Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands*, (The Hague, 1910), which has a fine appendix of documents relating to the staple, and Davidson and Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*. The last is especially important for the history of the church at Veere, the authors having surveyed the consistory records before they were destroyed by bombing in 1940, *ibid.*, 270-336. In addition, some anonymous histories and notes have already been noted - SRO. RH 4.25, 'Some Observations' and also SRO. RH 4.17.2.8 'A Short Account of Trade between Scotland and Holland, especially at Rotterdam' (c1779) in MSS Miscellaneous notes and Correspondence of the Scots Kirk at Rotterdam. See also Moses Bundles [MB] (Edinburgh City Archives), 209. range 7606-7632.

⁴² For efforts thereafter to remove the staple to Middelburg see Davidson and Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, 176-179; 225-228; 'Some Observations', 9. The threat to leave was a good negotiating tactic and often resulted in Veere granting more extensive privileges to Scottish merchants.

to Amsterdam, and especially Rotterdam from the 1620s, Scottish merchants followed the tides of business and not restrictions of trade.⁴³ Sometimes frustrations spilled over, and in the 1690s the magistrates of Veere resorted to the seizure of Scottish ships not operating through their port.⁴⁴ Although subsequently trade through Veere stabilised, after 1707 it simply collapsed - 'except for the town of Aberdeen the advantages of the staple were [now] unknown in Scotland [and] the whole sum of [Scottish] trade was at Rotterdam'.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, in spite of this gloomy picture, the 'twin towns' of Veere and Middelburg were important trading centres from the Scottish Reformation to the Glorious Revolution, 'Scottish' Veere as a market, or entrepôt, for Scottish exports of hides, wool, cattle, coal and so on,⁴⁶ and 'English' Middelburg a depot to onload manufactured imports, such as glass products, boots, household goods, 'janever' (gin liquor), metal goods, food-stuffs, dyes, and, of course, books.⁴⁷ The

⁴³ Indeed, Brown's analysis of Scottish ships docking in Zeeland between 1600 and 1639 confirms that traffic was choosing to dock at Middelburg and Vlissingen, and by the late 1620s the combined total of Scots vessels calling at these ports exceeded the number at Veere. Brown, 'Edinburgh Merchant Elite', 151.

⁴⁴ Such a dispute occurred in 1692 and King William, who was in fact marquis of Veere, was forced to mediate and defuse the situation. see *Burgh Convention Records*, iv. 163-71.

⁴⁵ 'Some Observations', 18. A measure of the dogged persistence of Aberdeen in continuing with Veere is seen in the stream of communications in the 1690s from the Aberdeen council to the magistrates of Veere over problems with the staple. Inventaris Oud Stads Veere, Conceptum van stukken, uitgaande van baljuw, burgemeesters schepene en waard (Scottish Staple), 1450-2, 17 December 1695 to 11 March, 1697.

⁴⁶ From the Restoration trade in primary produce was promoted by the political elite. Thus the Thurso merchant Ronald Murray was, in 1668, given permission by George, sixth earl of Caithness to trade in cattle and fish with the Amsterdam merchant Jacob van Noortgouw, and the architect and industrialist Sir William Bruce, through his agent, arranged in 1661 for coal to be transported by Dutch ships from 'Tar Bay en Schotland' to Amsterdam. GAA. NA. 3658.(29 May); 1541. 133 (6 October).

staple contracts agreed with Veere allowed for merchants to move outwith Veere to locate goods for the return journey home.

In spite of these fairly liberal trading arrangements, the responsibilities of the official representatives of the Scottish community, the factors and conservator, were regarded as extremely important by merchants, convention of burghs and the crown.⁴⁸ Ensuring the protection of privileges, the running of a conservator's court for disputes between Scots, and the levying of duties for the maintenance of the community and the church, was a considerable task for an individual who had been expected to be knowledgeable about trade, and the specific conditions of Walcheren. The conservator was also chief elder of the Scottish church. George Hacket, conservator from 1565 to 1589, was indeed a merchant familiar with the difficulties of trade, but he was the last conservator to be appointed for commercial rather than political competence. With the appointment of Robert Denniston in 1589 and especially the royalist Patrick Drummond in 1624, the emphasis had shifted from the king approving the nominee of the convention of royal burghs, to the convention being asked to approve the nominee of the crown.⁴⁹ The

⁴⁷ 'Some Observations', 18; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 185-194 and 'A Short Accout of the Trade between Scotland and Holland, especially at Rotterdam' for a summary of imports from Dutch ports.

⁴⁸ Sanderson has discovered 27 factors mainly in Dieppe and Veere before 1603, so the use of Scottish factors was widespread and long-standing. In Veere the family dynasties of Wallace and Cunningham produced a number of factors over almost 150 years. Sanderson, 'The Edinburgh Merchants in Society', 191.

⁴⁹ The acceptance that the conservatorship was a royal appointment can be seen in the grand title given to William Davidson by the magistrates of Veere in 1662: 'prieve chambre conservator trade resident van de schotze natie over de seventien provintien ende commissaris van zijn Conincklijke Majisteit van Groot Britangien'. GAA. NA. 2213a, 627. For details of Hacket, Denniston and Drummond see Davidson and Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, 171-207; Yair, *An Account of Scottish Trade*, 175-219 and *Burgh Convention Records*, i. 322-323; *ibid.*, ii. 200, 226, *ibid.*, iii. 187, 188-91. MB. 209. 7606-7612 for dispute over Nathaniel Uduard appointment 1624-5.

monitoring of trade was no longer paramount - it is not clear if this extended to books and the control of undesirable literature.

Our knowledge of the day to day activities of the post of conservator is not especially illuminated by the records in the archives of Veere. The best details we have remain the surviving journal of Thomas Cunningham covering 1640 to 1654. As stated above the earlier ledger of Andrew Halyburton, dating from 1492 to 1503, does not indicate the concerns of the conservator of a fixed staple port. Halyburton was a peripatetic conservator, and the ledger itself reveals the activities of a merchant and factor. Cunningham's journal is famous for detail it provides on the provision of weapons for the covenanting government from 1639 to 1644, and the raising of lines of credit with the Middelburg merchants Adrian and Cornelius Lampsins.⁵⁰ And yet, frustratingly, there are no references to combatting the pen rather than the sword. We do know, however, that in March 1645 Cunningham asked the States of Holland to 'pass an order against certain famous lampoons scattered around this Province slighting the Scottish Nation'. This was at the very meeting at which they conveyed their refusal to sign the Solemn League out of a wish to act 'neutrally and without partiality'.⁵¹ The reference to lampoons is the only recorded instance of Cunningham taking a view about printed matter, although there are other possibilities. Attempts made in the 1640s to suppress the works of Robert Johnstone - by the

⁵⁰ E.J. Courthope, (ed.), *The Journal of Thomas Cunningham of Campvere, 1640-1654* (SHS, 1928), passim. For references to the trade in weapons see for example *Inventaris Oud Stads Veere*, 1450. 1 (30 July, 1610); GAA. NA 241. 118 (2 March, 1630).

⁵¹ Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague [ARA], Resolutions of the States of Holland, 21 March, 1645. Nijenhuis suggests that these lampoons may have been satires produced by the great Dutch, Catholic and royalist poet Joost van den Vondel who had numerous pamphlets printed attacking the opponents of Charles I. For pamphlets see W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-verzameling berestende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (9 vols, The Hague. 1890-1920). nos. 5065-5067. W. Nijenhuis, *Ecclesia Reformata: Studies on the Reformation* (Leiden, 1994), ii, 266-7.

general assembly, Robert Baillie and William Spang - may well have been supported by Cunningham.⁵²

There were other earlier examples of the representatives at Veere being commissioned to watch over religious deviancy. In 1581 the general assembly empowered the minister at Veere to 'proceid against papists', and to gain the full cooperation of the conservator of the staple - this action was an attack on their books as well as their general religion. The privy council act of January 1625, introduced to stop the flow of 'seditious wreitts and printed pamphlets and bookis ... comeing from the Low Cuntreyis of Flanders' makes no mention of efforts to stop the ships departing from Veere, or other ports, but concentrates on searching off the Scottish shore. Nevertheless, of singular interest in the Restoration period is the introduction of book clauses in new staple contracts. The contract with Dort of 1668 states that the magistrates of the town 'shall and will forbid lett and hinder the buying and selling ... printing and dispersing or publishing of all seditious books or pasqwills, or that the same shall be shipped or transported out of this citie ... unto any of his Majesties realmes or dominiones, and more especially to his Maiesties kingdome of Scotland'. If the magistrates found information on such trading they were to inform the conservator. The new royalist conservator and agent Sir William Davidson, appointed in 1661, was behind this typically more robust censorship clause from the government of Charles II. When the staple returned to Veere in 1676, the new contract promised the same rigorous policing by the magistracy, but by now commercial and censorship attention was focused on Rotterdam.⁵³ Meanwhile, in spite of falling trade, the Scottish church at Veere showed much tenacity - 'Blessit be God In Campevere'! From its theoretical establishment in the staple contracts of 1541, 1578 and

⁵² Baillie, *Letters*, ii, 9 (10 May, 1642); GACR, i, 343-5.

⁵³ BUK (2), 236; Calderwood, *History*, vii, 629; RPC, ii, 1, 11-12; Rooseboom, *Scottish Staple*, doc. no. 164, c2; *ibid.*, no.177, c1. Note also that the move from Veere to Dort had the Aberdeen merchants in a fury, *Burgh Convention Records*, iii, 607, 608; Davidson and Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, 211-269; 'Some Observations', 11-13.

1612, the first full-time minister, Alexander MacDuff, took up residence in 1613, and with many difficulties, not least of which was its position as part of the Church of Scotland, while linked also to the classis of Walcheren, continued an almost unbroken line until the departure of the last minister in 1799.⁵⁴

There is no evidence that the fourth estate existed at Veere in the early modern period, and certainly not a press involved in the manufacture of books for England or Scotland. Because of this the close proximity and trade symbiosis of Veere and Middelburg, and the fact that printing existed at the latter from the advent of the Richard Schilders press in 1579-80, was of crucial significance. Escaping from Spanish rule, numerous Calvinist printers made the trek northwards to coastal mercantile towns like Middelburg. Schilders himself had become a refugee of the Spanish terror of 1567, and spent thirteen years in London learning the printing trade, though he became frustrated at the restrictions placed on him by the Stationers' Company, and when invited to set up a press by the magistrates of Middelburg he jumped at the opportunity.⁵⁵

In the 1580s and 1590s Schilders printed English puritan tracts by Dudley Fenner, Thomas Cartwright, and Francis Jacob, all ministers of Middelburg in the period, and the works of separatists like Robert Browne and Robert Harrison. His first activity specifically relevant to

⁵⁴ For the pious legend see MB. 209. 7619 'Account of the balance Sheet of Dues Collected for the Maintenance of Scots Ministers at Campevere, 1628-29' For a summary of the Church at Veere see Davidson and Gray, *Scottish Staple at Veere*, 320-336; Sprunger (1), 206-211, 446-449. MB. 209.7631. (July 1789) for last communication between the burgh of Edinburgh and Veere over maintaining the church.

⁵⁵ For the background to Schilders see J. Dover Wilson, 'Richard Schilders and the English Puritans', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, xi, (1909-11), 65-134; J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks, 1571-1630*, (Nieuwkoop, 1974), 435-38; P.J. Aarssen, 'Tot Middelburgh by Richard Schilders', *Zeeuws Tijdschrift*, xix, (1969), 104-8; Dingeman van Widen, *Richard Schilders, Printer to the Protestants*, (Leiden, 1980).

Scotland was in the production of psalm books. Schilders took over the printing of the puritan *Booke of the Forme of Common Prayer* after the English star chamber banned the text following its publication in London by Robert Waldegrave 1584-5. Schilders' editions appeared in 1586, 1587 and 1602. In fact Schilders fashioned his psalm books to suit the specific requirements of Scottish and English ministers, but also introduced the novelty of placing both the prose and metric versions on the same page. In Scotland he was regarded as an official printer and not a renegade. Psalms and catechisms for the Church of Scotland were produced by him in 1594 and 1597, and the Edinburgh bookbinder John Gibson was, in 1599, given a seven year licence to import the parallel text psalm book 'imprent within Middilburgh'.⁵⁶ Once King James removed to London, however, the position of the Middelburg press altered. Schilders' anonymous 'True Narrative' or *A faithful report of the Assemblie of Ministers at Aberdeen*, produced either before or during the trial of the ministers who attended the 'illegal' general assembly of 1605, infuriated the king, and suspicion fell on the Middelburg press. When, in June 1615, a proclamation was issued which insisted on authority and license before manuscripts could be sent overseas for printing, reference was made specifically to pamphlets printed at Middelburg. It is small wonder that ambassador Carlton, mistakenly as it happened, began his investigations over Calderwood's *De regimine* (1618) with complaints to the States of Zeeland about Schilders.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Sprunger, (1), 20, 28, 39; van Widnen, *Richard Schilders*, 9; Lee, *Memorials*, 48; McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557-1640*, 112; SRO. PS. 1.71. 47r.

⁵⁷ Melville, *Diary*, 570-593; Lee, *Memorials*, 71-2 and appendix no. xviii, 30-1; RAZ. Resolutions of the States of Zeeland, 19 June, 1619. For details of Schilders financial affairs with Middelburg see RAZ. Inventaris Gemeenteraadslid Archief Rekenkamer, 508. 100; 230; 270; 389; 469 dating from June 1589 to July 1611. John Forbes was the likely author of the 'True Narrative'. By 1619 Schilders' active period as a printer was almost at an end, and he had petitioned the States of Zeeland for a pension - he was already eighty years old and would survive until his ninety sixth year.

Other book merchants were involved in the general trade with England and Scotland, although we know very little of that which was 'secret'. The admiralty records of Zeeland show that Simon Moulart, printer and bookseller, was shipping English language books out of Middelburg at least from 1617 to the 1620s, and his widow was trading in bibles in the 1640s, as was the Middelburg bookseller Adriaen van de Vivere 1615-17. In 1621 the Dort printer Isaac Canin, who had, twenty years before, been commissioned by Andro Hart and Henry Charteris to print a *Psalms of David in Meter* and a Beza New Testament, shipped out quantities of his English edition of the 'Acts of the Synod of Dort', a text which was especially popular in Scotland.⁵⁸ The records of the 'tol van Zeeland' indicate a large number of ships trading out of Scotland, many of whom were on coastal business out of Bordeaux. Paper was supplied to Scotland from Middelburg which would have provided the opportunity for disguised transportation.⁵⁹ In any event, the possibilities for trading in quantities of printed books, overtly or covertly, would have been considerable. Where Scotland's bulk exports and imports travelled the book was sure to follow.

⁵⁸ For reflections on the importance of the Synod of Dort to Scotland see G.D.

Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland*, (Cambridge, 1937), 77-99 and A.L. Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent*, (1956), 110-136.

⁵⁹ Aarssen, *Richard Schilders*, 104; RAZ. Accounts of the Bailif of the Water, 508.6500 (111r); 6510 (118v-119r); 6520 (113r); 6730 ; 6530; 6480; 6500; 6540 (143v); Overzicht van de Rekingen van de 'tol van Zeeland' Gederend de Periode 1584-1805, Aangetroffen in de stukken van de Rentmeesters - Generaal der Domeinen Bewesten - en Beoosten Schelde, passim. For example the paper shipment for James Knight Scottish merchant dated November 1628, B.5091 (1628-38), xlii verso. My thanks to the Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap Library, Haarlem, for some pointers on Canin.

Secret Presses and Book Networks: Leiden, Amsterdam and Rotterdam

For Scottish controversial affairs three important phases of book publishing took place in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century. From 1617 to 1625 the printers of Leiden and Amsterdam produced a stream of tracts against the ceremonial innovations of the Five Articles and prelacy in general. In a four year burst from 1637 to 1640, yet again the presses of Leiden and Amsterdam fulminated, this time against the Prayer Book, and showed themselves formidable mouthpieces for the propaganda of the covenanters. There then followed a period of twenty five years when the Dutch press was relatively muted on Scottish religion and politics. After 1640 the domestic presses of London and Edinburgh were freely available to presbyterians and covenanters. From 1649 to 1660 internal covenanter divisions dominated controversy, and following this it took the opening years of the Restoration for the episcopalian religious policies of Charles II to be clarified, and for Scottish covenanting and anti-episcopalian authors to become exiles in the Low Countries. Then from 1665 to 1680 Rotterdam, for the first time a book production centre for Scottish religious nonconformity, manufactured the tracts that argued the case for presbyterianism and the covenant.

The most remarkable controversialist of this century, and the greatest user of the Dutch press, was David Calderwood. Over a dozen of his presbyterian tracts emanated from the presses of Leiden and Amsterdam between 1618 and 1624.⁶⁰ The two earliest, *De regimine ecclesiae Scoticae brevis relatio* (1618) and *Perth Assembly* (1619), a particularly irritating tract for the English and Scottish governments,

⁶⁰ For a full list of these see Sprunger (2), appendix I, 195-197, appendix II, 214.

were products of the Leiden 'Pilgrim Press' of William Brewster and Thomas Brewer, but the circumstances by which manuscript reached publisher are unknown. Calderwood visited Leiden in 1619, probably to supervise the printing of his *Perth Assembly*, and at which town he conversed with a number of Scottish and English puritans.⁶¹

Alexander Leighton was a student of the university of Leiden in 1617, as was the English puritan William Ames in 1619, although he had visited Leiden many times between 1610 and 1622, the point at which he became professor of theology at the university of Franeker. It is very likely that Ames and Leighton were instrumental in having Calderwood's works published.⁶² Leighton, Ames and Calderwood certainly utilised the same printers - the Pilgrim Press at Leiden and the press of the separatist Giles Thorp and his 'successors' at Amsterdam. As early as 1619 the English ambassador Sir Dudley Carlton was able to accuse Ames of having 'his hand in many of these [puritan] books', specifically the Brewster press, and we know that Ames did act as an editor for puritan literature for English authors, such as William Bradshaw and Robert Parker, and fragments and odd printed sheets of Calderwood's *The Alter of Damascus* (Thorp, 1621) have been located in Ames's auction catalogue. Furthermore, the printer and undercover agent Francis Hill, who worked for an Amsterdam printer in the 1620s, perhaps for the Thorp press, was in 1624 able to furnish Carlton with sample pages and publishing information on books by Leighton, Calderwood and Ames.⁶³ The

⁶¹ Sprunger (1), 138, quoting Edward Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, (1646), 96-97

⁶² The fellowship of Calderwood was clearly acceptable to many English puritans. Sprunger's remark that 'Calderwood's Presbyterianism was sufficiently anti-prelatical to please many English Puritans' strikes a very odd tone for Scottish historians. See Keith L. Sprunger, 'The Godly Ministry of Printing by Brewster and Brewer' in Rendel Harris and Stephen K. Jones, *The Pilgrim Press, A Bibliographical and Historical Memorial of the Books printed at Leyden by The Pilgrim Fathers*, (Cambridge, 1922); see revised edition ed. Breugelmans, (Nieuwkoop, 1987), 175.

⁶³ Edward Peacock, *Index to English Speaking Students Who Have Graduated at Leiden University*, Index Society Publications, 13, (1883); Sprunger (2), 127; Sprunger (1), 136 and Keith L. Sprunger, *The Learned Doctor William Ames*, (Illinois, 1972),

accumulated evidence, some admittedly circumstantial, is that Ames was at the centre of a puritan and presbyterian publishing network, and that Carlton's suspicions were well-founded.⁶⁴

Calderwood returned to Scotland in 1625 to take advantage of the amnesty offered by the new king. He departed in a flourish for, in 1624, he was able to witness the publication of his *A Dispute upon Communicating; An Epistle of a Christian Brother* and also *An Exhortation of the Particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland*, appearing almost simultaneously with Alexander Leighton's *Speculum Belle Sacri: Or the Lookingglasse of the Holy War* (1624), *A Friendly Tryall of Some Pasages* (1624) and *A Short Treatise against Stage-Playes* (1625). All these emanated from the Thorp presses at Amsterdam, and all were printed anonymously. But when Calderwood began, in the mid 1630s, to look again at printing overseas, no doubt with his 'history' in mind, he was forced to seek the advice of John Paget, English minister at Amsterdam. Ames had died in 1633, Alexander Leighton was in internal exile in Scotland, and the other candidate William Spang at Veere was cousin to Robert Baillie whose relations with Calderwood had always been strained. Paget was renowned for his strong line against separatism as evidenced in his *An Arrow Against the Separation of the Brownists* (Amsterdam, 1618), and when he exchanged books with Calderwood in the summer of 1636 he bluntly referred to John Canne, separatist minister and printer of Amsterdam, as a 'Brownist teacher'. In the following April Paget advised Calderwood that Canne, being 'printer to the Brownist

[Sprunger 3], 37-43; PRO. SP, 84/92. 45-46, Sprunger (3), 65-66; *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carlton, Kent, during his Embassy in Holland from January 1615/16 to December 1620*, (London, 1780), (18 September, 1619); Ames *Catalogus*, reprinted in K. L. Sprunger, 'The Auction Catalogue of the Library of William Ames', *Catalogi Redivivi*, IV, (ed.), Breugelmans (Utrecht, 1988), 22; Sprunger (2), 128-9; PRO. SP 84/117, 157; 118, 24; 118, 70.

⁶⁴ The identity of the 'the Scotsman whom [Calderwood] allways imployeth in his businesses', and who seemingly travelled frequently to Amsterdam, is sadly unknown to us. see PRO. SP. 84/117, 157.

ministers', was 'not for [his] use' and instead recommended Jan Fredericksz Stam 'a Dutchman that prints English very comely with a good letter'. Stam '[was] inclined to Arminianism', yet he would deal faithfully with any worthy work, and to show good faith sent via Paget copies of William Prynne's *The Unbishops of Timothy and Titus* and *A Breviate of the Prelates Usurpations* printed by Stam in 1636 and 1637 respectively. The correcting and editing skills of a Thomas Allen, schoolmaster of the English church at Amsterdam, were also recommended to Calderwood, and yet this new network was stillborn.⁶⁵ Paget's death in 1638, and the covenanting revolution, prevented any further activity. Nevertheless, these details provide a vivid insight into the manner in which publishing networks could be swiftly joined. The implication is that in the 1620s and 1630s Paget was a link between presbyterian authors, including Scots like Samuel Rutherford and William Spang, and Amsterdam printers, such as Stam, Joris Veseler and Widow Veseler and Hendrik Laurensz, though not the separatist presses of Thorp, his successors and John Canne.⁶⁶

William Spang, minister of Veere and of Middelburg, was a major publishing agent in his own right, and along with his cousin Robert Baillie represented the most important conduit for Scottish publishing in the Low Countries from the late 1630s to the mid 1650s. Baillie's many letters to Spang reveal a complex literary and editorial relationship. Some of Baillie's creative energy was expended to obtain, via Spang, declarations of support from Dutch divines for the covenanters and presbyterianism. He repeatedly pressed foreign divines, such as Voetius, Bucerus and Appollonius, and English exiles like John Paget, to write anti-episcopal or anti-congregationalist tracts, or in general terms to support the conclusions of the Solemn League

⁶⁵ Wodrow MSS. folio xlii. no.108. 254 (June, 1636); no.107. 253 (April, 1637).

⁶⁶ Stam and Veseler were key elements in an astonishing 'extended family' of intermarried Amsterdam printing dynasties which also included the names Swart and Schipper. For a summary, and links with the Brownist families May, Arnold and Browning see Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 22-29.

and Westminster Assembly in an international context. Baillie's campaign aimed at the Low Countries was, with the help of Spang, something of a success. In the years 1638 to 1645, it reached its peak when the classis of Walcheren sent official letters of support to the Westminster Assembly in 1643, and commissioned Willem Apollonius to write his supportive presbyterian text published in English in 1645. In the same year the synods of North Holland and South Holland passed resolutions in favour of the presbyterian policies emanating from Westminster.⁶⁷

It is certain, however, that Baillie and Spang were as concerned to facilitate the printing of Scottish authors, both for the domestic market in Scotland and England and for wider European consumption. One of Baillie's most significant works was his *The Canterbrian's Self Conviction* (1640), and this and his *Ladensium* (1640) came from the Amsterdam press, and more than likely via Spang's editorial desk. Baillie was fortunate enough to find in the 1640s a willing press in Edinburgh and London and he took full advantage. Yet the Dutch press mattered to him as a bastion of quality printing, especially in Latin, and as a country where the hearts and minds of the godly had to be won. Thus in a typical instance of controversial jousting Baillie delivered a repost to Dr. John Bramhall's episcopalian *A Fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline* with his *A Review of Doctor Bramble, late Bishop of Londonderry, his Faire Warning against the Scot's Discipline*. Remarkably both were printed in Delft in 1649,

⁶⁷ For requests for support from 1638 to 1644 see Baillie, *Letters*, i, 110, 357; ii, 75, 107, 179-80. For summary see Sprunger (1), 365-7. He records 1644 for the letter from the classis of Walcheren, but Baillie suggests it was 1643 - Baillie, *Letters*, ii, 75. The English edition by Appolonius was titled *A Consideration of Certain Controversies at this time agitated in the Kingdom of England, Concerning the Government of the Church of God*, (London, 1645), but the Dutch edition appeared in 1644 and was also printed in London.

providing further proof that the printers of the Low Countries could put commercial considerations before religious politics.⁶⁸

Baillie and Spang acted as a clearing house for budding authors, and established clergymen alike. In one of his numerous letters to Spang, this one dated 1644, Baillie stated that he 'like[d] well' the piece sent to him written by Mr Forbes in Delft, and that he 'wish[ed] it were in print', concluding - '[it] good you keep correspondence with this young man'.⁶⁹ The book was published later that year. Numerous printed and edited works, as well as manuscripts, passed to and fro between these two ministers, and the highway was certainly two way. Just as Baillie, in batches between 1655 and 1658, passed the manuscript of the late Dr Strang's *De Interpretatione et Perfectione Scripturae* via Spang to be typeset at the famous Elzevir press in Rotterdam, so printed proofs were returned for correction to Baillie and Strang's surviving relatives.⁷⁰

The most striking Dutch printing activity concerning Scotland in the 1630s and 1640s was the torrent of propaganda in favour of the covenanting regime. Although the sheer number of printings and pamphlets gives the exercise the appearance of a *blitzkrieg*, it is difficult to believe that Baillie and Spang did not play a coordinating role, especially as it was these ministers to whom the government and church turned to take action concerning the overseas press. The co-printing of Alexander Leighton's *An Appeal to the Parliament; or*

⁶⁸ Baillie, *Letters*, i, 299; iii, 87. It is possible *The Canterbrian's Self Conviction* was printed both in London and Amsterdam. John Barmhall became archbishop of Armagh after the Restoration.

⁶⁹ Baillie, *Letters*, ii, 181. This is likely to be one of the two sons of John Forbes, minister of Middelburg (1611), and Delft (1621) who died in 1634 leaving sons James and Patrick. Patrick is the most likely - the work referred to is *Anatomy of Independence* (1644) and has been wrongly attributed to Alexander Forbes. see Sprunger (1), 344 n.

⁷⁰ Baillie, *Letters*, iii, 256, 295, 382. Elzevir were the greatest Latin printers of the seventeenth century.

Sions Plea against the Prelacie(1629),⁷¹ produced by the two presses of Jan Fredericksz Stam and the successors of Thorp, can be seen as something of a 'dry run'. The same could be said for the 1637 co-production, by John Canne at Amsterdam and Willem Christiaensz van der Boxe at Leiden, of George Gillespie's *A Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies, Obtruded upon the Church of Scotland*, for which both printers were convicted and fined by the Dutch authorities. After the same presses produced parallel editions of the presbyterian tract *The Beast is Wounded* in the following year, and Canne printed his *News from Scotland* which saw him arrested yet again, a veritable explosion of printed matter took place in 1639 and 1640. Edinburgh, London, Amsterdam and Leiden editions appear one after the other, and in Holland Dutch translations were printed.

There are great difficulties in identifying the editions of these tracts because of the use of falsified imprints - it is certain that some were printed by James and Robert Bryson in Edinburgh who had commenced printing in 1638-39 - but we can make a reasonable summary of the likely sources. In 1639 *The Remonstrance of the Nobility, Barons, and Burgesses* was printed by James Bryson in Edinburgh and, using fake imprints, by John Canne in Dutch and English editions. *Information from the States of Scotland* was printed again by James Bryson, but also by the Cloppenburg press of Amsterdam, both in 1640. The same year *The Intentions of the Army in Scotland* was printed by Cloppenburg, Christiaensz at Leiden and Robert Bryson in Edinburgh. *The Lawfulness of Our Expedition into England* even came out in a 'Mar-Prelate' edition from 'London', as well as from Cloppenburg, Christiaensz and Robert Bryson, while *A Remonstrance Concerning the Present Troubles* came from Cloppenburg and Christiaensz, although no Edinburgh edition of this has survived.⁷² In 1639 and 1640, in spite of his problems with the

⁷¹ For which Leighton suffered judicial maiming by order of the English high commission.

⁷² The above has been extracted from the entire Anglo-Scottish output of these presses in Sprunger (2), 191-217, and Aldis, 1639-40 range no.936-981. Needless to say there

authorities, John Canne took it upon himself to release many of these texts in Dutch translation. This was surely the most concerted and effective use of media propaganda by a Scottish government or party in the early modern period, and it could not have happened without agents abroad.

The Scottish church at Rotterdam was formed in 1643 and separated itself from the English church, partially as a result of the national confidence gained from events in Scotland, but also from signs in the previous couple of years that the strains of presbyterianism verses independency were becoming too great to sustain a 'British' church.⁷³ This new enthusiasm, and the appointment of a committed presbyterian as first minister, Alexander Petrie, did not have the result of galvanising the local Rotterdam press into taking the stage of Scottish affairs, although a few works, including Petrie's anti-Arminian *Chiliasto-mastix* (1644) came from the presses of Isaak Waesbergen and Adrian Vlaek. After the Restoration, with the economic decline of Veere, the uncertainty over the staple, the death of Spang and the appointment of royalist conservators, Rotterdam was the clear choice for Scottish exiles with its large Scottish community and strongly presbyterian kirk. The Scottish church at Rotterdam was felt to have a special place for preserving the true faith - in 1646 the ministers were entreated by the consistory to 'have Roles of the Parish for Examination and That They Cherish the smoking flax of Weak Beginners in the Ways of God'.⁷⁴ After 1660 a Scottish covenanter press in exile would join the mission.

The first major Scottish publishing event in Rotterdam was a collection of the letters of Samuel Rutherford published in *Joshua redivivus* in 1664. Rutherford had already been printed in Holland,

were many tracts produced in Scotland which did not appear in Dutch English language editions.

⁷³ Sprunger, (1), 175-180; Steven, *History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam*, 1-21.

⁷⁴ SRO. RH4. 17/2 -8. f8, from 'Miscellaneous Notes and Correspondence of the Church at Rotterdam'.

and his anti-Arminian *Exercitationes apologetica pro divina gratia*, which was printed in Amsterdam by Hendrik Laurensz in 1636, resulted in the author's confinement in Aberdeen in late 1636 after sentence by the Scottish high commission.⁷⁵ The publication of Rutherford's letters was symbolic of the community gathering at Rotterdam in the 1660s. The banished minister Robert MacWard, who was forced to leave Scotland in 1661 for preaching against episcopacy, took it upon himself to edit Rutherford's letters and, with a group of Dutch divines, such as Matthias Nethenus, theology professor of Utrecht, edited these and other works, including Rutherford's *Examen Armenianismi* published in 1668. Rutherford was one of the 'shining lights' of the 1640s and 1650s whose passing weakened presbyterianism. Yet, financial aid was provided by Lady Kenmure, wife of John viscount Kenmure, and the merchant Andrew Russell, and both city magistracy and local Dutch clergy also delivered material and spiritual security, the appeal of covenanting generally being strong for the Dutch reformed.⁷⁶ This support must have extended to the printing press.

At the centre of the exiled publishing activity in the 1660s and 1670s was the Dutch divine Jacobus Koelman. Koelman was a tireless editor and translator of Scottish presbyterianism. His work in translating Scottish authors into Dutch stretched for a period of nearly thirty years, and included James Guthrie's *Great Concern* (Amsterdam, 1668); *Historie der Kerken van Schotland tot het jaar*, 1667, (Rotterdam, 1668) a translation by James Borstius, minister of Rotterdam, of *Naphtali, or the Wrestling's of the Church of Scotland* published in the same year, and Rutherford's complete *Letters*

⁷⁵ Baillie, *Letters*, i, 8 (Letter to Spang, 2 January, 1637), Rutherford *Letters*, lxi. 136-138 and Row, *History*, 396-7. Note Rutherford's *Exercitationes apologetica* appeared in the Frankfurt catalogue in spring 1637 which suggests his writings were internationally popular - Sprunger (2), 210 for reference to Matthias Shaaber catalogue (1975).

⁷⁶ SRO. RH4. 17/2-8. doc. 9. Letter from MacWard to consistory, 17 June, 1677. Steven, *History of the Church at Rotterdam*, 29-30.

(Flushing, 1673). Sustained by the likes of Koelman and Borstius, newly exiled authors went into print, although the printers usually acted anonymously. John Brown of Wamphrey, exiled in 1663, saw his *Apologetical Relation of the Particular Suffering's* printed in Rotterdam in 1665. This and the English edition of *Naphtali* (Rotterdam, 1667), anonymously written by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees and James Stirling, were especially insulting to bishops, and were banned in Scotland in February 1666 and December 1667 respectively.⁷⁷ As well as writing his own infamous presbyterian tract *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Ministered to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland* (Amsterdam, 1678, reprinted in Edinburgh by John Reid, the younger, 1709), MacWard was responsible for editing a number of Brown's works, including *Christ the Way, the Truth, and the Life* (Rotterdam, 1677), which was printed for John Cairns, the Edinburgh bookseller. This was one of those extraordinary books that Koelman published in Dutch (1676) before its printing in the English language. There were a number of other clerical authors including Robert Fleming, exiled in 1677, but the solidarity of the Rotterdam community was disrupted when Fleming came down in favour of Charles II's indulgences, or amnesties, and Brown felt forced to respond with his bitter *History of the Indulgence* (Rotterdam, 1680).⁷⁸

By the late 1670s the period of radical Rotterdam publishing was drawing to a close. In the aftermath of the murder of archbishop Sharp in May 1679, a domestic press war of information and misinformation took place which showed that presbyterianism now had the ability to print in Scotland in its own right, though with anonymity. Printers like George Mosman and James Glen, both with covenanter sympathies, seem likely candidates for this undercover printing activity. Indeed, when the Test Act intruded to the disquiet of many, it was the Scottish press, and not that overseas, that became the

⁷⁷ Wodrow, *Sufferings*, ii, 7; Kirkton, *History*, 79

⁷⁸ For an overview of these ministers and their publications see Steven, *History of the Church at Rotterdam*, 72-112; Drummond, *Kirk and the Continent*, 99-109.

mouthpiece of dissent. The swan song for Holland was the publication of Calderwood's *The True History of the Church of Scotland* in 1678. In 1682 Patrick Warner, a co-publisher in this project, was arrested in Newcastle for carrying copies of the book on his person.⁷⁹ But the amnesty granted by James VII in 1685 would soon allow surviving exiles to return home, and to take more open advantage of the expanded capacity of Scotland's printing industry. The Dutch desire for neutrality and the arrival of a Dutch king on the throne would close the valve on dissent from the Dutch press.

⁷⁹ Wodrow, *Sufferings*, iii, 393-402.

Leiden and Amsterdam: craftsmen and financiers

The most renowned, subversive and Anglo-Scottish overseas presses known to historiography were the 'Pilgrim Press' of William Brewster and Thomas Brewer at Leiden (1617-19), and the separatist press of Giles Thorp (1604-22), and his successors (1623-35), and John Canne's 'Richt Right Press' (1637-44), both at Amsterdam. Although much has been written about the Pilgrim Press at Leiden,⁸⁰ disappointingly the established connection with Scotland, beyond the authors mentioned above, is comparatively slight. No Scottish merchants have so far been identified as providing financial support for the press during its astonishing burst of twenty odd books over three years. It is likely that the main patron of Calderwood was in fact the English merchant Thomas Brewer. Interestingly Brewer never actually became a member of the separatist church which would have eased Calderwood's conscience, and Brewer also had a close friendship with Alexander Leighton.

The one strong Scottish connection is the Anglo-German printer, and first of Aberdeen, Edward Raban who learned his trade at Leiden. The typographical evidence places him in close proximity to the Pilgrim Press, as some of the devices and type used by Raban after his arrival in Scotland match, or at least are very similar to, those of

⁸⁰ For the 'Pilgrim Press' see Harris and Jones, *The Pilgrim Press, A Bibliographical and Historical Memorial* and the revised edition by Breugelmans (Nieuwkoop, 1987); D. Plooij, *The Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch Point of View*, (New York, 1932); D. Plooij and Rendel Harris, *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers*, (Leiden, 1920); Sprunger (2), 133-144. Note that the imprint 'Pilgrim Press' was not used by the printers but was termed by Edward Arber in his *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606-1623* (1897).

Brewster. Thereafter, Raban's 1620 Latin printing of Calderwood's *Perth Assembly*, in St. Andrews no less, has the appearance of a risky and foolhardy venture. These risks, the connection with the Pilgrim Press, and the near certain knowledge that Raban brought printing materials from Holland to Scotland, may give us an explanation. It is likely that he transported the printed sheets with his presses and types, printed title pages locally, and was left only to find willing and sympathetic booksellers, such as Andro Hart and James Cathkin, to sell the book covertly.⁸¹ As for Raban's early career, Gordon E. Duff's vivid portrait, of a soldier of fortune in the Low Countries fighting against the Spaniard, makes a striking biographical interlude. Duff concludes that Raban was a soldier until 1610, and wandered Europe for two years before settling at Leiden around 1612. Raban's own tale in his *Resolution against Drunkenness* (1622), that his master in Leiden 'burnt [his] house, himself, and his only daughter' has led to a futile search for a printer who suffered this catastrophe and was, therefore, Raban's master. This would account for his activity in the years 1612-17 before the advent of the Pilgrim Press. However, new references found in the testimonials in the judicial archives at Leiden indicate that Raban was known as a printer in October 1607 and that he, having fallen on hard times, was to be supported by a Curt van Wurlendourg. Furthermore, in February 1613, a testimonial of Raban as 'wel gehert en guede wetensches' (well tempered and good in knowledge) by the Leiden alderman and university printer Jacob Jacobson suggests that Raban had learned his trade from the Amsterdam printer Francoise Lammelinson.⁸² It appears that Raban's

⁸¹ See Sprunger (2), 143-4 and Gordon E. Duff, 'The Early Career of Edward Raban, Afterwards First Printer at Aberdeen', *The Library*, fourth series, ii, (1921-22), 239-56.

⁸² Duff, 'Edward Raban', 241-242; Gemeentearchief Leiden, [GAL] Rechterlijk Archief, Getuigenisboeken 1581-1810 (inv. no. 79). I. 217 (25 October, 1607); L. 224 (15 February, 1613). The notarial archives of Leiden are a rich source of details on the Dutch book trade, yet Harris and Rendel, Sprunger and Hoftijzer have all trawled deep without finding much information relevant to Scotland. The misunderstanding that confuses Raban with a French printer of the same name, who operated from 1635 to 1673, seems to continue. H.J. Martin and M. Lecocq (eds.), *Livres et lectures a Grenoble. Les registres*

training could owe as much to Amsterdam, and no doubt to contact with the Thorp press, as it did to Leiden.

No Scottish printers have been found to have as strong a connection with the Amsterdam presses of Thorp and Canne, but some speculations can be made as to the financing of their output. Thorp and Canne were exiled Englishmen. The constant traffic of merchants from Scotland and England to Amsterdam, many sympathetic to separatism or presbyterianism and the 'nonconformist' output of these presses, would have enabled the more wealthy to make a contribution to the running costs. One Scottish candidate for providing finances was the wealthy merchant and Edinburgh bailie William Rigg. The government in Scotland certainly believed he was a key player in the financing of the pamphlet war against the Five Articles, and moved against him and a number of other merchants in 1624.⁸³ We also know that the wealthiest Scottish book trader of the time, Andro Hart, had strong connections with the Low Countries. We have commented above on his commissioning of the Dort printer Isaac Canin to produce a New Testament and psalms volume. Also, some type belonging to Hart is mentioned in the inventory of the Rotterdam typefounder Gabriel Guyot in 1610, while earlier Cornelius Claessonius of Amsterdam printed for Hart in 1602 as did Christopher Guyot of Leiden in 1603.⁸⁴ Given Hart's fervid presbyterianism he is

du libraire Nicolas, (1645-1668), i, 280-1. My thanks to Paul Hoftijzer for this reference. In fact Scotland's Raban died in 1657.

⁸³ Rigg and a William Symson, merchant, were summoned before the council along with a number of other bailies and burgesses. Rigg was imprisoned at Blackness and fined the huge sum of £50000 Scots, although it was never paid. Calderwood, *History*, vii, 433-441; 447-8; Spottiswoode, *History*, iii, 268-9 and Calderwood, *History*, vii, 596-611 and 618-9

⁸⁴ J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630*, (Nieuwkoop, 1974). McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1557-1640*, 69; *ibid.*, 120. The works printed were John Johnston's *Inscriptiones historicae Regum Scoticorum* and the same author's *Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica lectissimi*.

certainly a candidate for supporting the overseas press at Amsterdam, and even after his death in 1621 his wife Janet Kene, whose family were strong Melvillians, may have lent financial and distributive assistance. Thorp's press was actually in reasonable financial shape, as seen by the fact that Thorp and his sometimes partner Francis Blackwell, were able in 1609 to sell their entire print shop having replaced it with new equipment. Nonetheless, the exiled separatist Stephen Offwood went on to sponsor the output of Thorp's successors in the 1620s and 1630s.⁸⁵

The financial circumstances of Canne's 'Richt Right Press' are just as difficult to analyse. John Canne, a separatist minister and author, was certainly not in printing for monetary reward, although he did in the 1640s turn to the more lucrative bible trade.⁸⁶ The rich merchant Thomas Crawford financed some of the output of the Christiaensz press at Leiden in the 1630s and 1640s, and while we have no evidence that he helped Canne it is certainly possible. The Scottish lawyer William Hage, who again assisted Christiaensz, may also have helped the Amsterdam press. In the years of the covenanter propaganda war, beginning in 1638-39, Canne must surely have been supported directly from Scotland. The use of fake 'Bryson' imprints probably testifies to this. Although no specific evidence has yet been found it is probable that William Dick of Braid underwrote the printing of covenanter tracts at this time - it would be logical that he whose wealth bought the sword also bought the pen. But it is the activity of men of the middling sort that is so illusive, and yet so likely to be critical, to the financing and distribution of 'seditious' politico-religious texts.

⁸⁵ GAA. NA. 256.18.

⁸⁶ For details on John Canne see John F. Wilson 'Another Look at John Canne' *Church History*, 33, (1964), 34-48; A.F. Johnson, 'The Exiled English Church at Amsterdam and its Church', *The Library* fifth series, v, (1951), 230-1 also details and bibliography of Thorp; Sprunger (2), 98-101

Censorship Across the Seas

The practical problems of preventing illicit books breaching the shores of island nations with miles of coastline, meant that the governments of England and Scotland attempted to stop the overseas press at source, and this approach was not entirely without success. In Scotland, before 1603, the emphasis had been on import measures, such as in 1592 and 1601 when, at the instigation of the general assembly, the privy council made provision for improved customs patrols and searching of ships.⁸⁷ In England the bishops took advantage of the star chamber decree of 1586 which gave them the duty of licensing books, and one of the first victims was Thomas Cartwright's anti-ceremonial *A Confutation of Rhemists Translation* which was stopped before it reached the press. This did not prevent the Pilgrim Press producing its edition in 1618, much to the chagrin of the English bishops.⁸⁸ In the early years of the seventeenth century the Scottish church was, nevertheless, mainly concerned with 'papist' works and trafficking, as was the general assembly of 1608.⁸⁹

The reality of negotiations with foreign powers on book censorship was that after 1603 these matters were dealt with in a British context, and by representatives of the crown, that is ambassadors. We have already seen above that the conservator of the

⁸⁷ Calderwood, *History*, v, 185 and Melville, *Diary*, 305; *BUK*(2), 492-5 and Calderwood, *History*, vi, 115.

⁸⁸ It is worth noting that Waldegrave printed in Scotland in 1602 a large amount of the text, proving that he had not divested himself of his radical roots. Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 455; Sprunger (2), 12-13. Sprunger refers to Waldegrave's edition as a 'small part' but it was over 200 pages.

⁸⁹ *BUK*(2), 581.

staple of Scotland, and indeed the numerous factors around Europe, did not carry out a major function as book censors. It is, therefore, the activities of the royal ambassadors to the Hague Ralph Winwood (1603-13); Dudley Carlton (1616-28); Henry Vane (1628-33); William Boswell (1633-50); George Downing (1658-67), and William Temple (1668-79) which must concern us most. In 1606 Bancroft, the English archbishop, working through Winwood, began to apply pressure on the authorities in Holland to cease the printing of 'seditious' books, and especially the works of Hugh Broughton coming out of Amsterdam. This was a direct attack on the Thorp press which had just commenced operations in 1604. In 1614 Winwood again protested to the magistrates, and some of Thorp's stock was confiscated. Promises were made by the Dutch clergy to hinder such printings, but no more. The difficulty for the representatives of the crown was that the censorship laws of the Low Countries were highly devolved to local magistrates allowing local interpretation, and that there was no licensing function for the clergy as there was in the Spanish Netherlands, in England, or intermittently in Scotland.⁹⁰

The first major overseas campaign against subversive literature with a Scottish context was that of Carlton against Calderwood's *Perth Assembly*. Carlton seemed to come into possession of the book in early 1619 and was irritated, as indeed was the king, at what he describes as its 'scorn and reproach' on the question of the Five Articles. That year futile interrogations of suspects took place, starting with the aged Richard Schilders at Middelburg, and the much more promising trial of the Scottish bookseller James Cathkin in London. In June 1619 Cathkin was interrogated directly by the king and archbishop Spottiswoode, but if Cathkin's own account is to be believed he avoided any severe sanction, or banishment like Calderwood, in spite of the

⁹⁰ Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of the Affairs of State*, (1725), ii. 195 (February, 1606); GAA. Acta Kerkerand Amsterdam, III, 146v (8 June, 1606). PRO. SP 84/69.177. For details of the censorship laws in Holland see Sprunger (2), 37-41 and chapter 6.

king's 'great rage' at his entertaining the banned author.⁹¹ Cathkin certainly distributed *Perth Assembly* and the king's suspicion that Hart was also involved confirms the suspicions of the historian. Finally, back in Holland, Carlton had the following month discovered the Brewster-Brewer press at Leiden, and acting quickly closed it down, insisting on the full punishment of state law according to the rules governing anonymity and seditious content. Brewster fled across the Atlantic with the Pilgrim Fathers, and Brewer took up sanctuary in the university.⁹² Carlton's success is strange for his failure to question Thorp in Amsterdam, in spite of the use of Francis Hill as a spy for the activities of Amsterdam and Leiden, and it is symbolic of the continuation of the puritan press that some of the Pilgrim Press type came into the possession of Thorp and Canne.

Some five years before the elevation of Laud to archbishop of Canterbury, Charles I issued a decree through Carlton to the English synod (1621-33) - that group of Scottish and English ministers collected around John Forbes, minister to the Merchant Adventurers. The decree was to the effect that the synod must use the Book of Common Prayer, only have ministers ordained in England and Scotland, abstain from liturgical novelties, take action against scandalous books, and hold true to the doctrine of the Dutch and English churches. The synod made evasive responses on most these points, but did entirely refuse to give up their power to ordain. The seeds of disharmony were planted long before the advent of the Prayer Book.⁹³ Yet, in spite of the clear wishes expressed by the king, the supervision of ministers was fairly ineffective during the ambassadorship of Henry Vane (1628-33),

⁹¹ Sir Dudley Carlton *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carlton*, (1757), 335, 351, 379.

Arber, *Story of Pilgrim Fathers*, 198; Sprunger (2), 140-1. For Schilders see his deposition PRO. SP. 84/89. 84; for Cathkin trial see 'A Relation of James Cathkin His Imprisonment and Examination About Printing the Nullitie of Perth Assembly, by Himself' in *Bannatyne Miscellany*, i, pt.2, 199-215

⁹² D. Plooi, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, ch.3.

⁹³ Boswell Papers. BL. Add. MS 6394, 40-44 for Charles I's articles dated 19 May, 1628 cited in Nijenhuis, *Ecclesia Reformata*, ii, 227-8.

and only with the appointment of Laud to Canterbury and Sir William Boswell to The Hague in 1633 did a campaign get underway against nonconformity and its press.⁹⁴ In 1633 Laud gained the approval of the privy council in London for a ten point plan for chaplains of the Merchant Adventurers at Delft, English or Scottish, to institute the Church of England liturgy, to move their headquarters to London and accept the bishop of London as their religious head. Boswell showed great skill at negotiating John Forbes into a position where he had to resign and leave for Rotterdam, and shortly the Prayer Book was introduced, and the anglican minister George Beaumont installed. This augured well for the campaign throughout the rest of Holland.⁹⁵

Boswell then adopted various tactics to attack the presses of Christiaensz and Canne at Leiden and Amsterdam. Edward Misselden, a vengeful former deputy of the Adventurers, who had proved a useful agent in the eclipse of Forbes, along with a network of spies headed by the Amsterdam minister Jean [Johannes] Le Maire, were to be used against these printers. In addition, interrogations were to be carried out to provide more details on responsibility for printing certain tracts, and the Dutch authorities pressed to apply States General censorship law, and in particular the 'plakkaat' of 1621 which outlawed the publishing of any matter whatever 'concerning foreign kings and ecclesiastical governments'.⁹⁶ Thus, in 1637 and 1638, the net closed around Christiaensz and Canne. The magistrates of Leiden agreed to fine Christiaensz 300 guilders, and to confiscate his stock in April 1638 - it was during this case that the interrogation of his

⁹⁴ For a summary of Laud's press campaign see Harry Carter, 'Archbishop Laud and scandalous books from Holland' in *Studia Bibliographica in Honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verway*, (ed. S. van der Woude), (Amsterdam, 1967), 43-55.

⁹⁵ Acts of Privy Council [England], 43, 185. (March 1631); 261 (October 1631); Sprunger (1), 244-5.

⁹⁶ For the odd history of Misselden see Sprunger (1), 237-47; Le Maire, Sprunger (2), 121-2; for Symmons see above (PRO. SP. 16/387.no. 79.); ARA. Resolutions of States General, no. 3180, 17.

employee Matthew Symmons took place which furbished the prosecution, and historians, with so much useful detail - and the Leiden printer was in particular charged and convicted of printing John Prynnes's *News from Ipswich* (in Dutch), and for his part in the printing of Gillespie's *Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies*. Three months later Boswell persuaded the magistrates of Amsterdam to despatch John Canne in similar manner, and for a series of 'subversive' texts including the news sheet *News from Scotland*, and his part in the Gillespie co-production.⁹⁷ Never had British authorities been so successful in silencing an opposition press overseas.

Much of the success of this campaign was down to the enthusiasm of Le Maire who was an energetic censor. Sprunger estimates that perhaps seventeen titles were hunted down by him to the presses of Amsterdam, Leiden and Rotterdam. His work continued in 1639 with the re-arrest of Canne and the torching of his stock - Canne had not stopped printing in 1638 and would not do so in 1639 - and the arrest of Thomas Crawford for attempting to commission puritan works from presses in Leiden and Amsterdam. It was a partial victory only for Boswell and Le Maire, and although they persuaded the States General, States of Holland and Amsterdam to toughen the censorship laws for books offensive to King Charles, Le Maire's dream of clerical licensing was rejected by the Dutch secular authorities.⁹⁸

The ambassadorial role as censor of nonconformist literature raised its head again during the 1670s. In 1670 and 1676-77 the ambassador to The Hague, Sir William Temple, under instructions from Charles II, tried to take action against exiled covenanting

⁹⁷ For Christiaensz PRO. SP. 84/153, fols. 183-90; 154, fols. 150-153; for Symmons (see above), SP. 16/387. no. 79. For Canne GAA. Rechterlijk Archief (Arch. no. 5061) Justitieboek, no.578. 267v; SP. 84/154. 113v; 153. fols. 188, 271, 293-6; 154. fols. 114, 151-3. For a summary see Carter, 'Archbishop Laud', 48-9 and Sprunger (1), 315.

⁹⁸ Sprunger (2), 122-3; PRO. SP. 84/154. 256; GAA. Rechterlijk Archief (Arch. no. 5061), Confessieboek, no.303, 310v and Justitieboek, no. 578, 312v.

ministers. In this case the actions of the 'British' authorities were directed almost exclusively at Scottish writers. Temple and the king were prompted by the covenanting literature that began to pour forth from Rotterdam from the mid 1660s, and intelligence that informed them of the vibrancy of the exiled covenanting literary community. In July 1670 Temple placed before the States General the demand of Charles II that Robert Trail, Robert MacWard and John Nevay be banished from Holland for writing and publishing 'pasquils' and tracts against the king. The States responded with a temporary banishment which went unpoliced. Temple tried again in 1676-7, this time targeting John Brown, MacWard and Colonel Wallace, the commander at the Pentland Rising of 1666, and although the States General initially refused to act, claiming encroachment on their prerogative, the three were banished as 'rebels' under the terms of the Treaty of Breda (1667). Each was given a testimonial of good character, however, and Brown and MacWard only had to endure a period of exile at Utrecht, and Wallace in France. It is interesting to note that when in 1683 Charles II attempted to press for action against the ministers John Hoog and Robert Fleming, along with the merchants Andrew Russell and John Fleming, the States of Holland now felt able to reject his demands - after all the men were now citizens of Rotterdam.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Steven, *History of the Church at Rotterdam*, 36-49; Sprunger (1), 435-6; ARA. Secret Resolutions, States General, no. 3963, (6 February, 1677); ARA. Resolutions States General, no. 3731, 3,6; ARA. Resolutions States of Holland, no.109, 607-8; no.110, 6-10; ARA. Secret Resolutions, States of Holland, no.301, 527-74; ARA. Resolutions, States of Holland, no. 116, 125 (2 April, 1683). Steven, *History of the Church at Rotterdam*, 66. The burghs led a campaign to protect the merchant exiles. (see chapter 5).

The Amsterdam Bible Trade: the overseas bounty

Whatever can be said about the book trade of Scotland, it is certain that its capacity to print bibles has never been great enough to meet the demands of the Scottish people. After the late beginnings in the 1570s and 1580s with Arbuthnet and Bassandyne's bible, it was not until 1610 that a bible of stature was printed, the Geneva of Andro Hart. Hart began the deliberate, rather than dismembered, connection with Dutch printing of bibles when he and John Norton made their agreement to import bibles printed at Dort to undermine the bible patent in England held by the Barker family. However, Hart was important to Dutch printing for quite another reason, and indirectly made an important contribution to the first phase of Dutch/English bible printing in the 1630s and 1640s. The accuracy of his Geneva was such that it became the working text for many Dutch printed, English language editions by the middle of the century.

English language bible printing in the 1630s and 1640s came from both the Amsterdam and Leiden presses. Thomas Stafford and Thomas Crawford, a scandalous pair of Amsterdam businessmen, who spent much time in prison and court over debts and slanders, 'appropriately' commissioned a number of bible printings from these two printing centres from 1633 to 1641. The Amsterdam presses of Stam and Canne, and Christiaensz at Leiden, were the main suppliers. From a Scottish point of view two points are of particular note. Firstly, some of these editions were printed from Hart's Geneva text, that is according to the 'Copy printed at Edinburgh by Andro Hart in the year 1610'. Secondly, editions, such as the Christiaensz Geneva printed for Stafford in 1640, omitted the Apocrypha and this would have been a pre-requisite for sales into Scotland. Indeed, many of Stam's editions printed from 1628 also excluded the Apocrypha and must, therefore,

have been intended for the puritan or presbyterian market. The fact that England's archbishop Abbot had, in 1615, prohibited the issue of the Bible without the Apocrypha, and in July 1637 Laud banned the importation of the Geneva by decree of star chamber, did not reduce the market in Scotland for the Geneva minus Apocrypha.¹⁰⁰

John Canne of the Richt Right press at Amsterdam, also began printing bibles in the 1640s. Canne immediately used the 'King James version' rather than the Geneva, and after a dreadful edition in 1644, for which he was sued by his customer Edmund Blake, he went on in the 1640s to print a number of 'King James' volumes with his own marginal annotations. These, the original 'Consnot' bibles, became very popular with pious readers in England and in Scotland. In spite of legal wranglings over inept printing, after Canne returned to Amsterdam in 1660, having spent nearly eleven years back in England, he re-started his bible printing with as much enthusiasm as ever. And yet the Restoration was to bring about a revolution in bible manufacturing of quite another order and magnitude.¹⁰¹

The scale of the post-Restoration English language bible trade of Amsterdam was massive. Joseph Athias, one of the most prolific bible printers of the period, was able to boast in 1688 that he had manufactured over a million English bibles, and this is a believable

¹⁰⁰ For an example of an agreement between Thomas Crawford and Stam for the supply of bibles, GAA. NA. 1042. 58-59 (16 May, 1642 - for 12000 'Engelse bijbels' in quarto. For general details of bible printing in the 1630s and 1640s see Sprunger (2), 109-114, n.153-4; A. F. Johnson, 'J.F.Stam, Amsterdam, and English Bibles' *The Library*, fifth series, ix (1954), 185-193. For Laud and fear that imported bibles attack souls and the pockets of English printers see Carter, 'Archbishop Laud' 45-48. Laud famously said 'would any man buy a worse bible dearer'. William Laud, *The Works*, (7 vols.) (Oxford, 1847-60), iv, 349-50.

¹⁰¹ For Canne's dispute with Edmond see GAA. NA. 848, doc. 140; Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 104, and for his re-starting trade after 1660, GAA. NA. 2157. 21-23, a deal in 1663 to produce 2000 bibles for Amsterdam. Sprunger (2), 109-101; Wilson, 'Canne', 47.

figure.¹⁰² In March 1674 Athias made a loan agreement with the Amsterdam merchant, paper supplier and *geldschieter* (money lender) Christoffel van Gangeldt for which his current stock was used as security. Athias held in stock bibles and psalm books in numerous languages - Spanish, Polish, German, Hebrew and Latin - but especially English bibles which, over various formats, amounted to 10000 copies. The actual printings could be even larger. An agreement for a single bible printing reached between Athias and the Stam-Schippers bible publishers in 1673 agreed that a total print run of 53000 should be produced, and the stock split between the partners.¹⁰³ That year the States General granted to these parties a joint fifteen year licence to print English language bibles in all sizes.¹⁰⁴ Thus the press houses of Stam, Schipper, Athias and the bookseller Steven Swart were now working flat out in the production of English bibles. The Dutch bible had been a common item in the libraries of England and Scotland for decades, but after 1673 the stream became a deluge.

Steven Swart, who like so many other Dutch book traders was linked by marriage to the great bible printers and booksellers of Amsterdam, had been an important middle man in the bible trade since the 1660s. As well as operating as a bookseller within Holland, he set up English bible printing deals for export and the domestic Dutch

¹⁰² From preface to a German language Jewish bible cited by Isaac le Long in *Boek-zaal der Nederduytsche bybels*, (Amsterdam, 1732), 858 cited in Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 111.

¹⁰³ GAA. NA. 3218. 245 (6 March, 1674); Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 108. For amazingly detailed special format, paper and type specifications for English language bibles see GAA, NA. 2229. 512 (25 February, 1669) and GAA. NA. 4889. 562 (15 July, 1686).

¹⁰⁴ M.M. Kleerkooper and W.P. van Stockum, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw*, (2vols), (s'Gravenhage, 1914-16), 1136-7; NA. 3205. 11 (1 October, 1670); Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 106-7; for 1673 agreement see Kleerkooper, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, 690-91 and Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 108. The joint licence was only granted after a bitter legal dispute between Athias and the widows.

market with widow Schippers and Athias in the 1670s. In 1679 Swart also witnessed a document for Anna Marie Stam in which the Glasgow printer Robert Sanders, senior, was given 'full power authority and command for her in her stead' to recover the debt of 890 guilders due to her for supplying bibles to the Glasgow merchant Thomas Davidson. The document is of interest for several reasons. Firstly, it shows that Glasgow, as well as Edinburgh, was by the 1670s fully engaged with the Dutch bible trade. That Sanders could act as the agent for widow Stam indicates a strikingly close commercial relationship. The timing of the Sanders-Stam contract is remarkable. In 1680 the king's printer Agnes Campbell charged Sanders before the privy council for importing bibles from overseas in breach of her patents.¹⁰⁵ Glasgow was a more secure destination for Dutch bibles as it was remote from the gaze of the king's printer. Policing bible stock was complicated by the use of fake imprints by the Amsterdam bible printers, although this was a commercial expedient used also by the royal printers of England and Scotland in the late seventeenth century.¹⁰⁶

In Holland there were strong links between Scottish and Dutch religious practice. When Joseph Athias advertised his English bible in the *Oprechte Haaremsche Courant* in December 1669 he justified the edition 'soo schoon ghedruckt' with reference to the inclusion of 'Scotsche Psalmen'. Some Scottish books did travel to Holland. Those with reponsibility to the Scottish community sometimes acquired books from the home market. The Veere elder and factor William

¹⁰⁵ For Swart in general see Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 107-9. He was married to Abigail May daughter of the Brownist Henry May, and the Amsterdam bookseller Joseph Browning was May's brother-in-law. For Sanders see GAA. NA. 4779. 101-2 (8 and 15 March, 1679). Document is in English. The mention of Davidson shows that the trade in Dutch bibles was not limited to conventional book traders.

¹⁰⁶ For details of fake imprints see Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 112; Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1668-1725*, 136-8 and in particular the activities of Thomas Guy the English bookseller. Details on Agnes Campbell's activity in this area will be published in due course.

Wallace took it upon himself in 1618 and 1619 to buy Scottish psalters for his church and community. Similarly the chaplain to the Scottish regiments Andrew Hunter was in debt to the Scottish book merchant Andro Hart in 1604, and it is likely that this was for supplying his regiment with liturgical printed matter.¹⁰⁷ However, this was but a trickle compared with the large covert and overt river of books that entered Scotland from the Low Countries. This was simultaneously a bumper harvest for domestic booksellers and a threat to domestic printers. For readers the deluge represented the incalculable contribution of the overseas press to Scottish print culture, while for government it became an awkward challenge to conventional authority.

¹⁰⁷ Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 106; Gemeentearchief Veere: Records of the Church at Veere, Account Book I (1616-35), 14r,19. Wallace was the grandson of the wealthy St. Andrews merchant of the same name who became a citizen of Veere in 1557. My thanks to Peter Blom, gemeentearchivaris Veere for details of the family. For Hunter debt to Hart see testament of his first wife Janet Mitchellhill in BM, 240.

Chapter 4

Copyright in Early Modern Scotland

England and Scotland

Although it will be used for the sake of clarity, the term 'copyright' is strictly an anachronism for most of Scotland's early modern period. The typical Scottish licensee was given the right to 'print, reprint, vend, sell and import' but not 'to copy'. In England book licences registered with the Stationers' Company used the word 'copy' essentially as a substitute for 'copyright', even though the first formal use of 'copyright' does not appear in the Company records until 1701.¹ As for the right of the author to his work, in England this was an idea toyed with for the benefit of the licence holders, the bookseller and printer members of the Stationers', and as a bargaining counter during licence disputes. It was only with the arrival of statutory copyright in 1710, in the shape of the 'Statute of Anne',² that in both England and Scotland the legal title to copyright was introduced. That same British legislation, by emphasising the right of all to possess copyright, and not merely Stationers, enabled English authors to emerge from behind the trade regulations of English book merchants, and specifically recognised the special status of the author to whom rights would revert on the expiry of licences. Meanwhile, in Scotland the new statutory arrangements, which will be considered in depth later, were superimposed over a contrasting history of legal interpretation and book trade practice. Also, for the first time, Scotland and England had no legal right to print solely for their own domestic

¹ Eyre and Rivington (eds.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, from 1640-1708*, (London, 1914), viii, 494-6.

² 8 Anne, c.19. The statute was enacted in March 1709 (old style) and came into effect 10 April, 1710.

markets or duplicate each others publications.³ The Scottish book trade in particular found this arrangement unsustainable.

Scotland's historiography of book copyright has little to offer for the consideration of the decades before 1710,⁴ and there are two simple explanations. Firstly, the Statute of Anne was the first copyright act for the English speaking world, and it was the starting point, not only for British copyright law, but in due course for that of America. The importance of this enactment, which was about copyright not censorship, as had been all previous Scottish and English legislation, has made it a natural starting point for the consideration of intellectual copyright. The output of American texts on copyright law that begin with the Statute of Anne is especially effusive.⁵ In addition, the key role of the Scottish judiciary and legal theory over the subsequent interpretation of British copyright law - the clash between the booksellers of Scotland and England, culminating in the *Donaldson v Becket* case, and the judgment of the house of lords in 1774 - has naturally become a popular subject for the legal and publishing historians of both nations. That English historiography has been accused of an 'Anglocentric approach' has simply encouraged a

³ The English copyright historian John Feather comments on this position for Scotland but it was also true for England. John Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: An Historical Study of Copyright in Britain*, (London, 1994), 81. His account of Scotland begins in the eighteenth century.

⁴ The only useful general survey for Scotland is W.J. Couper, 'Copyright in Scotland before 1709' in *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, (1931), v, 9, 42-57 but much information is contained in Lee, *Memorials*, passim. Also, Warren McDougall, 'Copyright Litigation in the Court of Session, 1738-1749 and the Rise of the Scottish Book Trade', *EBS*, v, prt.5 (1987), while clearly an eighteenth-century survey is of use.

⁵ For example see Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1993) and, Lyman Ray Paterson, *Copyright in Historical Perspective*, (Nashville, 1968), the latter excellent, if somewhat preoccupied with England. The most important and most recent English history is Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*.

Scottish output covering only the eighteenth century and thereafter.⁶ The numerous surviving tracts and judgements from the 1730s to 1770s provide the historian with easily accessible material, which contrasts markedly with the position before 1710. However, if the assumption of written history is that 'copyright' did not exist in Scotland before 'statutory copyright' arrived in 1710, then explanations must be provided for the level and complexity of interaction between the law and the book trade in the first 200 years of Scotland's print history.

Copyright can be defined as nothing more than a patent whose subject is a specific literary property. In Scottish history, more than English, patents for individual books sprang from broader patents granted by the state. In Scotland, as in England, the sixteenth and seventeenth century view of copyright had little understanding of books as the property of authors - that notion would develop in the eighteenth century, although even then most authors sold their works outright. Nonetheless, a comparison of the early modern copyright

⁶ For Scottish accounts of the 'bookseller war' of 1746 to 1774 see Richard S. Thompson, 'Scottish Judges and the Birth of British Copyright', *Juridical Review*, (1992), 18-42; Hector L. MacQueen, *Copyright, Competition and Industrial Design*, (second edition), Hume Papers on Public Policy, iii, 2, (1995), 1-6, and for facsimiles of contemporary printed documents see the Garland Series on the English book trade covering 1660-1853, and especially *The Literary Property Debate: Six Tracts, 1776-1774* including James Boswell, *The Decisions of the Court of Session upon the Question of Literary Property in the Cause of John Hinton of London, Bookseller, Pursuer against Alexander Donaldson and John Wood, Booksellers in Edinburgh and James Meurose, Bookseller in Kilmarnock, Defenders* (1774) (facsimile, London/New York, 1974). For quote see Thompson, 'Scottish Judges', 18. For recent English accounts see John Feather, 'The Publishers and the Pirates: British Copyright Law in Theory and Practise, 1710-1775', *Publishing History*, 22, (1987), 5-32 and his *A History of British Book Publishing*, (Kent, 1988), 76-83 and *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 64-96. Also of use are A.W. Pollard, 'Some Notes on the History of English Copyright' *The Library*, fourth series, iii, (1922) and John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth Century England*, (Cambridge, 1985), 6-11.

history of the two kingdoms brings to the surface two fundamental contrasts, the first practical, the second jurisprudential. Firstly, individual book licences in Scotland were granted by the crown, or its representatives, for a limited number of years, either a specific period or the lifetime of the licence holder, and after the 1590s, this was extended to include heirs and successors.⁷ Therefore, in Scotland, like France and the Low Countries there was no notion of perpetual copyright which was the basis of most English copyrights.⁸

The second aspect which differentiates copyright in Scotland and England is the legal philosophy behind the nature of intellectual property. With the Roman basis of Scots law there was, in inventions and creations, no admission of the concept of 'incorporeal' property, and therefore, in order for such property to have a legal basis it had to have real, physical form. Thus, a manuscript or a printed book was legal property, but not the text or its ideas. Following the number of cases concerning literary property before the court of session in the 1750s and 1760s, this philosophical ambiguity to copyright ownership led Scotland's highest court to reject the notion of perpetual copyright - it was regarded as unreasonable. Meanwhile, in England, with its flexible uncoded basis for law, the author created property when he wrote a text, and English common law confirmed perpetual copyright.⁹

This is not to say that common law attitudes to literary property had no role to play in Scotland. Scottish courts felt that even Scottish common law was sufficiently robust to secure an author's right to his

⁷ The first licence for an individual title confirming the rights of heirs was John Gibson's licence to import a psalms edition from Middelburgh in 1599. SRO. PS.1.71, 47r

⁸ John Feather illustrates English practice with the extreme example of William Lily's *Grammar*. Written in 1513 and published in its final form in 1542, it became a prescribed text book in English schools for over 200 years, and yet as late as the early eighteenth century Thomas Longman acquired the profitable patent. Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 21.

⁹ Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 80-83 and Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 10-36 provide excellent summaries.

work as long as it was private. The interdict granted by act of parliament to David Buchanan in 1646, to prevent the publication of histories of the kirk while his own was in progress, was probably designed to assert the author's rights before publication.¹⁰ There were, however, few such cases in the seventeenth century, although authors were always allowed to commission whichever printer they wished. Also, evidence of frequent printing before licences were granted might indicate an acceptance of the more substantial legal basis in Scotland based on physical existence. This could be the case even though copyright was incorporeally inferred through the prevention of others from printing. Licences like the detailed grant of December 1599 to Robert Smyth of Edinburgh - this was to print numerous books for twenty years, some of which had already come from his press - could be representative of such a philosophy.¹¹ What is indisputable is that these contrasting English and Scottish approaches were the constant backdrop to the forty years of international legal conflict which started in the 1730s.¹²

In early modern England the history of legal copyright is inextricably linked with the fortunes of the Stationers' Company following its affirmation by royal charter in 1557.¹³ From this date

¹⁰ APS, vi. pt.1, 602 b. Couper, 'Copyright before 1709', 45 using Macfie's *Copyrights and Patents for Invention*, i, 34.

¹¹ The titles included 'the double and single Catechism, the plane Donet, the haill four partis of grammer according to Sebastian, the Dialauges of Corderius, the select and familiar Epistles of Cicero, the buik callit Sevin Seages' and much else. Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 480-481. SRO. PS.1. 71 . 86.

¹² Sometimes the attitude of English bibliographers is a barrier to the study of copyright and patents. William Jackson in his paper 'Counterfeit Printing in Jacobean Times', is happy to regard Andro Hart's legitimate 1614 edition of Bacon's Essays as an 'Edinburgh piracy' as if at the time Edinburgh was covered by laws from London. *The Library*, fourth series, xv, (1934), 367.

¹³ For the Stationers and licensing see Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 10-67; A.W.Pollard, 'Notes on the history of copyright', passim; Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth Century England*, (Cambridge, 1985), 6-11; W.W.Greg, *Some*

English copyright existed in two forms - initially the printing patent granted by the sovereign, and now the Stationers' copyright, the former public the latter private. The earliest statute concerning English copyright was in 1583, arising from the deliberations of an English privy council committee enquiring into complaints about patents and privileges. However, almost from the Stationers' charter in 1557, and certainly after the registration system for individual titles was started in 1562, *de facto* copyright became a practical reality. The English star chamber decree of 1586 then set the tone for English copyright which continued into the seventeenth century - the classification of unlawful printing was extended to the infringement of copyholders registered with the Stationers' Company. This was the position down to 1695 apart from a legislative lapse from 1679 to 1685. After 1695 a period of confusion ensued until pressure from copyholders helped bring about the copyright Act of 1710.¹⁴

In copyright terms then, what did the Stationers' privileges represent before 1710? Although established by an act of royal prerogative, the Stationers' Company was a guild of private individuals with its own court and ordinances to regulate the book trade. In England, though never in Scotland, even after 1710, it was illegal to operate a printing press without also being a Stationer. This was the position notwithstanding royal gifts, though the recipients of prerogative patents, such as the king's printers, were welcomed into the Company in any case, or were already members. Individual copyrights were registered with the Company and following successful registration, the copyright then conferred on the private publisher was perpetual, while of course it could be assigned to other guild members or inherited by heirs. The copyrights were regulated property.¹⁵

Aspects of Problems of London Publishing, 1550-1650, (London, 1950), 8-10 and Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers Company, 1403-1959*, (London, 1960), *passim*.

¹⁴ Scottish pressure for legislation will be considered below.

¹⁵ The first English example of the transfer of literary property was in 1564 and the first known transaction in Scotland was in 1587 with the acquisition of copyrights held

Unfortunately, James VI and I contributed to the deepening monopolism in English printing. His 'apparent' sympathy with those attacking excessive monopolies simply produced policies which replaced public with private monopoly.¹⁶ In 1603 James recalled the valuable patents granted to John Day, and his son Richard, for primers and psalters, and also from James Roberts and Richard Watkins those for almanacs and prognostications. By royal grant he gave them to the Stationers' Company 'for the benefit of the pouer of the same'. It was this grant which became the legal basis for the 'English Stock', and which began the buying and selling of patents within the Stationers' Company, and the gradual accumulation of patents into a 'collective monopoly' in fewer and fewer hands.¹⁷ In the reign of Charles I the Stationers' monopolism reached into Scotland's book trade. The 'Scottish Patent' was acquired as part of Miles Flesher's Stationers' Company monopoly which he built up from 1617 to 1638. This included a share in the office of Scottish royal printer which he obtained in 1632 with his partner Robert Young.¹⁸

While the wealth and copyholding of the Stationers' became ever greater, especially for the bookseller and 'non-press' members, the second type of English book copyright continued. Licences granted by the crown, or the 'printing patent' as it is sometimes referred to, pre-date the Stationers' copyright.¹⁹ The first of these was granted to John Rastell by Henry VIII in 1518 for printing *Progymnasmata* by Thomas Linacre. In Scotland the first royal grant was that given by James IV to Chepman and Myllar in 1507 for printing Elphinstone's *Breviarium*

by George Young by Gilbert Masterton. Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 18; SRO. PS.1.75, 127.

¹⁶ For the general controversy over monopolies and patents in England see Christine MacLeod, *Inventing the Industrial Revolution: The English patent system, 1660-1800*, (Cambridge, 1988), 10-17.

¹⁷ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 26; Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*, (London, 1965), 132

¹⁸ Blagden, *The Stationers' Company*, 138-145.

¹⁹ Patterson, *Copyright*, 78-113; Rose, *Authors and Owners*, 11-12.

Aberdonense, although this was part of a general gift rather than a patent for a single act of publication. The first known Scottish examples of these were the letters patent granted to Thomas Davidson in 1541 to print the acts of parliament, and the eleven title, but carefully itemised patent granted to the author William Niddrie in 1559. These were for terms of six and ten years respectively.²⁰ In fact, these Scottish examples mirror the two types of prerogative printing patent that operated in England, the Chepman and Myllar type of licence - general, usually for life and containing generic classes of books, bibles, prognostications and so on, and the Davidson and Niddrie variety - 'particular' and limited in time, in England typically to licences of seven to ten years in duration. Thus, before the Stationers' Company began to dominate English copyright at the end of the sixteenth century, the practicalities of government copyright were similar in England and Scotland.

The printing patent was the fountain for the most profitable book copyrights in early modern England. In addition, a degree of prestige came with the profitability of printing a class of books such as law books, grammars, bibles and so on. However, the transfer of printing patent rights to the Stationers from 1603 to 1616, along with the purchase of grants by guild members, gradually restricted the scope for prerogative grants. The printing patent became more an engine for the internal monopoly of the Stationers than an active brand of English copyright. Indeed, the historiography of English copyright concludes that by the second half of the seventeenth century the prerogative

²⁰ Patterson, *Copyright*, 86-87. Chepman and Myllar's royal grant conferred all understood printing rights at the time, as well as the inferred appointment as the first king's printers. *Registrum Secreti Sigilli regum Scotorum: Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland* (printed series) (RSS), I, 223 no.1546 and Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 7-8; RSS, II, 653, no.4335 and Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 105; RSS, v. pt.1, 143-4, no.658. The first clear example of an English author receiving a patent was the grammarian Thomas Cooper in 1563. Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 12.

printing patent was of 'little significance'.²¹ This is a position entirely at odds with the copyright of Scotland before 1710, and it fails to comprehend the role of Scottish practice in eighteenth-century developments. The continuing importance of government copyright in Scotland allowed book copyright theory and legislation for the United Kingdom to fall back into line with that for industrial patents north and south of the border.²² That is to say, after publication the only copyright available was that granted by the state for a prescribed statutory period. Scottish 'backwardness' helped by 1774 to deliver victory over the monopoly of the London press.

²¹ Patterson, *Copyright*, 4 and Rose, *Authors and Owners*, 12.

²² Until 1852 letters patent for inventions did not cover the whole of the UK, and had to be obtained separately for England, Scotland and Ireland. see introduction to SRO.

'Calendar of Scottish Patents and specifications, recorded in HM Chancery of Scotland from the Union to 1812'.

Scottish copyright

Scottish copyright from 1507 to 1710 depended on government copyright underpinned by royal prerogative. Whether licences were granted by warrant of the king himself, or by his representatives - the 'king in council' or the 'king in parliament',²³ or passed the seals great or privy - the legal basis of copyright was a privilege to copy granted by the state. The privy council was the main licensing authority in this period, although there were changes in the system of registration, as can be seen by a survey of privy council printed and manuscript records, acts of parliament and the printed and manuscript registers of the privy and great seals.²⁴ Until around 1610, copyright licences for particular titles were confirmed by the privy seal, but after then, and especially from the 1660s, publishing privileges were granted by act of

²³ Couper is technically correct to say that 'The King's prerogative was the determining factor in all questions of copyright before 1710', but copyright was mostly issued in his name by the executive. The regulation of the press was controlled by governments not kings. Couper, 'Copyright before 1709', 45.

²⁴ The following are the main sources surveyed: *Register of Privy Council (RPC)*, 37 volumes in three printed series covering 1545 to 1691; Manuscript Privy Council Registers Acta (SRO.PC.1), vols 47-53 (1691-1707) and Decreta (SRO.PC.2), vols. 24-28 (1692-1705); Thomson and Innes (eds.), *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, 12 printed vols, (1124-1707) (APS); Registers of the Committee of Estates (SRO.PA. 11), vols. 1-11 (1640-1651); *Registrum Secreti Sigilli regum Scotorum: Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland (RSS)* (printed), 8 vols. (1488-1584) and manuscript registers (English and Latin) (SRO. PS.1), vols. 52-116 (1584-1651) and New series, English Registers (SRO. PS.3), 6 vols. (1661-1711); Index to Apprisings and Offices, 1499-1651 (SRO. 7.1); *Registrum magni sigilli regum Scotorum: Register of the Great Seal of Scotland (RMS)*(printed), vols. ii to xi (1424-1668) and manuscript registers (SRO.C.3), vols. 9-16 (1665-1716)

privy council.²⁵ Thus the privy seal confirmed in 1576 that George Young was made licensee for ten years for the publication of a new grammar, and in 1602 that the sons of the printer Robert Smyth, Robert and David, were granted the twenty five year licence derived from their father to print 'Catechisms, the plane donat ... the celect and familiar epissillis of Cecero ... the second Rudiments of Dunbar, the psalmes of Buchanane' and much else besides. However, the twenty one year licence granted to Alexander Wedderburne in 1632, to publish his grammar, and the nineteen year licence to John Bining in 1694, to publish seven volumes of philosophy and sermons by his late father Hew, both derived from acts of council.²⁶

There were exceptions to the above chronology. The privy seal was employed after 1610 where the king had a particular personal interest. This is seen in the privilege to print the curious catechism *God and the King* gifted to James Primrose in 1616; that to Gilbert Dick for two catechisms in 1618 and 1619, both having been approved by king and general assembly, and when Sir William Alexander was awarded a thirty-one year licence in 1627 for the 'official edition' of the Psalms of David in metre. This edition had been translated by Alexander with the help of the pen of the late King James. Even in the reign of Charles II we find the privy seal utilised to confer a nineteen year licence for two law books, the *Institutes* and *Decisions of Session* by Dalrymple of Stair in 1681, and a ten year licence in 1682 to royal geographer Robert Sibbald for his *Scotia Antiqua* and *Scotia Moderna*, which subsequently appeared in the one volume *Scotia Illustrata* (1685).²⁷ But in chronological terms, book copyright merely shadowed

²⁵ See table below for figures.

²⁶ SRO.PS. 1.43 and Lee, *Memorials*, appendix iv; PS. 1.73.8r-v; RPC, ii, 4, 168-9 and 500-1; PC. 2.24. 319v.

²⁷ SRO. PS.1. 85, 245r-247v and RPC, i, 10, 534-8; PS.1. 87, 67 and RPC, i, 11, 30-31, 626; PS.1. 100, 305; PS.3. 3. 336-7; PS.3. 3. 450-1. Couper asserts that *God and the King* had 'no legal protection in Scotland', the author and printing being English. This is untrue, firstly as the patent under the privy seal shows and secondly, as the book was printed in Scotland in 1617. It is illogical for Couper to claim on the one hand that many

conventions for commercial patents. Earlier patents, such as that for a coal mine pump in 1583, or for brewing in 1594, were under the privy seal, while those for soap making in 1619 and glass making in 1662 were acts of privy council.²⁸ In this respect at least books were not a special case. A general explanation may be that economic policy was increasingly a matter for larger executive committees and not merely the king-in-council.²⁹

Recourse to litigation over book trade disputes from the 1670s, by such as Agnes Campbell and James Watson, confirms the changing perception of literary property in Scotland and in a manner in parallel with English developments.³⁰ Although Scottish copyright evolved along different lines to that of England, in post-Restoration Scotland, as in Holland from the late sixteenth century, book patents and 'copyright' also began to be seen more as an aspect of personal property, and less as a privilege ordained by God and the king. In their cases before privy council and court of session, Scotland's book men and women reflected the shift from an emphasis on honorific and pious book trading, to a more 'modern' distillation of commercial exploitation. To some extent this is even reflected in the surviving

licences were granted for a number of works by foreign authors, but that the privy council 'could have no right to deal with such books'. The government had the right to licence precisely as it pleased for the Scottish market, although it was prompted to do so, in the main, by the book community. Couper, 'Copyright before 1709', 50-51; *ibid.*, 49.

²⁸ *RSS*, viii, 70, no.414; *PS*.1.66, 107v-108r; *RPC*, i, 12, 106; *RPC*, iii, 1, 155.

²⁹ There is no certain explanation for the switch from the privy seal for patents. For most of the first quarter of the seventeenth century Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, great nephew of Maitland of Lethington, was keeper of the privy seal and he was not a peer as were most holders of the post, which may be significant. The coincidental activities of the court of high commission could also lead us to speculate about combined licensing and copyright procedures were it not for the fact that industrial and book patents suffered the same fate.

³⁰ For the most famous court of session case 1713-15 involving Campbell and Watson in opposition over claims to the office of royal printer 1713-15 see *SRO. Court of Session Papers, Productions and Processes CS.29. box. 436.1.(Mackenzie)* (see chapter 5).

registers of the privy council. If we accept, in the broadest and most simplistic sense, that the Acta represent a record of public affairs and the Decreta that of the private, then the registers reveal that almost all book licenses were enacted in Decreta from the 1670s. They were private rights confirmed by the government of the day.

From 1600 to the 1670s a more confused and mixed situation developed. Essentially the more 'important' copyright matters received 'public' attention. The privilege to a new national grammar, as for that written by Wedderburne and introduced 1631-32; the direct appeals for copyright protection from English licensees, as by the author Colonel Robert Monro in 1637; and the licensing of the works of esteemed lawyers of the day, such as that granted in 1677 to the partners Swintoun, Glen and Brown for Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh's *Laws and Customs of Scotland in Matters Criminal* (1678), are found in the Acta registers. In particular, privileges granted to the clerk register for printing acts of parliament were considered matters for public government. By 1690, however, copyright was only granted in Decreta, the only exception thereafter being the consideration of a controversial petition from Agnes Campbell of March 1701. In this Campbell requested copyright protection for a selection of popular academic works, and in particular for protection against imported English editions. The privy council was very reluctant to allow her excessive monopoly powers, and in its final judgement excluded the copyright of 'Flavel's Works', and refused import restrictions on the other titles.³¹ The securing of access to educational books, such as Poole's *Annotations of the Bible*, was a matter of balancing public interest against commercial considerations, and was not merely a private matter.

³¹ RPC, ii, 4, 168-9, 500-1; ii, 6, 423-4, this was for Monro, *His Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment* which had been printed in England. RPC, iii, 5, 218-9; SRO.PC.1. 52, 200-1. The Acta registers are also where government censorship policy is to be found.

A more public forum than the privy council was of course parliament. As regards the book trade, the main function of parliament, the estates, and indeed the committee of estates under the covenanter regime, was to legislate for public policy over censorship, to ratify the major gifts to king's printers, and to prescribe national educational and religious texts, such as the Directory of Public Worship introduced in 1645. However, in some interesting and specific cases parliament granted copyright. In 1633, in the presence of the king, it ostentatiously agreed that Robert Craig, son to Thomas Craig (1538-1608), be licensed for twenty one years to print his father's *De Feudis* in three volumes. A committee headed by Thomas Hope of Craighall was selected to oversee the printing. Also, following an appeal by the general assembly in 1645, which showed that the kirk was as concerned as any institution to protect the copyright of authors, parliament granted licences in three theological works. Of even more interest is the decision by parliament in 1661 to license Robert Forbes, professor of philosophy at Aberdeen, to reprint through the press of John Forbes the 'answers, replys and duplyes of the Aberdeen doctors, 1637-38'.³² This propagandist move was clearly designed to set the clock back to 1637, and to besmirch the covenanters.

Whereas parliament was the most public forum, there were nevertheless means by which a private rather than government copyright could be granted in Scotland. This mechanism was not too dissimilar to the Stationers' Company. While in England all printed matter not covered by royal grants had to be registered at Stationers Hall, there was no continuous and centralised registration mechanism in Scotland. Also, in England, the provincial press at Oxford and Cambridge survived only because of specific royal charters, the advent of the Stationers' 'monopoly' leading, by 1560, to the premature end to

³² APS, v, c.47, 57. King and privy council agreed to publish Craig's works 1608-10 as a posthumous tribute but the project faltered, see James Maidment (ed.), *State papers and miscellaneous correspondence of Thomas Earl of Melrose*, (Abbotsford, 1837), i, 43-44; 84-5; APS, vi, pt.1. c. 73, 323 (clerical authors Robert Boyd and David Dickson); APS, vii, 334, appendix 81b.

early printing in such diverse places as St. Albans, York, Ipswich and Worcester.³³ In Scotland printing did not commence in Aberdeen and Glasgow until the seventeenth century, but no government or centralised limitation was placed on the proliferation of presses, and local town councils were by inference given freedom and authority to license the activity of the press within their burghs (see chapter 1). The burgesses of Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh took responsibility to employ town printers, to supervise the appointment of college printers and to license and censor the local press output. This local press control was occasionally ratified by the government, and at times to a variety of authorities. In 1634 Charles I confirmed the power of the masters of the Old College of Aberdeen to censor the output of the local press. Fifty years later the privy council ruled that the Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen presses could not operate without license 'from the Bishop of the dioces for any thing in divinitie' and to the appropriate medical, legal and privy council authorities of Edinburgh for specific genre.³⁴ The point of this last clause was to control works discussing the government of the nation, not for the privy council to police the printing, or the copyright, of local academic theses.

'Local copyright', therefore, existed on a private basis on the authority of the magistrates of the burgh corporations. Admittedly this was often merely a licensed permission to print rather than a burgh patent with a specific time scale, yet it was copyright nevertheless. The granting of anything more than just permission to publish was usually unnecessary, for many local printings were either ephemeral or of insufficient value to attract pirating or proprietorial considerations. Newspapers, and before them almanacs, were considered to be the most valuable properties, especially after the Restoration. Licences for newssheets or diurnals, as well as newspapers, were granted by the privy council, as seen in the patent

³³ Harry G. Aldis, *The Printed Word*, (Cambridge, 1951), 20.

³⁴ Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xxxi; *RPC*, iii. 8, 384; MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 61. The burghs and government were in constant communication over censorship (see chapters 1 and 6).

for a weekly diurnal awarded to Robert Mein in 1661, the licence for the *Edinburgh Gazette* given to James Donaldson in 1699, and that to Adam Boig for the *Edinburgh Courant* in 1705.³⁵ Local licensing in this field could, however, arise when the central authorities were distracted or uninterested. This may well be the reason why in 1657 Aberdeen council licensed John Forbes to produce a weekly diurnal 'for the use of the inhabitants'. In the early eighteenth century the Edinburgh town council found it necessary to license newspapers during the two year hiatus between the demise of the privy council in May 1708 and the Statute of Anne in 1710, including the *Scots Postman* to David Fearn (1709) and the *Edinburgh Courant* to Daniel Defoe (1710).³⁶

Of even greater commercial value than newspapers, at least before 1700, were the burgh almanacs. The magistrates of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen each licensed burgh printers to produce their respective almanacs (see chapter 1) and took steps to protect the local monopoly. In October 1667 the Aberdeen council took action to safeguard the 'Aberdeen almanac' within the burgh. This policy of preservation was in response to John Forbes, the elder, who protested that a chapman, Alexander Gray, was selling 'alien' almanacs in Aberdeen. The council censured Gray and prohibited the sale of all but the Forbes edition within the burgh. Also, in November 1684, the Edinburgh magistrates took action to protect from counterfeit editions the Edinburgh almanac written by James Paterson.³⁷

³⁵ *RPC*, iii, 1, 115; *SRO. PC.* 2. 27, 202r.; *PC.* 2. 28, 366r-366v.

³⁶ *ABR*, 2, 165-6. The Cromwellian government of Scotland seemed mostly interested in printing proclamations and volumes of scripture, in other words books already licensed by existing general gifts, such as the king's printer. *EBR*, 13, 185. (1 February 1710); *ibid.*, 173. (17 August 1709); Couper, 'Copyright before 1709', 46.

³⁷ *ABR*, 2, 245-6; *ACR*, 55, 66-7 and Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xiv. Of interest for Paterson is that the lords of council gave him a licence for 1685 only, while the magistrates granted 'warrant for him to publish yearly almanacs'. This shows, as will be discussed below, that chaos existed in almanac publishing even before the monopoly gift for prognostications granted to James Watson, the elder, in 1686. *EBR*, 11, 128 and

The most infamous almanac dispute of the late seventeenth century was that in 1684 concerning the action by John Forbes, the younger, and the Aberdeen town council to halt counterfeit editions of the 'Aberdeen almanac'. Counterfeit problems also dogged almanac printing in England where the printer Henry Hills became rich on the proceeds of such editions in the late seventeenth century.³⁸ As this Aberdeen question was a major commercial case, and involved counterfeit editions by Robert Sanders, the Glasgow burgh printer, and Agnes Campbell, the royal and Edinburgh burgh printer, the case went to the privy council. The lords ruled in favour of Aberdeen, and this indicates government acceptance that burgh magistrates had the authority to grant copyright. In fact, as the Aberdeen almanac had existed since 1623, and was adorned with the city arms, it is possible that copyright could have been sustained on the basis of common law. As it was, Forbes's action 'succeeded' in law as he was 'in *use* and *possession* of printing yeirly ane almanack as printer of the toun and coledge of Aberdein'.³⁹ Such cases show that McDougall's statement, that 'copyright was not much of a contentious question in Scotland before the Union of 1707', is quite misleading.⁴⁰

RPC, iii, 10, 16. In general see MacDonald, 'Scottish Seventeenth-Century Almanacs', 257-322.

³⁸ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 45.

³⁹ RPC, iii, 8, 384; Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, li-iii; MacDonald, 'Almanacs', 269-276; Fountainhall, *Decisions* i, 273 and 276.

⁴⁰ McDougall, 'Copyright Litigation in the Court of Session', 2.

The anatomy of copy patents

The terms of the copyright granted to a licence holder are clearly crucial to the possibilities for commercial exploitation. Duration, the scope of the right and sanctions for breaches were as fundamental to the business activities of early modern publishers as they are in the modern period. As noted above, English copyright tended to extend for seven to ten years under the printing patent, and in perpetuity for those rights registered with the Stationers' Company. Throughout the period German, French and Italian publishers were often granted short licences of less than five years duration, although authorities were willing to extend privileges after rights expired. Meanwhile, Dutch copyright tended to be for longer periods of fifteen to twenty-five years.⁴¹

By 1670 the standard term of copyright for particular works in Scotland, whether the licence holder was the author, printer, or licensee, had become nineteen years, a term closer to Dutch than English or French norms. The reasons for this set duration are unclear. The granting of gifts, rights and patents for the period of nineteen years goes back at least to the 1580s. Under the privy seal we find tacks of nineteen years granted in 1583 and 1584; an appointment to the office of customary for nineteen years in 1588; and in the 1590s commercial monopolies for this same period, such as those for paper making (1590), and playing cards (1592). Commercial patents for

⁴¹ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: the Impact of Printing, 1450-1800*, (London, 1976), 241; Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright, The French book-privilege system, 1498-1526*, (Cambridge, 1990), 16-17; Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers*, 108 for Dutch bible licences from 1670s. By 1700 the typical French licence had extended to ten years.

processes and inventions were more commonly twenty-one years from 1600 to 1660, perhaps following the idea of setting monopolies as a multiple of the apprenticeship period of seven years, as occurred via the drafting of the English Statute of Monopolies(1624). Scotland's 1661 Act for Erecting Manufactories provided nineteen years of tax exemptions, and certainly by the 1690s nineteen year patents were the norm, including a curious grant in 1699 to James Davidson, editor of the *Edinburgh Gazette*, for a brass block process for printing burial letters.⁴²

Although before 1670 copyright could extend from as little as six years to thirty one years - as in the case of James VI's grant to Sir William Alexander for the Psalms in metre which was clearly a grant to a favourite over a favoured project - the logic for long or short licences was consistent throughout the early modern period. Reprints were granted shorter copyright durations than new editions. Thus, for example, the reprint patent of the Aberdeen Doctors tracts, given in 1661 to Robert Forbes, was for ten years only, and those awarded in 1671 to Swintoun and Glen, for reprinting the sermons of Andrew Gray and William Guthrie's *Christian Interest*, were for eleven years. In fact from the 1670s the term for reprints was standardised at eleven years for most titles.⁴³ Nonetheless, revised editions could be granted full term copyright, as were James Kirkwood's new editions of his grammar and vocabulary in 1695, after their first edition licensing in 1674 and 1677.⁴⁴

Some new titles also became subject to reduced terms of copyright. Before the 1590s the government awarded short licences to printers like Lekpreuik and Arbuthnet for fear that important

⁴² RSS, viii, 257-8, no.1577 and 379-80, no.2204; SRO. PS.1.57, 77; PS.1.61.84v; PS.1.63, 103v; PC.2.27, 201r-202r.

⁴³ APS, vii, 334, appendix 81b; RPC, iii, 3, 306. The legal printer and bookseller John Vallange obtained a reprint patent of nine years for Mackenzie's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland* in 1703 see SRO. PC.2. 28, 235v.

⁴⁴ SRO. PC.2.26, 47v and for 1670s editions see RPC, iii, 4, 292 and RPC, iii, 5, 211, 268.

scripture and liturgical printing would not be carried out. The twenty year licence given to Lekpreuik in 1568 for printing the Geneva Bible, a task he never began, was a salutary warning, and thereafter short licences of seven or ten years were given for printing bibles, psalms, and catechisms. The best known example of this was the bible patent granted to Arbuthnet in 1577.⁴⁵

Short licences were also granted for a range of works of public utility. A ten year copyright was awarded in 1624 to the author and Edinburgh burgess Alexander Hunter for his 'Treatise on measurement', a tool both for agriculture and commerce which was to be published 'for the benefit of the haill realme'. In 1683 James Sutherland, 'botanist and overseer of the physicall garden in Edinburgh' was granted a seven year licence for his catalogue of collected plants, *Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis*, which was published that year. Also, ten years later, the printer John Reid obtained a five year licence for Thomas Livingstone's guide to military discipline *Exercise of the foot ... and exercise of the Dragoons* (1693).⁴⁶ It is surprising, however, that this level of public concern did not stretch to school books which were usually given full term licences. This can be seen in the copyright for the national, prescribed grammars of Alexander Hume (1611) and Alexander Wedderburne (1632) with terms of twenty and twenty-one years respectively.⁴⁷ Translations were often subject to short licences, such as Sir James Turner's history *Observations on the War with Hungary*, licensed for ten years in 1669,

⁴⁵ RSS, vi, 53, no.230; RSS, vii, 333-4. The Marian civil war would not have been conducive to a major task like bible printing. By the 1590s a more settled though small group of reliable printers had established themselves in Edinburgh.

⁴⁶ RPC, i, 13, 418-9. Hunter's book was printed in 1624; RPC, iii, 8, 285; SRO. PC.2.24. 244v.

⁴⁷ RPC, i, 9, 275; RPC, ii, 4, 168-9, 500-1. Close government involvement in agreeing national grammars may account for the long copyright terms. (see chapter 5). The last copyright granted by the privy council, only days before it expired in May 1708, was that for Thomas Watt's grammar and vocabulary, the terms being the full nineteen years.

and the Irish [Gaelic] edition of the Psalms translated by Robert Kirk and licensed for eleven years in 1684. Translations must presumably have been considered of reduced value as literary property. As for the more ephemeral and populist printed works, copyright for which was rarely worth seeking, the lords of council could permit the briefest of licences. Such was the case in 1696 when George Mosman, the printer to the general assembly, was granted a one year licence to the sensational account by Alexander Telfer of the haunting of a house in Kirkcudbright.⁴⁸ This small quarto entitled 'A true relation of an apparitioune' must rank as a fine example of early modern tabloid journalism.

Publishers desire copyrights with wide-ranging provisions that protect intellectual property. In the early modern period copyright patents were normally enacted in response to applications from potential licensees. These requests came in the form of petitions. Through petition an author might seek protection for his works, as did the academic William Geddes in 1683 for a variety of books, some already printed, or alternatively a printer might seek the required licence having acquired the author's agreement under contract, as was the case when in the following year John Reid, the elder, submitted a supplication requesting the right to print Sir George Mackenzie's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland*.⁴⁹ Printing and publishing cartels, like the Anglo-Scottish group headed by George Redpath, Robert Ross and Andrew Bell in London emphasised, in their 1695 petition, their great trouble in 'procuring, translating and printing' Sir Thomas Craig's 'Manscript de Hominio', and were awarded the grant of copyright. The government was generally sympathetic to applications, and there were few examples of rebuffs, and the refusal of the council in 1701 to agree to the school book monopolies sought by Agnes

⁴⁸ RPC, iii, 2, 602, although for Turner's work nineteen years was recommended by committee three weeks before. RPC, iii, 8, 414; SRO. PC.2.26, 90v-91r.

⁴⁹ RPC, iii, 8, 93; iii, 8, 418.

Campbell was unusual.⁵⁰ Provided a literary work was approved by the appropriate external authority - the institutions of the church, law, or academia - or by those appointed by the council in committee, then copyright invariably followed.

The language of copyright patents and the breadth of right which it conveyed altered little throughout the period. The first 'particularised' or private copyright, that given to William Niddrie in 1559, granted him and 'his factouris and assignais, to have onlie the prenting of the saidis volumes' and that no subjects, printers and booksellers should 'tak upoun hand to prent, sell, caus be prentit or sald [them] within this realm'. The terms of Niddrie's copyright are unique in Scottish publishing history in that during the licence period, ten years, copyright was assured for all other volumes 'that it sal happin him be author or sett furth during the said space'.⁵¹ While there are such generalised gifts given under royal prerogative to king's printers, and usually of a generic nature, this is the only example of such freedoms for a Scottish author. The probable explanation is that Niddrie's books represented an official publishing plan and curriculum agreed by the government. Nevertheless, in other respects the terminology is as familiar by 1700, although there are some evolutionary developments. Arbuthnet and Bassandyne's bible licence of 1576 is the first to clearly discharge other book traders from importing competing editions, and subsequently such protection becomes common whether for large multi-title copyrights, like Robert Smyth's eleven book patent of 1599, or for individual book patents as varied as Wedderburne's grammar of 1632, or Ninian Paterson's

⁵⁰ SRO. PC.2.25, 254v; PC.1.52, 200-1. One rebuff arose from the unsuccessful attempt by Robert Williamson in 1632 to discredit Wedderburne's grammar in favour of his own. This led the privy council to ignore his request for copyright in his own text, despite his direct appeal to the king. *RPC*, ii, 4, 493-4; *ibid.*, ii, 4, 310, 500-1.

⁵¹ *RSS*, v, pt.1, 143-4, no. 658. John Durkan, 'Education: The Laying of Fresh Foundations' in John MacQueen (ed.), *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, (1990), 133.

volume of Latin poems *Epigrammatum libri octo* licensed in 1678.⁵² Indeed, by the middle of the seventeenth century the restriction against importing became a conventional addition to the discharge to print, reprint, vend or sell, regardless of the likelihood of foreign competition.

The patent granted to Robert Smyth mentioned above is of interest as the first to grant monitoring and searching powers to a licensee. It was not until after the great monopoly granted to Andrew Anderson in 1671, on his appointment as king's printer, that such powers would develop a controversial nature, both within the trade and in the courts. But in 1627 the patent awarded to Sir William Alexander for the new Metric Psalms provided for a grand list of supervisory and policing powers. Alexander, an influential courtier, was granted the power to 'erect and establish work houses' for the printing of the work, a gift that enabled him to help bring the English printer, and Stationers' representative, Robert Young to Scotland. Alexander was also able 'to sell bartar and dispose thairvpoune' and if contraveners were found to confiscate 'haill workis tooles and instruments' as well as the offending books. Sheriffs, justices of the peace, bailiffs and constables were to assist him in the policing procedures.⁵³ Smyth's powers of watch and search were paltry in comparison.

The degree of exclusivity of copyright could be circumscribed. In the licence granted for Wedderburne's grammar in 1631 it was made clear that, while his was to be the standard national text, other grammars were to be allowed to be used if masters so wished. Furthermore, in the valuable copyright for the works of George Buchanan awarded to George Mosman in 1699, exemptions were

⁵² SRO. PS.1. 43, 57r and Lee, *Memorials*, appendix v; PS.1.71, 86 and Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 480-1; RPC, iii, 5, 372-3. Paterson's work had already been printed.

⁵³ SRO. PS.1.100, 305. Use of these psalms was not enforced until 1637, though with little success, (RPC, ii, 6, 409-10 following letter from Charles I dated 3 February, 1637).

made for editions 'already printing and imported'. The contrast between these sensible measures and the 1686 generic monopoly for prognostications as awarded to James Watson, the elder, could not be more stark. The 'household printer' was given rights to those almanac editions already in print!⁵⁴

With the copyright granted to Gilbert Dick in 1618, that for two 'official' catechisms, we see the introduction of a new empowerment added to printing and selling, the right to 'distribute throughout the realme'.⁵⁵ There were early signs of this in Arbuthnet and Bassandyne's bible patent of 1576, and these two examples may have something in common. The benefits of the right to distribute may well have been balanced by the expectations of a government anxious to ensure that standard liturgical works were made available throughout the land. That sense of responsibility to the government is continually in evidence when bible printings are concerned, such as with Arbuthnet and Bassandyne in the 1570s, or the printing by Robert Young of the controversial Service Book of 1637. Licences were granted on condition of satisfactory performance. And, of course, when it came to newspapers, proprietors' licences were contingent on their taking full responsibility for the 'news then specified and set down', as was made clear in these words from the 1705 licence to Adam Boig, editor of the *Edinburgh Courant*.⁵⁶

In the 1670s and 1680s, by which time improved commercial and licensing practices were coupled with an expanded book trade, some copyright terms expressed only the right to print. This applied to printers or authors. This was recognition that, with bookselling businesses now so widely spread geographically, controlling distribution after printing was extremely difficult for some licensees. A further sophistication is found in the extension of rights to heirs as well as assignees. Assignees were, of course, recognised in the earliest

⁵⁴ RPC, ii, 4, 168-9; SRO. PC.2.27, 252v; RPC, iii, 12, 455, 460-1.

⁵⁵ RPC, i, 11, 30-31, 626 and PS.1.87, 67.

⁵⁶ SRO. PC.2.28, 366r. Boig had to answer to the lord advocate.

copyright patents. Meanwhile, heirs were first mentioned in the copyrights granted to the king's bookbinder John Gibson in 1599, and the first royal appointment declaring likewise was that of Walter Finlason when he became king's printer in 1628. Finlason succeeded his father, but not as of right. Thereafter, the right of heirs is more commonly acclaimed, although by the 1680s there is a greater tendency to accept the right of authors' heirs rather than those of printers, at least in grants for 'particular' copyrights. Thus the translator Robert Kirk (1684), and authors Sir George Mackenzie (1686) and George Dallas (1695) have copyrights secured for their heirs. Nevertheless, some copyholders, especially the likes of the law publisher John Vallange, could draft, or have drafted on their behalf, an impressively comprehensive copyright agreement with rights conferred on heirs, co-partners and assignees.⁵⁷

One surprise, even in an essentially mercantilist age, is that there is no evidence of a single copyright or gift that grants export rights. Young and Tyler were empowered to print English texts for sale in England in 1632 and 1641, but these were not rights to export in general.⁵⁸ Whether this situation is down to commercial myopia or government indifference is hard to say, although a bold show of permission would have alarmed the Stationers' Company. English regulators actually took little interest themselves in patents and copyrights for export purposes. The book trade was an emblem of national pride. English interest in the Scottish and Irish patents, such as it was, aimed to stem the flow of books into England, not to develop mutual trade. Nevertheless, in the Restoration period we at least find

⁵⁷ SRO. PS.1.71, 47r; PS.1.100, 305 and Lee, *Memorials*, appendix xxii; *RPC*, iii, 8, 414; iii, 12, 140-1, 143; PC.2.25, 155v. For Vallange see copyright granted to four law texts in 1699, one of which was Hope's *Minor Practicks* which was not actually published until 1726. PC.2.27, 248r-249r.

⁵⁸ Thomas Finlason did seek rights to export into England in the early 1620s but no specific patent has been left to confirm he obtained such rights. Communications with Charles I suggest he and other printers were given a vague permission to sell stock into England. Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 317-8.

copyright conferred for more than one language. The copyright for James Kirkwood's grammar *Grammatica Facilis*, as awarded in 1677, enabled the author to exploit the rights to editions in Latin and English, and similar rights were allowed for his *Rhetoricae Compendium* a few months later. With the potential to appeal to a wider international audience was the book by Andrew Brown, doctor of medicine, entitled *A Vindicatorie Schedule about the New Cure of Feavers*, publication of which sparked off a medical dispute which raged throughout the 1690s. In 1691 the author was granted copyright in 'the said treatise in whatsoever language'.⁵⁹ But Scotland's publishing activity was always of doubtful competence in an international context. Even in relation to the English market opportunities were missed. There is no more profound metaphor for this than the failure of Scotland's great printer Andro Hart to produce John Napier's *Mirifici Logarithorum Canonis Descriptio* in English following his publication of the Latin text in 1614. This publishing opportunity was grasped by the Englishman Samuel Wright who printed his own father's translation in 1616.⁶⁰

Compensation for copyright breaches was also a concern for copy holders and the government. The need for recompense was recognised in the Niddrie copyright of 1559, yet it was in the 1565 copyright granted to Robert Lekpreuik for acts of parliament and the Psalms of David that we find the first mention of confiscation of offending stock for 'particular' licences. The first generic licence, the patent of Chepman and Myllar of 1507, also warned that forbidden trafficking of titles within the gift would result in 'escheting of the buiks'.⁶¹ This sanction was to be appended to almost every copyright patent down to 1710. From the 1560s fines were also introduced, though always in addition to confiscation. The level of fine varied

⁵⁹ RPC, iii, 5, 211 and 268; iii, 16, 248.

⁶⁰ This was legally not a pirated printing, but it would be typical of English bibliography to regard it as such were it a Scottish printing of an English author. Note Scotland did have a growing trade with Ireland from the 1670s (see chapter 7).

⁶¹ RSS, v, pt.1, 143-4, no.658; RSS, v, pt.1, 564, no.1987; RSS, i, 223, no.1546.

throughout the period - £200 scots in the 1560s and 1570s; £500 scots or 500 merks in the 1590s and 1600s; £200 scots in the 1660s and 1670s, until 500 merks became the standard fine from the late 1690s. In some decades, for no apparent reason, there is no statement of a specific level of fine. Sometimes a reward was also provided for the discoverer of copyright abuses. This consisted of perhaps half the fine of escheat value, such as in the 1694 copyright given to John Bining for the oeuvre of his father Hew. Five years later a John Vallange copyright for legal texts specified that half the fines would go to the poor of the parish 'wherein the saidis impressiones or books shall be seized'.⁶²

Commencing with the Arbuthnet and Bassandyne patent of 1576, the occasional stipulation that half of the confiscation and fine value should go to the crown emerges. This was especially the case with the larger fines, as with those of 2000 merks for the patents for James Kirkwood's grammar and vocabulary in 1677, and for his revised editions in 1695. Kirkwood must have had friends in high places for the terms of sanction to be so unusually harsh. Furthermore, contraveners of his copyright were to 'make up whatever loss and damage [Kirkwood] may sustain', in addition to confiscation and the fine.⁶³

As far as can be judged, imprisonment was not used or deemed appropriate for abusers of private copyrights. Breaching copyright was a minor offence compared with printing or selling seditious literature. The only instance of a particular copyright threatening the spectre of prison can be found, not too surprisingly, in the terms of the ostentatious grant to Sir William Alexander for the Psalms of David

⁶² SRO. PC.2.24, 319v. Couper provides some details on fines, see Couper, 'Copyright before 1709', 56. PC.2.27, 248r-249r.

⁶³ SRO. PS.1.43, 57r and *RPC*, i, 2, 544-6; *RPC*, iii, 5, 211, 268 and PC.2.26, 47v.

Kirkwood had good cause for seeking these measures. Before his supplication to the council in 1677, and even before his first patent award in 1674, his grammar was the subject of pirating, abridgment and copyright abuse. No subsequent copyright breach cases are mentioned in the council records, so perhaps these measures were effective.

(1627). This is not to say that imprisonment was never used in the context of copyright disputes, but these cases always arose over the rights of the king's printer. This was the case in 1677 when the Glasgow printer Robert Sanders was accused of breaching the general copyright of Agnes Campbell, the then king's printer. The breach, according to the pursuer's charge, involved a vast array of 'New Testaments and psalm books .. grammars ... many thousands of catechisms ... [and numerous] books of divinity and school books', all of which were subject to the royal gift. In spite of the detail of the case, the main reason for Sanders' imprisonment was his failure to attend the second day of the hearing and make his oath before the council. Both this insult to the council, and his unwillingness to accept its best efforts at peaceful arbitration, led to a spell in prison.⁶⁴ In other words, as underlined by the Alexander copyright, the closer you got to the king and government the greater the sanction for a breach of copyright or contempt in such cases.

It is very difficult for us to assess the effectiveness of the copyright system, or how it was regarded by early modern printers and authors. Breaches and disputes of 'particular' copyrights must have arisen, although there is only modest evidence of this in the major state records. Minor disputes may well have been heard by bailie courts in the printing burghs, and especially Edinburgh, though the main printed and manuscript council records of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen are pretty silent on this subject. The bailie court records reveal many fascinating details, but are mostly concerned with debt (see chapter 1). Other as vast and impenetrable records, which may shed light on copyright cases, are those of the court of session (see chapter 5). Certainly, the session became heavily involved in major disputes over the generic rights of the king's printers and trade agreements, especially from the 1670s. However, over cases of

⁶⁴ SRO. PS.1.100, 305; RPC, v, 141-2. Campbell's excessive claim of 30000 merks damages, half for the crown, was rejected.

copyright for individual titles it seems unlikely that the parties would commonly have borne the legal costs of a court of session case.⁶⁵

One simple guide to the respect with which licence holders regarded the copyright system is to match the dates of licences granted with known publication dates. This is extremely complex work for the entire period, for inevitably it involves tracing publishing history with the limitations of surviving records and surviving volumes. Several examples may, however, shed some light.⁶⁶ The publishing history of *The Works of Sir David Lindsay* is convoluted. The patent history began in 1590. Although Henry Charteris published the first extant edition in 1568, and subsequently commissioning reprints in 1571, 1574, 1582 and 1588, the copyright was granted to the king's bookbinder John Gibson in 1590. Following Gibson's death, his son James sold the right to Thomas Finlason in March 1606, which was confirmed in a copyright patent of numerous titles in June of that year. This period was for twenty-five years taking us to 1631. In fact, the printed editions provide a bemusing picture in relation to the right to copy. Firstly, Charteris printed two editions in the 1590s, both openly and with imprint and date, at the very time when Gibson possessed the copyright. It is impossible to believe that Charteris, a bailie and respected member of the Edinburgh town council, would commit a blatant breach of copyright, and it seems likely that Gibson and he came to terms.⁶⁷ The warning here for book historians is to beware the significance of the printer's imprint. Subsequently, during the confused six years between the death of Gibson in 1600, and the sale of his rights by his son to Thomas Finlason, Charteris's son Robert took the opportunity to print two editions of Lindsay, that of 1605 having

⁶⁵ A provisional search by name through the session minute books has not yet discovered cases over particular copyrights, but a huge amount of work remains in this area.

⁶⁶ The following publishing histories are based mostly on Aldis.

⁶⁷ Note, in a similar case, Gibson was granted the right to print all psalms editions in 1590, but Charteris went on to print the Psalms in Metre in 1592 and the Book of Common Order in 1596.

no imprint. Finlason printed his one and only edition in 1610 and, thereafter, during Finlason's life, all editions came from the press of Andro Hart, appearing in the years 1614, 1617 and 1619. Could this be yet another example of co-partnership? Hart's editions were certainly not produced secretively. On the death of Finlason in 1628, whose rights were left in the hands of his ineffectual son Walter, the Aberdeen printer Edward Raban took the opportunity to print his own edition of Lindsay. The heirs of Andro Hart printed one more edition, in 1630, before the twenty-five year patent expired. After this date a free for all ensued from the print centres of Scotland. These details confirm, then, a pragmatic and practical approach to copyright. Printers both respected literary property, and sold and acquired copyrights, but also they exploited commercial opportunities when they presented themselves. Furthermore, the copyright for a deceased author was less likely to be policed with rigour.

Many of the most valuable book patents were for school books, and many of the authors of such works were living during the term of copyright. When the privy council considered a replacement for Hume's grammar, in its deliberations from 1630 onwards, this was surely prompted by the expiry of Hume's twenty year licence in October 1631. The replacement Wedderburne text was finally licensed in 1632, although not without some compensation being paid to Hume.⁶⁸ Also in this genre, the copyright in James Kirkwood's grammar and vocabulary, granted in 1677, was due to expire in 1696 after nineteen years, and with admirable efficiency the author submitted his new editions for copyright to be re-established at the end of 1695. Such copyright precision was found with law books as well. Mackenzie of Rosehaugh's *Institutions of the Laws of Scotland* was first published in 1684. Two 'new editions' were printed in 1688 and 1699, yet not sufficiently new to warrant a re-registration of copyright.

⁶⁸ The privy council set up a committee in March 1631 to agree the level of compensation for Hume which was set at 1000 merks. Eventually in July Wedderburne paid the amount, but with some reluctance. The motives for this level of compensation are a mystery given that Hume's licence had almost expired. *RPC*, ii, 4, 163.

The first patent was granted to John Reid, the elder, in 1684 and stated that no-one else was to print 'without licence from the said author' indicating that Reid and Mackenzie had contracted a printing agreement. The edition of 1688 was also produced by Reid, but for the bookseller Thomas Brown, an important member of the Edinburgh council, to whom the rights had been assigned by Mackenzie. Brown then arranged for the printing of the third edition in 1699. In October 1702, with the copyright due to expire the following year, and only two months before his death, Brown transferred the rights to his son-in-law John Vallange, the Edinburgh bookseller. Vallange successfully applied to the privy council for a short extension to the licence for reprint purposes.⁶⁹ We can see then that authors and printers made themselves aware of the valuable property represented by copyright, and maintained a close watch on expiry dates and copyright durations. This suggests a patent system in relatively high regard, albeit that the philosophy of authors, especially living ones, added notions of ethical property to merely commercial definitions.

The true number of 'particular' copyright patents in the early modern period is difficult to ascertain. Over ninety patents of this kind have been found by surveying the seals, privy council and parliamentary records (see table 2). Studying the numbers chronologically it is clear, and unsurprisingly so, that there was a considerable expansion in copyright grants as publishing activity increased from the 1670s. Also, in spite of the monopolistic activities of Thomas Finlason from 1600, a number of book copyrights were granted to others in the first quarter of the century. No copyrights were granted in the years from 1687 to 1690, and the fractured political situation surrounding the 'Glorious Revolution' may help to explain these blank years. The lack of patents in the 1650s is partially explained

⁶⁹ RPC, iii, 8, 410; SRO. PC.2.28, 235v- 236r for Vallange patent containing details concerning Brown. Note Richard Baldwin registered Mackenzie's *Institutions* with the Stationers Company in London in 1694 (licensed for printing in February 1693/4). Perhaps Baldwin was in partnership with Thomas Brown. *Stationers Register*, viii, 439. The 1699 Scottish edition was the 1694 London edition with a cancelled title page.

by the absence from licence regulation of the conduits of the privy seal and privy council. When the Interregnum awarded copyright it did so in terms of English incorporation, as seen in the copyright granted to Blaeu for his *Atlas Major* (1654), and the likes of Evan Tyler even began to register books with the Stationers' Company before he departed from Edinburgh in 1652.⁷⁰ The committee of estates records, those of the general assembly and its commissioners, backed up by the letters and diaries of the likes of Robert Baillie and Archibald Johnston of Wariston, certainly confirm the general picture of a bleak period of private publishing initiative. The presses of Tyler and Higgins, the royal printers in the 1640s and 1650s, were obsessed with official church and government declarations, short justifications and replies in the politico-religious debates of the time, early newssheets, other single sheet ephemera, and some printings of scripture. Puritan England did not offer up an output of much more variety. The Scottish position was not helped by the chronically inactive Aberdeen press of James Brown (1650-1661), and the decelerated output of the Anderson press in Glasgow, which took some time to recover from George Anderson's death c1647-8. Essentially, the period of low activity then was from 1640 to 1660, and the greater number of printings recorded in Aldis disguises the fact that few were books of any length, and certainly few required the protection of copyright.⁷¹ The position was especially grim in the 1650s when only the university printer Gideon Lithgow escaped from the information treadmill by producing printings of grammars, psalms, and some

⁷⁰ In the 1640s Tyler registered in person, or through agents, the following with the Stationers': *The Answer of the Committee of Estates and the Remonstrance of the Commissioners of the general assembly of Scotland* (1643); *the acts of the general assembly* (1644); *The Directory of Public Worship* (1645) and *The minister of state with the true use of modern policy framed upon the most remarkable Accompt of the late renowned Cardinal Richileiu* (1647). See *Stationers Register*, vi, 68, 131, 156, 270.

⁷¹ See statistics and figure in Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 315 which shows totals for printing taken from Aldis from 1600-1650, but does not differentiate between sheets and books. (see chapter 7).

reprints of Scots vernacular classics whose copyrights had long expired.

Table 2 :Numbers of 'particular' copyright grants, 1540-1708

Decades	Patent Nos.	T itles Nos.	Authors	<u>Copyholders</u>			RPC	<u>Sources</u>	
				Printer/ Bksellers	Licensee	Editors		PS	APS
1540s	1	1		1				1	
1550s	1	11	1					1	
1560s	4	5		3	1			4	
1570s	5	16		3	2			5	
1580s	1	3		1				1	
1590s	4	18		3	1			4	
1600s	4	26	1	2	1		1	3	
1610s	7	13	1	5	1		2	5*	
1620s	3	3	2		1		2	1	
1630s	3	3	2		1		2		1
1640s	1	3	3**						1
1650s									
1660s	7	7	2	2	2	1	6		1
1670s	11	14	6	4	1		10	1***	
1680s	16	23	15	1			15	1	
1690s	16	27	4	7	4	1	16		
1700s	9	14	5	3		1	9		
Totals:	94	188	43	34	15	3	64	24	3
%	100		46	36	16	2	68	29	3

* Includes two privy seal patents also passed by privy council.

** One registered enactment with three authors.

*** Includes one privy seal patent also passed by privy council and parliament.

Sources: RPC (privy council); PS (privy seal); APS (act of parliament)

The total number of identified 'particular' copyright licences, when added to the large generic output which has yet to be discussed, leaves a large number of book properties for which no copyright has

been recorded.⁷² A quick study of the Aldis catalogue shows the mismatch between what was printed and what was licensed. There are several possible explanations. By convention there was a charge for registering patents, and while frustratingly no record, under privy seal or privy council, confirms the actual charge for book copyright, it is reasonable to assume that its level may have deterred applications for minor texts of little value. In addition, as suggested above, for many ephemeral works, volumes of theses, newssheets, and the like, terms of copyright were an irrelevancy. And yet some patent and copyright records do seem to be missing. For example, there appears to be no official record of the 'particular' copyrights acquired by Alexander Arbuthnet and Robert Waldegrave which were bought by Finlason in March 1604 and March 1606 respectively, the latter from the Gibson family. Neither of these rights can be accounted for by the gift of king's printer held by Arbuthnet and Waldegrave.⁷³ There are other more blatant examples. Are we to believe that the likes of Andro Hart, who was never king's printer, or had a generic gift other than the right to import books from overseas, made no application for a patent to Napier's famous *Mirifici Logarithorum*? Also, there is no record of Henry Charteris acquiring a single copyright in his long book trade career, stretching from at least 1568 to 1599, which is simply untenable for one of Scotland's most original publishers. Therefore, has some form of registration been lost to us?

The procedure of maintaining a register of books licensed and patented does arise on a couple of occasions, though it is usually censorship that encourages such regulation. In July 1574, during the Morton regency, and at a time when Scotland's press output was small, an act of privy council was passed charging that no book should

⁷² Alfred Pollard estimates that perhaps 40% of all the books printed in England were not registered, and therefore to suggest that English copyright procedures were well in advance of Scotland's is to overstate matters. Pollard, 'Notes on the history of copyright', 99.

⁷³ For a useful summary of the licences accumulated by Finlason see Harry G. Aldis, 'Thomas Finlason and his Press' in *EBS*, i, no. 20 (1896), 2-4.

be printed without license of the chancellor and commissioners to be chosen by the council. Furthermore, it was agreed:

that ther be a register keippit be the Secretar, or his deput, of the
licences, and privilegeis to be granted for eschewing of confusion, and that
the libertie of the prenting of ane thing be not given to twa personis at
anis.⁷⁴

No such register has been located, and it may never have existed. Over a century later when in 1696 a committee of the privy council was considering means to better control and regulate the printing and sale of books, it was ordained that each bookseller of Edinburgh should be compelled to deliver up exact catalogues of stock to be sold for approval by the council. The clerks of the council were ordered to keep a list of approved booksellers and their stocks. Many of these booksellers would also have been the major copy holders of the time, but again no register of book traders and their stocks has been found. And before this, in 1680, the privy council agreed that all catalogue changes by printers and booksellers were to be approved by one of the 'Officers of State or the Bishop of Edinburgh'.⁷⁵ We might ask how this could have been achieved without a register of some kind. It is a great frustration to the book historian that no registers of, say, banned books, copyrighted works, or approved tradesmen have been discovered. There may be enough circumstantial evidence, although Couper does not agree, to suggest that a register was kept to record licences, if not continually at least sporadically.

As can be seen in table 2 there were a variety of applicants. Those designated as licensees include authors' relatives, burgh merchants who were not in the book trade, royal favourites, the clerk register who took responsibility for printing acts of parliament, and even the synod of Argyll which, unusually, was granted the copyright to the

⁷⁴ RPC, i, 2, 387, Couper, 'Copyright before 1709'. 57; Lee, *Memorials*, appendix lxviii.

⁷⁵ SRO. PC.1.51.20 and 28; RPC, iii, 6, 572.

Irish Psalms in 1694.⁷⁶ Nearly half of all private copyrights were granted to authors. This is in profound contrast to the Stationers' copyright in England where it was stationers, printers and booksellers who registered copyright after agreeing private terms with the author. Of course, some of the book trade applicants in Scotland did come to contractual settlements with authors, as did John Reid with Sir George Mackenzie in 1684. The vast Register of Deeds in the Scottish Record Office will in time issue forth more contracts of this nature, and provide fascinating details of the relationship between author and printer. One such example is the agreement in 1681 between Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, president of the session, and Agnes Campbell, over the printing of Stair's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland*. The details are appended under the privy seal following, in this case, an application for copyright by the author dated April, 1681.⁷⁷ The agreement between printer and author was made the month before. Stair, no ordinary author of course, was contracted to deliver up the manuscript to Campbell, not give the text to other printers, and to allow her exclusive reprint rights. Meanwhile, the printer agreed to print the text in English Roman 'conform to the printed sheet subscribed by both parties', to print six sheets per hour from now and to deliver out no copies without approval. Written copies and printed copies were to be kept 'under lock and key' under pain of £100 for each. A number of copies were to be delivered for the author's use, half well bound in leather, the other half gilded, and 'so soon as the samen are presented whensoever [Stair] shall call for the samen under the pain of 400 pounds scots money as the Liquidate pryce thair of by consent'. Finally, the printer was forced to agree that she must use the privilege, must not print the book abroad, and must not allow others to produce the book on her behalf. It is a remarkable agreement, and it shows that even the king's printer, and in this case the most wealthy

⁷⁶ SRO. PC.2.24, 356v. This was to resolve a dispute between Agnes Campbell and George Mosman, kirk printer, where each was represented by advocates before council, as to who had the rights to print these psalms. The privy council ruled it was up to the kirk, and gave them the copyright to emphasise church authority in this matter.

⁷⁷ SRO. PS.3.3.336-7. (2 April, 1681) and SRO. GD. 135/2726/2 (earl of Stair Papers).

Scottish printer in the seventeenth century, could be subjected to strict contractual conditions by a conscientious and determined author. As far as we know both parties met their obligations, and the book was published the same year.

The Scottish 'Printing Patent'

The most valuable publishing monopolies available to the book traders of early modern Scotland were those connected with royal appointments. These appointments provided for wide generic copyrights where printers and booksellers monopolised the production and sale of specific genre. But, whereas in England these gifts within the 'printing patent' were attacked as too monopolistic by 1600, and became absorbed by the Stationers into an equally monopolised private rather than public exclusivity, in Scotland they remained closely associated with the personal grants of the king supported by his government. The Scottish 'printing patent' remained at the behest of the state.

One of the manners in which Scottish book trade management retained a continuing interest in appointments is revealed by the terms of the earlier royal patents, and their subsequent evolution. In England the likes of the gift of queen's and king's printer held by Christopher Barker and his heirs, which started in 1577 and ran for over a century, became by sale and mortgage subjected to co-partnerships and assignees. This led, in due course, to a distancing between the spread of print patent monopolies, and actual royal positions. In the case of Barker, rights to print bibles diverged from the office of king's printer. Once the royal appointment was made its monopolies could be sold or assigned, and the post inherited.⁷⁸ However, in Scotland, even though the policing of printing patents was not always rigorous - especially if the interests of the state and people had an overriding priority, as when Hart was permitted to

⁷⁸ McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557-1640*, 18-20; Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1641-1667*, 13-14.

print his 1610 bible without being king's printer - the generic copyright generally remained with the royal position. With the exception of the odd appointment by the regent Moray of Robert Lekpreuik as royal printer in 1568, earlier royal appointments in Scotland were for life and cast in terms which made no allowance for heirs or assignees. As mentioned earlier, it is only with the appointment of Walter Finlason as king's printer in 1628 that heirs and assignees were recognised, but in this and subsequent appointments all gifts were for a set period of years. In this way the option of Robert Young to include Stationers' Company partners from 1632, or of Andrew Anderson to extend his right to a cartel of Edinburgh booksellers from 1671, was facilitated. Also, within the period of royal gifts, rights did pass to heirs, as they did from Andrew Anderson to his widow Agnes Campbell in 1676.⁷⁹ Therefore, in Scotland co-partnerships, hereditary rights and the involvement of assignees were only possible after the monopoly was limited to a fixed period. Before then gifts were for life and re-allocated on death. Meanwhile, in England monopoly powers resulting from the printing patent could be, especially within the Stationers' patents, endlessly divisible and almost everlasting in duration. The seemingly long licences given to Scottish royal printers from the 1630s has the appearance of excessive monopoly, but remained much less so than in England.

The greatest royal, book trade appointment, in both commercial value and status, was that of king's printer, although we must note that two of Scotland's wealthiest and most successful printer/publishers, Henry Charteris and Andro Hart, were never so appointed. These appointments were granted via the privy seal until the covenanting revolution, but commencing with the Tyler and Young patent of 1641 they went directly to the great seal. Starting with

⁷⁹ RSS, vi, 28-29, no.111; PS.1.101.120, and Lee, *Memorials*, app. xxii; Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1641-1667*, 199; EBR, vii, 109. Robert and James Bryson, 'Information anent His Majestie's Printers in Scotland', in *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, i, 299; APS, viii, c.147, 206 and RPC, iii, 5, 46-7 for confirmation of right in favour of widow of Anderson, Agnes Campbell, in 1676.

Chepman and Myllar in 1507, even though they are not actually given the official title, there was a reasonably continuous line of royal printers, especially since the Reformation. No less than twelve individuals or co-partners were granted this gift, resulting in nineteen separate periods of practical tenure (see table 3).⁸⁰ There were, of course, some gaps in the chronology, and no patent has survived for Davidson which leaves some doubts as to the dates of his appointment. The 'unattended years' after 1560 can be explained. Lekpreuik was imprisoned in 1574 for printing *Ane Dialog or mutual talking betuix a clerk and ane Courteour concerning four Parishe Kirks till ane Minister*, a work critical of government policy to the church,⁸¹ and the post was vacant until 1579 when Arbuthnet had made sufficient progress with his bible printing to confirm his credentials. Arbuthnet's death in 1585 left the way open for Henry Charteris to be appointed, but it is very strange that he was not. The departure of the 'Anglo-Hugeunot' Thomas Vautrollier in 1586, who had been pulled to Scotland by the church and pushed to it by the need for exile from England, left Charteris the only candidate.⁸²

⁸⁰ It is not the purpose of this research to highlight in depth the individual histories of Scotland's royal printers. Bibliographical history is served by some 'biographical accounts'. See in general Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing, 1507-1610* and for individual printers, Katherine S. Van Eerde, 'Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent and Link Between Sixteenth-Century England and Scotland', *Renaissance Quarterly*, xxxiv, (1981); Aldis, 'Thomas Finlason'; John A. Fairley, *Agnes Campbell, Lady Roseburn*, (Aberdeen, 1925); John Gibb, 'James Watson, Printer: Notes of his Life and Work' *EBS*, i, (1896); Couper, 'James Watson, King's Printer', *SHR*, vii, (1910); and Couper, 'The Pretenders Printer: Robert Freebairn' *SHR*, xv (1917).

⁸¹ Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 205 and *RPC*, i, 2, 727. Watry believes that Lekpreuik's privileges passed to Bassandyne and Ross because they printed the acts of parliament, but these printings were at the gift of the clerk register to commission and there is no evidence that rights were formally transferred. Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing', 42, 44.

⁸² *BUK* (2), 200-1. Charteris, publisher of *De Jure Regni* (1579), may have been out of favour with the king or, on the fall of Arran, found himself on the wrong side of the

Table 3: A Chronological Listing of Royal Printers

	<u>Royal Printers</u>	<u>Granted Duration</u>
*	Chepmen and Myllar (1507-8)	-
	Chepman (1508-10)	
	Thomas Davidson (?1532-42)(no patent)	-
*	Robert Lekpreuik (1568-74)	20yrs
*	Alexander Arbuthnet (1579-85)	life
*	Robert Waldegrave (1590-1603)	life
*	Robert Charteris (1603-9)	life
*	Thomas Finlason (1612-1627)	life
*	Walter Finlason (1628-30)(Heirs of Finlason)	13yrs
*	Robert Young (1632-38)	21yrs
*	Robert Young and Evan Tyler (1641-42)	31yrs
	Evan Tyler (1642-52)	
	Christopher Higgins (1652-60)	
	Evan Tyler (1660-71)	
*	Andrew Anderson (1671-76)	41yrs
	Agnes Campbell (1676-1711)(Heirs of Anderson)	
*	Watson, Freebairn and Baskett (1711-16)	41yrs
*	Campbell and Baskett (1716)(voided)	41yrs
	Watson and Baskett (1716 -)	

The 1609 bankruptcy and flight from creditors by Robert Charteris, son of Henry, initiated a few years of muddle. This in part was because Arbuthnet's widow had sold on some of her husband's private rights to George Young, archdeacon of St. Andrews, who passed them on to Gilbert Masterson, bookseller, in 1587, by whom they were sold to John Gibson, the bookbinder, in 1590. It took the copyright acquisition skills of Thomas Finlason to obtain these rights in 1606, and in due course

political divide. Arbuthnet died in September 1585 and Arran fell in November that year.

re-unite them with the post of king's printer in 1612.⁸³ Meanwhile, the brief hiatus of 1609-12 allowed Hart the freedom to produce his great bible, for which he does not appear to have been licensed by the state, though he was given moral support by the church. Finlason was then succeeded by his son Walter, who obtained his own patent for the odd period of thirteen years in 1628, but he appears to have stopped printing by 1630.⁸⁴

The entry of the English printer Robert Young into the Scottish scene brought further confusion, and decades of intermittent and deliberate attempts to hold back the Scottish press to prevent competition with London, although there was the possibility of printing for the English market. When Young was appointed in 1632 he also represented his English partners in the Stationers', Miles Flesher and John Haviland. Their intention was to print psalm books in Scotland and spirit them into England and to subvert the English patents, and the terms of the gift allowed them to print English works in Scotland. Their actions brought censure and retaliation from the members of the Stationers' Company, and their psalms books were impounded in 1636.⁸⁵ All this meant that the Stationers would, through acquisition of the 'Scottish patent', as they termed the king's printer's rights in Scotland, seek to purchase control of the Edinburgh press. Following the death of Young in 1643, the surviving partners in the king's patent, Tyler, Flesher and John Parker, were persuaded in

⁸³ Aldis, 'Thomas Finlason', 2-3.

⁸⁴ SRO. PS.1.101, 120. Stevenson incorrectly states that the post remained vacant from Thomas Finlason's death in 1628 to 1632. Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 318.

⁸⁵ The right to export into England was in part the result of a campaign started by Thomas Finlason in the 1620s aimed at compensation for English books arriving in Scotland. W.W. Greg, (ed.), *A Companion to Arber*, 61, 208, petition dated 1622; Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 317-8; for Stationer's action against Robert Young see William Jackson, (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers's Company, 1602-1640*, (London, 1957), 263, 311. Richard Field registered the Psalms in Metre in Scots with the Stationers in 1605, *ibid.*, 15.

1647 to sell up to the Stationers' who then put in place a series of English managers to 'help' Tyler run the press. Indeed, after some embarrassment over printing declarations in favour of the Engagement, and fruitless efforts to petition the covenanters for outstanding payments for printing work, Tyler returned to England from 1652 to 1660.⁸⁶ He returned in 1660 to replace Christopher Higgins, and the Stationers continued to be partners as seen in the joint imprint 'Society of Stationer', although all official documentation and government business was carried out under Tyler's name. This was recognition of the fact that he was the surviving 'named partner' of the patent of 1641.⁸⁷ From 1671 the king's patent was in continual activity and came under constant criticism for its wide monopoly powers. Yet even before then Janet Kene, the widow of Andro Hart, and the bitterly disappointed covenanting printers James and Robert Bryson, protested at the monopoly powers given respectively to Young in 1632 and Young and Tyler in 1641.⁸⁸ Their motives were commercial jealousy rather than a desire for freedom of trade, and the atmosphere of recrimination would get worse after the Restoration. Although we may condemn English monopoly in comparison with Scotland, the forty-one year licences granted from 1671 could hardly have fostered the liberalisation of trade.

⁸⁶ Young and Tyler patent, RMS, viii, 353, no. 967 (paper register, iv, 270) and APS, vi, pt.1, c.288, 257; Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1641-1667*, 184-5. For parliaments consideration of Tyler's dues see APS, vi, pt.2, 341; SRO. PA. 11.8. Register of the Committee of Estates, (1949), 162 and PA. 15.2 for inventory of work; GACR, ii, 34, 51(dated 30 August, 1648). A good summary of Tyler and the Engagement is found in Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 329-332.

⁸⁷ The Stationers sold off their last stock and material in Edinburgh in 1669 and Tyler's press spent a last two years of blissful independence. However, Tyler was Stationers' warden from 1664-67 and therefore he was personally absent from Edinburgh for much of the 1660s. *Stationers Register*, vii, 346, 349, 353.

⁸⁸ For Janet Kene APS, v, c.41, 52, and for Hart and the Brysons see Bryson, 'Information', 299-301.

The generic copyrights granted with the king's patent were not identical from Chepman and Myllar's gift in 1507 to that to Robert Freebairn and partners in 1711. Printing acts of parliament, proclamations and government correspondence were cited in all gifts, though oddly not that of Arbuthnet (1579). The printing of bibles, an expected prerogative patent, is excluded from Chepman and Myllar, Waldegrave (1590) and Robert Charteris (1603). Scotland's first printers perhaps were not capable of bible printing, while Waldegrave and Charteris may have been prevented from such printing by the passage of Arbuthnet's copyrights to John Gibson, although Arbuthnet's bible patent should have expired by 1589. It is questionable, in any case, if such an exclusive right could have passed without the gift of royal printer. Also, the printing of bibles before the 1650s would have been inconceivable without official approval of the text, and actual printing being closely monitored by the authorities. Hart's 1610 bible must have been so policed, and is in fact renowned for its accuracy. Two years later Thomas Finlason's gift of 1612 provided for non-exclusive rights to bibles, New Testaments and psalms volumes, and these conditions were repeated in the Young/Tyler gift of 1641, with emphasis that any printer be allowed to print or import folio bibles. The reality was that printing large bibles was beyond the technical and commercial abilities of most Scottish presses before 1700, and the Bassandyne and Hart folios were exceptional in this sense. The Anderson and Freebairn gifts do, however, allow for an exclusive right to all bibles, although in due course this is taken to indicate that no printing or import restriction was valid without matching format editions from the king's printer. However, when general assembly commissions considered the availability of bibles in 1706 and 1717 the issue was the correctness and quality of imported and domestic bibles, and never the fact of importation.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Finlason: SRO. PS.1.82, 55v-45v and *RPC*, i, 9, 451-2; Lee, *Memorials*, 160-3. Lee's is still the best analysis of bible printing in the period.

The other patents conveyed by the royal gift are of the most general variety. Lekpreuik had specific rights over Donatus, Rudiments of Pellison and 'the Grammar callit the general grammar'; Chepman and Myllar over the Aberdeen Breviary, and they, Lekpreuik and Thomas Finlason over the chronicles of Scotland. Finlason's gift confirmed his earlier copyright acquisitions while Anderson obtained the right to print almost everything, including, for the first time, works of theology, a strange monopoly and one entirely ignored by other presses. Young and Tyler even had a monopoly of printing English law and liturgy in Scotland! But the most common aspect of the royal gift was the 'catch-all' clause, 'all and sindrie buikis volumis werkis and writtis quhilkes salbe seine allowit and approvit'.⁹⁰ This loosely defined aspect allowed the gift to be interpreted at the will of the government, and to some extent after 1671, by that of the printer. It allowed a liberal interpretation, where all that was approved could be printed, but it encapsulated improbable notions of *a priori* censorship which were impossible to impose as the book trade expanded from the 1670s. It also ensured that the main arm of the 'Scottish printing patent' was rarely before 1710 the clear and transferable property that characterised the English equivalent.

King's printer was not the only book trade appointment at the behest of royal prerogative. John Gibson was appointed king's bookbinder for life in 1581, as was his son James in 1603, although the latter had sold his father's copyrights to Thomas Finlason before three years had passed and disappears from view. James Gibson was succeeded by John Wood in 1631 who was appointed for life, although the position may have fallen into disuse by the middle of the

⁹⁰ Lekpreuik: RSS, vi, 28-29, no.111 (14 January, 1568) and rights confirmed RSS, vi, 186, no. 230 (11, November, 1570) and again RSS, vi, 388, no.2044 (27 July, 1573). It is remarkable that his gift should be first granted under the regency of Moray, and then confirmed by both Lennox and Morton. Clause quoted is from Waldegrave gift, SRO. PS. 1. 61, 58v.

century.⁹¹ At least no clash of privileges or rights resulted between the royal bookbinder and king's printer, though that cannot be said of other royal appointments. The position of 'chief printer within this realm', as awarded to Zacharie Pont in October 1590, was anomalous for it passed the privy seal only two weeks after Waldegrave's appointment as king's printer. It is possible that Pont had been asked to carry out a press supervisory role, Waldegrave having recently got into hot water for publishing a letter from John Davidson to Richard Bancroft, future archbishop of Canterbury.⁹² Pont appears to have done no printing whatever, so perhaps his appointment was a dead letter. Either way his gift is reflected in other notorious royal appointments after the Restoration.

There had been wrangling over monopolies in the reign of Charles II, but the arrival of James VII on the throne introduced a new factor. In a typical act that reflected James's pretensions at creating a 'new' Scottish court, he agreed in 1685 to appoint James Watson, the elder, as 'printer to his family and household', and installed him in Holyrood. This same right was, on the death of Watson in 1687, conferred on the German engineer Peter Bruce. Both these men were Catholics, and both were given the unrealistic and unenforceable monopoly right over almanac printing.⁹³ This last right was effectively ignored by the printers of Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the licensing system must have fallen into disrepute. The privy council, sweeping up behind an ill-advised 'British' government, was left to resolve the resulting disputes. The lords of council tended to play down the rights of the 'household printer' by ignoring a 1687 petition from James Watson requesting fines for those breaching his almanac

⁹¹ RSS, viii, 70, no.414 ; SRO. PS.1.74, 139v. John Gibson died in 1600. In a rare error McKerrow states that he was appointed in 1591. McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557-1640*, 112. For Wood PS.1.103, 150r-150v.

⁹² SRO. PS. 1. 61, 63v and Lee, *Memorials*, appendix ix for Pont; Calderwood, *History*, v, 112.

⁹³ Lee, *Memorials* , 146; RPC, iii, 12. 460-1: Fountainhall's *Decisions*, i. 424. For Bruce SRO. PS.3.4, 248. and RPC, iii, 13. xx

monopoly, although the likes of James Paterson, the Edinburgh almanac publisher, played safe by employing the presses of Watson and Bruce.⁹⁴

Even before he came to the throne, the hand of James VII is seen in other unrealistic monopolies of the 1680s, such as that for printing playing cards granted to the engineer Peter Bruce in 1681.⁹⁵ Under Bruce's gift the monopoly was due to commence in April 1682, and after only two months Bruce began a series of prosecutions to protect his monopoly, and to maintain the embargo on importing cards. From 1682 to 1686 arrests, imprisonments and fines occurred affecting merchants in Edinburgh, Glasgow and particularly Ayr, and left the privy council more and more irritated with the whole affair. Finally, in April 1688 it issued a decree demanding enforcement of the monopoly. It did, however, warn Bruce as early as July 1682 not to molest or fine those accused of such breaches without due process of law. Bruce suffered some abuse due to his foreign nationality and his religion, and the privy council condemned the xenophobia of tacksmen and magistrates unwilling to cooperate with the import restrictions.⁹⁶ However, the real difficulty was the same as that for almanacs. The monopoly was simply unenforceable. The government of England had realised eighty years before that restricting this market was 'playing at monopoly'.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ *RPC*, iii, 13, 120-2; MacDonald, 'Scottish Seventeenth-century Almanacs', 275.

⁹⁵ *RPC*, iii, 7, 288-9. Bruce acquired this gift through paper making rather than printing.

⁹⁶ *RPC*, iii, 7, 457 (tacksmen not cooperating), 475, 813-4 (Edinburgh merchants); iii, 9, 353 (Glasgow); iii, 11, 565 (Edinburgh); iii, 12, 91, 113, 118, 309 (Ayr); iii, 13, 219 for final decree for obedience re importing. After the Revolution of 1689-90, the rights were confirmed in favour of James Hamilton, who had purchased them from a now ruined Peter Bruce, but no more cases arose, and no doubt this is because Hamilton was more sensible in the application of his rights. *RPC*, iii, 15, 407-8 and *APS*, ix, c.83, 340.

⁹⁷ For context of playing card patents in England see MacLeod, *English patent system*, 18.

The post granted to David Lindsay in November 1682, that of 'Typographi Ordinarii', may also have reflected the inclinations of James, duke of York.⁹⁸ But the privy council took the opportunity of this appointment to reduce the monopoly powers of the king's printer, Agnes Campbell. The appointment of Lindsay arose from the confirmation of the right of the clerk register to commission the printing of acts of parliament. The clerk, Sir Thomas Murray of Glendook, had contracted with Lindsay and John Cairnes to print an edition in 1680. In November 1681 Campbell was found guilty by the council of printing an edition of the acts without permission, and Lindsay's gift may have been retaliation by the government, as much as pretentiousness by the future king.⁹⁹ Indeed, this represents only one incident in a long litany of litigation among printers beginning in 1671, and reaching into the reign of George I - James VII was not the only king guilty of impractical enthusiasm for prerogative patents. George I meddled in the thorny issue of the king's printer gift in 1714, and created much obfuscation. In December of that year, he gave John Baskett, the English royal printer, and the Scottish printer Robert Freebairn, warrant to be sole printers to the king in Scotland. This was in spite of the valid patent granted to Freebairn and assignees in 1711, following Freebairn's earlier agreement with James Watson, the younger, and Baskett to share the gift three ways. Also, it was George I who, in 1718, appointed George Redpath, and Andrew Bell (both of London), and Joseph Watson (of Berwick) as king's booksellers, binders and stationers in Scotland, a purely honorific gift by now almost irrelevant in commercial terms.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, it was the government of Charles II, and not James VII, which presided over the award of the 'great monopoly' to Andrew Anderson in 1671. Mercantilist ideas held sway in the belief that trade would best be

⁹⁸ RMS (paper register), c.3.10, 343.

⁹⁹ For ruling against Campbell see *RPC*, iii, 7, 257; right to Murray *RPC*, iii, 5, 481-2 (July 1678); agreement Murray and printers, PS.3.3. 300-1 (May, 1680) and ratified *APS*, viii, c.133, 389 a (September 1681)

¹⁰⁰ RMS (paper register), c.3.16 no. 200 (February, 1718)

encouraged by granting monopolies and corporations. The government soon realised that the Anderson gift was too broad in its provisions.

Under the terms of this patent Andrew Anderson, and his partners and assignees, for the space of forty-one years, were 'his Majesties ... onlie sole and principall printer', and possessors of the right to print bibles and liturgical and school books. They were also 'Masters Directors and Regulators of his Majesties office of Printing' with power to police imports of books within the gift, to prevent printers setting up who had not served the appropriate apprenticeship to the art, and, subject to the privy council, had the 'privilege of secluding and debarring all others ... [of the] freedoms and immunities' of trade.¹⁰¹ The wide-ranging supervisory powers of this gift had no precedent in Scottish book history. The monopoly power of the Anderson gift became the focus for continual legal challenge in the 1670s and 1680s (see chapter 6), especially once the widow Agnes Campbell took control of the press on the death of her husband.¹⁰²

As the forty-one year Anderson licence drew to an end, finally expiring in May 1712, Agnes Campbell's major competitors grasped at the opportunity. The secret lay in a co-ordinated response, and the Anderson patent, which had been subjected to co-partnerships in the 1670s, would now return to this status. The key agreement was that reached on 9 March 1711 between James Watson, the younger, Robert Freebairn and the English monopolist John Baskett.¹⁰³ These parties agreed to a third share each to the Scottish royal licence should they petition successfully and, indeed, they secured the patent in August

¹⁰¹ Anderson's patent was apparently given under the great seal in May 1671, though it has not been found in the register. It was ratified by act of parliament in September 1672. *APS*, viii. 206-7. c, 147. and Lee, *Memorials* appendix xxvii, 56-61.

¹⁰² Campbell ensured when her husband died in 1676 that college, town and government in Edinburgh recognised the rights of the Anderson press in the name of her young son James. *MB*. 67, 3043 (22 June, 1676); *RPC*, iii, 5, 46-7.

¹⁰³ A useful summary of these details is to be found in Couper, 'James Watson', 255-259 though the court of session records provide much more.

1711, again for forty-one years. However, due to the inactivity of his partners, in January 1713 Watson felt it necessary to take out a notarial instrument to force the others to join him in business, or accept his right to do so alone. The delay by Freebairn seems to have arisen from his claim to be sole printer, the patent having been awarded in his name and that of his assignees. Over the next two weeks, an astonishing amount of activity took place at the court of session, as competing instruments were lodged by Freebairn and Richard Watkins, trustee to Baskett. All the parties, even Agnes Campbell's grandchildren, were called before the court. In spite of the protests of Freebairn and Campbell, the lords of session decree of 20 January declared that the three part patent was valid as per the agreement of March 1711.¹⁰⁴ The tone of the judgment reflects the irritation of the court, especially with Campbell and Freebairn.

George I's government then created the next crisis in the winter of 1714-15. The exclusion of Watson from the gift now granted to Freebairn and Baskett infuriated Watson and he wasted no time in taking the matter to the court of session. The case was heard in February 1715 and, after a stream of petitions, representations, appeals and answers, both printed and written, the 'pro-Watson' decision by lord Grange was upheld by the entire bench when the appeal was heard the following June. The Watson share was upheld. On

¹⁰⁴ For the three party agreement see SRO. C.3.15 no.388 RMS, (paper register). The instruments issued after that of 19 January 1713 were 'John Watson to William Robertson, wryter' (3 February, 1713) declaring and notarising that Watson would 'proceed to all legal methods for securing [his] interest' and start on his own; an 'Instrument Freebairn v Watson' (5, February) demanding that Watson halt all activity as 'he might not act separately himself', and a further 'Instrument Freebairn v Watson' (9 February) following Watson's failure to meet them after being served with notice by his opponents' notary. The decision of the lords of session was confirmed in the terms of the decree dated 20 January, 1713. The 'summonds' are dated 20 January and 4 February, and include Agnes Campbell's entire family for her continuing to print from the gift of the king's printer after her rights had expired. SRO. CS.29. box.436.1 (Mackenzie)

considering the validity of Freebairn's patent Sir James Stewart, the lord advocate, stated that 'it appears to be directly contrary to the fourth article of Union' in its restriction on the importation of bibles from England. Watson, apparently triumphant, obtained an order dated 21 June preventing Agnes Campbell from encroaching on his rights and his bible patent.¹⁰⁵ The articles of union became a new weapon for use in the courts.

The decision of Robert Freebairn to become printer to the Pretender in the autumn of 1715, and the subsequent forfeiture of his share of the gift, added yet another bizarre twist to this legal saga. It is likely that John Baskett instigated an appeal for a new gift from the meddling Hanovarian. Taking advantage of the confusion, in July 1716 he obtained a new royal gift in his name and that of Agnes Campbell. This time the gift confirmed privileges subject to the articles of union. However, the decision of the court of session in December 1716, backing Watson again against Baskett and Agnes Campbell's heirs, signified a continuing and remarkable degree of independence by the court in Edinburgh in the face of royal prerogative. The final appeal before the house of lords in February 1718 also came down in favour of Watson, although a victory for Watson merely confirmed Baskett's right as party to the original three-way patent.¹⁰⁶ The real losers in the seven year dispute were the Anderson press and its heirs.

¹⁰⁵ The petitions in February 1715 included 'An Answer by Watson to Freebairn's Representation to Lord Grange' (17 February), 'A Representation of Mr Robert Freebairn King's printer of Scotland to Lord Grange' (18 February, and perhaps a later copy of that responded to by Watson), a more eloquent and calm 'Petition for Freebairn to the Lords of Council' (21 February), and a printed summary of Watson's case for the appeal which took place in June. What survives is but a sample of the barrage of propaganda emanating from the two parties. SRO.CS.29. box.436.1. For Stewart see Lee, *Memorials*, appendix xxxvi.

¹⁰⁶ *Journal of the House of Lords*, xxi. 609-10. Appeal 14-15 February, verdict 15 February. Couper, 'James Watson' 257. Plomer entirely miscasts the ruling of the house of lords as a victory for Baskett and defeat for Watson when it was technically a

From almost the very creation of the Anderson gift in 1671, the courts proceeded, step by faltering step, to restrain the king's printer in the interests of greater liberty of trade. The prerogative notions of the Lauderdale government obstructed this 'liberalisation', but by the end of the 1680s the king's printer no longer could exercise a stranglehold on book commerce. Moreover, the continued Scottish tradition of licensing moderately long but finite book licences, in contrast to the perpetual copyright of the Stationers in England, provided for early reprinting and early price competition.

victory for Watson and for Baskett as part of the Watson/ Freebairn/Baskett gift of 1711. Plomer, *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers, 1668 to 1725*, 23.

Scotland and the United Kingdom: the Copyright Act of 1710

Typically, English and American copyright historians relate a tale of English copyright confusion leading to the introduction of the Statute of Anne in early 1710. The final demise of the 1662 licensing act in 1695 was followed by fifteen years of anxiety for copyright holders in England. Pressure from the book trade demanded a solution, although the introduction of statutory copyright was an enactment for trade regulation, and not one that allowed the Stationers' Company to retain the *status quo*. The English government wished to create a cohesive system of regulation which recognised, but was not dominated by, the Stationers' rights, and allowed also for the printing patent to continue. Essentially, the task was to introduce legislation which protected printers' and booksellers' property claims, yet without extending monopoly rights.¹⁰⁷ But what did this mean for Scotland, and why did the legislation emerge when it did?

The Union of 1707 brought about two developments, the one economic the other political, which put pressure on the legislature to resolve the copyright malaise. In the first place, the articles of the union, and in particular article four with its promise of 'full freedom and intercourse of trade' between Scotland and England, opened up the possibility of Scottish books flooding the English market to the detriment of the English book trade.¹⁰⁸ This would be two-way traffic, of course. Agnes Campbell's counterfeit bible printing of 1707 exemplifies the threat posed by English books. After years of complaint and protest about the damage to her trade done by English bibles entering Scotland, she printed an edition of her own with the

¹⁰⁷ Paterson, *Copyright*, 143; Rose, *Authors and Owners*, 34; Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 58. The 1662 act ended in 1694 and attempts to pass a new bill finally failed in February 1695.

¹⁰⁸ *APS*, xi, 406-13

imprint 'London, printed by Charles Bill'.¹⁰⁹ If the Scots wanted London bibles let them be printed in Edinburgh! But the muddle over copyright could not continue - something had to be done.

One of the rarely considered impacts of the Union, and crucial to the copyright position in Scotland, was the demise of the privy council in May 1708. The council, as we have seen, was the main granting agent for copyright in Scotland, and it was therefore essential for Scottish authors, publishers, copyholders and lawyers that a new mechanism was put in place as soon as possible. Even existing copyrights might be called into question without the competence of privy council regulation, or an equivalent. Also, now that a case law of literary property and trade regulation had accumulated at the court of session since the 1670s, it would be impossible to sustain and build upon this without the competence of a legal patenting agency. In other words, the need for a solution for Scotland was also strong. In any period there are those in commerce greedy to take advantage of deregulation, but sooner or later these liberals turn to defend what property they have accumulated.

The clauses of the Statute of Anne were mostly cast in English terms. Measures such as the twenty-one year extension to the licence for existing Stationers' copyrights could not benefit Scotland. For Scotland the main aspects of the act, in practical terms, were clear: a fourteen year copyright was granted, with a possible extension of fourteen years to the author if alive, on registration with the Stationers' Company, or alternatively notice of publication in the *London Gazette*. This last measure was to guard against any unwillingness by the clerks of the Stationers to register a copyright, and was a useful safety-net for those Scottish publishers who distrusted the 'closed club' atmosphere of the Company. Ironically, these arrangements brought some parts of the English and Scottish book trade into greater cooperation. London booksellers like Andrew Bell acted as agents for the Scottish trade, and entered Scottish

¹⁰⁹ Lee, *Memorials*, 160-3; Fairley, *Agnes Campbell*, 23-6.

publications in the Stationers' Register. Bell carried out such tasks for the Jacobite printer Robert Freebairn before and after the rebellion of 1715.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, when legal disputes did arise in Scotland, including cases brought by English booksellers relating to the activities of trade within Scotland, the named court was the court of session, leading in appeal to the house of lords.

However, as well as establishing a fresh system of new copyright registration, a legal basis was required for the continuation of existing copyrights. The key clauses of the act were those which allowed for the continuation of royal prerogative, and in particular section IX which reads:

Provided, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, either to prejudice or confirm any Right that the said Universities or any of them, or any Persons or Persons have, or claim to have, to the printing or reprinting any Book or Copy already printed, or hereafter to be printed.¹¹¹

Thus past prerogative copyrights could continue, along with the gift of king's printer in Scotland. Patterson claims that this clause was allowed to stand as 'The confusion and controversy that would almost surely have resulted [from their discontinuation] were probably deemed not worth the effort, particularly since the prerogative was no longer abused to the extent it had been in former times'. He goes on to suggest that parliament, out of expediency, remained neutral on the topic.¹¹² Yet, as far as Scotland was concerned this clause was absolutely fundamental. All current private copyrights granted by the 'king in council' would have fallen without the understanding that prerogative power was allowed to sustain their legality. A closer understanding of the copyright position in Scotland before 1710

¹¹⁰ Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1668-1725*, 28. After the debacle of the 1715 rebellion Freebairn traded in books in exile until he returned to printing in Edinburgh c1722. See Couper, 'The Pretenders Printer', 110-118.

¹¹¹ 8 Anne, c.19.

¹¹² Patterson, *Copyright*, 148-9.

enables us to see that the Statute of Anne was not merely English legislation. The obsession with the 'battle of the booksellers', from the 1730s to the 1770s, has not always disposed historians to a reasoned analysis of the position up to and including 1710.

One of the inevitable starting points for the revisionism of Scottish historiography is to re-cast the differences between the Scottish and English experience, and in the light of close research rather than bland assumption. The history of copyright and book monopolies is one sphere where Scotland's conventions contrasted with those of its southern neighbour, although by the late seventeenth century this 'difference' existed in the same context - an expanding domestic and international book market which was not a great respecter of territorial boundaries and intellectual property. Scotland's copyright system relied on the prerogative grants of the state providing private rights of limited duration. The emphasis is placed on the privilege granted by the government on the act of publication, and not on any timeless monopoly to the detriment of commercial competition, or the interests of early modern readers. In Scotland the legal basis for book patents remained similar to that for other commercial patents. Thus, with the Statute of Anne of 1710, the law of the United Kingdom was brought back to an older commercial, and still current Scottish idea - that on the 'publication' of intellectual property or an invention, the only copyright possible was that granted by the state for a limited period. In this sense, therefore, it could be argued that the advent of the Stationers' Company, with its perpetual private monopolies, was an aberration in the history of British copyright law. The copyright system embedded in Scotland by the 1670s seems to have a closer relationship to the later developments of copyright in the United Kingdom than the history of an Elizabethan corporation. The resolution of the 'battle of the booksellers', in favour of Scottish booksellers and Scottish law, supports this view. Scottish copyright also gave authors much more direct access to the public rights of their creation which, with the end to copyholder monopolies, became the two main liberal aspirations for copyright during the Enlightenment.

Chapter 5

Government Regulation of the Book Trade

Institutional Cooperation and the Crown

The monarchy, parliament, estates and executive committees, and most especially the privy council, participated with local government, church courts, and the civil courts, in the regulation of the book trade. All institutions of government did what they could to encourage a literate culture. Equally, on specific initiatives, from the prescription of liturgy and grammars to the editing and licensing of individual texts, and of course over censorship, there could be considerable institutional cooperation. When disputes arose it was generally over the effective policing of censorship, such as when town councils were accused by central government of being too liberal over Catholic or 'ultra-presbyterian' works, or when governments were too prescriptive for local municipal or clerical sensibilities, as with the catechism *God and the King* in 1617, and the Service Book of 1637. Only in the Engagement crisis of 1647-8 did church and state claim conflicting superiority over the licensing of book printing.

The specific role of the monarch in book trade regulation is extremely difficult to quantify. In the field of censorship the crown would expect the executive to take effective action against offending authors and printers, but any disassociation between the 'king in council', 'king in parliament' and the king himself is generally false. It is for this reason, as well as the practical considerations resulting from absentee kingship, that regulation, trade disputes, economic policy, book licensing and censorship controls, fell to the executive. Usually

the privy council was the chief organ of the executive for book trade regulation, just as it was over copyright.

Clearly some Scottish monarchs were more engaged in book matters than others. We have noted the personal hand of James IV in the granting of printing rights to Chepman and Myllar in September 1507. James VI was more obviously a 'king of books'. As well as having his own texts printed in Scotland and England, he took it upon himself to encourage specific publishing projects, including the 'King James Bible', and began the bold, and ultimately catastrophic, liturgical revolution from 1616 to 1637, completed by his son Charles I. But while the son considered state publishing merely a branch of politics, the father also understood it as an expression of national culturalism.

The issuing of a wider range of printing licences and monopolies after the Restoration represented royal sponsorship of the Scottish book trade. Much of this licensing activity took place from the late 1670s when the orderly, though corrupt, influence of the earl of Lauderdale was eclipsed by the patronage of James, duke of York. Before and after he was crowned, James VII was responsible for such appointments as Robert Sibbald to the post of geographer royal in 1682, and James Watson, the elder, to the anomalous position as printer to the king's family and household in 1686. These acts of patronage reflect James's ostentatious desire to create a court of literati in Edinburgh, although they were significant given the few initiatives by Charles II, King William or Queen Anne. Charles II was no great man of letters, though he did instruct the government in Scotland to print certain works for the maintenance of good order and government, such as an *An Abridgment of military discipline* (1680), and the publication from 1683 of extracts from the Book of Adjournal for the information of the people. It would not be just to place Queen Mary in this company, and she was more committed to Scottish literate culture than were her husband and younger sister. Mary's appeal to the privy council in 1692 that they support publication and distribution of Gaelic bibles, New Testaments and catechisms, and her personal licence granted in 1693 to John Slezer for his *Theatrum Scotiae*, reflect a

general concern for a wide circulation of books within and concerning Scotland.¹

Like Mary, Oliver Cromwell was also prepared to support Scottish printing and publishing projects, even though some of these measures apparently came to naught. Thus it was with the dormant general printing privilege granted in March 1656 to Glasgow university by the Whitehall council of state. This was obviously in imitation of the Oxford and Cambridge presses, and was intended to facilitate more bible printing. More successful in a publishing context, and a high-point in Scotland's secular publishing, was Cromwell's licence in June 1654 to the Amsterdam printer Johan Blaeu for the Scottish volume of the *Atlas Novus*. Nonetheless, government involvement in this lengthy project, spanning from the 1590s to 1650s, was fairly modest.²

The print patronage of Scotland's remaining sixteenth and seventeenth-century heads of state was not especially impressive. The case of Mary Queen of Scots is open to varied interpretation. It has been suggested that she was 'the patron of poets', such as Alexander Scott (c1515-1583), and she certainly inspired dedicatory poems from French and Scots versifiers.³ However, Mary's poetic group at court

¹ RPC, iii, 6, 346-7; iii, 8, 67-8; SRO.PS.1.48, 322. Licence to Slezer reproduced in Keith Cavers, *A Vision of Scotland: The nation Observed by John Slezer, 1671-1717*, (1993), vii.

² APS, vi, pt.2, 763a. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that Andrew Anderson, who printed a modest output in Glasgow from 1657 to 1661, printed any scripture in the burgh. The map library of the National Library of Scotland has various language editions of the *Atlas Novus* volume V and its follow-up edition the *Atlas Major* in which the licence is printed. See in Latin, NLS. WD3B(1654) and WD3B(1662). The Scottish *Atlas Novus* volume contained over forty regional and shire maps by Timothy Pont, Robert Gordon and James Gordon, along with appropriate topographical descriptions. The editor for the maps, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, director of chancery, may have been given a royal commission by Charles I to coordinate publication.

³ Also, the inference is that George Bannatyne's collection of vernacular poems 'the Bannatyne Manuscript' may have been at Mary's commission although Bannatyne did not start work until after her fall. John Durkan, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots' in

was less numerous and productive than her son's 'Castilian Band' formed by James in 1583.⁴ She was intelligent and well-educated, but in publishing terms was of little more significance than her father James V. Both were collectors of books and of attractive book bindings, yet were book consumers rather than book conceivers.⁵

The regents James Stewart, earl of Moray, and James Douglas, earl of Morton, were not divorced from the Scottish press. Moray was a keen book collector, even though some of his library derived from others, including that of Queen Mary. Before he was regent Lord James Stewart, acting through the Edinburgh merchant Alexander Clerk, was patron to Lekpreuik's printing of the Book of Common Order in 1564-5, and it is reasonable to assume that much of the printed Protestant liturgy from 1560 to 1565 benefited from this patronage.⁶ After 1567, once made regent, Moray had little time, or sufficient respite from war, to make an impact on the output of the Scottish press, and this was even more the case for the short regencies of Lennox and Mar. As for Morton, nothing is known of his personal library, although he ensured in the 1570s that the government supported the general assembly over the national subscription plans for Scotland's first domestic bible. In general, however, Morton, like Charles II and William II, was the consummate politician whose priority was to censor the press rather than facilitate its expansion.

'Mary Stewart, Queen in Three Kingdoms' *Innes Review*, xxxvii, (1987), 78-9 and Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing', 27-8.

⁴ This was headed by the poets Alexander Montgomery, John Stewart of Baldynneis and William Fowler.

⁵ Nevertheless, as Mary's library was the largest Scottish collection of vernacular volumes to date, her interest in French and Scots verse, along with that of James VI, acted as a bridge between Chepman and Myllar's printed vernacular poetry published in 1508 and the celebration of the vernacular seen in the publishing programme of Henry Charteris, the great publisher-printer of the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

⁶ John Durkan, 'Contract Between Clerk and Lekpreuik for Printing the Book of Common Order, 1564' *The Bibliothek* xi, no.6, (1983), 129-135.

Government, Courts and Arbitration

The absence in Scotland of an equivalent of the English Stationers' Company ensured two parallel developments in the regulation of the Scottish book trade. The first of these was an extended policing role for the magistrates of Scotland's printing burghs of Edinburgh, and latterly Aberdeen and Glasgow. Breaches of burgh trading regulations, and disputes between book traders, were resolved by the town councils and bailie courts (see chapter 1). English burghs had no equivalent policing powers over the book trade. The second arm of regulation was the privy council which throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mediated over trade disputes. The council was acting through its role as a civil court, sometimes taking appeals from the burghs, but more often involved because it had been directly petitioned, or as the king's printer was one of the parties in dispute. In England the government, through privy council, star chamber, high commission and even parliament, did play an occasional part in resolving disputes, yet most cases concerned censorship with a few disputes over prerogative licences. As said above, the copyright system in Scotland depended directly on prerogative, and therefore all disputes concerning licences, rights and monopolies could properly be heard before the council. However, by the 1680s the level of activity (see chapter 7) had reached the point where disputes were increasingly transferred to the court of session, sometimes directly and sometimes on appeal.

The central courts had to step in to adjudicate over breaches of licence. As early as 1509, following a complaint by the king's printer Walter Chepman that a group of merchants had been illegally importing the 'Salisbury use' into Scotland, the privy council issued a stern warning to the offenders instructing them to desist immediately

from such trade. The council prosecution in 1618, in which Andro Hart, Richard Lawson and James Cathkin were accused of breaching the right to print a catechism licensed to the episcopalian bookseller Gilbert Dick, was a similar case.⁷

The legal complexities were greater after the Restoration. Following the wide monopoly powers granted to Andrew Anderson, when he was appointed king's printer in 1671, the privy council and lords of session became bogged down in over ten years of litigation between the Anderson press and various competing book traders. Without delay the monopolistic and regulatory powers of the Anderson patent were challenged by the printers of Edinburgh, and the privy council began to realise that the sweeping powers of the Anderson gift had gone too far. In October 1671 the printing house of the Glasgow printer Robert Sanders, the elder, was raided and looted, and his workmen driven off by Anderson and his partners. The Anderson party claimed Sanders was printing without due authority, yet the privy council demanded the immediate release of Sanders and his men while the case was heard by the lords of council. A petition was delivered by outraged printers demanding redress for this riot, and an end to the hated monopoly which was its cause. That December the privy council was forced to rule in favour of Anderson, although other printers were to be allowed to import bibles until such time as the king's printer delivered up his own editions.⁸

After Anderson's death in 1676 his widow, Agnes Campbell, inherited his rights but surpassed her husband in litigiousness. Sanders, nevertheless, continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the Anderson patent, and in 1677 and 1680 Campbell prosecuted him,

⁷ The merchants involved in 1509 were William Frost, Francis Frost, William Sym and Andro Ross. SRO. PC.1.26, 70; *RPC*, i, 11, 626.

⁸ *RPC*, iii, 3, 422-6, MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 83. The petition was made by Robert Brown, James Miller, John Cairnes, John Masone, and Gideon Shaw, as well as Sanders. Anderson's partners were the Edinburgh printers and booksellers George Swintoun, James Glen, Thomas Brown, and David Trench.

again before the privy council, for infringing her rights. The government became increasingly exasperated at Campbell's monopoly powers. These powers extended to the right to police the output of the Scottish press, an authority without precedent in Scotland. The government was, no doubt at the instigation of the characteristically venal Lauderdale regime, attempting to apply English conventions in a Scottish context by creating a hybrid of the Stationers' Company and an official censor. In 1663 Charles II appointed Roger L'Estrange 'Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing Press' of England, and such empowerment would not have seemed so extraordinary to the more anglicised of Scottish courtiers.⁹ It was an arrangement difficult to sustain given the traditional, de-centralised structure of Scottish regulation. Thus in 1681, when David Lindsay the licensed printer of the acts of parliament, won his case against Campbell over her illegal statute printing, her general rights were restricted to the terms given in 1641 to Evan Tyler, then printer to the king. Any official responsibilities, real or imaginary, for king's printers as trade police were now dismissed.¹⁰

The privy council also acted as a referee between the book trades of competing burghs. Sometimes even the threat of a petition to the lords of council was sufficient. Within a few months of being appointed king's printer, Andrew Anderson threatened to prosecute

⁹ RPC, iii, 5, 141-2; iii, 6, 418-9; iii, 5, 479-80. Confiscation, a 3000 merk fine and a short spell in prison was Sanders' fate in 1677, although in 1680 a more lenient judgment induced only confiscation of the offending printed stock. For details of Roger L'Estrange see John Feather, *A History of British Book Publishing*, (Kent, 1988), 52-55 and J. Walker, 'The censorship of the press during the reign of Charles II' *History*, 25, (1950), 219-238. The same L'Estrange was despatched to Holyrood by James VII in June 1686 to help the propaganda campaign in favour of toleration and the repeal of the Test Acts. APS, xi, 138 b, 139 b.

¹⁰ Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, (2 vols. Bannatyne, 1848), i, 311; RPC, iii, 7, 257; RMS (paper reg.) SRO. C.3.10. no.343. For her unsuccessful appeal, which was concluded in January 1683, see Fountainhall's *Decisions*, i, 205 and Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, i, 393.

Aberdeen's John Forbes for printing without permission of the royal printer. Anderson so incurred the wrath of the Aberdeen town council that there was the risk of a book trade war between Aberdeen and Edinburgh. In February 1672, however, Anderson was forced to concede Forbes had the right to print under authority of the Aberdeen colleges, magistrates and clergy.¹¹ A decade later it was necessary for Forbes to go to court to dislodge counterfeit competition to his 'Aberdeen Almanack' from the presses of Edinburgh and Glasgow (see chapter 1). The problem for Glasgow and Edinburgh printers was the high public regard for the Aberdeen almanac, and this led Robert Sanders and Agnes Campbell to produce counterfeits in 1683 and 1684. In February 1684 John Forbes, the younger, prosecuted Sanders and Campbell before the privy council, and after the case was referred to committee a decision was made in favour of Forbes.¹²

Regulation of the book trade also entailed government policing of the relationship between employer and employee, and the resolution of some disputes over indebtedness. Thomas Bassandyne, under royal commission if not as kings printer, was in January 1577 forced by the privy council to pay the Magdeburgh compositor Solomon Kirknett his wages for typesetting the new Scottish bible.¹³ Those with the ear of the privy council, such as James Primrose, clerk of council, were allowed to pursue their debtors through council sessions. In Primrose's case the issue was payment for stock supplied of the catechism *God and the King* for which he held the copyright, and merchants, schoolmasters, presbyteries and ministers the length and

¹¹ ACR, 55, 262-3; Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, xlv.

¹² Campbell and Sanders were warned off, though clearly not severely enough. Counterfeit almanacs continued to be produced in Glasgow and Edinburgh into the 1690s. For a summary of counterfeits see MacDonald, 'Almanacs', 269-276; RPC, iii, 8, 384. For verdict see Fountainhall's *Decisions*, i, 273 and 276 although it should be noted that Lauder's account of the decision, where Forbes was stopped from printing as well, is at variance with the privy council record and Forbes's own account.

¹³ RPC, i, 2, 582-3. Kirknett appealed in the first instance to the regent Morton who referred the case to the full council.

breadth of Scotland were pursued from 1618 to 1626. Indebtedness only came before the council when a government printing project was involved, otherwise cases went to the relevant bailie court.

The privy council and court of session were obliged to resolve disputes over book trade apprenticeships. Agnes Campbell used the courts and privy council to restrict the activities of her apprentices, and especially John Reid, senior. In June 1680 Patrick Ramsey and Reid were prevented by a resigned, though reluctant, privy council from setting up their own press. They had signed up as apprentices at the Anderson press, and had not yet served their time.¹⁴ Similarly, the rival printer James Watson, the younger, went to the court of session in 1714 to prevent the premature departure of two apprentices.¹⁵ Sometimes the servant won out over the master. In 1633 the young Edinburgh bookbinder David Robeson petitioned the privy council, claiming that the bookbinder Monasses Vautrollier had forced him to sign up to trade servitude. The council ruled against Vautrollier charging him with 'illegal caption'.¹⁶

'Extra-legal' behaviour in the book trade had developed into a serious difficulty for the government in the post-Restoration period. We have seen that in 1671 the printing house of the Glasgow printer Robert Sanders, the elder, was raided and looted.¹⁷ Ten years later, in January 1681, the privy council had to order the Edinburgh magistrates

¹⁴ Fountainhall's *Decisions*, i. 104. That Reid was charged with adultery the following month will not have improved his reputation with the council. RMS (paper reg.), SRO. C3.10.no.315.

¹⁵ SRO. Court of Session Papers, Productions and Processes [CS].29. box. 443.(Mackenzie). Case 10 August, 1714, 'Petition' of apprentices dated 20 September, 1714 and eventual appeal 25 June, 1715. The petition of these apprentices, as submitted to the court in 1714, refers to Watson as 'one of his majesties pretendit printers', and this will not have encouraged their master to be merciful!

¹⁶ RPC, ii, 5, 174-5; 182; 580. Complaint raised December 1633 and judgement made January 1634.

¹⁷ RPC, iii, 3, 423-5, MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 83.

to release the printer John Reid, senior, from prison - he had been incarcerated on the initiative of Agnes Campbell - and demanded a proper trial. Again the issue was apprenticeship absenteeism resulting in unlawful printing. The next month the lords of session heard a process raised by the still imprisoned Reid and his fellow apprentices, although Reid was only finally released on the understanding that he returned to toil at the house of Anderson. The privy council was more sympathetic to Reid in 1683. That September Campbell accused Reid of printing books covered by her patent, and in November he was accused of stealing type, and his premises were searched without legal authority. This time he was allowed to continue printing, and the privy council warned all parties of the need to follow proper legal process. In the 1680s the courts were almost losing control.¹⁸ Ironically as government attempts at regulation increased, so both extra-legal and litigious behaviour mushroomed. Disputes fed on government willingness to get involved.

The book trade became a more serious focus for violence and illegal behaviour after the accession of James VII. Several incidents of printers' premises being attacked resulted from an evil combination of hatred of foreign workers and fear of 'papists', the former uncharacteristic in Scottish commercial history, the latter all too typical. In 1684 the magistrates of Edinburgh had closed the press of the Dutchman Jan Colmar and his partners, who claimed in his subsequent petition that the bookseller Charles Lumsden and others had obtained a warrant from the magistrates of the burgh 'without any ordor or law or proces against the petitioner'. In October 1685 the privy council reversed the decision of the burgh magistrates, and ordered all stock and materials to be returned to the Dutchmen. However, in spite of the sympathy of the council, the Dutch press was

¹⁸ *RPC*, iii, 7, 3-4; *ibid*, 31-32; *RPC*, iii, 8, 250-51; Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, ii, 464-5.

soon bankrupt, and it is possible that creditors were responsible for some of the animosity.¹⁹

By February 1686 the Dutchmen's press had been bought by James Watson, senior, the famous Catholic printer, and they were now employed by Watson under the management of the journeyman Thomas Noble. On the seventeenth of that month Noble and the Dutchmen were assaulted at Watson's rented premises by a crowd of fifty or so rioters. The government believed that anti-Catholic elements in Edinburgh were responsible. Only two weeks before, the home of Peter Bruce (Breusch), the German, Catholic engineer, and future printer to the royal household, had been subjected to a tumult led by soldiers of the burgh. In spite of a privy council investigation, Bruce's house was again under siege a few weeks later, and the printer John Reid, the younger, was accused of complicity.²⁰

The 1680s was no time for a liberal view of religious observance, and the hopes of James VII and his government of maintained good order in the book trade were destroyed by the religious politicisation of all aspects of public and commercial life. The context of earlier illegal behaviour was important, however. Before 1685 the Scottish government was under constant pressure from the extra-legal activities of book traders, and no doubt other tradesmen, who faced difficult trading conditions, and sought to gain commercial advantages by whatever means were available. The privy council wished to regulate the book trade, seeing it as a means to effect control, yet found

¹⁹ RPC, iii, 11, 196; Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers 1668-1725*, 62-3, 79, 189, 276. Colmar and another Dutch printer Joshua van Solingen had been printing in Edinburgh since 1681 when they were brought to Scotland by the printer and bookseller John Cairnes. See SRO. CS. 96.1.112 for papers dated 30 July, 1687 from process David Lindsay versus van Solingen. Lindsay and van Solingen were former partners.

²⁰ James Watson, the younger, indicates that his own father acquired the press in 1685 and clearly after October. James Watson, *The History of the Art of Printing*, (1713), preface 10-24; RPC, iii, 12, 19-25; *ibid.*, 23,30; *ibid.*, 143, 159, 210. Reid was also accused of provocative behaviour at Quaker meetings.

itself incapable of managing the litigiousness that ensued. The Edinburgh legal profession was happy to oblige. The three great book trade cases before the court of session from the 1670s - the heirs of Hislop v Robert Currie and Agnes Campbell (1678-1687); Robert Sanders, the younger, v Bessie Corbett, his mother, (1694-1705), and Watson v Freebairn, Baskett and Campbell (1713-18) - ensured that the lords of session developed an expanding case law and competency over the legal basis of the business of books.²¹ By the late seventeenth century privy council arbitration and commercial regulation of the book trade had proved well-intentioned but fairly ineffectual.

²¹ SRO. CS.157/ - 66/2 (1687) and CS.96/ 3-6 for inventory books for Hislop; CS.138/5219 (November 1699); CS158/445 (April, 1705) and W. J. Couper, 'Robert Sanders The Elder', *Records of Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, iii, (1915), 46-49 for Sanders; CS.29. box. 436. 1 (papers from 1713, 1715-16 before house of lords appeal 1718) for Watson. The competence of Currie as a bookseller in the interests of his step-children; the character and value of book printing materials inherited by Sanders, and the validity of co-partnership agreements over the gift of king's printer in the Watson case, were just some of the questions. The court of session records are a vast source of details on book trade cases but searching by name through the minute books will take many years.

Economic Policy and the Book Trade

There are two means by which national economic policy can promote domestic book making and selling. In the first place, on the demand side, conditions of prosperity can be created which will expand the numbers of potential customers. As books are clearly luxury items, however essential to the development of national and personal intellect, the disposable income of individuals at the different levels of society will dictate demand. Book prices are also a factor, and will be considered later. In addition, on the supply side, government policy can be modified in specific ways to the encouragement of the book trade, for example through fiscal policy. As always there are limitations to the influence government behaviour can have on economic performance, but there are some aspects relevant to the book trade.

The economic policy of early modern Scotland can be divided into two periods. Throughout the sixteenth century, and in the following century before the Restoration, no particularly coherent trends in economic policy can be claimed. Economic measures were based on subsistence imperatives, and involved food price controls and sporadic banning of grain exports during shortages. The government was also preoccupied with the currency. From the 1560s to 1603 the Scottish pound was devalued from an exchange rate of 4:1 to the English pound to 12:1 by 1603, the final debasement coming in 1601. Debasement and devaluation allowed the crown to earn money by hoarding old money and reissuing new with less silver content, although it also fuelled the high inflation in the second half of the sixteenth century. In spite of these ill-conceived and apparently primitive monetary tendencies, some positive measures were taken to promote trade. From time to time, and especially from the 1590s, monopolies were granted for manufactures and processes. From the 1580s to the 1640s some twenty odd separate monopolies were granted

for industrial purposes, including coal mine pumping (1583), paper making (1590), sugar refining (1619) and steel making (1634).²² These rights were granted to individuals and disappointingly most ventures appear to have lasted for a limited duration.

Government records indicate a similar number of book patents granted from the 1580s to 1640s as those for general industrial purposes (see chapter 4), but copyright persisted for the granted period ranging from ten to twenty-one years, was usually exploited and was inherited by successors. Copyrights granted to royal printers, coupled with the appointments to the post of king's printer or king's bookbinder, sustained the book trade through royal and government patronage. Royal printers such as Thomas Finlason or 'commoners' such as Andro Hart were in the business of books for long periods of twenty years or more, and their press rooms continued under heirs and successors. While the capital investment for the likes of sugar-refining or coal mining could dwarf that necessary for limited printing and bookselling activities, it is nevertheless relatively impressive that the book trade developed to the extent that it did, especially from the 1590s.

Following the slow economic boom period from 1603 to the mid 1630s, when the frequency of literary and industrial patents increased; the slump from about 1636 to 1652 when high taxation and social and administrative unrest affected trade, and the stable but modest prosperity of Cromwellian union, the Restoration provided opportunities for commercial expansion. Government economic

²² For summaries of economic policy see Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland, 1550-1625*, 76-115; Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland Before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History c.1050-c.1750*, (London, 1995), 271-290, and his *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition, c1500-1760*, (London, 1997), 140-165. For currency and prices A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 1995), 5-11. For patents see RSS. viii. 179-80. no. 1113; SRO.PS. 1.62. 84v; RPC. i, 12, 91; RPC. ii, 5, 219. For an account of concerns over monopolies in the reign of Charles I see Allan I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanted Movement, 1625-41* (1991), 106-8.

policy after 1660, the second phase, really consisted of some things old and some things new. Old monopoly notions persisted, with concern for excessive monopolies of the 1620s and 1640s partially forgotten, and an increasing number of industrial licences were awarded, especially from 1680.²³ Economic policy after 1660 was set in a complex legislative framework. The executive clearly believed, erroneously as it turned out, that economic transformation could be achieved through legalisation. The first stage in this process was the formation of a commission of trade by parliament in January 1661, leading five months later to a new council of trade. The result was the Act for Erecting Manufactories of 1661 which became the basis for all subsequent licences for new manufacturing initiatives before 1707. Some of the main clauses of the 1661 act were of particular philosophical and practical relevance to the book trade - the confirmed naturalisation of skilled foreign workers, such as French paper makers and Dutch printers; a general nineteen year exemption from duties for new industrial ventures, also aiding paper production, and the use of import bans to prevent foreign competition.²⁴ Thus we see that the import restrictions associated with the Anderson royal patent of 1671 were, however irksome to other printers and booksellers, entirely in tune with contemporary economic policy. The 1681 Act for Encouraging Trade and Manufactories continued and extended various immunities and inducements agreed in 1661.²⁵

After 1660 mercantilism became the context of Scottish economic policy, and to an extent that was a definite departure from earlier 'ad

²³ From 1681 to 1707 some sixty industrial manufactories were established, although many of these were not patent monopolies but new joint-stock companies, such as those for soap-making, glass or for white paper through the incorporation of the 'Scots White Paper Manufactory' in 1695. In the same period forty book copyrights were granted by the privy council. G. Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits* (Oxford, 1980), passim; APS. ix. c.41, 429.

²⁴ APS, vii, 9b; *ibid.*, c.277, 255-8; For a summary of legislation and administration see Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 32-42

²⁵ RPC, iii, 7, 652; *ibid.*, 97-105. APS, viii, 348.

hocism'. The outflow of money became the greatest concern of the government. The solution was to conserve bullion and this outflow by, on the one hand developing domestic industry and exporting, and on the other restricting imports that drained money wealth.²⁶ Not all aspects of mercantilism arrived overnight. By 1680 the emphasis of policy shifted from granting monopolies to individuals to protecting domestic industry from foreign competition. In the book trade this change is reflected in the reversal of some internal monopoly powers used by Andrew Anderson and Agnes Campbell in the 1670s, yet willingness to support the Anderson press over blatant breaches of its rights through the importation of foreign bible printings.

The economic legislation of 1661 and 1681 was only of indirect significance to the book trade, although the availability of capital surpluses from the 1670s, and expanded shipping of staples and other goods, provided much needed propulsion for the book trade. Meanwhile, the sister to book making, the paper trade, was boosted by post-Restoration government measures. Various paper-mill licences were granted after 1661, including that of 1674 to Alexander Daes and partners at Dalry near Edinburgh, and several to the German engineer Peter Bruce. Development was slow.²⁷ The granting of a charter to the 'White Paper Manufactory' in 1695, under the terms of the 1681 act, was a deliberate attempt to put domestic paper production on an economically viable and qualitative footing after over a century of false starts and failed private and government initiatives.²⁸ Nevertheless, the scale of production, along with its quality was of a low level. The white paper required to feed Scotland's presses had to come from elsewhere.²⁹

²⁶ For Scottish 'bullion dues' and 'bullion books' see Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 36. The obsession with bullion was international.

²⁷ Thomson, *The Paper Industry*, 9; *RPC*, iii, 6, 142-3; iii, 7, 288-9 and 338-9.

²⁸ For government measures to help the paper trade see *APS*, v. 497. *APS*.vi.pt.1. 174; *APS*, x, 155b. *SRO*. PC.1. 51, 342.

²⁹ Extrapolating A. G. Thomson's figures on output it is likely that in 1700 Scotland's mills produced about 6000 reams of paper, much of which was blue or grey paper board

One of the most significant privileges granted to the king's printer was exemption from paper duties. The way was clear for the largest press in the country to also become the chief paper merchant. It has been suggested that Andrew Anderson was the first to benefit from these duty exemptions, although it is certain that all printers before or after were exempt from duty when on official business.³⁰ Anderson's wife Agnes Campbell certainly accumulated a vast fortune based in part on her duty free paper business.³¹ Once duty was set for imported book paper the rate varied little, and yet the actual imposition of duty came and went. When, in 1597, parliament introduced a general import tariff, a 5% duty was placed on a range of imported goods, and paper was included in the official book of rates. This price list was revised and improved upon by royal warrant in 1612, but the rate of duty remained unchanged.³² This custom continued until June 1661 when the council of trade introduced a new export duty such that two ounces of bullion were paid to the mint for every forty reams of paper exported.³³ In the summer of 1663 parliament agreed that, for a period of seven years, the export and import of paper for book production

and not suitable for printing. Thomson, *The Paper Industry*, 21. A ream of paper consists of 20 quires of 24 paper sheets, that is 480 sheets per ream.

³⁰ MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 51; APS, VI, ii, 828b (July 1644 gift to Young and Tyler indicates customs exemption for printer to the king). Agnes Campbell profited greatly from her paper trade but by 1721 her heirs had run into financial difficulties at their Valleyfield mill on the Esk. SRO. Clerk of Penicuik Papers, GD.18. 889; 1317; 1320; 1323.

³¹ MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 51-2; For complaints by book traders over her paper rights see 'The Petition of the Booksellers of Edinburgh for themselves and the rest of the Booksellers of the Kingdom, 1688' from Laing MSS, Chalmers Papers, University of Edinburgh, division ii. no. 448.

³² APS, iii, 136 (May, 1597): for 1612 rates see Innes, *The ledger of Andrew Halyburton*, cxii-cxvi and for full listing 279-341. This seems to be the 'book of rates' employed down to 1660 when a revised customs 'bible' was produced. Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 36 and Lythe, *Economy of Scotland*, 82-84. For temporary paper immunities see RPC, i, 6, 546.

³³ APS, vi. pt.2, 828b; APS, vii, c.272, 253; *ibid.*, c.277, 257-8.

purposes would be immune from duties. In December 1669 this was extended for a further seven years, but during this period concern for bullion was paramount. That same month legislation was passed concerning imported paper, such that one ounce of bullion was paid to the mint for every six reams of white paper and an ounce for every twelve reams of grey, a bullion due that reflected the value of white paper and the interests of Scottish paper makers, but not those of printers.³⁴

Scotland's paper industry and its printing customers were put under renewed pressure after the Union of 1707. The imposition of the first British excise duties for paper in 1712, following legislation from Westminster in 1711, was another blow for Scottish printing, duty having to be paid on domestic as well as imported stock. A 'draw-back', or rebate, was allowed for the Scottish university printers, as well as those of Oxford and Cambridge. Agnes Campbell was entitled to this rebate as college printer in Edinburgh, but so also were those of Aberdeen and Glasgow.³⁵ English paper duties before 1712 were an astonishing 30% for imported stock and 17.5% for home produced, both *ad valorem*. These rates were replaced by an equivalent rate per ream.³⁶ High rates of duty, as much as convenience, drove Scottish printers to purchase paper supplies from England.

The new British duties of 1711/12 were for imported books as well as paper, a more direct threat to the book trade. This move tilted the commercial advantage back to printers and away from booksellers.

³⁴ *RPC*, iii, 1, 272; *APS*, vii, c.25, 467; *ibid.*, c.115, 655 and *ibid.*, 560a; *RPC*, iii, 6, 142-3. For paper duties in the 1680s see *APS*, viii, 603b; *APS*, ix, 460a. Attempts to add further paper duties were apparently rejected by parliament c1698. See Aldis. no.3800.2 NLS. 197.a: 'Reasons for passing an Act Imposing an Additional Duty upon Writing and Printing Paper'.

³⁵ MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 53; John Macfarlane, 'The Paper Duties of 1696-1713: Their Effect on the Printing and Allied Trades', *The Library*, second series, i, (1900), 31-44.

³⁶ 8-9 William III., c.7 (1698); Macfarlane, 'Paper Duties', 31-32.

The congruity of business aims between these trades was one of the victims of the late seventeenth century, although some potential for tension had always existed. What then was the policy of government to taxing the book itself? There would seem to be two possibilities: a free market with no import restrictions that maximised the reading matter available in Scotland and the profits of booksellers, or alternatively, a policy of protectionism applying duties to imported books to protect domestic printing. The fact that some printers in the period were also booksellers confused these options.

The first evidence of a debate over customs duties on imported books was in the 1590s. In February 1589/90 the privy council received a petition from the booksellers Andro Hart and John Norton, a London stationer who had opened premises in Edinburgh. These book men complained that the 'customer' James Gourlay had seized their books imported from the continent, and had demanded custom. Hart and Norton had been importing books directly from Germany and the Low Countries, having argued that importing via London was leading to excessive book prices as book merchants in England added their own profit margins. The petition makes clear the previous lack of duty on books: 'payment of grite custumes for [our] haill buikis and volumis ... is ane new impost and exactioun, at na tyme heirtofoir cravit within this realme'. The council instructed the customers to desist from applying such duty as long as all containers of books were presented for inspection to distinguish other rated goods.³⁷

Bibliographical historians, such as Aldis and Cowan, have reported this customs immunity as a special privilege for Hart and Norton, but this is a misreading of the circumstances. Firstly, Thomas Vautrollier, or probably his heirs, complained at the same hearing of being forced to pay burgh taxes for books imported and sold in Edinburgh. Secondly, the explanation by Hart and Norton, that books had not in the past been subject to duty, indicates that no book merchants will have paid customs before 1590. Thus the immunity for Hart, Norton

³⁷ *RPC*, i, 4, 459-60.

and the heirs of Vautrollier was in effect an immunity for all. This did not necessarily mean that merchants could rely on customers to obey the edicts of the privy council. Seven years later Hart was forced to complain to the lords of exchequer that Gourlay had yet again troubled him for payment of duties on books.³⁸ This confirms the difficulties experienced by the government in controlling the boundaries of farmed customs activity, and also the extent of Hart's import operation from the 1590s where the bulk and value of his consignments made duty worth pursuing.

Andro Hart was certainly the largest Scottish book importer before the Restoration, and perhaps of the entire early modern period.³⁹ In June 1614 Hart, seeking to exploit his import business, 'purchest' from the king the exclusive right to print overseas and import books into Scotland. This led to protests from the booksellers Richard Lawson and James Cathkin and the king's printer Thomas Finlason, and a fascinating ruling by the privy council (see page ii). In spite of a letter from the king demanding the right be confirmed 'without onye delay or impediment' the council rejected the privilege entirely.⁴⁰ The judgement also confirmed that previously the government had 'dischairgeit all custome' for books because of their importance for the 'virtue, letteris, and learning' of the country. It is therefore apparent that a deliberate decision was made to exclude books from the revised 'Book of Rates' compiled in 1612, and the absence of import duty appears to have been the position down to 1660.

Following the 1662 petition of Robert Sanders, the Glasgow printer, where he sought comparable tax immunities to the Edinburgh press, in August 1663 parliament enacted that for seven years 'all lincientiat books imported by Stationers and booksellers Shall be frie of all custome excise'. This was similar legislation to that which suspended

³⁸ Aldis, 114; Lee, *Memorials*, appendix xi.

³⁹ The Leith customs records reveal that John Calderwood imported large quantities of London stock in the 1680s. see SRO. E72.15.20 Exchequer Records, Leith Entry Books.

⁴⁰ *RPC*, i, 10, 827-8 and 252.

paper duties although, in addition, duties for all materials for printing, including chemicals for making ink, as well as on exported books, were to cease. What was 'new' in this act related to materials for printing rather than books, for there is no evidence that books were subject to customs duties since at least 1612. As with paper, legislation in 1669 extended this 'zero-rating' for a further seven years.⁴¹ After the expiry of this period a duty of 10% was set for imported stock comprising 5% customs and 5% excise. For the first time a regular customs duty for book imports was established. Also, in the 1670s, a small differential export duty was started for book exports. Interestingly, this was set at 2.5% for bibles and 4% for general stock as can be seen in the customs records of the book export trade from Glasgow to Ireland.⁴²

The issue of duties on books next arose as part of the deliberations of the privy council committee of trade in April 1681. The council confirmed that a 10% total duty was to be levied on imported bound books though not on printed sheets - this was clearly to aid the bookbinding trade of Scotland. In contrast with English trade regulation this was a novel development. English restrictions on the importation of bound books rather than sheets go back to a statute of 1533 in a measure also intended to protect domestic bookbinders, and yet this is the first occasion for such legislation by a Scottish government.⁴³ Specialist Scottish bookbinders, at the bottom of the book trade hierarchy under booksellers and printers, no doubt were suffering worse than most, squeezed as they were between an erratic home market and competition from fine bindings completed overseas and in England. Nevertheless, the duty on bound books would have

⁴¹ *APS*, vii, c.25, 467 and 560a.

⁴² The import rate continued thereafter. see *SRO*. E72,15, 20 (1680-81); E72, 15, 40 (1688-89) and E72, 15, 49 (1690-91) (Leith Entry Books). For Glasgow see *SRO*. E72, 10, 3 (1671-2), (Quarterly Import and Export Books). The origin of this differential rate has yet to be discovered.

⁴³ *RPC*, iii, 7, 103. 25 Henry VIII, c.15.

assisted domestic book printers in general and brought books into line with government mercantilism.

In December 1686 an amendment was made to these new customs duties. The Edinburgh merchant George Veitch, who specialised in acquiring second hand books at overseas auctions, and then importing them into Scotland, successfully petitioned the privy council to exclude second hand books, volumes bought at auction, and rare books from the exigencies of the 1681 legislation. Clearly these types of book no longer existed in sheet form in any case. The council agreed to these exemptions, and by doing so established the customs regime that pertained for the book trade until the Union of 1707. After the Union the general rate of 10% for imported books was increased to an amazing 30% *ad valorem* by the British legislation of 1712. This rate was to last for thirty-two years and applied to prints and maps as well as books.⁴⁴ It is easy to see why it was booksellers more than printers who repeatedly petitioned Westminster for relief from such punitive duties.

So much of the bibliographical history of Scotland begins and ends with Anglo-Scottish comparativism. England's book market was, even from the 1480s, a highly protected world, rigidly controlled and policed. Trading privileges were granted via a private corporation from the formation of the Stationer's Company in 1557. Alien book traders, and bound books were excluded from entering the English market, and sheet printings became subjected throughout the seventeenth century to very high import duties. Meanwhile, the government of Scotland exercised a more liberal approach to trade regulation. Alien craftsmen were welcomed and, after 1661, positively encouraged to enter Scotland. For most of the period books were not subject to import duties, and when they were it was a mere 5%, or latterly 10% on bound books only with no duty for sheet printings. Export duties applied from the 1670s were at a low rate and did not

⁴⁴ This was only a slight increase for the English trade which paid a 25% duty from 1696. *RPC*, iii, 13, 7-8; Macfarlane, 'Paper Duties' 31-44.

damage the Glasgow-Irish book trade. The new wave of mercantilism after 1660 represented a real sea change in economic policy for Scotland, but for the book trade Scotland was a free, deregulated and low tax environment. This was necessitous as much as virtuous in view of the small scale of the domestic book trade - the English book trade could more easily survive on its own supply and demand. Punitive import duties would certainly have harmed the business of Scottish booksellers and that of those printers who also sold books. If the supply of books in Scotland failed to meet the demand of its readership it was not because of excessive economic regulation or fiscal interventionism. Long and peaceful reigns were, of course, the most positive of all economic policies. The religious and political factionalism of Scotland's early modern period was disruptive to both the demand and supply sides of book commerce, even though it did create a market for controversial tracts.

Permissive Government

Continuity in the development of the book trade in Scotland, and especially in printing, depended on more immediate government actions than national economic policy. Governments of all descriptions granted copyright and accepted the responsibility of continuing the line of royal printers. Encouragement was also gleaned from a variety of immunities and conditions of service for the royal press. The incumbents were spared the duty of watching and warding from 1511, granted physical protection from 1590 and were given first official recognition of customs and tax immunities for books and materials in 1579. Walter Chepman was provided with commercial premises, although by Waldgrave's appointment in 1590 the post generated sufficient profits to make such assistance unnecessary. Meanwhile, the lesser post of royal bookbinder was provided with a small annual pension from John Gibson's appointment in 1581.⁴⁵ As long as governments required the dissemination of official documents they were bound to support the press to a degree.

The greatest potential incentive for the general book trade came, not from privileges granted to the book merchant elite, but through the nature of control of the book trade as exercised by central government. Government management of book dissemination rested on four pillars: license, copyright, censorship and propaganda. The first three of these are easily confused as simultaneous grants of copyright and license were very common, and the control of licensing was, of course, an arm of censorship. Nevertheless, government agencies, lawyers and book merchants well understood the entirely separate existence of these elements. Copyright was granted by the crown, usually via the executive (see chapter 4), and confirmed by privy seal or act of privy council. Meanwhile, and completely independently of copyright, books required a licence for publication

⁴⁵ RSS, i, 349, no. 2290; RPC, iii, 5, 441-2; iii, 6, 325; PS.1.61, 58v; RSS, vii, 305, no.1870; RMS, iii, 407; SRO. PS.1.6.48 and PS.1.7.50: RSS, ii, 658, no.4521 and RMS, iii, 2612; RSS, viii, 70, no.414; SRO. PS.1. 74, 139v.

indicating that a specific printing had been checked and approved by an appointed agent of the crown, or in some cases by a committee of trusted councillors and 'experts'.

The records of the labours of these authorities are frustratingly thin and dispersed. In many cases a signed licence was provided by the licensor, either as a separate document or with an imprimatur to a manuscript copy of the text, in what legislation in 1599 referred to as the licensor's 'attestation permittit thairto according to the lawable custome'. Thus archbishop Spottiswoode provided a 'Principall Liscence' in September 1631 for the publication of the first part of Hume of Godscroft's, *The Lyves of the Illustrious Familie and Name of Douglas* (c1633), and copies of the licence are bound with the earliest surviving manuscript version of the history.⁴⁶ Unfortunately the surviving manuscript licences are very few, and the vast majority are lost to us along with the archives of Scotland's early modern printers and booksellers.

In some instances, of course, a printed version of the licence was appended to the printed edition itself. This is found sporadically throughout the period, often in combination with the words of the copyright granted by the government. Examples of this include the Scottish volume from Johan Blaeu's great *Atlas Novus* (1654), printed in Amsterdam, which has its licence from Oliver Cromwell in its prelims along with those for the Empire and States of Holland, and John Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693) in which is printed the licence from Queen Mary. However, this 'long hand' is relatively unusual and is saved for some, though not all, of the more prestigious or official projects, as with volumes of acts of parliament.

⁴⁶ APS, iv, 187a. SRO. GD/406. Hamilton Palace Manuscripts, MS 2690. 4, (14 September, 1631); George P. Johnston 'The First Edition of Hume of Godscroft's History' in EBS, iv (1901), 149-171 and David Reid. 'Hume of Godscroft's 'The Origine and Descent of the most Noble and Illustre Familie, and name of Douglas' as Humanist Historiography' in *Scottish Literary Journal* 22,1 (1995), 35-45.

More commonly license was confirmed by two means. The first of these was by printing in title pages or prelims legends like 'Cum Privilegio Regali', 'Cum Privilegio', 'Cum Privilegio Regis', and, at its most ostentatious, 'Cum Gratia Et Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis' as printed with the Arbuthnet bible of 1579. These labels indicated that a licence had been obtained from the appropriate government authority. Warrants were both theoretically, and practically, separate from the post of royal printer, and this explains why printings such as Arbuthnet's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* by George Buchanan (1582) exhibited on the title page both 'Typographum Regium' and 'Cum Privilegio Regali'. The fact that Arbuthnet was king's printer did not remove the requirement for full licensing procedures. Nevertheless, where the right to publish a certain text clearly fell within the general patent granted to the royal printer, then 'Prenter to the Kingis Maiestie' or similar words were often sufficient.

The use of 'Cum Privilegio Regali' differed between England and Scotland for reasons linked to royal prerogative and interpretation of copyright. In England, while the words still simultaneously conferred the separate concepts of patent provision and permission to print, it could only be used by the royal printer or by those given copyrights directly by the crown and normally those related to generic book patents (see chapter 4). However, in Scotland all printers were entitled to use this provided they had been licensed by the government. Given that royal prerogative was the cornerstone of all copyright in Scotland, then it is easy to see how 'Cum Privilegio Regali' was cited by printers like John Ross, Henry Charteris and Robert Smyth who never became royal printers. Nonetheless, this legend was less commonly used by the generality of printers after 1603, a trend which mirrored English practicalities despite the differences in copyright theory north and south of the border.

Some alternative system indicating authorisation was required, and one deceptively basic to the control of the book trade. This device was simply that of open publication, involving as it did the printing of place, date, printer and author on the edition concerned. In practical

terms this openness was extremely risky for printers unless permission to publish had been granted. Publishing without identification was generally resorted to to avoid regulation, whether it reflected on censorship or copyright. Legislation requiring printers to 'sign their work' was slow to appear both in England and Scotland, but was expected from an early date.⁴⁷ An obvious sign of this in Scotland can be taken from the facts surrounding the prosecution of Robert Lekpreuik in early 1574 for printing John Davidson's *Ane Dialog or mutual talking betuix a clerk and ane Courteour concerning four Parische Kirks till ane Minister*. Lekpreuik had printed the work without place, date, author or printer's name and was prosecuted under the 1551/2 act 'anent prentaris' for unlicensed printing, although this act makes no mention of these information requirements.⁴⁸ Anonymity was then tantamount to guilt and possibly treason. Equally, however, printing of an ephemeral and non-controversial nature, particularly after the output of the Scottish press expanded after 1660, could be anonymous as no licence was sought and none required. The government had better things to do than pick over every small detail of press control.

Breaches of the licensing regime could, nonetheless, lead to serious censure. This could be the case even when the cause of official displeasure was fairly innocuous, such as in 1681 when John Swintoun, one of the partners to the king's press, was arrested in Edinburgh for printing without permission a speech delivered to Charles II by the speaker of the house of commons. To the privy council the issue was one of principle. Just because a printing was licensed in London did not mean it was licensed in Edinburgh, despite the printer being one of the royal incumbents. Conversely, when

⁴⁷ The first English licensing and censorship enactment to contain this requirement was the famous star chamber 'Decree concerning Printing' of July 1637, and Scottish expectations in this area are confirmed by the gift for blank bills printing granted to the king's printer in 1664 provided his name appeared on all bills. Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*, (London, 1965), 136-7; *RPC*, iii, 1, 635.

⁴⁸ *RPC*, i, 2, 727. Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 205.

twenty years later a controversial letter between the Jacobite brothers the earls of Melfort and Perth was licensed for the king's press in Scotland by the privy council - this was in response to a royal warrant from King William over a letter already printed in London - the Edinburgh booksellers James Wardlaw and John Porteous, and printers John Reid, the younger, and [George] Jaffrey were arrested for its commissioning and printing. The principle at stake here was a breach in the right of the king's printer on official business as licensed by the government. The printers suffered for their presumption and the privy council instructed the 'magistrates of Edinburgh to cause shut up the printing house of the said John Reid and Jaffrey and ... to continue to till further order of the Council'.⁴⁹ Such cases prove that licensing was not entirely synonymous with censorship.

Imprisonment and confiscation were the common punishments for breaches of the licensing regime. The number of prosecutions for such cases, especially from the Restoration, indicates that printers and booksellers must have known the risks of unlicensed activity and that breaches were more likely to be deliberate and politically motivated than accidental and out of ignorance. These simple facts were not lost on the government. When printers claimed the moral protection of liberal precedent government was not impressed, especially when unlicensed printing had a political context. When in 1690 the presbyterian printer George Mosman printed without licence a pamphlet critical of the government - this was entitled *A Wish for Peace*, and appeared under the anonymous imprint 'Eirenopoli' - he was promptly arrested, interrogated, forced to confess and placed in the tolbooth of Edinburgh. The privy council was dismissive of Mosman's argument that licensing 'had in late not been in such obeservance' but accepted his bond of caution for 500 merks to guarantee his correct behaviour in future. Similarly, when the printer James Watson, the younger, excused himself on three grounds - slack regulation, frequency of unlicensed printing in Scotland by 1700, and also the custom that permission was not required to reprint texts already

⁴⁹ RPC, iii, 7, 93; SRO. PC.1.52, 189.

published - the privy council was unimpressed. Watson, and the surgeon-apothecary Hugh Paterson, had been arrested in June 1700 for printing pamphlets critical of government policy over the Darien affair. The fact that Watson printed extracts from a previously printed critique, and that some general unlicensed printing undoubtedly took place, did not excuse him from the consequences of printing anti-government material. The appeals and petitions of the accused were rejected, and both were prosecuted, found guilty and banished from Edinburgh for a year. The 'pro-Darien' riot of 20 June, which saw the prisoners in the Edinburgh tolbooth, including Watson and Paterson, forcibly and temporarily released, only delayed trial and verdict by a few days.⁵⁰

There is no doubt that printing against government desires and policy was the most serious breach of licensing. The most heinous case of all was one surrounding the royal printer Robert Waldegrave a hundred years earlier. In February 1596/7 Waldegrave, who had been king's printer since 1590, was charged with 'tressonabill imprenting of ane alledgeit Act of his hienes Parliament, as sett furth be his Maiestie and thre estaitis of Parliament, haldin att Edinburgh the penult day of Maij 1592, intitulat "for the abolishing of the Actis concerning the Kirk" '. The charge of treason, of course, left open the possibility of the death penalty and, very unusually for breaches of licensing, was tried in the court of justiciary. Waldegrave's apparent crime was to print, without permission, a version of the so called Golden Acts of 1592 authorising presbyterianism, and in a form too embarrassing for the regime of 1597. Waldegrave was found guilty, but was saved from punitive sentence when it was found that a clerk of register had

⁵⁰ SRO. PC.1.52, 105-6 for petitions of Watson and Paterson and decret PC.1.52, 114-7. For a summary of the Watson and Paterson case see Couper, 'James Watson', 249-251. For the case against the rioters see SRO. High Court of Justiciary, minute books JC6/14 summarised in Houston, *Social Change in the Age of the Enlightenment*, 311-2. The privy council exonerated the lord advocate from any blame attached to the affair. see PC.1.52, 109.

furnished him with the act.⁵¹ As with copyright, the nearer that license irregularities came to the crown, the more severe the penalties.

Measures such as banning texts and the imprisonment of perpetrators were combined with editorial expurgation. The Edinburgh printer John Reid, the elder, was arrested in January 1690 for printing George Hume's 'Vindication of the Address' which was an explication of *the Humble address and supplication of the Cameronian Presbyterians* to the prince of Orange published the previous year. A committee was formed to revise the pamphlet, but with the arrest of Mosman in March for printing *A wish for Peace*, this revision committee was expanded for both texts, and now included ten peers and privy councillors. Such a large committee clearly shows that a consensus was required over contentious publications - it might have been easier to ban these works completely.⁵²

The difficulties of 1690 saw the privy council establish a smaller sub-committee to deal with general licensing consisting of the earl of Cassillis, the master of Melville and the lord advocate, and the maxim 'no printing without license' was re-emphasised in a new act of privy council with particular mention of books reflecting on the government of Scotland.⁵³ The prerogative of the crown and executive was underscored. The theoretical essence of this was confirmed in the words of a judgment of privy council in 1681:

⁵¹ Robert Pitcairn (ed.), *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland, (1488-1624)*, (Bannatyne, 1833), ii, 2-3, 7, 14-17. The clerk of register turned out to be John Howiesoun, minister at Cambuslang. The justiciary court records are very silent on book crimes even though written and spoken slander cases were not uncommon.

⁵² *RPC*, iii, 15, 42-3, and *ibid.*, 51-2, 82-3, 141, 144, 145, 155. The enlarged editorial committee consisted of the earls of Glencairn, Eglinton, Cassillis, Leven and Dundonald, lord Caldross, Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony, Sir Colin Campbell of Aberurchell and the Laird of Ormistoun. The author of the 'Vindication' George Hume, brother of the presbyterian martyr Alexander Hume, was even allowed by the committee to receive ink in prison in order to begin editing.

⁵³ *RPC*, iii, 15, 56.

the power of printing not falling under any municipall law, it being inherent to the crowne as being a matter that so much concernes the publick peace and tranquility of the nation, neither was it ever heard that any printed without expres warrand from His Majesty or his antecessors, who granted the samen expressly to cities and universities and other persons, without whose authority they could not print.⁵⁴

Routinely the licensing of books was a matter for practical policing. Any licensing breach which concerned the administrative and official records, or reflected upon the government of the church, in so far as it affected the crown, and the government of the nation, could not be published without permission. Mutual support was expected by local and central licensing authorities. In January 1704 five Edinburgh printers -James Watson, the younger, John Reid, elder and younger, George Jaffrey and Andrew Symson - complained to the privy council that the Edinburgh magistrates had enacted a rigid and unreasonable licensing act the previous October which required burgh authority for printings within Edinburgh. The printers claimed this was in breach of the Claim of Right of 1689, and thus the terms of the revolution. However, the privy council completely ignored the petition, and in April 1704 instructed the magistrates of Edinburgh to continue the good work and to apprehend all printers who went to press without license of the burghs or government.⁵⁵

David Stevenson has remarked that when the covenanter government decided in 1644 to appoint the king's secretary, the earl of Lanark, as official censor of the press, conveniently 'the tradition that he was the correct official could be maintained'.⁵⁶ In fact the legislative

⁵⁴ *RPC*, iii, 7, 31-33. This resulted from one of the many legal disputes between John Reid and Agnes Campbell.

⁵⁵ James Dennistoun and Alexander Macdonald (eds.), *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii, pt.1, (1840), 236-9; *EBR*, 1701-18, 63 (29 October, 1703); SRO. PC.1.53. 196 (17 April, 1704). See chapters 1 and 2 for burgh and clerical licensing.

⁵⁶ Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 329; SRO. PA. 11/3 Register of the Committee of Estates, 1644-45, 119v-120r (29 November, 1644).

history dating from the seminal licensing and censorship enactment of 1551/2 was extremely diverse in its commissioning of licensing authority, and the notion of 'tradition' is not especially helpful. The genre of books, the church party in power and the relative centralising tendencies of government are but a few of the trends promoting variability.

According to the act of parliament 'Anent Prentaris' of 1551/2 no book could be printed without a licence from the government, and before then the submission of the text to 'the Ordinaris', in other words the bishops. There is interestingly no immediate change in this following the Reformation, proof if it was ever needed that the clergy did not instantly lose administrative authority with the advent of Protestantism. The first clear shift from the clergy arises in 1574 when, under the regent Morton, the privy council enacted new procedures where the chancellor, lord Glamis at the time, 'and uthir personis constitute be our Soverane Lordis commissioun to that effect, or any *thre of thame - ane of the Lordis of Previe Counsall being ane*' were required to provide the necessary vetting before a licence was granted. The secularisation continued with a privy council act of November 1582, with echoes of earlier acts of 1573 and 1579 concerning the circulation of scandalous letters, entitled an 'order against transporting treasonable letters and passangers to and from Scotland'. This measure insisted on the permission of the king and council for the transportation of passengers and their books, and was indicative of engaged government, as well as some anxiety by the Ruthven regime over the activities of Arran and Lennox and their supporters. With an act of privy council the following July, after King James had escaped from his captors, we see a return to the context of the act of 1552, although with authority placed with the 'licence of the king', the emphasis now more on confiscation and the role of magistrates and sheriffs as policemen. Additional sanctions against booksellers selling unlicensed books were now introduced.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ APS, ii, c.26, 488; RPC, i, 2,387; RPC, i, 3, 526-7; RPC, i, 2, 206-7 and i, 3, 103; RPC, i, 3, 587.

Although there is no doubt that after the Reformation the clergy were regarded as licensors for religious works, there is no further legislation to underpin this until 1612 by which time full episcopalianism had returned. After 1560 the clergy considered their rights over theological licensing as, nonetheless, self-evident. In July 1612 the privy council ordained the first multi-party licensing authority in an attempt to reduce the printing, selling and importation of 'papist', seditious and heretical works. The government was concerned about attacks on its religious policies emanating from the presses of the Low Countries, and long before the introduction of the Five Articles of Perth. Under the new licensing regulations works of divinity were to be approved by the archbishops, of 'historie or ony uther pairt of humanitie' by the king's secretary, and of the law by the commissioners of the college of justice, with a signed testament provided by the licensor declaring the text uncontaminated. Meanwhile, as regards the importation of books, none were to be sold before approval by the appropriate diocesan bishop, or the king's secretary, whichever was available at the time.⁵⁸ What is of interest here is that subsequently those periods of 'high episcopacy' saw the rights of bishops confirmed simultaneously with an emphatic definition of those of secular licensors. Thus in 1662, when certain privileges for the printer of Glasgow were given to Robert Sanders, the elder, on the recommendation of the earl of Lauderdale, the licensing independence of the Glasgow diocese was confirmed, and by 1684 a complex 'quadri-partite' authority was introduced for the Glasgow press - it could not operate without license 'from the Bishop of the dioces for any thing in divinitie; the Dean of the Facultie for the Law; the President of the College of Physicians for phisick, [and] the clerks of the Councill to licence any thing els'.⁵⁹ This reflects the national arrangements agreed in 1612, and provides confirmation of the actual position as it had developed in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow from 1660.

⁵⁸ The demarcation between bishops and archbishops is discussed in chapter 2.

⁵⁹ *RPC*, i, 9, 400-1; *RPC*, iii, 1, 272.

It was an act of parliament in 1599 which first indicated the role of the king's secretary as licenser and censor. The secretary's role was re-emphasised in 1615 when an act of privy council, the lords being alarmed at further seditious works arriving from the Low Countries, declared that manuscripts must be vetted by the archbishops or the secretary before leaving the country for overseas presses. The secretary was not the only secular official to become involved in the vetting procedure. In 1625, only days after the death of James VI, a privy council proclamation against imported books from Flanders insisted that they be given up to the clerk of the council for authorisation within forty-eight hours of arrival.⁶⁰ We can only guess at the extent to which these officers of state cooperated over vetting.

The covenanting and Cromwellian periods offer up the greatest degree of frustration for the historian of the early modern book and so it is with licensing. In the period of covenanter government the responsibility for lay and ecclesiastical licensing went through a period of flux - conflated in the person of Archibald Johnston of Wariston (1611-63) and divergent in the months before and during the Engagement. We know from Wariston's diary that as clerk to the general assembly he licensed religious works in the late 1630s and early 1640s. Meanwhile, in November 1644 the committee of estates passed an act to control printing responding to the royalist marquis of Montrose's *Declaration* printed in Aberdeen only weeks before. Authority was placed with the king's secretary. Later, in February 1646, this was ratified by parliament, although simultaneously it concurred with the wishes of the clergy that the general assembly and its commissioners were to license and vet books of religion. Nevertheless, in June 1648 the Engager dominated committee of estates, hoping to wrestle the initiative from radical covenanters, declared that all books had to be licensed by the committee, an unusually vague authority reflecting the urgency of the moment. In any case, following the collapse of the Engagement, the restored

⁶⁰ APS, iv, 187a; RPC, i, 10, 339-40; RPC, ii, 1, 11-12.

covenanters annulled the licence enactment of 1648 and returned the licensing procedures to those adopted in 1646.⁶¹

Even more difficult to interpret are licensing regulations under the Interregnum. No records survive of licensing deliberations at a Scottish level, although copyright as we have seen was in this period considered either unnecessary or subject to English incorporation. In 1655 Cromwell issued a warrant to his Scottish council, headed by General Monk, to set up presses and to prohibit printing at its own discretion, and this same authority was re-confirmed in June 1658 by Richard Cromwell. The clear view of the Interregnum was that in Scotland licensing authority rested with the army.⁶² Put most simply 'cum privilegio' replaced 'cum privilegio regali'.

We have seen that after the Restoration individual bishops regained the power to license printings. However, before the new episcopal hierarchy was put in place in November 1661, the new government quickly put general authority in the hands of the privy council. Three weeks later, in a request for clarification, the printers of Edinburgh asked if a licence was required for all printings including reprints. The privy council responded by emphasising that the licensing measures were aimed at all new books, and all unpublished and revised but *allowed* editions. In other words fresh licences were not required for reprints of permitted published works. This all sounds extremely vague, although it is easy to imagine the fear of

⁶¹ Wariston, *Diary* (1632-39), 409; SRO. PA.11/3, Register of Committee of Estates, 1644-45, 119-120.; APS, vi,i, 551; SRO. PA. 11/6, 26; APS, vi, ii, 135b, 136a. For general assembly condemnation of the estates enactment see A. Peterkin, (ed.) *Records of the Kirk of Scotland, containing the Acts and proceedings of the General Assemblies, from the year 1638*, (1838), 498; *ibid.*, 500. For a summary of these matters see Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 328-332. One particular printer, probably George Anderson or his heirs, sought license of the committee of estates to print six books of a non-controversial nature, including works by Thomas Shepherd and Francis Quarles (see Aldis, no. 1383). SRO. PA. 11/6, 101r and 183v (August, 1648).

⁶² APS, vi, ii, 827a; APS, iv, ii, 876; APS, vi, ii, 763a.

Scottish printers in a year that saw the execution of James Guthrie as one of the authors of *The Causes of God's Wrath*, and the arrest of the printers George Swintoun and James Glen for printing covenanter tracts.⁶³ A quarter of a century of 'disloyal printing' cast a cloud of uncertainty over press/crown relations.

The brief reign of James VII represented something of a 'swan song' for episcopalian press licensing. The special role of bishops in vetting all works of divinity was confirmed by the privy council in October 1685, and three months later the council re-introduced a familiar looking tri-partite authority - chancellor, bishops and clerks of council. However, the government became so concerned at its inability to control the press that in September 1686 authority became centralised in the person of the chancellor, James Drummond, fourth earl of Perth.⁶⁴ This was, given the expansion of the output of the Scottish press from the 1670s, a completely unrealistic step and must have divested government of much of the local intelligence of bishops and privy councillors.

The aftermath of the Glorious Revolution brought not only the end to episcopalian involvement in licensing, but also the end to fragmented authority. In future a specific committee of the privy council made itself the fountain of print licences. The first of these, set up in January 1690, consisted of John, seventh earl of Cassillis, the master of Melville, secretary of state, and soon to be the first earl of Melville, and the lord advocate, Sir John Dalrymple.⁶⁵ The legality of their proceedings was declared by precedent dating back to the act of 1551/2. Government policy was modulated to expect centralised licence applications when works were clearly of gravity and significance, and especially if they related to church or state. Beyond this, it was sufficient that local authority, be it university, burgh or

⁶³ *RPC*, iii, 1, 90, 119.

⁶⁴ *RPC*, iii, 11, 195-6; *RPC*, iii, 12, 410-11, 417.

⁶⁵ *RPC*, iii, 15, 56.

clergy, granted permission, as long as evidence for this could be produced when demanded by the government.

The government licensing committee had altered in composition by April 1697 and consisted of the earls of Lauderdale and Annandale, lord Anstruther and the lord advocate 'or any other of them whom the Councill authorises'. Emphasis was made of its main function, that is, to license books 'Relating to the Government or the public concern'. The committee's powers and composition were highlighted in July 1699 when the printer William Jaffrey was charged for printing books reflecting on the Darien fiasco. However, a year later, at the instigation of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, the lord advocate, an expanded committee was established to look at trade regulation in general, and to ensure that 'no books may be printed for the future without licence', although again the clear priority was anti-government literature. Within a week James Watson was arrested, yet the days had passed when formal licensing of the entire output of the Scottish press was practical or expected.⁶⁶

The use of committees for licensing was not a new phenomenon. Just as individuals with specialist knowledge licensed particular printings, such as the clergy with divinity or the clerk register with acts of parliament, so specialised committees were established to review and authorise certain publishing projects. The most continuous publishing topic of early modern government was the preparation of new national grammars. 'Grammar committees', of academics rather than of councillors, were established in 1575 and 1593, and various such committees met from 1607 to the early 1630s.⁶⁷ Committees were also formed to license individual printings. In 1686, for example, a

⁶⁶ SRO. PC.1.52, 14 (reference to the 1697 committee in 1699); PC.1.52, 104. The unwieldy committee of 1699 consisted of the earl of Melville, president of the council, earls of Erroll and Leven, the lord Boyle, the lord advocate, treasurer depute, the justice clerk and Mr. Francis Montgomery.

⁶⁷ *RPC*, i, 2, 478; *RPC*, i, 5, 110-12; *APS*, iv, c.9, 374 (August, 1607) and *RPC*, i, 9, 414 (21 July, 1612); *RPC*, ii, 4, 500-1 (26 June, 1632).

committee of the privy council was commissioned to check if a book on fencing was suitable for instructing the young pugilists of the kingdom, and even the catechism *God and the King*, recommended by King James VI, found itself in 1616 subjected to scrutiny by a committee of bishops.

The printing of news became a profound government concern from the 1680s, and sometimes came under the control of a specially 'commissioned' officer. The privy council concluded in January 1680 that the duke of Lauderdale, secretary of state, was to approve all 'intelligence' and newssheets, both to and from London and Edinburgh, using his servants and clerks of council. In March 1699, the year in which James Donaldson published and James Watson, the younger, printed the *Edinburgh Gazette*, and by which time newssheets had proliferated, the privy council instructed the lord high chancellor to appoint a suitable censor for the *Gazette*. Three months later a clerk of the council was commissioned with the task of revising and 'marking the same' before each edition came to the press.⁶⁸ Nothing more illustrates, therefore, that licensing had increasingly become an arm of censorship than these Williamite efforts to control the spread of information. Licensing was, as we have seen, regarded as entirely separate to copyright, and nor were all licensing controversies concerned with forbidden content. Nevertheless, the words 'by authority' as printed on the *Gazette* signify the ultimate authority of government to license.

⁶⁸ RPC, iii, 12, 497; RPC, i, 10, 521-2; RPC, iii, 6, 374; SRO. PC.2.27, 202r and PC.1. 51, 576.

The Government Press: propaganda, publishing and prescription

the government message

Copyright, patents and to an extent book licensing reflect on the reactive qualities of government book regulation. Yet, in three particular areas, propaganda, book prescription and state publishing, Scottish early modern government played a pro-active role. Effective government required, and still requires, the dissemination of information on policy coupled with its justification. The advent of the printing press brought new opportunities both to promote and to challenge the government message. Governments found it difficult to identify dissenters, and it is not surprising then that the use of propaganda was seen as a means to attack the dissenting message if not always dissenting messengers.

The main and continuous arm of government propaganda was the printing of declarations, acts and proclamations of the crown, privy council and parliament. Information publishing was the necessary conduit between government and people. The Aldis catalogue confirms a general trend of increasing information printing from the 1560s, but accelerating from the late 1630s and 1680s, indicating that political crisis led to government initiative and a subsequent information response. Some 30% of the identified and surviving output of the Scottish press from 1660 to 1700 concerned itself with proclamations and acts, and in the turbulent 1680s this rose to 36%.⁶⁹ In fact the greatest output of government information came in the 1690s. Government policy was becoming ever more complex in all manner of secular, economic and social fields at the very time when the religious conflict was in a phase of relative calm.

⁶⁹ For figures based on the 1970 printed edition of Aldis see Roger L. Emerson, 'Scottish Cultural Change 1600-1710 and the Union of 1707' in John Robertson, (ed.), *A Union for Empire*, (1995), 142.

Positive and even 'wholesome' messages were facilitated by the government press machine. A typical moment of positive propaganda was at the point when a new royal incumbent came to the throne. Thus in 1625 Charles I's good intentions over religion were communicated by a missive circulated to the burghs and magistrates, as were those of Queen Anne in a printed open letter of 1702.⁷⁰ At certain key moments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, governments took it upon themselves to explain and justify repressive measures. In December 1596, only four days before the infamous Edinburgh riot that signalled the eclipse of Melvillianism, an increasingly irritated privy council decided to make public the case against the minister David Black for 'lesing-making', that is spreading a message likely to alienate the people from their king. All were to see the legitimacy of royal justice.⁷¹ The publication of the case against Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, some months after his execution for involvement in the Rye House Plot of 1683, was also to explicate justice, although in this case the desire of government was to counteract the unease of contemporaries at the irregular judicial procedure that saw Baillie tried twice for the same crime.⁷²

The propaganda offensive waged by the covenanter government from 1638 has been discussed above in relation to printing overseas.⁷³ Conversely, the second most sustained government propaganda campaign was against the covenanters and Cameronians in the 1680s. This was in part prompted by the shock of the Cameronian revolt and the battle of Bothwell Brig in June 1679, and also exasperation at the distribution of seditious literature imported from overseas. It is no coincidence that the extra capacity of the press in the Low Countries

⁷⁰ *RPC*, ii, 1, 91 and 132; *APS*, vii, 334, appendix 81b.

⁷¹ *RPC*, i, 5, 347-8 and Goodare, 'Parliament and Society', 368-9.

⁷² *RPC*, iii, 10, 138 (10 February, 1685). Similarly, after James VI apprehended the ministers who attended the 'illegal' Aberdeen general assembly of 1605, the king instructed the privy council in early 1606 to publish an account of the case against them. *RPC*, i, 7, 480-3.

⁷³ See chapter 3.

delivered the covenanting propaganda of the 1640s, as well the river of typographic sedition of the 1680s. The seditious message had to be countered. Thus when Richard Cameron published his *Sanquhar Declaration* in 1680, renouncing allegiance to the king, Sir James Turner printed a tract in England charging Cameronians as false presbyterians. Also, extravagant utterances like the *Queensferry Papers*, discovered in June 1680, were printed in London with the National Covenant in order to tarnish covenanting with extremism. The London publishers of Sir George Mackenzie's *Vindication of the Government of Charles II*, released in 1691 after the author's death, used the same mocking tactics by appending John Gibb's eccentric 'sweet singers' manifesto written in May 1681.⁷⁴ The London press, like that of Holland, frequently participated in Scottish controversy, even before the Reformation, and so it did in the 1680s. Nevertheless, in Scotland a relatively seamless line of anti-covenanter government information and propaganda can be traced through the end of the reign of Charles II, that of James VII and even into the years of William and Mary. Government exasperation is reflected in the unusual decision by Charles II, taken in July 1680, to have the *Sanquhar Declaration* published by the Scottish royal press so that the people 'may have a just abhorrence of the principles and practises of those villianes', the Cameronians.⁷⁵ The obvious risks of encouraging dissent were ignored.

After 1690 the Whig government in England inspired anti-Jacobite propaganda using similar shock tactics. It attempted to engender anxiety over Catholic despotism and national security. Steele makes the convincing case that the very virulence of the government campaign tended to exaggerate the Jacobite threat, but the obvious corollary is that it also intoxicated Jacobites with unrealistic estimates of support. Whig anti-Jacobite propaganda was overwhelmingly printed in London, which signifies the attempt at centralised

⁷⁴ RPC, iii, 6, 482-495; Wodrow *Sufferings*, iii, 213, 207-11; *ibid.*, 348-356. Gibb was probably mad.

⁷⁵ RPC, iii, 6, 495 (Royal letter dated 5 July in register under 13 July).

information control by English ministers. The revival of 'moderate' Jacobitism, as seen in the Scottish parliamentary election of 1702, made partisan Scottish printing too divisive.⁷⁶

The general desire of government to explain policy was not always a facet of crisis management. James VII certainly issued numerous proclamations in print in 1686 and 1687 attempting to explain his actions over toleration and the penal laws, and crisis was never far away after the honeymoon period of 1685. However, the privy council decided in 1678 to publish a number of official papers to explain government policy, and this was followed in 1683 by an instruction from Charles II such that all proclamations and official documents should be printed for the edification of loyal subjects. The combination of open government and delivering the message is noteworthy and must help to explain the information explosion from the 1680s. Publication was sometimes viewed as a means of reducing criticism even when it was unavoidable. For example, the government had little option but to publish the proposed articles of union in October 1706 to enable an effective debate by the estates.⁷⁷ Ironically, the parliament of Scotland was too independent to allow the considerations of its own demise without open publication of the legislative facts, if not the behind-doors dealings.

⁷⁶ Margaret Steele, 'Anti-Jacobite pamphleteering, 1701-1720' in *SHR*, lx, 2, no.170. (1981), 140-55. Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, 181-2.

⁷⁷ *RPC*, iii, 5, 438; iii, 8, 67-8; *APS*, xi, 306.b.

Publishing Executives

Government engagement with publishing could be geared to substantial publishing projects, often for the benefit of the nation, as well as to the details of day to day policy. It might be expected in this religious age that the distribution of scripture would be the greatest literate concern of government. Whereas the various church parties of the period differed over the acceptable level of government involvement in ecclesiastical affairs, there was unanimity over the role of the centre in promoting general literacy and access to scripture. However, it was education, and in particular the provision of suitable national grammar texts, which preoccupied the government until the 1630s.⁷⁸

The first attempt by the government to create a national curriculum for education was just before the Reformation. In 1559 the schoolmaster and grammarian William Niddrie was awarded a ten year licence to publish a variety of school texts, but unfortunately nothing came of the initiative.⁷⁹ The Latin grammar of the Louvain based Johannes Despauterius dominated Niddrie's plans and school usage after the Reformation.⁸⁰ In the 1570s, under the regency of

⁷⁸ For a detailed account of grammar publishing see John Durkan, 'Education: The Laying of Fresh Foundations' [Durkan, 'Education'] in John MacQueen (ed.), *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, (1990), 123-160 and Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing', 29-30, 31-33, 47, 62-65 which relies heavily on the former. Also of interest is John Durkan, 'Education in the century of the Reformation' [Durkan, 'Education in the Reformation'] in *Innes Review*, x, no.1, (1959), 67-90.

⁷⁹ RSS, v. pt.1, 143-4, no. 658. The programme included histories and language books for French, Greek, English, Scots, and Latin. Durkan, 'Education', 133 and 'Education in the Reformation', 74.

⁸⁰ Booksellers inventories from the 1570s confirm the preeminence of Despauterius. See testaments of Thomas Bassandyne (1579) and Robert Smyth (1604), for example, printed

Morton, the government began to look afresh at the availability of suitable school books. Subsequently, in December 1575, an academic advisory committee was established by the privy council, headed by George Buchanan, to consider the adoption of a single national grammar.⁸¹ In February 1575/6 master George Young, though not part of the committee, was granted a ten year licence for the new grammar 'quhilk [was] now to be sett out to be used universallie'.⁸² The result of these deliberations was Andrew Simson's *First Rudiments* (printed simultaneously in Edinburgh and Antwerp, 1580), and James Carmichael's etymology *Second Part of Latin Grammar (Grammatica Latinae Liber Second)*(Cambridge, 1587). All was based on Despauterius, and Simson's work became one of the most printed texts of the period.

Progress was patchy over the remaining parts of the project. Simson composed the *Second Rudiments* in the 1580s, although our earliest knowledge of an edition is from the inventory of Robert Smyth dated 1602.⁸³ These elements of the 'regency' national grammar, including Buchanan's unfinished *De prosodia lebellus*,(1594), the third section, continued to be studied after the union of the crowns. However, a parliamentary 'academic committee' approved Alexander Hume's *Grammaticae Nova* as a replacement in 1612 - it was Scotland's first single volume grammar. Unfortunately, the first printing that year proved to be the last. Scholars, schoolmasters and jealous academics disliked the text. From 1623 to 1633 the government regularly considered an alternative until, in

in Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 292-305; 482-4. Durkan, 'Education', 136.

⁸¹ RPC, i, 2, 478. Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing ', 32. citing Christopher Upton, 'Studies in Scottish Latin', (Ph.D, St. Andrews,1984), 95.

⁸² SRO. PS. 1. 43. 55r and Lee, *Memorials*, appendix iv.

⁸³ No copy is extant. A licence was granted to the Edinburgh and royal bookbinder James Gibson in 1590 for both the First and Second 'Dunbar rudiments', as Simson's texts were called, which at least suggests his second work was published in the 1590s. SRO. PS. 1. 75, 127; Aldis, 'Thomas Finlason', 2.

competition before yet another education committee, a third Hume edition was defeated by David Wedderburn's simpler *A Short Introduction to Grammar* (1631).⁸⁴ Wedderburn was granted a twenty-one year licence but his text was only strongly recommended. Ironically, by the time a complete and satisfactory grammar had been introduced the capacity for compulsion had diminished in practical terms. Prescription under James VI gave way to recommendation under Charles I, and then scholastic freedom under Charles II. With the Restoration grammars old and new proliferated. The government was happy to provide copyright protection for grammars, as it did with James Kirkwood's successful grammars from the 1670s, but not prescription.⁸⁵

The law was the other great secular arm of state publishing.⁸⁶ Although various commissions dating back to James I were established to facilitate the distribution of laws and legal texts, the first major and successful effort was a commission set up by parliament in 1566 which included the lawyers Edward Henryson and James Balfour of Pittendreich, briefly clerk register. In the previous year the printer Robert Lekpreuik was granted a seven year licence to print the acts of

⁸⁴ Durkan, 'Education', 140-1; *RPC*, i, 8, 445; *RPC*, i, 9, 272-3, 275. For the 1607 education commission see *APS*, iv, c.9, 374; *RPC*, i, 9, 414; *RPC*, i, 13, 264-5; 318-9; *RPC*, ii, 3, 596-7; ii, 4, 155, 163, 168-9; Durkan, 'Education', 148-9. For attacks on Wedderburn's grammar by Robert Williamson, schoolmaster and grammarian, see Durkan, 'Education', 147-9; *RPC*, ii, 4, 310, 493-4, 500-1.

⁸⁵ *RPC*, iii, 4, 292; Durkan, 'Education', 130.

⁸⁶ For early legislation to circulate statutes in manuscript see *APS*, ii, c.4 230, c.20, 227 (1491). For a summary of philosophical background to the published law of Scotland, and the role played by key Scots lawyers before 1625 see John W. Cairns, T. David Fergus and Hector L. MacQueen, 'Legal Humanism and the History of Scots Law: John Skene and Thomas Craig' [Cairns, 'Legal Humanism'] in MacQueen, *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, 48-67. No attempt will be made to trace the intellectual history of the law of Scotland in this kind of depth. Also of general use is G. Donaldson, 'The Legal Profession in Scottish Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Juridical Review* 21 (1976), 1-19.

parliament, and the origins of the commission may be in 1565. In any case, rather too much has been made of the Catholic proclivities of the 'legal circle', as, it is claimed, exemplified by the first edition of the acts of parliament printed in October 1566 which contained some old anti-Protestant legislation. This first edition was quickly removed from circulation and replaced by an impression of acceptable Reformation credentials, but the 'legal circle' should be lauded for impressive editorial work and not personal religious beliefs - they were first and foremost lawyers. The licence granted to Edward Henryson for printing the acts was not indicative of the power of this Catholic cell, and the decision to place the rights in the hands of the legal commission was purely an administrative device to control the printing of the law.⁸⁷ Until 1707, the clerk register would retain the responsibility to authorise on behalf of government the printing of statutes.

The use of parliamentary commissions to review law publication became common after the Reformation, just as it was over the national grammar. The law commission established in 1575 extended consideration to printing decisions of the court of session, as well as law and parliamentary statute, although session decision books would not become a flood until the 1680s.⁸⁸ A century before, an important two decade phase of government law publishing began in the early 1590s. The key individual behind this new phase was Sir John Skene of Curriehill (c.1543-1617), clerk register from 1594 to 1612. Skene was a member of the new law commission established in 1592 which led to the publication, and compulsory purchase regulations, of a new edition of post-1424 acts, *The Lawes And Actes of Parliament* (Waldegrave, 1597). This new edition also contained an appended

⁸⁷ APS, i, 29; RSS, v, pt.1, 564, no.1987; John Durkan, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots' in 'Mary Stewart, Queen in Three Kingdoms', *Innes Review* xxxviii (1987), 77-78; Julian Goodare, 'Queen Mary's Catholic Interlude' *ibid.*, 160 and Michael Lynch, 'Introduction' to above 'Mary Stewart, Queen in Three Kingdoms', 27; Cairns, 'Legal Humanism', 50-51.

⁸⁸ APS, iii, 89.

commentary and glossary, written by Skene, entitled *De Verborum Significatione*, intended as an aid to the use of the great *Regiam Majestatem*, still only available in manuscript. This points to a grander project - the publication of *Regiam Majestatem* in printed Scots and Latin editions in 1609.⁸⁹ In spite of the editing, production and financial difficulties, relieved by a special stent agreed by parliament, the credit must go to Skene for succeeding in completing one of the most significant events of state publishing in the early modern period.⁹⁰

The confirmation of the law printing licensing powers of the clerk register had a particular context in the 1670 and 1680s.⁹¹ Agnes Campbell claimed she had the right, as king's printer, to print the acts and in 1681 resented the incursion of the clerk register's licensee David Lindsay. However, the independent authority of the clerk was confirmed and Campbell lost the case. In future years she was actually authorised to print statutes, but the privy council maintained a close watch on her activities issuing her with fixed prices for the sale of various editions of acts and abridged minutes in 1698, 1701, 1702 and 1705.⁹² Managing the distribution of the statutes of the nation was a curious mixture of grand publishing initiative and small detail.

⁸⁹ For Skene see Cairns, 'Legal Humanism', 52-56; *APS*, i, 31-2. For the collation of the 1597 acts see Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 436-8 and for *De Verborum* see G. Donaldson, 'A "Mixed Edition" of *De Verborum Significatione*', *The Bibliotheca*, 2-3, (1959-62), 219-20. For general thoughts on *Regium Majestatem* see A.A.M. Duncan, 'Regiam Majestatem: a Reconsideration', *Juridical Review*, 6, (1961), 199-217. *APS*, iv, c.9, 165.

⁹⁰ *APS*, iv, c.16, 378; *RPC*, i, 8, 55-6; *ibid.*, 534-5; Couper, 'Copyright in Scotland', 52; *RPC*, i, 8, 358; Cairns, 'Legal Humanism', 51-56.

⁹¹ The likes of A.L. Murray, 'The Lord Clerk Register', *SHR*, liii, (1974), 124-56 is of no help in consideration of the clerk register's role as a publisher.

⁹² *APS*, viii, c.147, 206; *RPC*, iii, 6, 418-9; *RPC*, iii, 7, 257; *APS*, ix, appendix 76a. and PC.1.49, 127; PC. 2.27, 141v (October 1698: Acts of parliament of King William priced at 58 shillings scots or 5 shillings sterling); PC.1.52, 199 (March 1701: acts of eighth and ninth sessions of parliament at 'half a crown'); PC.1.52, 431 (August 1702: acts of the last

We would expect that another major area of state publishing activity would be in the field of scripture and liturgy. In the main, however, such initiatives were taken by the clergy and the crown rather than the executive. Thus the introduction of the controversial Service Book in the late 1630s resulted from the editorial work and scheming of a small number of senior clergy and councillors, and that of the catechism *God and the King* ten years before by an even more minute group, headed by King James himself. The major religious publishing projects are considered in chapter 2, but what can be emphasised for government is the role as enabler. The regent Moray, who had been a patron of Protestant volumes and liturgy from the press of Lekpreuik, gave a gift under the privy seal to the same printer to produce Scotland's first domestic bible printing. No such project materialised due to the financial costs and the disruption of the Marian civil war. The government took more comprehensive legislative measures in support of the Bassandyne/Arbuthnet Geneva Bible of 1579. The general assembly and printers produced a remarkably complex subscription strategy in March 1575, involving the clergy collecting subscription money in advance, and the privy council under the regency of Morton immediately gave full support with an act of council that almost exactly duplicated these plans. The government granted the printers a ten year licence in June 1576 and helped chase the delivery of finished copies.⁹³

The involvement of the government in subsequent scripture publishing was small. The process of creating a new translation of the Bible, the 'Authorised King James Bible', was not a matter which preoccupied the Scottish executive. There were, however, two incidents after the Restoration which found the privy council

parliament at '20 shillings Scots'); PC.1.53, 430 (November 1705: acts of the last parliament to be sold at £1 and 10 shillings scots). It is very difficult to determine the link between prices and the particular value of the texts.

⁹³ RSS, vi, 53, no.230; SRO. PS. 1. 43, 57r; RPC, i,2, 544-6, 582-3. For a summary of the subscription arrangements see Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 275-88 and Dobson, *History of the Bassandyne Bible*, 101-122.

considering scripture yet again. Firstly, in 1671 the printer Andrew Anderson, not yet king's printer, was censured and fined by the council for printing a hopelessly inaccurate New Testament.⁹⁴ The other incident concerned the publication of Gaelic bibles and New Testaments in 1692. The books had already been printed in London, and Queen Mary had advised the privy council to acquire the books for distribution to the Gaelic community. The council agreed to purchase the stock using revenue from vacant stipends.⁹⁵

As well as with scripture the government acted as an enabler for the publication of the Psalms and other editions of liturgy. Catechisms, confessions of faith, and the Book of Common Order came swiftly and effusively from the press of Lekpreuik in the 1560s. The same printer was licensed to print the Psalms in Scots metre in 1565, and from the 1570s the government prescribed the Psalms in tandem with the Bible. Indeed, the Psalms became one of the most frequent and profitable lines of printing thereafter, while it was not until the late 1630s that bible and New Testament editions came from Scotland's presses with any regularity. The first major liturgical prescription since the Reformation was crown imposition of the school catechism *God and the King* in 1616, (see chapters 1 and 2). The initiative for liturgy moved decisively from privy council to king and bishops. The decision of the 1618 general assembly at Perth to adopt a new prayer book and new book of canons, as proposed by the Aberdeen assembly of 1616, and the missive from the king of September 1618, left the council to merely rubber-stamp these decisions the following month.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ For details of the banned New Testament case of 1671 see *RPC*, iii, 3, 265, and *ibid.*, 292, 682. The complaint was first made by James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews. See letter Alexander Bruce, second earl of Kincardine, to the earl of Lauderdale dated 12 January. Hist. MSS, Commission. 72. Laing MSS. I. 380.

⁹⁵ SRO. PC.1.48, 322; *RPC*, iii, 16, 119; Lee, *Memorials*, appendix lxxviii. These bibles were also to be duty free. SRO. E73. 118.1.

⁹⁶ *RSS*, v, pt.1, 564, no.1987; *RPC*, i, 10, 521-2, and *ibid.*, 530-1, 534-8; SRO. PS.1.85, 243r-247v; *RPC*, i, 11, 392; *RPC*, i, 12, 42; *ibid.*, 118-9; *ibid.*, 229; *ibid.*, 601; 13, 114-5; *ibid.*, 145; *RPC*, ii, 1, 433; *RPC*, ii, 6, 352-3 and 448-9.

The last major government involvement in liturgical publishing was in the period of 'covenanter theocracy' when the Anglo-Scottish Directory of Public Worship was published in the 1640s. After the editorial negotiations had been completed in Westminster, the commissioners of the general assembly made sure that the government supported the licensing and prescription of the Directory. Thus a convention of estates, in February 1645, approved the use of the Directory and ratified the decision of the general assembly of the same month. Before the end of the year the government was asked to help outlaw unrevised versions, that is those printed in England, and any rogue abridgements.⁹⁷ It is one of the ironies of presbyterianism that, especially at its zenith, it constructed an earthbound separation of the religious and secular, and yet always sought the approval and legitimacy for its action through secular law. This was particularly the case in the publishing and financing of liturgy and scripture.

The context of government publishing was often national prestige, and yet some prestigious projects were stillborn. Since 1592, and for the following half century, the church had from time to time reflected on the need for a comprehensive and authorised history of the kirk and kingdom. In the 1640s the general assembly wrestled with the problems of selecting an author and funding the work. In 1645 a copyright grant was made in the name of the minister Robert Boyd, who seems to have been appointed editor, and parliament also accepted in 1649 that it should fund the venture, to prevent 'posteritie [being] abused'. An author's salary of £200 scots per month was agreed in June of that year. Two months later the general assembly chose John Livingstone as 'national author', but the defeat against Cromwell necessitated a re-think. Surprisingly, in what may have been a culturally magnanimous gesture, the council of state at Whitehall in

⁹⁷ *APS*, vi, pt.1. c.60, 309 and c.14, 446; SRO. PA. 11/4. Register of the Committee of Estates, 1645-46, 46r-v.

late October 1651 conceded that a committee should be appointed to select a suitable author for a history of Scotland.⁹⁸

The publishing of maps of Scotland, and particularly the printing of the maps of Timothy Pont in the *Atlas Novus* (Amsterdam, 1654) and *Atlas Major* (Amsterdam, 1662) from the press of Johan Blaeu, shows more productive engagement by the government.⁹⁹ The publishing network involved in the preparation and editing of the maps and text descriptions was extensive on both sides of the North Sea. When Scottish authority participated it was more usually the clergy, at general assembly and local level, and the town councils who were active, although Charles I did encourage the cartographers in 1629 and 1641, parliament gave them immunities from taxes and public duties in 1646 and 1647, and the government of Cromwell provided copyright in 1654.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the contrast with the endless central debate over funding for, and copyright over, the surveys of John Adair from the 1680s, and the relative silence over the Pont/Blaeu atlas is

⁹⁸ No such work materialised and covenanters and Cromwellians alike would have to wait for Calderwood's *History*, published in Holland in 1678, before a national history, undoubtedly comprehensive but hardly authorised, was distributed. *APS*, vi, pt.1, c73, 323; *APS*, vi, ii, 262, 296; *ibid.*, 746. See chapter 2.

⁹⁹ See Jeffrey C. Stone, *The Pont Maps of Scotland: Sixteenth century origins of a Blaeu atlas*, (Tring, 1989), 5. Other important and fairly recent commentaries on the Blaeu atlas in relation to Scotland include D. G. Moir, 'A History of Scottish Maps', in Moir (ed.), *The Early Maps of Scotland to 1850*. (third edition, 2 vols), (Royal Scottish Geographical Society, 1973), i, 1-156; D. G. Moir and R. A. Skelton, 'New Light on the First Atlas of Scotland', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 84. no.3, (1968), 148-59; and David Stevenson, 'Cartography and the Kirk: Aspects of the Making of the First Atlas of Scotland' *Scottish Studies*, 26, (1982), 1-12.

¹⁰⁰ C. Roger (ed.), *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters*, 339; 'The Straloch Papers' (Correspondence of Robert Gordon) in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, i, (Aberdeen, 1841), 11, and Moir and Skelton, 'New Light on the First Atlas of Scotland', 155.; *APS*, vi, i, 637b; *APS*, vi, i, c.280, 736-7 (12 March, 1647); *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1654 (1880), 158; Moir, *Early Maps of Scotland*, 49, 51. For the various licences see preliminary matter to *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus. Pars Quinta*. (Amsterdam, 1654).

stark indeed. The registers of the privy council, and numerous sub-committees, are peppered with detailed references to Adair and his coastal and landward projects. Much of this was due to his persistence in claiming finance from taxation and tunnage rates; his disputes with Robert Sibbald (1641-1722), geographer royal from 1682, over their absurd and contradictory royal gifts to prepare maps, and the rival claims of Adair and John Slezer, author of *Theatrum Scotiae* (London, 1693) an engraved book of views of Scottish buildings and burghs, to funds for their various survey projects.¹⁰¹

Ironically the greatest show of national pride, as reflected in state publishing, arose in the four years before the parliamentary union of 1707. Since the early 1690s the Scottish parliament had shown itself to be decisively a legislature and not a virtual branch of the executive, and this made it increasingly difficult for crown officers to control. In the reign of King William lively political pamphleteering that was pro-Jacobite, resentful at English interference, aggrieved at the Darien fiasco and generally critical of the executive was well established, and ready for the debate over union.¹⁰² Parliament was, by 1702 receptive to these emotions of 'nationalism'. A century before there were printed tracts and manuscripts supporting and criticising the union proposals of James VI, but after the death of King William in March 1702 the crown was faced by complex party politics in parliament, and a much more extended and uncontrollable Scottish press in the country, neither of which existed in 1603. In view of this, the successful political management of parliamentary union was all the more remarkable.

Although private tracts on the merits of union had been published before 1703, this year was crucial to the collapse of Anglo-

¹⁰¹ For details of Adair and Slezer see 'A Collection of Papers relating to the Geographical Description, Maps and Charts of Scotland by John Adair FRS. Geographer for the Kingdom of Scotland, 1686-1723' and 'A Collection of Papers relating to the *Theatrum Scotiae* and 'History and Present State of Scotland' by Capt. John Slezer, 1693-1707', in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, iii, (1855).

¹⁰² For Darien pamphlets see chapter 6.

Scottish government relations and the initial false-start for the union scheme.¹⁰³ By 1705 matters deteriorated even further after the Alien Act and the 'Worcester affair', the latter producing an effusion of printed pamphlets which mostly condoned the harsh treatment of the English seamen.¹⁰⁴ That summer parliament was outraged to come across two offensive anti-Scottish tracts written by William Atwood, called *The Superiority and Direct Dominion of the Imperial Crown of England, over the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland* and *The Scots Patriot unmasked*. Both pamphlets were ordered to be destroyed in August, and the same month the government set about financing a pro-Scottish 'nationalist' publishing campaign. Firstly James Hodges, who had already written tracts doubting the value of the union on economic grounds, was awarded £4800 scots for producing works complimentary to the ancient kingdom of Scotland, including his *First Treatise on the Rights and Interests of the Two British Monarchies* (1705). Also, James Anderson, writer to the signet, was given the thanks of parliament and awarded £4800 scots for composing his book entitled *Ane Historicall Essay shewing that the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is imperial and independent* (1705). The following month an impost of ale was set for Glasgow, a delight for the burgh population no

¹⁰³ For an account of the ebb and flow of Anglo-Scottish relations and the union negotiations see K. Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, 181-188 and for a straightforward political account William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (1968), 36-69.

¹⁰⁴ The 'informations' included: *The Trial of Captain Thomas Green and his Crew, Pursued before the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty of Scotland; The Last Speech and Dying Words of Captain Thomas Green; Some Cursory Remarks on a Late Printed Paper called the Last Speeches ... and Captain Thomas Green's Last Farewell to the Ocean and All the World, who was execute with Two More of his Crew ... 1 April 1705, for Piracie and Murder*, all printed in 1705. Future bibliographical work may shed interesting light on the responsible press, but that of the king's printer is a strong possibility.

doubt, to raise £3600 scots to enable Anderson to prepare an account of the ancient charters and seals of Scotland.¹⁰⁵

In spite of agreement in autumn 1705 to allow Queen Anne to nominate union commissioners, the 'nationalist' press continued. In November parliament appointed a committee to investigate the progress on Anderson's tome. This committee consisted of David Boyle, earl of Glasgow, lord Balmerino, Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Sir Patrick Johnston and Sir David Dalrymple. This group of lawyers and union sceptics reflected the desire to produce a constitutional record and symbol of Scotland as state as well as nation. The sense of confused objectives continued, with the articles of union being debated in parliament, and extreme anti-union tracts suppressed, while a pamphlet asserting the dependency of the crown and kingdom of Scotland on England was summarily destroyed. Even as parliament entered its final months the 'Anderson committee' reported in February 1706 on the need to supply Anderson with additional funds. A few weeks later it was agreed to impose a further impost of ale, this time on the drinkers of the burgh of Dundee, in order to raise a further £12000 scots per year.¹⁰⁶

It is puzzling to reflect on government commitment to publish this final volume of national iconography. The involvement of union sceptics in the publishing programme in these few years, both as editors and authors, leads us to speculate on the covert levels of informal and formal assistance offered by the government and privy council to opponents of the union project. The shadow of sceptical lawyers may well lie behind the issuing of the likes of George Ridpath's printing of Thomas Craig's *Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted* (1695), and the printing of Mackenzie of Rosehaugh's *Argument Against an Incorporating Union Particularly Considered* (1706), both

¹⁰⁵ APS, xi, 221b and appendix 81.b; *ibid.*, 221b, 244a, 297a; *ibid.*, 245b and 299a; *ibid.*, 306b. Anderson's *Diplomata* concerning the charters and seals of Scotland was not published until 1739.

¹⁰⁶ APS, xi, 319b; *ibid.*, 344b, 355 and 357; *ibid.*, 427b and 429a; *ibid.*, 479b.

posthumously published. Authors such as Hodges and William Black may well have had anonymous noble and parliamentary patrons. What is clear is that the combination of the official publishing and censorship policies of the administration from 1702 to 1707 is a manifestation of the schizophrenia of a government whose natural instincts were to prevent dissent, but also to assert independence and ancient legitimacy. Many of those who voted for the union must have done so with a heavy heart.

Disciplined Reading : regulation quantified

Scotland's state publishing and propaganda were motivated by desires to emphasise the majesty of government and to convey the message of policy. These themes are essentially concerned with authoritarianism. An additional, and more blatant weapon of authority was book prescription. Good discipline in the life of the nation in the secular and religious spheres required the setting of suitable national texts. Government, via act of privy council or parliament, and occasionally on the initiative of the crown, legislated to provide standardised reading matter which, of course, represented extremely desirable book property for copy holders, booksellers and printers.

The first major phase of secular prescription was in the 1590s. It was in 1593, ratified in 1597, as seen above, that Scotland's first national grammar was prescribed, and this was followed by the setting of other editions in 1611 and 1632. In the field of the law, landed gentry and nobles and local and central jurists had, since the fifteenth century, been expected to equip themselves with copies of statutes. Nevertheless, the first prescription and enforcement for the purchasing of printed acts of parliament was in June 1598.¹⁰⁷ This, of course, reflected on the wishes of the government to distribute knowledge of statute law, but it also coincided with the recent 'Parliamentary Bishops' act (1597), and that phase in James's 'Scottish reign' when he was able to marginalise political Catholicism and presbyterianism. There was a particular requirement at this time to publish 'his law' for the kirk.

The forceful prescription of liturgy has a poor history of success in early modern Scotland. The catechism *God and the King*, prescribed in

¹⁰⁷ RPC, i, 5, 110-12; APS, iv, c.77, 157; RPC, i, 9, 272-3; RPC, ii, 4, 500-1; APS, iv, c.9, 165.

1616, met with a mixed reception in the country, while the Service Book of 1636/7 became, of course, the stuff of revolution. Carrying the clergy with any new innovation was imperative for blanket national coverage. The catechism of Calvin and printings of the Confession of Faith were distributed widely because they were supported by the majority of the clergy from the Reformation. The emphasis on continued covert Catholicism by some historians should not disguise the broad picture that clerical Scotland, presbyterian or episcopalian, was overwhelmingly Calvinist after the 1570s and, therefore, presented a receptive market for 'correct' liturgy, prescribed or recommended. Moreover, where religious books by command were accompanied by acceptable quality, and not too much compulsion, prescribed texts could become reasonably popular. The 'King James Psalms', belatedly authorised by act of privy council in 1637, and the focus of attacks by David Calderwood, was nonetheless widely employed simultaneously with the 'old' Sternhold and Hopkin version in use since the Reformation. Even more admired was the 'King James Bible' which, although technically imposed by church canon law in 1636, was never enforced by secular government, by act of privy council or parliament.¹⁰⁸ On the ground Geneva bibles continued to be imported, purchased and read though none were printed in Scotland after Hart's admirable Geneva of 1610. By the 1670s the 'Authorised Version' had become dominant by a gradual process not a sudden revolution.

Mandatory liturgy was capable of breaking the consensual approach of Scottish society to the expansion of reading. Nevertheless, in the area of scripture and the holy psalms, a century of consensus survived the buffeting of a wide spectrum of political and religious regimes. Under the regency of Morton the first steps were taken to prescribe the domestic ownership of bibles and psalm books. In October 1579, just after the delivery of the completed Bassandyne/Arbuthnet bible, parliament passed an act such that all householders of yearly rent

¹⁰⁸ Both would be replaced by the text authorised by the Westminster assembly in 1650. *RPC*, i, 10, 534-8; *RPC*, ii, 6, 352-3; *RPC*, ii, 6, 409-10. For Calderwood attack on psalms and 1650 Westminster edition see chapter 2.

of 300 merks, or possessing £500 scots value of land or goods, must possess a bible and psalm book 'in thair home for the better instruction of thame selffs and thair families in the knowledge of God'. Local bailies and magistrates, and those with the king's commission, were to make a yearly check and fine the recalcitrant £10, two thirds of which was to go to the poor of the parish. Parliament ratified these measures in 1581, but the previous year the privy council made the connection between household observance and a drive against vice, sabbath-breaking and blasphemy. Parish commissioners were appointed, on the recommendation of 'bishops, superintendents and commissioners of that diocese or country' to enforce statutes against failure to attend divine service; against cursing, working, drinking and playing cards on Sundays, and prescribed ownership of bible and psalms. The commissions were to continue for one year.¹⁰⁹ The combination of annual commissions and continual anxiety for the virtue of the nation led the privy council and parliament to return to household observance again and again. The unanimity of the clergy was matched by that of the estates and organs of local and national government.¹¹⁰

This did not mean, of course, that religious politics was removed from the means of selecting commissioners. The importance placed on household observance was re-emphasised in 1595 when new parish commissioners were selected to take the fight to the sin and vice of the people. Appropriately, in this high-point of presbyterianism, it was the parish ministers, not the clerical hierarchy, who would now make nominations. The issue was returned to in 1622, and in more episcopalian times, when the privy council ordained that diocesan bishops nominate parish justices for the punishment of vice and to ensure household ownership of scripture. However, fresh appointments were required by July 1625, and the police powers of the justices were extended to a wide range of deviant

¹⁰⁹ *APS*, iii, c.10, 139 and c.11, 211a; *RPC*, i, 3, 266.

¹¹⁰ For Edinburgh council appointments of searchers for psalms and bibles see *ECR*, vi, 90 (October, 1580) and 95 (November, 1580); *ECR*, vi, 96 (November, 1580). For similar government appointments see *RSS*, vii, 392-3 (June 1580); *RPC*, i, 3, 484-5 (April, 1580).

social and personal behaviour, of which the non-possession of scripture was only a part. Strangely the power of nomination, confirmed only a few months after the death of King James, returned to parish ministers. The covenanters introduced new commissioners in 1642, as did the government of Charles II in 1663.¹¹¹ Indeed, the Restoration government made the parish ministers and three gentlemen of the parish responsible for enforcing the laws against vice, in a notable shift to secular participation. But the fact that Charles II's government, unlike that of his father and grandfather, abandoned all attempts to enforce liturgy, yet still held to household book observance, is indicative of the resonance of that personal experience of the word of God believed to be so vital by the fathers of the Reformation. The prescriptive approach of the Scottish government provided a positive, though unquantifiable, stimulus to reading throughout the land and helped retain the place of scripture as the first port of call for Scottish readers.

The Scottish government proved a more effective enabler than enforcer of strict regulation. Courts were available to provide an arbitration service for trade disputes and many such cases came before a hard-pressed privy council, although from the 1670s increasingly to the court of session. As economic policy was modulated in the 1670s, the government reduced book trade monopoly, but typically sustained import protectionism where identical Scottish editions were under threat. Meanwhile, duties and taxes on literacy were, though regrettable, quite modest compared to England. The licensing of printing, like the provision of copyright, was an administrative service to confer legality and legitimacy on the trade of respectable book traders. As a means of censorship, licensing became an anachronism by the mid seventeenth century. Especially from the Restoration licensing breaches became a symptom when the disease was political criticism. This can be viewed as indirect enablement by the government through the acceptance that policing the entirety of the book trade was impossible, and of course government had better

¹¹¹ *RPC*, i, 5, 200; *RPC*, i, 12, 646; *RPC*, ii, 1, 93; *RPC*, ii, 7, 357; *RPC*, iii, 1, 471-2.

things to do than license every bawdy ballad. Government regulation by the end of our period had become an odd mixture of *laissez-faire* for the innocuous and authoritarianism for the unacceptable.

Chapter 6

Government Censorship in Early Modern Scotland

The Traditional Context

All governments of all nations, before and after the advent of printing, have used censorship as a deterrent to fight unwarranted criticism, sedition or unacceptable religious and political views. For this reason it is disappointing that so little Scottish historiography has focused on this subject.¹ Meanwhile English historians have provided their familiar deluge, and other European countries have developed their own historiographies in parallel.² The search for comment on

¹ For some narrow consideration of censorship in Scotland see Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 315-337; J. Buckroyd, '*Mercurius Caledonius* and its immediate successors, 1661', *SHR*, liv, (1975), 11-21, and Steele, 'Anti-jacobite pamphleteering, 1701-1720', 140-55, although almost exclusively concerned with London printings. Much, of course, is to be found in Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, and Lee, *Memorials*, both *passim*. The most recent research to consider government censorship is J. Goodare's 'Parliament and society in Scotland, 1560-1603', (PhD, Edinburgh, 1989) in his chapter entitled 'Social Control', 346-404. Goodare provides a narrative account of the suppression of ideas, verbal, manuscript and printed, before 1603, although censorship is largely conflated with propaganda and discipline and not distinctly considered. Goodare also delivered an interesting paper at the Association of Scottish Historical Studies symposium (1987) entitled 'Propaganda, Censorship and the State, 1560-1603'.

² The standard English study is Fredrick S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776*, (Urbana, 1952), now modified in its traditional emphasis on the Stationers' Company by the perceptive analysis of Sheila Lambert in 'State control of the press in theory and practice: the role of the Stationers' Company before 1640' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (eds). *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France, 1600-1910*, (Winchester, 1992), 1-32 and her 'The Printers and the Government, 1604-40',

the Scottish dimension in such titles as 'Censorship and the Press in Britain' leads us to the incontrovertible conclusion that Scotland did not exist before 1707!

The legal basis for censorship in Scotland, as in England, rested on two long-standing traditions.³ The first of these was the law of heresy, generally the preoccupation of canon law before the sixteenth century. Lollards and the followers of John Wyclif, the editor of the first complete English translation of the Bible, became the targets of inquisitorial church courts in England and Scotland from the late fourteenth century. Thus James Resby, an English Lollard priest, was tried and condemned a heretic at Perth in 1406/7 and, in the first known example of religious prosecution and Protestant martyrdom in Scotland, was burnt along with his books. Subsequently, in legislation which mirrored an English statute of 1401, and an act of 1414 which confirmed the authority of the English clergy to punish the makers and writers of heretical books, the Scottish parliament produced its own anti-heresy law in 1425. Under this legislation, though this time

in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (eds). *Aspects of Printing from 1660*, (Oxford, 1987), 1-23. See also David Loades, *Politics, Censorship and the English Reformation*, (London/New York, 1991), 99-147 and G.C. Gibbs, 'Government and the English Press, 1695 to the Middle of the Eighteenth century' in *Too Mighty to be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands*, (The Hague, 1987), 87-106. This book also contains an excellent analysis of the press of The Netherlands in S. Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors? States Assemblies and Censorship in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', 63-86. For Dutch printing law see Sprunger (2), 37-45. For generalised considerations of English censorship throughout the centuries see Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*, (London, 1965) and John Feather, *British Publishing*, passim. Feather's more recent *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: an Historical Study of Copyright in Britain* (London, 1994), an impressive review of copyright, also provides much useful information on censorship although again it is English before the eighteenth century.

³ For the notion of mediaeval precedent in England see David Loades, 'The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Politics, Censorship and the English Reformation*, 97.

without fatal results, the so called 'Lollards of Kyle' were investigated in 1494.⁴ After Martin Luther's revolt began in 1517, it was soon necessary for Scotland's parliament to support the church in the suppression of Lutheran works. The import of such books was forbidden in 1525, with forty-one days given for offending texts to be placed in the hands of the local bishop. Imprisonment and confiscation of goods and ship were the penalties. When these measures were ratified in 1536 the 'use, keep or selle' of the works of Luther were also criminalised.⁵ Before the Reformation canon and secular law united against undesirable religious ideas and the books that propagated them - so it would remain after 1560. Whatever the debate concerning the degree of political and clerical transformation ushered in by Reformation, the topic of religious censorship was ever-present, subject to precedent under the old church.

The second essential strand of censorship law was the law against 'leasing-making', comparable to the English crime of *scandalum magnatum*. This was indeed a 'notorious catch-all law' which provided governments with a wide scope for prosecution and punishment. Essentially, 'leasing-making' was the spreading of harmful ideas and untruths fomenting discord between the king, his government and the people. As the statute law evolved in the late medieval period leasing-making was conflated with 'lese-majeste', a vaguely defined crime of offending the dignity of the king. In fact in Scotland the statutory crime of leasing-making dates back to 1318 when makers of tales leading to discord between the king and his people were threatened with imprisonment. In 1424 leasing-making became a capital offence, effectively treason, along with the confiscation of all goods, and further amendments were introduced in

⁴ Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, (1974), 239-40; *ibid.*, 299-300; *ibid.*, 561-2; *APS*, ii, c.3, 7; Henry V, I, c.7 (1414); D.E. Easson, 'The Lollards of Kyle', *Juridical Review*, xlviii, 123-8.

⁵ *APS*, ii, 295 and 342; *RPC*, i, 1, 63 (1546) and David Patrick, (ed.), *Statutes of the Scottish Church* (1907), statute 220 'For the extirpation of heresies' (1549), 123; *APS*, ii, c.12, 415.

1524, 1526 and 1540 with, for example, the wilful raising of fire being classified as a crime against the king's person. From the 1550s the crime of leasing-making became synonymous with slander, spoken, written or printed, of the crown and government.⁶

That slandering the crown was considered treasonous is seen in the severe penalties available to the courts. In April 1567 an act was passed against 'slandorous placards' critical of Queen Mary, and even the discoverers of such notes had to destroy them under pain of death. In December 1585, days after the overthrow of the earl of Arran, the new government passed a statute against leasing-makers, and especially 'authors' of spoken or written criticism. Again the penalty was death.⁷

In response to the flurry of criticism of James VI's moderate policies towards the Catholic earls, the capital legislation against leasing-making was re-emphasised in 1593, the target being libels dispersed during the session of parliament. Also, in the following year a broad and detailed statute summarised the earlier statute law, particularly that of 1585 against the 'slander of His Majesties person', and added the crime of hearing slanders but failing to denounce them. The crown always retained discretion over punishment. The minister David Black was charged with leasing-making in 1596 and, while

⁶ Loades, 'The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth-Century England', 97. In England written or verbal abuse of the king could be construed as treason from 1352; Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, 62; Goodare, 'Parliament and Society', 354; APS, i, c.21, 42 (1318); ii, c.22, 8 (1424); ii, 52 (1457); ii, c.60, supp. 40b (1524); ii, c.18, 360 (1540); ii, c.39, 499 (1557).

⁷ APS, ii, c.8, 552 (1567); iii, c.1, 375 (1585) ratified in June 1594. The regent Morton has been accused of extra-legal activity in 1579 when he executed two authors, the Edinburgh schoolmaster Turnbull and notary William Scott, for a rhyme accusing the regent of conspiring in the murder of the chancellor, the earl of Atholl. His actions, however, appear entirely lawful according to the law of leasing-making. Goodare, 'Parliament and Society', 359 and *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i, 126. Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 271.

relations between kirk and crown were very poor that year and anti-government sermons were added to the list of criminal slanders, Black was imprisoned and banished, not hanged.⁸ These lesser punishments became the norm for clerical offenders.

The year 1596 also saw a new definition of slander against the crown - it was now regarded as seditious. This is reflected in the 1640 act 'anent the Large Declaration or Manifesto' for whom the authors and spreaders were to be punished 'according to the lawis of this kingdome against lesing makaris [as] raisers of sedition and discord'. Similarly, sedition was the chief charge against those who failed to surrender to the government copies of the *Apologetical Declaration; Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland* and *Jos Populi Vindicatum*, in 1666, 1667 and 1671 respectively. In 1686 the privy council attacked seditious pamphlets and slanders against James VII, and, on the initiative of the king, re-stated the laws against leasing-making, indicating that perpetrators of sedition would do so at the 'highest peril', a vague but alarming qualification.⁹ Government measures to combat anti-government material continued after the Glorious Revolution, although execution for the crime of seditious publishing had long passed, and death for treason required the lifting of the sword as well as the pen. There was no immediate technical change in the law in 1689-90, but demands for freedom of speech in parliament enshrined in the Articles of Grievance helped encourage government moderation. When in 1703 parliament reduced the punishment for leasing-making to fines, prison and banishment with 'life and limb always preserved' they were reflecting the more lenient attitudes of the courts and privy council over the last two decades.¹⁰

The law against heresy, ungodly writings and ideas, and the laws against treasonable publishing provided the legal basis for early

⁸ RPC, i, 5, 90-1; APS, iv, c.15, 65; RPC, i, 5, 347-6; APS, iv, 101-3.

⁹ APS, v, c.5, 263 (1640); RPC, iii, 2, 138-9 and 375-6; RPC, iii, 3, 265; RPC, iii, 11, 557; RPC, iii, 12, 253 and 435.

¹⁰ APS, xi, c.4, 104 (1703)

modern censorship. These 'publications' could be in speech, manuscript, or printed text, and one of the difficulties of tracing the history of print censorship in this period is the uncertainty as to whether it was printed or manuscript slander that was the subject of specific government action. Most of what follows will concentrate on printed matter with this clear reservation over manuscripts. There is little doubt that in sixteenth-century Scotland, when domestic printing was small in scale, much propaganda and political debate was carried out in manuscript. As late as 1686 the privy council formed a committee to investigate the circulation of critical papers and lampoons in manuscript form.¹¹

English book historiography is much convinced of the dogged persistence of 'scribal publication', and Scotland can be no different. Sheila Lambert goes so far as to state that in England 'the sermon, the stage-play, the proceedings of courts, the public meeting are all, in the seventeenth century, more important than the printed word to the spread of [those] ideas' which fell under the hammer of censorship.¹² This may be generally true in Scotland, with the exception of the play, but the single most energetic new factor to have altered the spread of debate and dissent, and to have so expanded in scale in its own right, was the medium of print. Sermons were important around 1560 and after as a powerful medium that influenced dozens immediately, and thousands in due course, whereas printed sermons were capable of

¹¹ To the embarrassment of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall that year some of his servants were accused of circulating the manuscript of a verse critical of bishops and the withdrawal of penal statutes. Also, a manuscript pamphlet by John Hamilton, town clerk of Irvine, entitled *Reasons why a Consent to abolish the Penal Statutes against Papists could not be given by any who owed the then Government in Church and State* was in various 'doubles dispersed' to all in parliament. *RPC*, iii, 12, 194 and 204-5; *APS*, xi, 138-9.

¹² Harold Love, 'Scribal Publication in seventeenth-century England', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9, (1987), 130-54; D.F. Mackenzie, 'Speech-Manuscript-Print', *Library Chronicle*, 20, (1990), 87-109; Lambert, 'State control of the Press Before 1640', 6.

reaching into the far corners of the land and of shaking the very foundations of government. It is for this reason that the censorship of printing was a key government policy throughout the early modern period. Power of duplication was the new dynamic.

The Policy of Prevention

Censorship consists of two branches: *a priori* censorship or pre-publication censorship, and *a posteriori* censorship, or censorship post-publication. Groenveld describes these distinctions as preventive censorship and repressive censorship, and it is interesting to note his second definition given that post-publication censorship is the dominant system in the modern period.¹³

The most common means of preventive censorship is book licensing, and for this reason it is a major topic in censorship historiography. Ironically licensing only nibbled at the margins of censorship. Plainly an author or printer of dangerous political or nonconformist religious ideas was unlikely to submit his text for approval by the censor. For this reason licensing was far more important for the legitimate press, and as a systematic support for copyright, than an effective means of censorship. Nevertheless, this subtlety was not especially understood by sixteenth-century legislators, and so Scotland's first censorship statute, that of 1551/2, was also one of licensing. This was a generalised act which appeared to cover all manner of productions.

The statute of 1552 forbade unlicensed printing, prescribed that the 'ordinarie', that is the local bishop, took responsibility for licensing, and provided penalties for breaches in the form of confiscation and banishment. These seem mild punishments compared to those for leasing-making. However, in 1574 the regent Morton, whose government was in some alarm at the distribution of Catholic books, and required to consolidate its position, introduced much harsher measures adding the possibility of death to the penalty of confiscation, along with a register of licences and vetting by the

¹³ Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors?', 67.

chancellor. Morton in particular, although no more than James VI after 1596 and Charles II generally, saw illegal publishing as potential treason. In view of this it is noteworthy that after Morton's fall the privy council re-stated the act of 1552 in 1584, merely adding the activities of vendors and distributors to those of printers. Capital punishment was set aside, and confiscation and banishment re-imposed.¹⁴

The next important legalisation against unlicensed printing was an act of parliament of 1599. This listed a range of types of publication covered by the act, added imports to home productions, a sure sign that the puritan and Brownist press of Richard Schilders at Middelburg was of concern to King James, and reimposed the Morton sanctions. Three weeks later the harshness of this act was confirmed by the privy council, although the resort soon after to imprisonment and banishment for transporting Jesuits and their books, and for distributing false news, suggests that death remained an ultimate sanction linked to treason. The 1599 act was intended as a deterrent. Nevertheless, a privy council act of 1615, to prevent unlicensed manuscripts being despatched for printing overseas, and the council's two proclamations of 1625, either side of the death of King James, concerning book imports from Flanders and their vetting within forty eight hours of arrival, confirm that unlicensed publishers and vendors could be punished as 'raisaris of schisme [and] seditioun' and could have faced death under leasing-making law. The presbyterian presses of the Low Countries were the greatest threat to political stability in Scotland since the works of Luther, and it is no surprise that the government was willing to threaten extreme measures. Even this pales into insignificance compared with the blanket punishment of death for unlicensed printing enacted by the committee of estates during the Engagement crisis.¹⁵ Fortunately no book traders or authors

¹⁴ *APS*, ii, c.26, 488 (1551/2); *RPC*, i, 2, 387 (1574); *RPC*, i, 3, 587 (1583)

¹⁵ *APS*, iv, 187a and *RPC*, i, 6, 18 (1599); *RPC*, i, 10, 339-40 (1615); Calderwood, *History*, vii, 629 and *RPC*, ii, 1, 11-12; SRO. PA. 11/6. Register of Committee of Estates, 26.

met such a fate at this time, and the same appears true of the Cromwellian period where licensing and the appropriate punishment for breaches were at the behest of General Monk and the army.

Following the Restoration, the government was quick to provide a general enactment to underpin licensed printing. The privy council, in November 1661, provided a new act against unlawful printing with the indeterminate sanction of the 'highest peril'. This vagueness was probably necessary given the large number of cases coming before the council that year, including the former king's printer Christopher Higgins for printing *The Causes of God's Wrath*, for which he was eventually pardoned while the authors faced execution, and that of the printers Swintoun and Glen for printing covenanter books, for which they were severely warned. Indeed, the same ambiguity characterised the 1686 proclamation and privy council enactments against unlicensed printing and seditious pamphlets.¹⁶ As the book trade expanded, and the incidence of misdemeanours increased in frequency, it was simply impractical to suggest the ultimate sanction for wayward book merchants.

In January 1690, in a typical move that shows how legislation in the period tended to follow behind the practicalities of government, the 'new' privy council of William and Mary passed an enactment that made the sole focus of deviancy those books and pamphlets critical of the government. New steps were, of course, taken to enforce the licensing of such works - a new licensing committee was formed, the macers of the privy council were despatched to ensure no book merchants and printers of Edinburgh were ignorant of the law, and the king's solicitor Sir William Lockart was commissioned to spread the word to Aberdeen and Glasgow. However, the precedent of 1552 was asserted, along with the old sanctions of confiscation and banishment.¹⁷ Disagreement with the crown in print was no longer a

¹⁶ *RPC*, iii, 1, 90 (1661) and *APS*, vii, 66 for Higgins; *RPC*, iii, 1, 73; *RPC*, iii, 11, 514, 519, 557 (1686).

¹⁷ *RPC*, iii, 15, 56 (1690).

capital offence, and the general requirement for licensed printing was for contentious works only.

The above situation was reflected in the experiences of The Netherlands and England, Scotland's closest cousins in book commerce. In England the licensing role of the Stationers' Company had run into difficulties in the late 1670s and 1680s when the 1662 Printing Act expired, and finally in 1695 the registration of licences with the Company, as opposed to copyright, ceased. Thus in England pre-publication censorship effectively ended in 1695. Meanwhile, in the more liberal Netherlands a licence to print had not been a prerequisite of publication, for all but the most controversial works, since the late sixteenth century, in spite of edicts of the provinces and States General that suggest otherwise. Moreover, edicts of the province of Holland and States General removed the licensing requirement in 1650 and 1651. In practical terms licensing, though not patented copyright, had ceased in Scotland by the 1690s as the majority of the domestic presses produced a diet of educational books, almanacs, volumes of scripture and chapbooks. Censorship had not ceased but turned its attention more exclusively to current affairs, politics and the new fever for news. In April 1704 the privy council, in its last enactment over censorship, insisted that the magistrates of all printing burghs despatched to prison all those suspected of printing anti-government material, and even before interrogation.¹⁸ Respectable printers had less to fear after 1690, while castigators of *authority could still expect the wrath of the tolbooth*.

Although a modest level of licensing legislation was introduced in Scotland, the body of law for generic preventative censorship was much greater. There were a number of specific targets, the first, of

¹⁸ Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics*, 48-50; Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors?', 77, 71 and C. Cau (ed.), *Groot Placaet-Boeck, vervattende de Placaten ... vande ... Staten-Generael ende vande ... Staten van Hollandt*, (7 volumes), (The Hague, 1658-1796), i, 455-8 (17 January, 1650) and i, 445-450 (4 January, 1651); SRO. PC. 1.53, 196. (1704).

course, being the works of Luther. The most repeated refrain after 1560 was, naturally, the perceived threat of Catholic literature. Acts of privy council in 1573 and 1574, aimed at controlling the transportation of passengers and dangerous letters, and against assisting 'declarit tratouris', were aimed at the remnants of the queen's party, and referred to the Catholic authors Edmond Hay, James Tyrie, Adam Blackwood, Niniane Winzet and John Leslie, bishop of Ross. It was not, however, until 1582, under the 'ultra-Protestant' Ruthven regime, that the books carried by 'dangerous passengers' were specifically cited.¹⁹ Apparent 'leniency' before 1582 was nothing like it was from the late 1670s in that decade when the duke of Albany and future James VII was a factor in Scottish politics.

The fall of the Arran government in late 1585, the rise of presbyterianism culminating in its statutory reinforcement in 1592, and the threat of Spanish invasion from 1587, produced a strong campaign against Catholic books from 1587 to 1593. In July 1587 parliament introduced an act to stifle the selling and distribution of Catholic books empowering, with immunity, the burghs and ministers to search for such erroneous volumes. That November the privy council ordained its own 'act against Jesuits' forbidding the assisting of these priests with the distribution of their books. The penalty of death was provided, and Jesuits within Scotland were given a month to quit the country. Subsequently, in March 1589 and November 1590, the council reiterated its commitment to counter itinerant Jesuits and their covert book trade, and it was under this legislation that Gilbert Brown was arrested in July 1592 for distributing Catholic texts following an investigation by the presbytery of Dumfries.²⁰ James VI was, of course, much criticised by the clergy and Protestant nobility for his toleration of the so-called 'Northern Earls' (the earls of Huntly, Errol and Crawford) from around 1588 to 1594. The availability of anti-Catholic censorship law is probably confirmation of James's view that private Catholicism was tolerable,

¹⁹ *RPC*, i, 2, 206-7; *RPC*, i, 3, 103; *ibid.*, 526-7.

²⁰ *APS*, iii, c4, 430; *RPC*, i, 4, 363-4; *ibid.*, 548-9; *ibid.*, 773-4.

while it was necessary to show England that measures were being taken, as well as to placate the presbyterian clergy. If the church had a justifiable complaint it may have been the weak application of censorship law.²¹

Scotland's fear at Europe's counter-Reformation continued at the turn of century. The peace concluded between Henry IV of France and Spain in 1598, and the accession of the new King Philip III of Spain the same year - who promptly embarked on another abortive armada in 1601 and landed in Kinsale in Ireland in 1602 - did nothing to calm the nerves of the Scottish government. At the end of 1600 an act of privy council threatened confiscation of ship and goods for all skippers found to be transporting Jesuit books. When further alarm spread to England and Scotland following the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, the king issued a general proclamation in September 1606 against Catholics. The next government measure specially aimed at Catholic books was the 1612 ordinance of the privy council which enacted a warrant of the king to check the printing and importation of Catholic texts under pain of confiscation. The prompt for action at this time was the state of international politics and diplomacy, and in particular James's alliance with the German Protestant Union agreed earlier in the year.²² But James continued to behave schizophrenically with regard to English and Scottish Catholicism and book distribution. In March 1620 the council imprisoned a Patrick Con, a servant of the earl of Errol, for possessing a chest of Catholic books, and the following May a Jesuit of the name of Patrick Anderson faced execution for distributing Catholic volumes and possessing the trappings of the mass, although on the intervention of the king his sentence was commuted to banishment.²³

²¹ Nevertheless, in November 1592, when a convention of ministers made recommendations for the appointment of searchers of ships to counter the problem, the government was supportive (see chapter 2).

²² *RPC*, i, 6, 185-6; Calderwood, *History*, vi, 585-6.

²³ To the end James appeared to see himself both as a leader of Protestantism and the father of European ecumenicalism. *RPC*, i, 12, 226, 240; *ibid.*, 277, 419-20.

The only preventative legislation against Catholic literature adopted in the reign of Charles I was a privy council act of 1628 which condemned the dissemination of 'popish' books, though again this arose from royal encouragement, as were privy council measures in 1622 and 1624.²⁴ Indeed, the next indictment before the privy council regarding Catholic censorship does not occur until after the Restoration. This situation is patently unrepresentative of the overall suppression of recusancy, as seen in the cases before local church courts (see chapter 2). Nevertheless, it seems that counter-Reformation literature was eclipsed from the 1630s. The battleground was prebyterianism versus episcopalianism and arminianism, with Catholicism viewed by most as beyond the pale.

In 1661, a year of much busy interrogation of covenanting, its authors and printers, the privy council instructed the magistrates of Edinburgh to arrest a John Inglis, merchant, and his Catholic companion William Brown for bringing home and vending Catholic books. The appearance of even-handedness must have been intoxicating for the new regime. A committee of the council investigated the indictment and both Catholics confessed and were banished. A similar committee, headed by the ninth earl of Argyll, was appointed in 1672 to investigate a consignment of Catholic books seized by customs officers at Leith. This committee was given the power of arrest over the question of books, but in addition it was asked to consider what action should be taken for the education of the *children of Catholics*.²⁵

With the defeat of court Catholicism in 1688/9 censorship of Catholic books returned to the agenda. For the government the international context was the Nine Years War (1689-97) which, until the late months of 1695, was relentlessly going the way of France and

²⁴ *RPC*, ii, 2, 358; *RPC*, i, 12, 730; *RPC*, i, 13, 611.

²⁵ *RPC*, iii, 1, 72-3 and 84-5; *RPC*, iii, 3, 441. A general proclamation against 'papists' followed in late 1673. *RPC*, iii, 4, 117-8.

Louis XIV.²⁶ Matters deteriorated markedly in 1696, especially in Edinburgh and Aberdeen. In January a proclamation discharged commerce and communication with France, and in March a further edict of the council enforced the seizure of horses and arms belonging to known Catholics. The same month a warrant was given to the magistrates of Aberdeen to arrest a 'Dr. John Jamesone (alias Mr. John Paul) and master John Abercrombie papist priests', and three weeks later the lord advocate informed the council that three particular Catholic books had been discovered in Edinburgh. The provost of the burgh was instructed to have them burnt.²⁷ Two years later the problem still festered and the town council of Aberdeen reported to the privy council, via the lord advocate, that a new recusant cell had been discovered in the burgh along with 'a great many popish books to the value of ane hundred pounds'. Viscount Teviot, commander of his majesty's forces in Scotland, was despatched to escort the recusants to Edinburgh for trial. The following year a new Catholic cell was discovered in the capital, a group consisting mainly of merchants who were found meeting in the town lodgings of the Jacobite duke of Gordon. Small wonder that in 1700 parliament felt it necessary to produce a new statute 'for preventing the growth of popery' and the spread of mass books, which in legal precedent traced its ancestry back to a hundred and twenty years of anti-Catholic, preventive legislation.²⁸

The other major religious, generic target for preventive censorship, and which fractured the broad consensus of authority, was nonconformist Protestantism. The first post-Reformation censorship

²⁶ For difficulties with Catholics in Edinburgh, especially from recusant merchants, see SRO. PC.1.48, 168-9 (May, 1692); PC.1.50, 130 and 135-6 (February, 1695).

²⁷ SRO. PC. 1.50, 318-9; *ibid.*, 405; *ibid.*, 417; *ibid.*, 473-4; PC.1. 51, 20 and 28 (committee for searching booths and homes on book traders, October 1696). The three Catholic pamphlets were *The opposition of the doctrine of the Catholick Church in matters of Controversie*; *Ane answer to Menseur Decedens funerall of the Mass*; and *the Question of Questions which is who ought to be our judges in all differences in Religion*.

²⁸ SRO. PC.1.51, 453-4 and 463-4; *ibid.*, 572-3; APS, x, c3, 208a, 215b.

incident which displayed the conflict between reformed state and reformed church was the arrest and imprisonment of the minister John Davidson, and printer Robert Lekpreuik, in 1574 for Davidson's *Ane Dailogue or mutual talking betuix a clerk and ane Courteour concerning four Parische Kirks till ane Minister*. Clerical criticism surfaced again in the mid-1590s leading, for example, in 1596 to the imprisonment of David Black for leasing-making.²⁹ Relations were strained between the presbyterian pamphleteers and an erastian government as James VI moved by 1610 towards a fully episcopal church structure.

It was not, however, until the years 1615-20 that the government took measures *a priori* to censor the opinion of nonconformist presbyterians, and the 1615 appointment of Spottiswoode as archbishop of St. Andrews is surely no coincidence. That year the privy council issued an act against despatching unvetted manuscripts overseas. Since the exile of the ministers who held the unlicensed assembly at Aberdeen in 1605, who were banished the following year, and even dating back to the Brownist presses of the 1590s, the printers of the Low Countries had become the crucible for printed nonconformity and the war against bishops. When the Five Articles of Perth were signed at the assembly in the town in 1618, a new focus for presbyterian invective was created. The council ordained in June 1619 that obedience to the articles must be observed, and that those publishing tracts critical of its provisions would be 'punished without mercy'. Yet, by the following month David Calderwood's attack on the articles *Perth Assembly* was circulating throughout Edinburgh. The privy council produced a banning order, sentenced the book to the

²⁹ Pitcairn comments on the criminal case against a Robert Lekpreuik in August 1532, which produced the sentence of banishment from the kingdom, and opines that this was the printer whose crime was probably trading in heretical books. It is possible that Lekpreuik as a young man was forced overseas and, like Bassandyne, learnt the art of printing on the continent. Dickson and Edmond are doubtful claiming that Lepreuik was a common enough name, but it most certainly was not! Pitcairn, *Trials*, i, 118 and Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 199. For Black see *RPC*, i, 5, 347-8.

flame and gave a twenty-one day amnesty for townspeople to deliver up their copies. In August the high commission interrogated William Scott, author of *The Course of Conformitie* (1622), and John Carmichael in an unsuccessful effort to discover the author's name. The arrest of a group of merchants eight months later, including the book merchants James Cathkin and Richard Lawson along with the wealthy William Rigg, who were convicted and internally banished for encouraging opposition to the articles, was a clear attack against nonconformist book distribution. William Rigg, like John Spreul in the 1670s, was believed by the government to be a financier of the nonconformist press overseas, and Lawson and Cathkin, along with the aging Andro Hart, were the most likely distributors of Calderwood's indignation. The three book traders had their booths and homes ransacked.³⁰ And yet the presbyterian reproach was irrepressible. In January 1625 a proclamation was issued by the lords of council discharging as a crime of sedition the importation of books *from Flanders without due authority*. Calderwood gleefully attested that his books *An Epistle to a Christian Brother*, *An Exhortation to the Kirk of Edinburgh* and *A dispute about Communicating, where there was kneeling and confusion* - all of which emanated from Giles Thorp's press in Amsterdam - had caused the uproar, and that the proclamation was powerless to halt his broadsides.³¹

The government campaign against nonconformity continued in the reign of Charles I, but with reduced intensity. A combination of effective press control and Spottiswoode's efficient yet moderate *dealing with offenders delivered relative calm*. The small number of cases, highlighted in late 1636 by the high commission's banishment of Samuel Rutherford to Aberdeen for his anti-Arminian *Exercitationes apologetica pro divina gratia* (Amsterdam, 1630), and

³⁰ RPC, i, 10, 339-40; RPC, i, 12, 15-16; *ibid.*, fn.66; Calderwood, *History*, vii, 392; RPC, i, 12, 249-50; *ibid.*, 309 and 328. See chapter 2 for Spreul and Rigg.

³¹ The second title must be *An Exhortation of the Particular Kirks of Christ*. Calderwood, *History*, vii, 629; RPC, i, 13, 668; RPC, ii, 1, 11-12. For Thorp press see chapter 3.

the privy council's suppression of George Gillespie's *English Popish Ceremonies* in 1637, are proof enough of that. Protestant nonconformity appears not to have exercised the governments of the 1640s and 1650s notwithstanding the deficiencies of surviving government records. Indeed, the most concerted government effort to combat Protestant nonconformity did not arise until the war waged against covenanting literature in the three decades after the Restoration. Clearly the first objective of crown and privy council was to ensure no repetition of the disastrous events that befell Charles I. The legal context of censorship was reliance on existing statute law, *a posteriori* censorship and very few preventive measures. However, government tactics altered dramatically as repression replaced crime prevention, and as the licensing system struggled to cope with the expanding market in books of all kinds. The licensing statute of 1661 was all that was required to underpin prosecutions thereafter.³²

There were, nevertheless, some general preventative measures *which were contemporaneous with much ado about covenanting*. In 1680 the privy council committee of public affairs compelled booksellers to present their catalogues for approval by officers of state or the bishop of Edinburgh, along with any subsequent amendments. In late 1684, not long after copies of Calderwood's *History* had been intercepted moving across the border, peddlers and traders were to be prevented from travelling through the border without an official pass.³³ The cross-border movement of nonconformist literature was clearly substantial. In 1682 the cleric Patrick Warner was arrested in Edinburgh for possessing a variety of forbidden books including copies of Calderwood's *History* of which he was co-publisher. After his

³² Baillie, *Letters*, i, 8 (Letter to Spang, 2 January, 1637), Rutherford *Letters*, lxi. 136-138 and Row, *History*, 396-7. (see chapter 2 for high commission and reservations over lost cases). *RPC*, ii, 6, 536-7.

³³ *RPC*, iii, 6, 572; *RPC*, iii, 10, 279.

banishment Warner was re-arrested in Newcastle by local magistrates mindful of seditious Scottish books passing through the town.³⁴

The government had understood since the 1660s that the crucible for Scottish nonconformist polemic was the Dutch press. It soon became clear that the likes of the *Apologetical Relation* and *Naphtali*, banned respectively in 1666 and 1667, were printed in the Low Countries. These book cargoes were frequent but not without risk. In 1672 John Ritchie, a skipper from Bo'ness, was imprisoned for importing pamphlets from Holland and for communicating with exiled Scots, including William Carstairs. In November 1680 the committee of public affairs presided over the case of the bookseller John Calderwood who was charged with importing and selling seditious books, including his namesake's *History*, which had arrived from Holland via Leith. Simultaneously, on hearing that some of these seditious Dutch productions had arrived in Aberdeen, the committee instructed the magistrates of the burgh to prosecute those responsible for local distribution. Furthermore, the privy council impounded the ship 'The John' and its master John Gib for importing Dutch books via Bo'ness and for delivering the correspondence of rebels exiled in Holland.³⁵ As the 'Killing Times' intensified so did the government effort to close the conduits of nonconformist literature.

An attack on the Scottish exiles in Holland would be an attack on the authors, patrons and supporters of covenanting and presbyterian propaganda. Therefore, in 1682 and 1683 various indictments were issued condemning exiles, especially those at Rotterdam. Processes of treason, usually on vague charges of complicity over the murder of

³⁴ Wodrow, *Sufferings*, iii. 393-402. Warner was also charged with passing papers through the London theological bookseller Dorman Newman. The privy council conveyed its thanks to the magistrates of Newcastle for arresting Warner as they did in the summer of 1683 when the Scots Alexander Pringle and Edward Livingstone were arrested in the north of England when attempting to convey seditious papers overseas. see *RPC*, iii, 8, 173.

³⁵ *RPC*, iii, 2, 138-9; *ibid.*, 375-6; *RPC*, iii, 3, 582; *RPC*, iii, 6, 570-2.

archbishop Sharp in 1679, were raised in January 1683 against various Rotterdam rebels, including the ministers John Hoog and Robert Fleming, the merchants and factors Andrew Russell and John Fleming and the author Sir James Stewart (see chapter 3). Some of the detailed charges came from the torture of William Carstares in 1684, a lesson to the exiles to remain in Holland. However, Russell's benefit to the merchant community, in Veere as well as Rotterdam, was such that the council was forced to take note of a petition from the merchants of various burghs, and it was agreed to delay his trial and soon to abandon the case. Robert Fleming's trial was delayed due to illness and his request for time to prepare his defence, but in the end the intervention of the conservator Sir James Kennedy, a Catholic but not an extremist, ensured the charges were dropped in April 1684. The Dutch problem continued unabated, however. On the very day of the death of Charles II in February 1685, and during depositions against the lairds of Ardmillan in Ayrshire, a fugitive called Hugh McHutchion was charged in his absence for trafficking in correspondence, books and powder to and from the Dutch rebels. This was an ominous precursor of the coming Argyll rebellion. The arrival of James VII to the throne did not halt the 'Rotterdam problem', and even after toleration was offered to presbyterianism in 1687, the list of banned books published by the crown in 1688 was packed with Dutch editions.³⁶ Only with the fall of James VII weeks later, and the return of exiled authors, did the censorship war of the North Sea finally cease.

Another field of preventive censorship was that aimed at 'false news', that is information inconsistent with the interests, status or policies of the government of the day. This was a common problem for all European states in the period, and was an obsession with the Dutch. The republic believed its political and trading interests were put at risk by newssheets, pamphlets and inaccurate and selective

³⁶ *RPC*, iii, 8, 20-21; *ibid.*, 111-112; *ibid.*, 275; *ibid.*, 293; *ibid.*, 403-4; *ibid.*, 455-6; *RPC*, iii, 10, 366; *RPC*, iii, 11, 17; *RPC*, iii, 13, ix; Wodrow, *Sufferings*, iv, 443-4. Note Kennedy was not so understanding in the case of the factor John Fleming.

printings of state papers. The Netherlands was a de-centralised state that left individual provinces to carry out many local censorship activities, but the requirement of international diplomacy forced the States General into sporadic action throughout the seventeenth century, commencing around 1606 during the delicate negotiations with Spain over the Twelve Year Truce. Almost contemporaneously, in May 1603, the Scottish privy council produced its first proclamation against 'false news', and this statement reflected the anxiety of the government to keep control of public information with the king having re-located to London just the month before. The information dialogue between England and Scotland was now of particular sensitivity, and the 1603 proclamation was followed in 1609 by an 'Act against Scandalous Speeches and Libels' intended to suppress Scottish slanders against the people and nation of England as James strove to encourage his British project.³⁷ Union negotiations were about as successful as these vain efforts to silence mutual criticism.

For the next half century, however, news information censorship was covered by the laws concerning leasing-making and not generic legislation. This was a return to the practice of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, such as when the Ruthven regime and that led by the duke of Lennox sought the authors of certain libels in February and July 1583.³⁸ There was little distinction between libels targeted at officers of state and later 'false news'. Yet, something which distinguishes the seventeenth from the sixteenth century was the wider dispersal of printed news coverage. From the 1660s the government of Charles II found it necessary to take a special interest in news information. The effective use of newssheets and occasional newspapers by the covenanters and Commonwealth had highlighted the value of such publications, and the need for governments to seek their control. Often it was simply a priority not to offend interest groups. The closure in March 1661 of Thomas Sydserf's royalist *Mercurius Caledonius*, after only four months and ten editions, was

³⁷ Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors', 69-72; *RPC*, i, 6, 568; *RPC*, i, 8, 305.

³⁸ *RPC*, i, 3, 549-50 and 583-4.

on account of it lampooning even moderate presbyterians, an unnecessarily divisive tendency.³⁹ Sydserf's first effort at news production, the newssheet *Mercurius Scoticus*, came out in only three editions from July 1651 to January 1652 before it was forced to close when the Commonwealth took control of the government of Scotland. Royalism was routed in 1651-2 along with its newest and most populist organ.

From 1680 to 1685, as part of the revived government campaign against covenanters and conventicling, the charge of dispersing 'false news' was reactivated, and closer scrutiny exercised over printed news. In January 1680 Robert Mein, postmaster and diurnal agent for Glasgow in the 1660s and 1670s and for Edinburgh in the 1680s, and another agent of news Thomas Comley, were severely reprimanded by the privy council for distributing 'false intelligence' to and from London. Mein was imprisoned briefly for a second offence in September. Cases continued to arise after the Glorious Revolution. In May 1692 an Edinburgh vintner William Murray was arrested for circulating an erroneous newsletter - his home and papers were searched, although he was released after three weeks in the tolbooth.⁴⁰ However, the context of government action over the press altered from 1690. The resolution of the religious question ensured that printed critical opinion focused more on government policy in the secular field. The lively development of party politics from 1690 to 1707 helped to encourage covert printing of pamphlets and opinion and unofficial patronage by parliamentary factions. It was in this fertile atmosphere that the first true Scottish newspapers were introduced.

The first indication of change was the privy council act of January 1690 which established a new licensing committee to tackle works

³⁹ For a brief account of Sydserf see Buckroyd, 'Mercurius Caledonius', 11-21. *Mercurius Caledonius* is sometimes regarded as Scotland's first newspaper. Sydserf was surely more successful as a dramatist than as a newspaper publisher, feeding as he did the small drama output established in Edinburgh in the 1660s and 1670s.

⁴⁰ RPC, iii, 6, 374; *ibid.*, 539; SRO. PC.1.48, 200-1. For postmasters see chapter 1.

concerned with government. This was enacted a few days after the printer John Reid, the elder, was arrested for printing the Cameronian 'Vindicatione of the Address', which was too rich even for 1690. It is not clear how effectively this committee operated, but there were several prosecutions between 1690 and the next major preventive initiative, the 'Committee for searching for erroneous books' established in October 1696.⁴¹ What also characterises the 1690s was the regular prosecution of printers. As well as the accident-prone Reid, who was re-arrested and his press closed in 1691 for printing *Ireland's Glory*, a tract blatantly critical of the government, George Mosman was in March 1690 arrested for printing *A wish for peace*, and the servant of the Edinburgh bookseller Martha Stevenson was charged with selling the somewhat dated *Remonstrance against the deposing of King James* (1689) (see chapter 5). The most high profile indictment in the 1690s was that of the member of parliament Hugh Dalrymple. In 1695, as parliament concluded its enquiry into the Glencoe massacre of 1692, Dalrymple published a tract entitled *Informatione for the Master of Stair* in which he attempted to justify the part played in the affair by his kinsman Sir John Dalrymple, master of Stair and secretary of state.⁴² Parliament was affronted at his temerity to reflect on its judicial enquiry, and Hugh Dalrymple was forced to make a humiliating apology. For reasons concerned more with party politics and the independence of parliament, than with the massacre itself, Stair was dismissed.

Irritation at newssheets and pamphlets critical of the government, and the discovery of a rash of Catholic books, led the privy council to form its new 'Committee for searching' in October 1696. This was an odd police group, entirely without noble or officer of

⁴¹ RPC, iii, 15, 56. The 1690 committee consisted of the earl of Cassilis, the master of Melville and the lord advocate. *ibid.*, 42-3 and 51-2; SRO. PC.1.51, 20.

⁴² RPC, iii, 16, 571-2 and 585; RPC, iii, 15, 144; RPC, 16, 228 and 248; APS, ix, appendix 108b. *A wish for peace* was an ill-timed appeal for peace in the triangle of war between the British Isles, The Netherlands and France the very month that Louis XIV landed James VII in Ireland!

state representation, consisting of Henry Ferguson, bailie of Edinburgh, Gilbert Rule, principal of Edinburgh college and James Webster, minister in the burgh. They were given responsibility to search all the homes and booths of the booksellers and to examine their catalogues. All catalogues were to be submitted for the approval of the privy council within two weeks and, in effect, a list of approved vendors created. These measures did not, however, stop the censoriousness of the press and particularly newspapers. In June 1699, only three months after James Donaldson had been granted the patent to publish the *Edinburgh Gazette*, he was arrested for printing 'untruthfil' and unauthorised news. The next month the Edinburgh printer William Jaffrey was arrested by the order of the privy council for printing a pamphlet protesting at the circumstances of the Darien fiasco. The council took the opportunity to warn the other presses of the penalties of banishment and confiscation for unlicensed printing reflecting on the conduct of government, as confirmed in the most recent licensing act, that of 1697.⁴³

Still exasperated at the tone of the domestic press, in June 1700 the privy council introduced its last preventative and administrative initiative on press control before the council's demise in 1708. This was the new 'committee anent printers and booksellers' formed at the suggestion of the lord advocate, Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees (see chapter 5). Goodtrees faced several new prosecutions, and needed the assistance of the council to formulate censorship policy. The committee was a licensing committee which reverted unrealistically to the old notion of 'no book may be printed without being licensed'. It was given a wide remit to consider how the press could be controlled, to review past censorship legislation, to examine and interrogate any book traders 'with power to Imprison them if they found Convenient'. Only a week later the same committee reviewed the case of Hugh Paterson, newspaper publisher, and James Watson, news printer, for the publication of yet another Darien tract, and both were imprisoned, fined and banished from Edinburgh. Later that year

⁴³ SRO. PC.1. 51, 20 and 28; PC.2.27, 202; PC.1. 51, 576 and 583; PC.1.52, 14.

William Seton, of Pitmedden, who was an enthusiastic author and advocate for the benefits of union with England, found himself in prison as the author of a pamphlet *memorial to the MPs of the Court Party* which questioned the status of the independent church and state of Scotland. Seton was released after he made a grovelling apology to parliament. This was in fact the same month that the privy council sought the arrest of Walter Herries, the author of various pro-Darien tracts which had been banned by the government.⁴⁴ Again we have evidence of the fine balancing act of the government at the turn of the century, seeking to sustain its historical independence while not wishing to embarrass the crown.

The book trade committee busied itself with various cases from 1700 to 1706, including action against further pro-Darien material and Jacobite pieces in 1701 and 1702, and in late 1706 some efforts to suppress anti-union tracts.⁴⁵ As we move towards the demise of the privy council, remaining regulations for the central licensing of the press had become entirely a matter of suppressing matter reproachful of government. After 1708, and especially during the Toleration crisis of 1712, the lord advocate turned to the magistrates of Edinburgh to police the book trade, even over the cases of slander that preoccupied the polite society of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century (see chapter 1). As the printed opposition to Toleration spread throughout the kingdom, so the bailies of the capital delivered a last hurrah for *a priori* censorship by calling in the main printers of Edinburgh and issuing stark threats. Essentially this mirrored earlier government action when the privy council mediated over trade disputes, as with Agnes Campbell versus John Reid in 1683 and John Forbes versus Agnes Campbell and Robert Sanders in 1684. The final decret of the council in such cases always closed with a warning to the printers and

⁴⁴ SRO. PC.1.52, 104; *ibid.*, 114-7; *APS*, x, 210b and 214a. Margaret Steele has concluded that Seton was a Jacobite but his crime appears to have been over-enthusiastic British royalism. See Steele, 'Anti-Jacobite pamphleteering, 1701-1720', 140. PC. 1. 52, 163-4.

⁴⁵ For examples see SRO. PC.1.52, 202; *ibid.*, 285; PC. 2.28, 176-180; PC.1.52, 424 for Jacobite and Darien matters and *APS*, xi, 344 and *ibid.*, 357 for anti-union tracts.

booksellers of the nation to trade according to the laws regulating the book trade.

Recusancy, Protestant nonconformity and anti-government material were the main, but not the only, targets of selective legislation for preventive censorship. Indeed, where the focus of attention was a specialised type of printed material, such as in the modern period over certain specified aspects of pornography, preventative measures were more likely to succeed. The attempted suppression in 1619 of printings against the Articles of Perth is such an example of focus. Probably more successful, was the Cromwellian act and ordinance of government of September 1656 to prevent 'all persons Contriving, Printing or Publishing any Papers, Books, or pamphlets for allowance of Sports and pastimes upon the Lords day'.⁴⁶ More dangerous for offenders, and serious in the eyes of the clergy, was the 1690s revival of the crime of blasphemy and the new 'heresy' of Deism. A revised law and punishment code for blasphemy was introduced in June 1695, ratifying and tightening the legislation of 1649 and 1661. The code identified three levels of offence:

whoever shall deny God or any of the persons of the Trinity, the authority of the Scripture, or the providence of God in the government of the world, shall for the first fault be imprisoned until he make satisfaction in sackcloth before the congregation, for the second fault be fined, and for the third suffer death.⁴⁷

As far as is known Thomas Aikenhead, the Edinburgh student, who was hanged in 1696 for foolishly refusing to recant his atheistic views, was the only victim of stage three of the code.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the general assembly was so concerned at the proliferation of Deist

⁴⁶APS, vi, ii, 867a. Although from time to time governments supported the clergy in the protection of the sabbath this appears unique legislation.

⁴⁷ APS, ix, c14, 386. For earlier acts see APS, vi, ii, 132 and APS, vii, c216, 202.

⁴⁸ The privy council attempted to reason with Aikenhead but on finding him beyond redemption referred the case to the court of justiciary. He was probably suffering from temporary insanity.

writings that it asked the government to issue a new censorship order. The result was the January 1698 proclamation 'anent prophaneness' by which those who printed and published blasphemy, and who denied 'God or any of the persons of the Blessed Trinity and obstinately continued therein Being processed and found guilty [would] be punished by death'.⁴⁹ The order refers to a particular printed 'abbreviat', title and author unspecified, which had caused great offence, and it is clear that printed matter reflecting various degrees of Deism was circulating in the late 1690s. It is appropriate, then, that this survey of censorship legislation should end as it began with religious discipline. Censorship law, like the output of the Scottish press, drifted inexorably from religion to secular affairs during the early modern period, and yet the printed account of God, from Luther to Deism, remained an essential concern for state as well as church.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ PC.1.51, 337-44. For action taken by the prebytery and magistrates of Edinburgh against Whitson's Deist books see SRO.CH2/121/8, 204 (30 January, 1712); *ibid.*, 208 (7 February, 1712).

⁵⁰ Religious nonconformists could also be their own censors, as were the Quakers of London who vetted all Quaker books submitted to their press including the writings of Scottish Friends. Society of Friends, Library, Morning Meeting Minutes, 21, vii, (1674)

Punitive Censorship

The powers garnered by the state to suppress specific books, authors and printers after offences constituted *a posteriori* censorship, or censorship after the fact. This evolved into the most common variety of censorship during the early modern period. There were two reasons for this: firstly, the unwieldy nature of the licensing system from the early seventeenth century, and secondly, because deviant writers and printers gave no warning of their intentions. This left the government, with the help of the clerical courts and local magistrates, to attempt to neutralise offensive printings after they appeared on the market, and punish the printers and distributors of such works if they could be identified. This was, of course, no easy task even in a small nation with a relatively small domestic book trade.

The most obvious tactic by governments was to proscribe specific titles. In the 1680s Patrick Warner was bold enough to protest during his trial that there was no index of forbidden books to prevent him distributing Calderwood's *History*. Generally speaking this was correct, and Scotland had no reformed equivalent of the papal *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, although nor in any continuous sense did the English and Dutch. Nevertheless, from parliamentary, estates and privy council records it can be seen that just over 70 individual books and pamphlets were proscribed by the government from the 1580s to 1700s (see table 4, and also appendix II for full listing). Was this a large total? Comparisons with other countries are not especially useful. In the same period the Dutch provinces and States General banned 200 titles in a country with perhaps double the population of Scotland, and a book market with one of the highest standards of living in Europe. Importantly, of course, the book trade of The Netherlands was vast compared to Scotland's, and its authorities have a reputation for liberal regulation. Meanwhile, although no such certain estimates appear to be available for England, from 1600 to 1699 the papal Index

listed over 1300 titles.⁵¹ All that can be said is that the total of proscribed titles in Scotland probably makes Scotland typical rather than exceptional in the scale of European book banning by those nations outwith the influence of the Catholic index. For historians who have seen Scotland as a bigoted and petty nation of religious extremists this is something of a rebuff.

How valid is this total number of Scotland's forbidden books? The 70 odd books by no means represent all printings found to be unacceptable for religious or political reasons, and prohibited by local or central authority. The numerous cases of anonymous Catholic, nonconformist and anti-government printed matter referred to in church records, from kirk session to general assembly, in burgh records, beyond and including the print burghs of Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh, along with some vague central state records and crown proclamations, make it impossible to compile a definitive list of all banned books. Clearly repressive censorship was much greater than indicated by the identifiable official records, but this is a common enough position for all nations in most historical periods. Nevertheless, those printings clearly proscribed by the government provide an indication of levels of censorship over the period.

⁵¹ Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors?', 74-5; Michael J. Walsh, 'Church Censorship in the 19th century: the Index of Leo XIII' in Myers and Harris (eds.), *Censorship in England and France*, 118-9.

Table: 4: Officially Banned Books by Decade (see appendix II for full list)

<u>Banning orders</u> (books/pamphlets etc)		<u>Type</u>		
<u>Decade Totals</u>		<u>Church Politics</u> (inc. sermons)	<u>Secular Politics</u> (inc. declarations)	<u>Misc.**</u>
1570s	1	1		
1580s	3		2	1
1590s	1			1
1600s	1	1		
1610s	2	2		
1620s	5	5		
1630s	2	2		
1640s	3		3	
1650s	-			
1660s	10(1)	6	4	
1670s	3(1)	2	1	
1680s	21(4)	12	8	1
1690s	9	4	5	
1700s	<u>16</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>1</u>
Totals	<u>77(6)*</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>4</u>
Five year Breakdown				
1660-4	6	2	4	
1665-9	4	4		
1670-4	3	2	1	
1675-9	-			
1680-4	10	7	2	1
1685-9	11	5	6	
1690-4	4	1	3	
1695-9	5	3	2	
1700-4	11	1	9	1
1705-8	5		5	

Sources: APS, RPC, SRO. PC.1/PC.2 and Committee of Estates.

*Duplicate banning orders from previous years.

** The histories of Calderwood and Buchanan and private libels.

Further explanation is required for those titles included, some of which, according to the government record, are inferred as proscribed titles rather than boldly stated as such. Calderwood's *History* was not listed as a forbidden title at any time, and yet in 1680 Warner was prosecuted for dealing in books including Calderwood. Also, the presbyterian historian advises us that the titles that caused the government to restrict imports from Flanders in 1625 were three of his own specific works (see above), and he has been given the benefit of the doubt. James Gordon's *The Reformed Bishop* was the subject of a claim for compensation by the author in 1689 because, ten years before, his book was confiscated and destroyed by the bishop of Edinburgh, and it has been assumed that this was banned by the government.⁵² Other printings, such as John Davidson's 'Dialogue' (1574) and Samuel Rutherford's anti-arminian *Exercitationes apologeticae pro divina gratia* (1630) are included as the government was involved in both prosecutions. However, the likes of Winzet's *The Last Blast of the Trumpet* (1562), for which printing John Scot was arrested by the Edinburgh magistrates not the government, and *The Queensferry papers* (1680), certainly seditious but not formally banned, have not been listed. Equally the Prayer Book of 1637 has not been included for while it was certainly denounced, and finally withdrawn by Charles I, it was not technically sent to oblivion. It is also necessary to exclude the editions of scripture that were destroyed and impounded due to inaccurate printing or a 'tainted' text, such as Bassandyne's Psalm book of 1568, or Andrew Anderson's dreadful New Testament of 1671.⁵³

There were some duplications, or repeat banning orders, in the period. George Buchanan's *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* and his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* were banned in 1584, the former for its embarrassing justification of the deposition of Mary, the latter for its qualified attitude to kingship. In fact an amnesty was granted to

⁵² RPC, iii, 14, 36-7.

⁵³ Calderwood, *History*, ii, 423 and BUK (2), 100-1; Lee, *Memorials*, 116-7; The privy council disciplined Anderson in February, 1671 (see chapter 5).

owners of these texts which were to be 'given up for amendment'! The campaign against *De Jure* was lengthy and continued into the next century. In 1666 John Cruikshank, a minister, was arraigned before the privy council for owning a copy. Archbishop Sharp no doubt had a copy himself so, as usual with these matters of discipline, the book question was a pretext to charge a minister who had anti-establishment views. Nevertheless, the book was not reprinted in Scotland after 1580, and it was banned in 1664, perhaps 1671 and certainly in 1688(in all translations).⁵⁴ Buchanan's *History* was not so harshly dealt with, although subsequent Scottish reprints in 1643 and 1700 did occur at times of presbyterian polity. In England Buchanan's works were banned in the 1580s, and he, John Knox and other royalist critics had their works burnt by the university of Oxford in 1683. Queen Anne used her influence to prevent re-publication during her reign, and when Thomas Ruddiman published Buchanan's complete works in his *Opera Omnia* (1715) the unintentionally provocative timing of its release raised something of a stir.⁵⁵ By now the suppression of Buchanan and radical presbyterian authors was symbolic and tinged with absurdity.

The slight increase in banned titles in the 1620s, due to the Five Articles, and in the 1640s, due to the Engagement crisis and the attempt of two opposing parties to proscribe each others' declarations, are small compared with the 1660s. The first decade of the Restoration saw the most concerted campaign against specific named titles. Samuel Rutherford's *Lex Rex* and Guthrie and Johnston's *The Causes of God's*

⁵⁴ APS, iii, 296.c.8 for *De Jure* ban. Wodrow, *Sufferings*, ii. 4-7; RPC, iii, 1, 527; RPC, iii, 3, 282; Wodrow, *Sufferings*, iv, 443-4.

⁵⁵ Wodrow's report of the number of Scottish books ordained to be burned in 1683 by the doctors of Oxford is remarkable for its comprehensiveness, the list including Buchanan's *De Jure*, Knox's *History*, Calderwood's *Altar of Domascus*, Rutherford's *Lex Rex*, Naphtali, James Brown's *Apologetical Relation*, and the *History of the Indulgence*, as well as the Solemn League and Covenant. There is no evidence of a similar blanket disposal of these works in Scotland before 1688. Wodrow, *Sufferings*. iii, 505. *Opera Omnia* was not widely dispersed until 1722 according to Duncan's *Ruddiman*.

Wrath Against Scotland (1653) were declared treasonable by the committee of estates in September 1660, and the following month it was decreed that copies were to be burned by the hangman at the cross in Edinburgh.⁵⁶ The episcopal party supported these attacks even though there was a failed attempt at clemency for James Guthrie the supposed author of *The Causes*. But more directly critical of current ecclesiastical affairs were John Brown's *Apologeticall Relation of the Particular Sufferings of the Faithful Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland since 1660* (1665) and *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland* (1667) by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees and James Stirling, both printings from Holland that were especially offensive to the bishops. In February 1666 the first of these was declared by the privy council to be 'seditious', a breach of laws of censorship dating back to James VI, and to be burnt by the hangman - had the author been in Scotland then execution would have followed. In December 1667 *Naphtali* was also sentenced to burning, and all copies had to be handed in to the magistrates of Edinburgh by 1 February. If after that date copies were discovered on individuals then fines of up to £2000 scots could be imposed.⁵⁷ Kirkton claims Stewart may have been imprisoned for writing this book although this is doubtful - if the authorities had possession of the author he would have faced execution.

It was not until 1688, during desperate efforts by James VII to save his regime, that attempts were made at banning a range of specific titles. Much of this printed matter, though not all, was the forbidden fruit of the presses of the Low Countries, and the titles, eleven in all, included *De Jure, Lex Rex, Jus pupuli Naphtali*, Stewart's response to Bishop Honeyman's criticism of *Naphtali*, *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water* (1678) by the exiled minister Robert MacWard, the *Apolegeticall Relation, the Hind let loos*, the *Sanquhar Declaration*

⁵⁶ Wodrow, *Sufferings*, i, 75-77 and 84.

⁵⁷ RPC, iii, 2, 138-9; *ibid.*, 375-6; Wodrow, *Sufferings*, ii, 7. Wodrow exaggerates the fine as £10000. Guthrie's wife and daughter were arrested for having a copy of *Apologetical Relation*; *ibid.*, 100 and Kirkton, *History*, 125.

and those of Monmouth and Argyll. All were to be turned over to the clerk of the privy council. Printed copies of this banning order were circulated to all presbyteries.⁵⁸ This action was taken simultaneously with moves to relax the penal laws against 'papists'. Before long the crisis over the king's Catholicism eclipsed these efforts to suppress books against the king's prerogative and the polity of bishops - protecting episcopalianism and guarding against Protestant heresy became irrelevant.

The frequency of forbidden printings jumped dramatically in the 1680s largely due to this 'Jacobean index' coupled with the anti-covenanter campaign of the early 1680s. We might expect that the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution would provide evidence of increased secularisation in repressive censorship and the banning figures provide confirmation. However, the five-yearly figures also show that from 1685 secular politics had started to replace that of religion in terms of censorship, and the brief reign of James VII was a time when attacking deviant political manifestos, such as *Argyll's Declaration*, was as important as re-enforcing the old covenanting proscription of the 1660s and 1680-85. Subsequently, in the first six years of the eighteenth century, national censorship was aimed almost exclusively at secular politics, in particular the controversies surrounding Darien, English attacks on the independence of the Scottish parliament, and finally tracts too virulently in opposition to the union with England. Jacobitism was a threat that conflated with the Darien and union questions, and became an obsession of the Whiggish government from the death of James VII in 1701 and the revived claims of his son the Old Pretender.⁵⁹ The issue of Toleration in 1712 would, of course, return religious politics to the censors' agenda. Yet the differentiation between the secular and religious aspects of politics is fraught with difficulties. Groenveld's

⁵⁸ Wodrow, *Sufferings*, iv, 443-4 and SFR, 197 (synod of Fife). Honeyman's book was called *A Survey of Naphtali*, and the first part was published in 1668. Other banned titles were *The Scots Mist* and *Mene Tekel*.

⁵⁹ Steele, 'Anti-Jacobite pamphleteering, 1701-1720', 141-2.

astoundingly confident analysis of Dutch censorship and publishing genre is incredible in a Scottish early modern context where religion and politics were often fused. What can be concluded, from the bare aggregates of each decade, is that the particularity of book proscription coincides, not merely with some public secularisation, but with the collapse of the old preventive licensing system. When authorising all printing became practically impossible the only alternative was to concentrate on material criticising the government, and to ban individual texts one by one.⁶⁰

The ownership of specified forbidden printings was discouraged by a system of fines. Some of the largest potential fines for book offences were to discourage such nuggets within personal libraries. A £200 scots fine was set in 1584 for ownership of Buchanan's *De Jure*. By the 1660s this had risen to £2000 for ownership of the *Apologetical Relation*, *Naphtali*, and *Jus Populi Vindicatum*. In each of these cases an amnesty period was instigated by which copies had to be given up to the authorities. This ranged over various time periods: forty days in the case of Buchanan's works in 1584; twelve days for copies of *Perth Assembly* in 1619; forty-eight hours to give up imported books from Flanders for authorisation in 1625, and a complex amnesty regime for forbidden books in the 1660s which allowed a month for those resident south of the Tay and six weeks for those north of the Tay.⁶¹

The impact of book burning might be regrettable to liberal idealism, but censorship could be personally catastrophic for authors,

⁶⁰ Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors?', 74. Sheila Lambert makes a strong case that there have been exaggerated claims for the suppression of criticism in England during the reigns of James I and Charles I when economic and patronage realities produced self-censorship by the press. To some extent the same may be true of Scotland before 1690, although from 1690 to the 1720s there is little doubt that printed political criticism was at its zenith. Lambert, 'The Printers and the Government, 1604-1637', in Myers and Harris (eds.), *Aspects of Printing*, 1

⁶¹ APS, iii, c8, 196; RPC, iii, 2, 138-9; *ibid.*, 375-6; RPC, i, 12, 15-16; RPC, ii, 1, 11-12.

printers and the owners of books. A wide variety of punishments, and by their nature deterrents, were available to the Scottish government ranging from confiscation, fines, banishment, imprisonment, and even death. Capital punishment was unusual in Scotland as in The Netherlands under the Republic, and less common than in England where the likes of the Catholic printer William Carter and puritan printer John Hodgkins were executed in 1583 and 1589 respectively. Indeed, not a single book trader is known to have paid the ultimate price in early modern Scotland. Authors were a little less fortunate.

There are six Scottish cases in which authorship led to sentence of death. The first two were those of Turnbull and Scot, executed by the regent Morton in 1579, for publishing a document attacking the regent. After the Restoration the covenanters James Guthrie and Archibald Johnston of Wariston were executed in 1661 and 1663, in part for their believed co-authorship of the offensive *Causes of the Lord's Wrath* in which the defeat of covenanting in battle was placed at the door of an 'ungodly king'. Samuel Rutherford would have certainly suffered the same fate for his *Lex Rex* (1644), which took George Buchanan's lead in arguing the right to depose kings, but for his natural death in 1661 while waiting trial. Two decades later William Harvey, a Lanark weaver and Cameronian was sentenced to death in February 1682 for his part in covenanter rebellion of 1679, and for publishing the *Lanark Declaration*. These cases, other than Turnbull and Scot as far as we know, provide confirmation that political sedition was required for execution in Scotland in addition to revolutionary authorship. On this basis, of course, names such as the Cameronian leader James Renwick, famously author of *Apologetical Declaration* (1684) and *Testimony against the Toleration* (1688), published in the year of his execution, could be included, although his trial suggests that his political actions rather than his books were the main issue.⁶²

⁶² For Morton see footnote 7 above. For Harvey see *RPC*, iii, 7, 342. For Renwick trial: SRO. JC2.17 (8 February, 1688)

The one seventeenth century domestic case which fails adequately to fulfil the political requirements of the covenanters is that of Thomas Ross in 1618. In September of that year Ross, brother of the laird of Craigie in Perthshire, was beheaded for writing a Latin pasquil against the Scottish nation. Ross had published his attack on Scotland while attending college at Oxford. He appears to have been motivated by resentment for the failure of the court and nation of Scotland to provide him with the preferment his abilities deserved. The pasquil, or Latin thesis on the mean ancestry of the Scottish people, had been passed to the king by the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and James encouraged the Scottish privy council to inflict a suitable punishment for treason arguing, totally illogically given the history of English prosecutions, that the law of Scotland allowed the opportunity for capital punishment when that of England did not. The grim sentence, the removal of the right hand followed by execution, was unprecedented in cases of slander and censorship in Scotland, and the deep offence felt by the king was a crucial factor. Furthermore, the remarkable precedent referred to in the trial is of interest in its own right. In 1612 a Danzig merchant of the name of Stercovius, it seems of German nationality, was executed by the magistrates of the city for writing and printing a 'malicious, infamous and fals' libel published against the Scottish nation. Pressure from the Scottish ambassador, and the efforts of paid officers of the Scottish privy council who carried out the prosecution, explain the effectiveness of the case against the unfortunate merchant. In relation to the Ross case it confirmed the notion that an attack against the nation, and not merely the crown, could be defined as treason, and that the king would support execution if that was the sentence of the privy council.⁶³

⁶³ For Ross see Pitcairn *Trials*, iii, 445-454 and 582-590 and SRO. JC2/ 5, 329 and 332; Calderwood, *History*, vii, 336; *RPC*, i, 11, 447-9. Ross's pasquil may have been published in manuscript only. He was probably mad, and his case has more relationship with the 1697 execution of Aikenhead for recalcitrant blasphemy than the publishing and political crimes of the covenanting martyrs. For Stercovius *RPC*, i, 9, 540-1; *ibid.*, 543; Rooseboom, *The Scottish Staple*, 109-10. It is remarkable that the

The use of judicial mutilation in censorship cases was common in England though not in Scotland. In England branding and the removal of ears occurred in a number of cases, and in the 1630s the puritan lawyer William Prynne (1600-1669) and the Scottish presbyterian Alexander Leighton suffered such dreadful punishments at the behest of the English star chamber, the former for his *Histriomastix* (1633), the latter for his presbyterian *Zions Plea Against Prelacy* (1630). The loss of the right hand for slanders against the crown had been introduced under Mary Tudor in 1555.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, in Scotland mutilation was sometimes a threat but seems not to have been used in book cases. In 1664 Archibald Hendry was charged, imprisoned and released, under pain of banishment and branding for future good conduct, after distributing printed copies of Wariston's speech at the scaffold. Thomas Ross's punishments were at the very least rare, although there were some other extreme cases. An example was the sentence of the Edinburgh merchant Francis Tennent in October 1600 for a pasquil against the king. This document reflected on the Gowrie affair, and led to Tennent having his tongue cut out before execution. What irritated King James was the distraction from his printed propaganda campaign explaining the events of the so called conspiracy.⁶⁵ The crime of leasing-making was, of course, invoked in cases of slander against the crown. In addition, judicial torture was a feature of some cases, and in particular during the anti-covenanting campaign of the early 1680s. In separate incidents in the year 1684 William Spence, a servant of the ninth earl of Argyll, and John Semple, a covenanter, were subjected to the thumb-screw in order to discover the publication details concerning respectively 'Argyll's

region of the ageing Hanseatic League should be so concerned to maintain the goodwill of Scottish trade, although the real aim was no doubt to placate the king of England.

⁶⁴ Loades, 'Censorship in the Sixteenth century', 103; 1 and 2 Philip and Mary c.3.

⁶⁵ Pitcairn *Trials*, ii, 332-5 (10 October, 1600). Also, four years before an Englishman of the name of John Dickson was prosecuted by the court of justiciary for making malevolent speeches against the king, including a reference to James as 'ane bastarde king', and he too was executed though it seems without mutilation. *ibid.*, i pt.3, 385.

Tryall', commenting on his trial for treason, and the *Apologetical Declaration*.⁶⁶

Imprisonment was always the most common punishment, and we should not underestimate the grim prospect of days, months or years in the tolbooth. By the star chamber decree of 1586 England had adopted fixed prison terms of six months for unlawful printing and three months for selling such productions. In Scotland most accused authors and printers remained in prison only for a few days pending trial, as did Swintoun and Glen for moderate covenanter printing in 1661. Actual prison sentences tended to grow in length by the late seventeenth century, with the earl of Argyll's Dutch printer Geills Willamsone spending six months in prison in 1685, James VII's household printer, the German Catholic Peter Bruce, the same period in 1689 and John Reid, senior, and James Watson, the younger, serving something similar in 1690-91 and 1700-1 respectively. The government was quite exasperated with Reid, who was the subject of numerous court actions before the council and lords of session, and his various petitions were ignored during his sentence, while Watson's case, with Hugh Paterson accused of producing provocative pro-Darien and psuedo-jacobite printings, was complicated by their brief liberation by the nationalist riot in June 1700. Interestingly the details of the Watson case show the heavy use of precedent by the lord advocate dating back to James V reflecting concern to re-impose the rule of law.⁶⁷ The longest term of imprisonment served by a book merchant was probably that of Robert Lekpreuik in the 1570s. Lekpreuik was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle in 1574 for printing Davidson's 'four kirks to one minister' and it is possible he remained

⁶⁶ RPC, iii, 9, 68-9; RPC, iii, 10, 25.

⁶⁷ RPC, iii, 1, 73; RPC, iii, 7, 93; RPC, iii, 11, 306; SRO. PC.1. 52. 105-6, 109, 114-7, 170.

Watson and Paterson were released in February 1701. SRO. JC6/14. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, 311-2. (see chapter 5). As late as 1704 the government instructed the magistrates of Edinburgh to immediately imprison book merchants suspected of trading in seditious books - to incarcerate first and ask questions later. PC. 1. 51, 196.

in ward until Morton's 'fall' in 1578-9, or even the regent's execution in 1581. The coincidence of Lekpreuik's next known printing in 1581 suggests the latter. A sentence of as long as six years was, nonetheless, unique, although the printer John Scot, after his arrest in 1562 by the Edinburgh magistrates for printing Catholic works of Winzet, disappears from view until 1568, and may have languished in the tolbooth for much of this time.⁶⁸

There were, of course, other means of punishment of a non-corporeal nature. Fines were issued on an apparently random basis for most of the period. There was nothing like the established table of fines for first and second offences which the States General and provinces of the Dutch Republic employed from 1581.⁶⁹ In 1680, when the committee of public affairs was investigating the condition of the book trade, a failure to deliver up catalogues for approval would result in booksellers being 'severely fined', and this summarises the unspecified nature of these regulations. The usual system of deterrent fines was the bond of caution or bail bond, and this became a frequent device after the Restoration in all manner of criminal cases. Bonds were generally set at 500 merks scots, as can be seen in the cases of the printers George Swintoun in 1681 and John Reid, senior, and George Mosman in 1690. However, much earlier, in the reign of James V, very steeply levelled bonds of caution, from 300 merks to 1000 pounds, were imposed by the criminal courts to combat the 'having and using' of heretical books in English.⁷⁰ With the Watson and Paterson case of 1700 the notion of ability to pay was introduced. The wealthy Paterson had to meet a bond of £200 sterling if he transgressed and Watson, with less if admittedly comfortable means, one of £50 sterling.⁷¹ The support of the book merchant James Glen, as cautioner and bond

⁶⁸ Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 155-6.

⁶⁹ Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors?', 78.

⁷⁰ *RPC*, iii, 7, 93; *RPC*, iii, 14, 611-2; Pitcairn, *Trials*, i, 216 (10 January, 1539), 217 (28 February, 1539) and 252 (12 March, 1539). These enormous fines must have been more of a deterrent than of a practical nature.

⁷¹ *PC.1.52*, 114-7.

redeemer for covenanter printers like George Mosman and John Reid, indicates the financial support provided by book traders of like political and religious outlook.

Banishment was an additional sanction, and this also varied in severity. Recusant offenders generally faced banishment overseas, as did the Catholic book distributors Inglis and Brown in 1661. As for Protestant nonconformity, clerical authors were often in exile overseas, although many began their literary output after leaving the country and being seduced by the potential of the Dutch press. Presbyterian and covenanting book merchants remained at home. James Cathkin and Richard Lawson were sentenced to internal banishment to the remote areas of Scotland in 1620. In 1700 Watson and Paterson, political rather than religious deviants, were banished from entering within ten miles of Edinburgh for one year, although Watson seemed able to continue printing from a distance. Yet another unusual form of banishment was employed in 1661 when parliament forbade those possessing or condoning *The Causes of God's Wrath* from entering within ten miles of Edinburgh during the particular session of parliament.⁷²

Banishment like imprisonment usually ended commercial activity. For book merchants, naturally enough, sentences which impeded the ability to trade hit hard at the commerce that supported themselves, their journeymen and their families. The printer John Scot had his printing materials confiscated in 1562. When Martha Stevenson's servant was accused of selling the 'Remonstrance for James VII' in 1691 he was threatened with the removal of his burgess ticket if he offended again. Even more serious was the closure of the booth of the bookseller John Calderwood in 1680 and the shutting of the press of John Reid, senior in 1691.⁷³

Meanwhile, those law-abiding individuals were encouraged to reveal the names of offenders by the lure of financial reward. In 1583

⁷² RPC, iii, 1, 84-5; RPC, i, 12, 249-50; PC.152, 114-7; APS, vii, c11, 12.

⁷³ EBR, 3, 170-71; RPC, iii, 16, 248; RPC, iii, 6, 571; RPC, iii, 16, 571-2.

the Ruthven regime offered a reward of £500 scots for the name of the author of a libel targetted at its brief administration. Over a century later the government was so irritated at the pro-Darien tracts published in 1700 that it offered £6000 scots for information leading to the arrest of the author Walter Herries. The large reward is explained by the pro-Jacobite tone to Herries' remarks concerning the Darien debacle. Commissioned searchers were also important to this process of detection. Searchers were both agents of crime prevention, seeking out all seditious literature, and of repression, commissioned to locate specific material. Book searchers were introduced as early as 1541 when James Bannatyne and Thomas Davidson, perhaps the royal printer of the same name, were appointed 'searchers general' of English ships. Customs officers were expected to take responsibility for policing book imports, and regularly their felicity was taken under oath as those of Leith were in 1617. However, during the seventeenth century the appointment of searchers fell increasingly to the burgh authorities, even though the general assembly pleaded for more appointments from time to time, and in 1696 the government took it upon itself to appoint a special searching committee to investigate the homes and booths of book traders.⁷⁴ The first line of defence for imported forbidden literature may have been the customs officer, but he was just as likely as the next man to be sympathetic to dissent. Nevertheless, the targeting of action against specific quarry, a particular work, author or narrow topic, made repressive censorship more effective than general preventative measures, and this helps to explain why the government turned increasingly to this brand of censorship in the late seventeenth century.

⁷⁴ *RPC*, i, 3, 549-50; *PC*.1.52, 163-4; *RSS*, ii, 664, no.4275; *RPC*, i, 11, 266; *PC*.1.51, 20.

The Pattern of Censorship

Are we able to detect general trends in censorship in the early modern period and is it possible, or even valid, to talk in terms of censorship increasing and reaching its peak towards the act of union? In table 4 above, as we have already seen, a definite increase in book proscription occurred from the 1660s, followed by a subdued 1670s, but then with particular peaks reached in the 1680s and the first decade of the eighteenth century. The years 1680 to 1690, a period of anti-covenanting, and of James VII's unconvincing authoritarianism, and 1700 to 1705, years of anxiety over the succession with the death of William and James VII, were the busiest years for banning books. Much of the increase from 1685 was in secular political subjects rather than covenanting or recusancy.

If we consider the frequency of individual censorship prosecutions, see table 5, again an obvious increase in the number of cases arises from the 1660s, notwithstanding confirmation yet again of the notable quiet of the 1670s under Lauderdale's regime. Conversely, this might reflect the government's total success in repressing subversive literature, although more cases would appear in government records if suppression was so mobilised. The campaign in the 1660s, in spite of undoubted politicisation in the west, appears to have knocked the stuffing out of seditious literature until 1679 and the covenanter rebellion. Furthermore, the breakdown between authors, printers, and those individuals who appear to be neither, indicates that only 20% of defendants were authors and that printers and booksellers were more frequent victims of censorship. Authors were often more difficult to trace, behaved anonymously or were overseas, which partially explains why, when caught, they were more likely to face execution. Thus the notoriety of the cases against a few authors

has distorted the overall picture of the government campaign against the press and ordinary citizen. New government policies to tackle the censorship of papers critical of government, rather than vain attempts to license the entire press, ensured that by the 1680s and 1690s it was the book trader who was the target of searches, catalogue registration and sometimes the burgh or central courts.

Table 5: Frequency of Individual Censorship Prosecutions

	<u>Decade Totals</u>	<u>Authors</u>	<u>Book Traders (bulk trade)</u>	<u>Miscellaneous (private individuals)</u>
1540s	1		1	
1550s				
1560s				
1570s	2	1*	1	
1580s				
1590s	2	1		1
1600s				
1610s	2	1	1*	
1620s	3		1*	2
1630s	1	1		
1640s	1		1	
1650s				
1660s	6	2	3*	1*
1670s	1		1*	
1680s	12	1	4	7
1690s	13	1	6	6
1700s	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>—</u>
Totals	<u>48</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>

* Indicates cases with multiple defendants.

Sources: APS, RPC, PC.1/PC.2, Committee of Estates.

Figure 2 (below), which shows graphically the incidence of all government actions over the issue of censorship, but excluding actual legislation, provides a similar picture from the Restoration. Before then the flurries of activity in the regimes of Morton and James VI relate mainly to efforts to suppress criticism of religious innovations and multifarious slanders against the government. The lack of data for the 1650s is in part due to the paucity of extant central government sources, but also because issues such as localised anxiety over Quakerism, and the resolutioner versus remonstrants or protestors controversy of the 1650s, were played out without much action by the army council in Scotland. Action over the latter was only finally taken by the committee of estates in August 1660 when it prohibited all remonstrant literature.

What is of special interest is the contrast between the incidence of censorship activity (figure 2) and data showing the frequency of censorship legislation (figure 1). Figure 1 consists of aggregates of privy council and parliamentary legislation, but only royal proclamations for censorship if ratified by the executive. Proclamations, such as that issued in February 1567 to suppress accusatory libels after the death of Darnley, are not included for they were not confirmed by act of parliament or privy council. If we were to include such measures we would have to include various letters from the king which may, of course, have resulted in oppressions, but to an unquantifiable degree. What we can quantify, however, is the stark contrasts between the wave of legislation to control the book in the 1580s and 1590s, compared with the few examples of censorship prosecution and other book related cases.

Figure 1: Incidence of Censorship Legislation

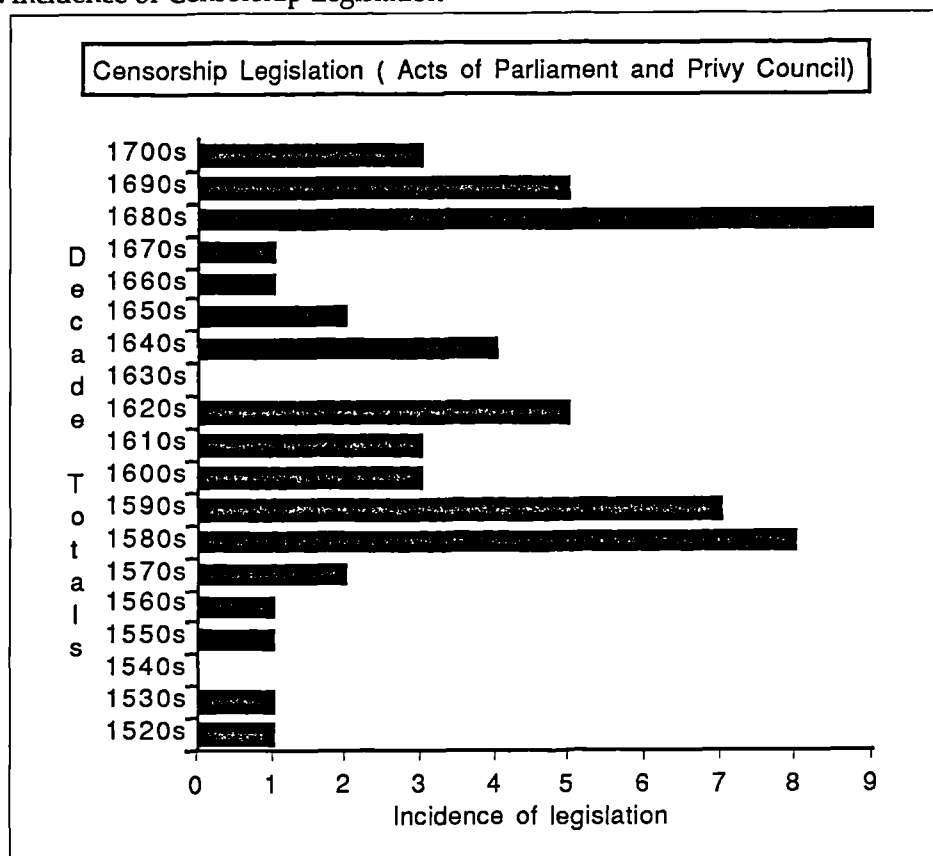
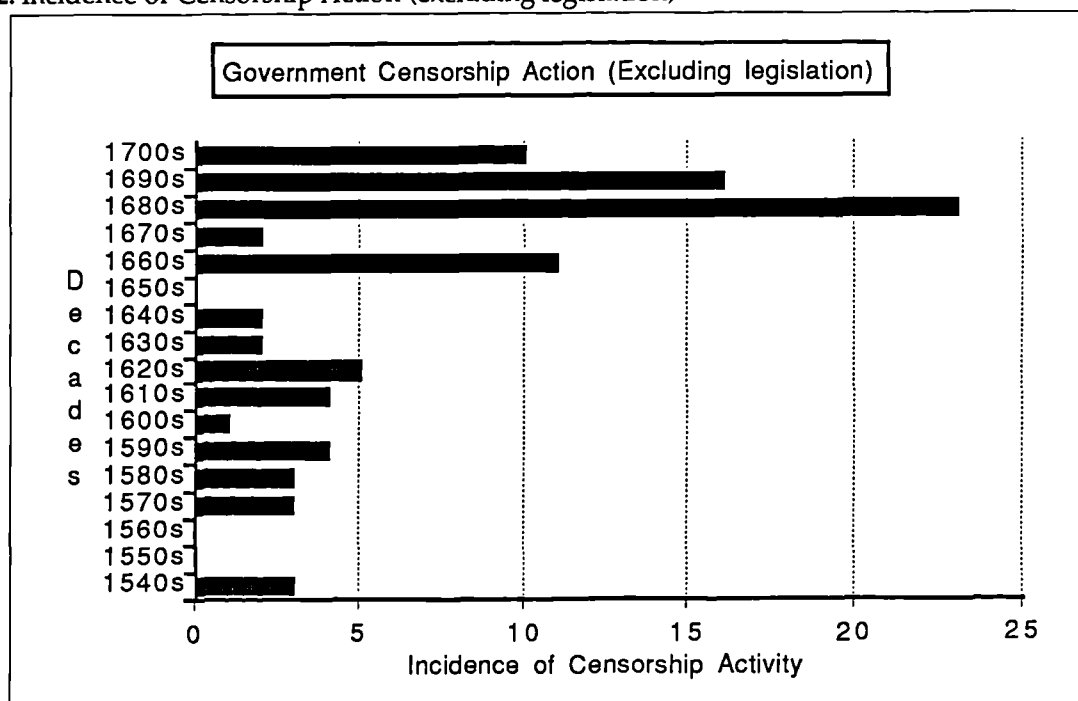


Figure 2: Incidence of Censorship Action (excluding legislation)



There are two possible explanations for this contrast. Firstly, the government introduced a barrage of statute which overwhelmed illicit and seditious book activity, and therefore was a success story in censorship terms. The second possibility is that the range of legislation was introduced as an exaggerated response to an exaggerated threat. The legislation of the 1580s and 1590s was concerned with two main topics: libels and criticisms of various administrations and the fear of counter-Reformation. Thus the Ruthven regime, Arran regime and that of Maitland and the mature King James passed laws to limit adverse comment during a period of 'party politics' within the governing elite. James VI had firmer control from the late 1590s, but it appears that the Morton regency and the reign of Charles I before 1636 were more stable years from the point of view of book censorship. In the reign of Charles I much of the credit for this should go to archbishop Spottiswoode who attempted to deal with book merchants like Cathkin, and authors like Rutherford, in a moderate manner. In the context of censorship the high commission of the 1620s and 1630s was not especially destructive - it was no English star chamber. The Scottish high commission was less a tyrannical censor and more a symbol of secular and church cooperation in the control of ideas.

The anxiety over the counter-Reformation was a particular theme of government activity in the 1580s and 1590s. Especially after the fall of Arran, the government was assailed by a range of petitions by the general assembly and clergy demanding action against Catholic books and anti-Catholic acts of council streamed forth from 1587 to 1593. The few actual cases considered by central government contrasts with the efforts made more locally by clerical courts and burgh councils (see chapters 1 and 2). Yet, the fear of invasion by Catholic Spain was real enough, along with the undoubted effectiveness of the Catholic presses of Paris and Rouen in producing the writings of Scottish Catholics such as John Leslie, Nicol Burne, and James Tyre. These factors, along with the tenacity of Jesuits within Scotland, delivered the required response.

The other surprise is the small level of legislation in the 1660s at a time of considerable suppression of seditious literature. What this reflects is the desire of the Restoration government to use existing legislation to control the judicial life of the nation. This was part of the attempt to emphasise legitimacy and to turn the clock back to 1637, and is confirmed in the wording of the licensing act of 1661 which underscores precedent dating back to James V. It was a policy of conciliation and legality supported by Charles II in London and draws us to consider the degree to which censorship in Scotland was controlled from England. This is a difficult conundrum, although there are some instances of English moves to assert control over the Scottish press. Even before the regal union, an English royal commission of 1582, investigating the number of necessary authorised presses, recommended, on the advice of Christopher Barker the royal printer, a suitable number for England and Scotland as if it had some sway north of the border. Also, some of the talk in the English court concerned itself, as it did in 1620, with the need to press on the crown the desirability of censoring the Scottish press during those more delicate times of international diplomacy.⁷⁵ In general, however, the impression is of a Scottish administration asserting its will to act independently.

The level of censorship did not so much get greater throughout the early modern period as change in its character. As the supply of books expanded, both imported and home produced, so the early notions of licensing the entire press were replaced by a targeted effort at particular brands of seditious literature dealing with specific topics. This produced at the end of the seventeenth century a more effective administrative effort, with the cooperation of the burghs and Edinburgh especially, which increased the number of prosecutions. At the same time penalties for breaches were generally more moderate,

⁷⁵ Lambert, 'The Printers and the Government, 1604-1637', 3. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvi, no. 274 (6 March, 1620) and no. 286 (13 March) concerning the need to stop printings reflecting on the interests of all princes, and especially of the doge and senate of Venice.

for after 1689 the vitality of party politics made it more difficult to banish all but the most extreme points of view. Nevertheless, if a body count is to be ignored along with the misleading notoriety of some cases, censorship under William and Mary and Queen Anne was the most robust of the early modern period. It was a strange watershed in the history of the Scottish book as the eighteenth century commenced, with government getting tougher and more efficient in censorship at the very time when the press explosion was about to make the printed word virtually impossible to control. Equally, the greater demand of the Scottish readership made legitimate commerce without controversy an increasingly attractive and profitable proposition, and for the majority of book traders and makers the law of censorship was becoming an irrelevancy to the more mundane objectives of profit making. Selling Bunyan made more sense than covert activity.

Chapter 7

The Economics of the Book Trade

Profit and Loss: the Financial Condition of Book Traders from the 1570s to 1760s

One of the most fertile sources for information on the merchant community is the study of wills and testaments. In Scottish and English book and printing history much work has been done in this area, but from largely bibliographical and biographical perspectives.¹ Nonetheless, the study of the Scottish merchants of the early modern period has led to some inevitable testament work of a more financial nature. Joyce MacMillan, in her study of Edinburgh burghesses in the

¹ For England see for example Henry R. Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers from 1492 to 1630*, (London, 1903) for the important but old antiquarian approach. However, the work of John Barnard and Maureen Bell at the university of Leeds shows how the analysis of wills can be transformed into business history. See John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The Inventory of Henry Bynneman (1583): A Preliminary Survey', *Publishing History*, xxix, (1991), 5-40. For general merchant surveys in Scotland focusing on testaments see Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, 50-64 and Sanderson, 'The Edinburgh merchants in society, 1570-1603: the evidence of their testaments' in Cowan and Shaw, *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, 183-199 and T.M. Devine, 'The Merchant Class of the Larger Scottish Towns in the Later Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries' in Gordon and Dicks, *Scottish Urban History*, 92-108, and for printing in Scotland note J.P. Edmond, 'Notes on the Inventories of Edinburgh Printers, 1577-1603', *EBS*, (1896), 1-8 and the wide range of print history articles by W.J. Couper referred to throughout this thesis, as well as F. S. Ferguson, 'Relations between London and Edinburgh printers and stationers (-1640)', *The Library*, fourth series, viii, (1927) which analyses the text content of the inventories of Thomas Bassandyn, Robert Gourlaw, and some other book merchants.

seventeenth century, has produced a variety of aggregate and comparative statistics on numbers of burgesses and merchants in specific trades.² Also, her research has delivered some financial comparisons between the wealth of craft and guild members and certain trades, including book traders. Unfortunately, her method of proceeding from the Register of Edinburgh Burgesses to the registers of testaments has brought only twenty one testaments to her attention. This is surprising when even the *Bannatyne Miscellany* (1836) has twenty-four printed testaments from seventeenth-century Edinburgh. In the study of the book trade there is no alternative to building on the vast mountain of bibliographical work to locate names, and then to search the commissary court records for testaments.³

A lengthy search through the commissary court records of the burghs has unearthed some 150 book traders, merchants and craftsmen, from the 1570s to 1760s, of whom ninety-two provide sufficient financial information for analysis (for a full list see appendix III). The others show insufficient detail to be more than of biographical use. Of the ninety-two, forty-six are recorded in the Edinburgh records as proved in the seventeenth century.⁴ Glasgow becomes an important book burgh from the 1650s, and other smaller towns such as Perth, Lanark and Dumfries are featured. Unfortunately, the fact that Aberdeen's seventeenth-century commissary court records have failed to survive has reduced the Aberdeen entries to a few in the early eighteenth century. Nevertheless, using the data from the ninety-two it has been possible to analyse book stockholding values, the value of inventories including book stock and other goods, debts owed, debtors due and total net estate values and, therefore, wealth (see table 6).

² MacMillan, 'Edinburgh Burgess Community', passim.

³ How else would the likes of William Norwell the Glasgow bookbinder and Richard Cameron the Dumfries and Edinburgh bookseller be discovered when both are described merely as merchants in their testaments. SRO. CC9.7.50 (8 September, 1707); CC 8.8.95 (20 September, 1733); MacMillan, 'Edinburgh Burgess Community', 107.

⁴ MacMillan located 21.

Table 6: Dispersal of Book Traders by Wealth

(Percentages of book traders within ranges:(nos. of records, % of recorded data, followed by % of all 92 sets of records))

<u>Ranges in £ spots</u>	<u>Book Stock</u> (55 records)	<u>Inventory(inc. books)</u> (79 records)	<u>Debtors</u> (70 records)	<u>Debits</u> (37 records)	<u>Net Estate Value</u> (92 records)
0-500	(20) 36.36 [21.73]	(34) 43.03 [36.95]	(29) 41.41 [31.52]	(21) 56.75 [22.82]	(31)33.69
501-1000	(2) 3.63 [2.17]	(5) 6.32 [5.43]	(15) 21.42 [16.3]	(5) 13.51 [5.43]	(7) 7.6
1001-1500	(8) 14.54 [8.69]	(8) 10.12 [8.69]	(8) 11.42 [8.69]	(1) 2.7 [1.08]	(5) 5.43
1501-2000	(4) 7.27 [4.34]	(5) 6.32 [5.43]	(2) 2.85 [2.17]	(1) 2.7 [1.08]	(6) 6.52
2001-2500	(1) 1.81 [1.08]	(1) 1.26 [1.08]	(3) 4.28 [3.26]	(1) 2.7 [1.08]	(7) 7.6
2501-5000	(12) 2.40 [13.03]	(14) 17.7 [15.2]	(10) 14.25 [10.85]	(4) 10.8 [4.33]	(12)13.02
5001-7500	(3) 5.43 [3.24]	(5) 6.32 [5.43]	(1) 1.42 [1.08]	(2) 5.4 [2.17]	(4) 4.33
7501-10000	—	(2) 2.52 [2.16]	(1) 1.42 [1.08]	(1) 2.7 [1.08]	(2) 2.17
10000>	(5) 9.09 [5.45]	(5) 6.32 [5.43]	(1) 1.42 [1.08]	(1) 2.7 [1.08]	(8) 8.69

-1000 to 0

(7) 7.96 *

-2000 to -1001

—

-3000 to -2001

(1) 1.08

< -3000

(2) 2.1

* (4x> -500 [4.34], 3x> -501 to -1000 [3.62])

Notes: The number of records vary under each heading. Not all inventories provide a separate value for book stock and not all indicate an inventory. For individual testaments net estate value is simply calculated by adding the inventory value (including book stock) and debtors and subtracting debts owed.

For a full list of individual testament figures see appendix III.

James Brown has cautioned against the use of testaments as the amount of money left 'is certainly no indication of wealth and cannot be used to determine status'.⁵ Yet, particularly in the case of book traders, if wealth is analysed in relation to the stock of printed or bound book stock some evidence of wealth is provided even though status for book merchants, or any other group, may indeed be subject to additional criteria. Notarial testaments are snapshots and not necessarily indicative of a lifetime of riches or poverty. Some were proved merely to chase debts, or by widows who had allowed the business to subside. Nonetheless, if the sample is sufficiently large then there is food for thought for economic and business history.

From the figures in table 6 we can see that the financial position of most book traders was in positive balance - 11% were bankrupt. We know of only one suicide for bankruptcy, that in 1674 of John Masone, the Edinburgh stationer, but a number of book traders were obviously struggling.⁶ The estate value figures in appendix III confirm that there were a few 'super rich', such as Andro Hart (d.1621) and Agnes Campbell (d.1716) with estates of £20,000 and £78,000 scots respectively. Scotland's most wealthy book merchants were not wealthy individuals in English terms, however. Using Grassby's criteria for wealth measurement in England, Hart, and other Scottish printers such as Robert Bryson (d.1642) and James Watson, the younger (d.1722) would be placed in the lower reaches of the middling wealthy, £1000 to £5000 sterling, (using £12 scots to £1 sterling). Only the king's printer Agnes Campbell would fall into the £5000 to £10000 sterling band for substantial London merchants. Scotland had no 'super rich' merchants in any trade or enterprise other than William Dick of Braid (1580-1655) who impoverished himself lending huge sums to the

⁵ J.J. Brown, 'Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638', 5-6. Note also his summary article which is important for ship ownership 'Merchant Princes and Mercantile Investment in Early Seventeenth-Century Scotland' in Lynch (ed.), *Early Modern Town*, 125-146.

⁶ Masone's Scottish, English and Dutch creditors, in December of that year, lodged their rights with the privy seal to secure claims against the Masone estate. SRO.PS. 3/2, 493.

covenanters. Campbell's wealth, much of which had been accumulated through her book paper monopoly, was therefore unusual.⁷ While Campbell had sixteen apprentices and journeymen, other successful printing houses, of more modest scale, might have a few apprentices and typically only a couple of presses. George Mosman printer to the kirk actually had three presses in 1707 just before his death, and at the very least the same must have been true of James Watson, the younger, who had two printing houses in 1722. The restrictions imposed on English printers who, with a few exceptions, were allowed only two presses for much of the seventeenth century, did not apply in Scotland.⁸

Earlier merchants, and in particular the great vernacular publisher, bookseller and printer Henry Charteris (d.1599), were also of substantial means before the last devaluation of the pound scots in 1601. Charteris's estate of £7269 located him amongst his contemporary merchant elite, while his status as a commissioner and bailie of Edinburgh placed him above some of those with more financial muscle.⁹ Allowing for currency inflation, there may be little to choose between the wealth of Charteris in 1599 and of Hart in 1621. Charteris and Hart show, having both become printers after earlier careers as stationers and commissioners of print, that in early modern Scotland printing was the more certain path to riches for book merchants. Scotland's most successful specialist booksellers, Andrew Wilson (d.1654), and John Vallange (d.1712), both of Edinburgh and school book and law book specialists respectively, were some way

⁷ BM, 241 and 284. Note the printed transcription of Campbell's testament is very incomplete and much fascinating information is to be found in the full registered testament, a lesson in general terms. SRO. CC8.8.86; R. Grassby, 'The Personal Wealth of the Business Community of seventeenth century England', *English Historical Review*, 23 (1970), 228-9 and MacMillan, 'Edinburgh Burgess Community', 136; BM, 263 and CC8.8.88; RPC, iii, 5, 441-2.

⁸ SRO. RD 2/92. no.1772 f.870-872 (19 November, 1707); CC8.8.88 (19 December, 1722); Lambert, 'Printers and the Government', 3-9.

⁹ BM, 223 and Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, 52 ; *ibid.*, fn 64-5.

behind those who diversified to the press, or who mostly specialised in manufacturing.¹⁰ In Scotland the phenomenon of wealthy copyholding booksellers did not develop in the explosive way it did in England, where it was encouraged by the Stationers' patenting and stock system. This reflects a more restrained view of the reduced exploitable possibilities of copyright north of the border (see chapter 4).

Excluding the large estate of Agnes Campbell, the mean average estate value for the other ninety-one testaments was £2500 scots. Including Campbell, the figures in table 6 show that 8% had estates of over £10,000, a third had estates of very small value, but a large middling group existed, consisting of 13%, with between £2500 and £5000. The great number of book traders concerned with marginal trading is confirmed by the large percentage, nearly 34%, with estates under £500. Interestingly, the spread between £501 and £2500 is very even suggesting that at the lower end of the market a quarter of the trade was well established and might aspire to the wealth of the middle group. Meanwhile, the estate value decade averages (see below figure 3) confirm that the book trade performed above mean in the 1590s, 1620s and 1640s before the larger boom at the turn of the eighteenth century.

MacMillan's research does not show that the wealth of book traders, craftsmen or merchants, differed greatly from other trades. Based on a sample of over forty apothecaries and surgeons, set against her twenty-one book trade testaments, MacMillan claims considerable financial affinity for the two groups. Both occupational groups show approximately a third exceeding £2500 in estate value, while her own numbers show that the poorest end is much greater for the book trade.¹¹ A comparison with MacMillan's large samples of craftsmen and merchants is useful (see table 7).

¹⁰ BM, 277 and CC8.8.85.

¹¹ MacMillan, 'Edinburgh Burgess Community', 107.

Table 7: Dispersal of Wealth by Merchants, Craftsmen and Book Traders

<u>Range (£)</u>	<u>Merchants(%)</u>	<u>Craftsmen(%)</u>	<u>Book Traders(%)</u>	
Negative	8	6	5	11
0-500	22	49	43	33.69
501-1000	13	17	5	7.6
1001-2500	19	17	14	19.55
2501-5000	14	7	10	13
5001-10000	10	3	19	6.5
over 10000	<u>13</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8.69</u>
Sample Size:	<u>901</u>	<u>749</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>92</u>

In contrast with MacMillan's smaller seventeenth-century sample of book traders the larger group now available indicates a higher incidence of bankruptcy, and in fact almost double that of craftsmen as a whole.¹² The 11% figure noted above is high after all. Some of the statistical differences will be down to more minute interrogation of the testament records using bibliographical information, and the records of traders outside Edinburgh, yet there is a clear impression that a considerable sector of the book trade was engaged in very marginal activity with small binders and occasional vendors making very little money indeed. The larger sample also reveals that the percentages for estates of over £5000 were exaggerated in the small sample, and this is not so surprising. The idea that twice as many book traders as overall merchants were in the wealthy £5001 to £10000 range (10% for merchants and 19% for book traders) is surely untenable. The book trade could be profitable, but not in comparison with trade in staples.

¹² For figures for merchants, craftsmen and twenty-one testament book traders see MacMillan, 'Edinburgh Burgess Community', 115 and appendix, 289. Thus, in table 7 the first three columns are from MacMillan and the last represents the new total of testaments used in this research.

The higher percentage of those over £10000 is noteworthy, although in part this is due to the extension of the larger sample into the early eighteenth century where a small additional number of rich printers is to be found. Nevertheless, some testaments by the wealthy were as hard to locate as those of modest means, and all types are as significant when added to the sample. Clearly in the future further booksellers and printers will be located whose records can be added. Both the court of session records and deeds in the Scottish Record Office, such as that of George Mosman, are going to add to the statistical mass.¹³

The analysis of indebtedness, both debtors due and debts to creditors is also of relevance in assessing overall economic performance. Debt fell especially heavily on the poorest third, that is with estates valued up to £500, and also the most wealthy 15%. Some 56% of the poorest book traders (under £500 wealth) were in debt, while 41% of the same group were owed money by customers and smaller suppliers. It is of interest that it was those middling wealthy (£2500 to £5000) who were more likely to be creditors themselves with 10.8% in debt and 14% as creditors. The more wealthy book merchants, with estates over £5000, were as inclined to be in debt as the middling group but with only 4% debtors were much less likely to be victims of customer bad debt. These summary percentage figures for indebtedness reveal three contrasting trends: the perilous financial position of the poorest sector, often in debt but having difficulty retrieving money owed to them, the consignment trading of the largest merchants and their ability to retrieve debts, and in the middle the necessity of booksellers to allow credit to customers.

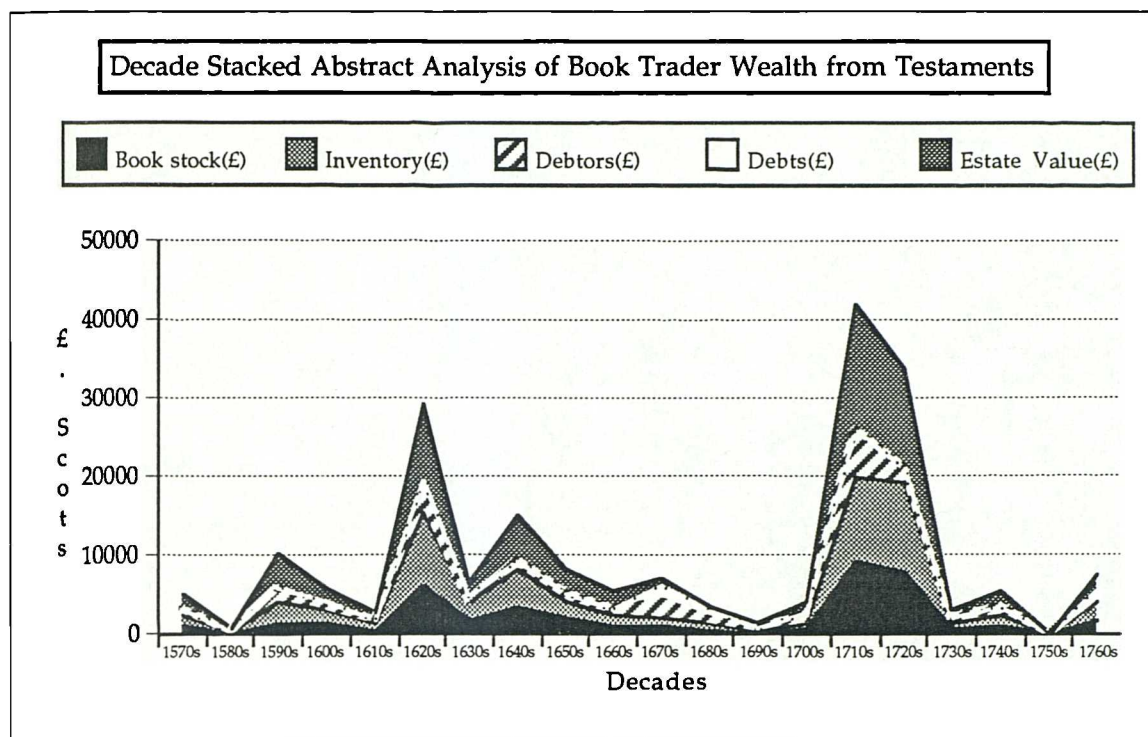
¹³ MacMillan's attempt to contrast the variety of book trade occupations - 'booksellers and printers were wealthier than bookbinders and stationers' - is wishful thinking. The likes of Andro Hart, in his known active period from 1587 to 1621, was named a bookseller, stationer, printer, bookbinder, merchant and burgess, and even *librarie*, *bibliopola* and *typographius*. The differentiation of book specialities is fraught with difficulties. All that can be said is that while not all, and indeed a minority, were printers, most were vendors of books whether binders, printers or stationers.

Even for those estates owed money there were often considerable problems in chasing up debts, and testaments were commonly re-proved thirty or forty years after death by aggrieved creditor families in search of rightful financial dues. Thus the Edinburgh merchant James Hamilton, executor of the estate of the deceased Beatrix Campbell, the widow of the bookseller Archibald Hislop, proceeded to register debts owed to the Hislop estate almost twenty years after Hislop's death in 1678. It was quite common for debts due to the husband to remain unpaid years later on the death of the wife. In another example, Elizabeth Hamilton the granddaughter of Beatrix's sister Agnes Campbell, proved a brief testament in 1748 for debts owed by the Glasgow merchant William Dickie in lieu of the estate of Campbell who died in 1716. Following John Vallange's inheritance of the bookselling side of Thomas Brown's business in 1703, his son John Vallange the younger, after John senior's death in 1712, was still chasing debts due to Brown in 1722.¹⁴ These debt problems are all associated with substantial traders, and we can well imagine how much more difficult debt collecting was for small bookbinders and booksellers.¹⁵

¹⁴ SRO. CC8.8.76 (10 July, 1679) and CC8.8.80. (8 June, 1697). The Hislop testaments have caused much confusion and speculation about different book merchants. They are all married to the same Beatrix Campbell! CC.8.8112.1 (28 October, 1748). CC8.8.82(29 November, 1703) and CC8.8. 88 (30 May, 1722).

¹⁵ The Hislop family children were in fact forced to go to the court to session to protect their prospect from the predations of their stepfather Robert Currie and aunt Agnes Campbell. These two opportunists appear to have swallowed up the Hislop inheritance after Beatrix Campbell's death. See John Grant 'Archibald Hislop, Stationer, Edinburgh', *EBS*, xii (1925), 42-44. The final decret was not given until 1687: see SRO.CS.157-66/2.

Figure 3: Decade Stacked Abstract Analysis of Book Trader Wealth from Notarial Testaments



A summary picture of the financial position of book traders, as revealed by their testaments, can be provided graphically in a stacked abstract analysis (see figure 3). In this it can be seen that the greatest period of precarious indebtedness stretched from the 1660s to the 1690s, although there were warning signs in the more profitable 1620s and 1630s (see figure 4 for debts only). While the numbers of book traders expanded after the Restoration, the sample of testaments shows that much of the trade was based on high levels of shaky credit which helped, along with the general economic recession of the 1690s, to plunge the book trade into something of a crisis. A number of printers were saved by the advent of newspapers and news publishing, but booksellers struggled with the likes of the Edinburgh bookseller Gideon Shaw suffering a serious debt problem, smaller vendors switching from books to the sale of other goods, and the larger traders feeling the impact of English competition at the quality end of the

market. Nevertheless, before the close of the seventeenth century there were the stirrings of a recovery. When the recovery arrived, and the book market improved, there was the inevitable rise in debtors as customers were given sales on credit (see figure 5 for debtors only). It was always a buyers market. Meanwhile, the figures on book stockholding (see figure 3) illustrate that the large scale stocking of books was not a common practice until the 1620s. Some booksellers such as Henry Charteris, and printers such as Thomas Bassandyne, held large quantities of stock by the end of the sixteenth century, but it was only the growth of demand in the early seventeenth century which provided the extra confidence to allow such investment to expand. Heavy stock holding, in bound and unbound stock, was also characteristic of the long awaited boom from c1700 to c1720.

Figure 4: Average Debts by Decade in Book Trade Testaments

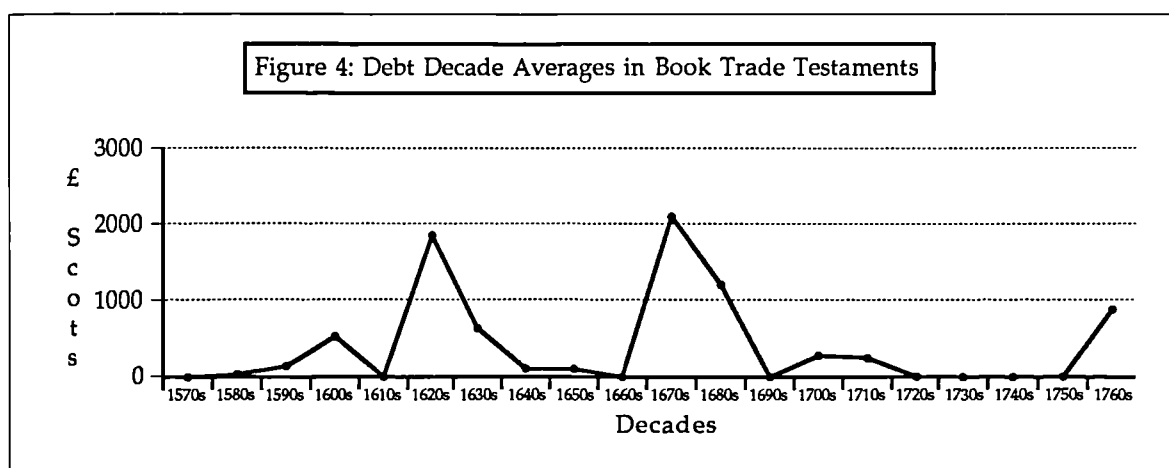
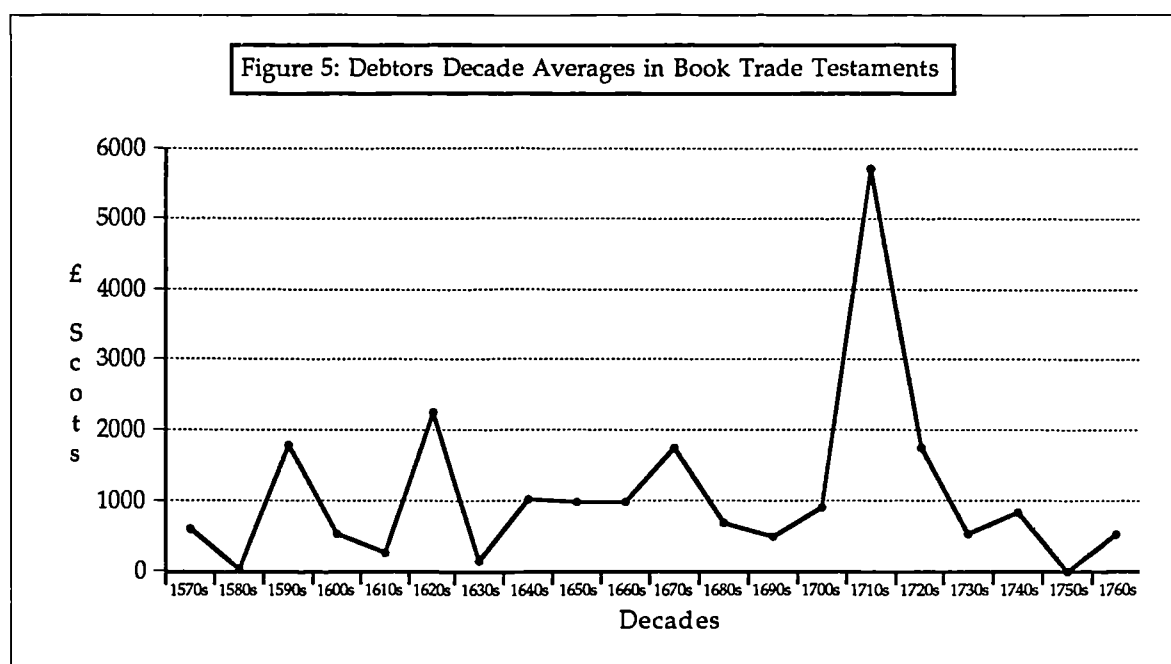


Figure 5: Average Debtors by Decade in Book Trade Testaments



As stated above, the approach of using testaments for economic analysis is open to criticism.¹⁶ The testaments of book traders do provide, however, a valuable series of financial still-life moments which enable economic trends to be posited. The ninety-two testaments in our sample include a few from the 1730s to 1760s which are outside the chronology of this research. However, they signpost the concluding years of the careers of book makers and sellers who were active from the start of the eighteenth century. It is not our task to quantify the condition of the book trade in Scotland after the 1720s, but as we shall see below the wills of the 1750s offer much information of significance to the book men of the 1720s and before. As the research into the book trade of Scotland develops so the statistical credibility of economic assessments will be taken forward from this point.

¹⁶ Other systems of sifting, even the use of the burgess rolls for identification, are also unreliable. Some senior figures, Henry Charteris and Evan Tyler for example, are not recorded as having joined the merchant guild although they clearly did! To a great extent the distinctions between burgesses and guild members, as well as printers, bookbinders and booksellers, are of only qualified value.

Book Pricing and Inflation: value for money?

The printed book is frequently regarded as a priceless artifact by the bibliophile when in reality it is no more than an unnecessary commodity, an item of luxury furniture. In early modern Scotland the cleric required scripture, the lawyer printed law and the teacher duplicated school texts to carry out their respective occupations, but books were not necessary for the maintenance of life, or even of particular utility for much of the population. Therefore, factors such as a lack of disposable income, levels of food prices, general price inflation and the prices of books themselves, were influences on book demand for most levels of Scottish society. Scottish publishing in part depended on the patronage of the gentry and nobility, yet the motor of demand that helped produce an expanding book trade could not depend on the book purchasing power of a few thousand nobles and gentry plus some hundreds of clergy with slowly rising stipends. A degree of increased general demand was required from at least the middle reaches of society.¹⁷

The trend in book pricing is clearly one of the key determinants directing demand. The accepted European picture in the early modern period is of steadily falling real prices for books, particularly in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁸ The consensus is that this resulted from an explosion of competitive book supply brought about by improved technology and more effective distribution. Yet,

¹⁷ It could be argued that the limited nature of the market would reduce the significance of rising book prices and general inflation. However, the market was sufficiently large and expanding to be affected by the dispersal of wealth throughout society in general.

¹⁸ R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800*, (London, 1988), 185-7; Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books*, (London, 1974), 238-247.

the first of these must be doubted for England let alone Scotland. The improved press developed in Germany in the early sixteenth century, with the adoption of the copper screw instead of the old wooden variety, and the introduction of the sliding bed, tympan and frisket, was widely in use in Scotland and England by the 1560s. Thomas Vautrollier's Scottish press, which he bequeathed to his son Manasses in 1587, was of this refined form. The next major development was introduced in Amsterdam in 1620. This new press, created by the map printer William Janzoon Blaeu, added a long iron lever for turning the screw, and a new mechanism for running the printing bed under the press, which increased the hourly rate of impressions from 200 to 250.¹⁹ However, the English printer Joseph Moxon, in his manual *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683-4), and the Scottish printer James Watson in his *History of the Art of Printing* (1713), indicate that this new variety of Dutch press was rare in both kingdoms in the seventeenth century. Scotland employed Dutch type, old Dutch presses and even Dutch methods of composition and ink mixing, but new presses were usually the 'traditional' English kind.²⁰ Furthermore, even if the new Blaeu press had been widely in use it would have had only a marginal impact on production output. The really significant technological breakthroughs for the early press came in the eighteenth century with the invention of stereotyping printing plates by William Ged in the 1730s, which eliminated delays caused by resetting or the heavy costs of standing type, and the arrival of the larger and more robust iron press in the 1790s. Until these innovations the 'common press', as it was termed, altered little throughout the early modern period. Expanding production, especially

¹⁹ For the general technology see James Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to the Modern Times*, (London, 1973) passim and Plant, *The English Book Trade*, 170-172; H.R. Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers from 1492 to 1630*, 22.

²⁰ Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing*, (1683-4). ii, 37. (facsimile, Oxford, 1962); James Watson, *A History of the Art of Printing*, (1713), (facsimile, London, 1965), 7 and 20-21. The former is regarded as the first manual of printing in any language, the latter the first history of printing from the British Isles.

in England and Scotland, required longer working hours, more pressmen and compositors and, most basic of all, more presses. Indeed, technological advances, like the greater availability of quality printing paper and the creation of more legible typefaces, had mainly qualitative rather than quantitative benefits. Improvements in the networks of distribution for both imported and domestically produced stock were far more significant to the growth of overall book supply and demand. These, coupled with the profitability of mass distribution and the demands of expanding literacy, for all the essential caveats that modulate the myth of Scottish supremacy in literacy and education, explain the forward propulsion of the book trade in Scotland from the 1660s.²¹ This was the context in which other less tangible variables, such as the rejuvenated network of European intellectualism and the new age of science, delivered the 'printing enlightenment' of the eighteenth century.

The anatomy of book pricing is, and always has been, notoriously complex.²² The varieties of book format, paper quality, book binding specification, typeface, and textual edition are almost endless, and this is before the historian makes any effort to interpret extant documentation. Bibliography is a constant battle of identification using sources that often provide inadequate descriptions of editions, use differing titles for the same book, and omit the author's name, and year of publication. Equally problematical for the price historian is that, when book price information is discovered, it is frequently uncertain if sheet or bound stock is being cited, or if the stock is old or new and appropriately adjusted in value. The juxtaposition of second hand book business with that of new editions, so common amongst booksellers from the late seventeenth century, creates further

²¹ The standard work assessing the spread of literacy in Scotland is Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*. For book production see chapter 5 'Measures of Literacy', 162-5.

²² Note that all subsequent prices are in scots unless otherwise stated.

difficulties in the assessment of book prices.²³ It is also certain that the book trade of early modern Scotland was accustomed to European-wide concepts of discounted and wholesale prices. In the 1570s Christopher Plantin gave his Scottish and English bookselling customers an average discount of 15% on the catalogue price. In the 1670s the Edinburgh bookseller and binder Archibald Hislop was given disadvantageous discounts of 10 to 12.5% by London suppliers, when the London trade awarded itself rates of 20%. Also, in 1712 John Vallange, the Edinburgh legal bookseller, supplied the royal printer Agnes Campbell with 100 New Testaments at the wholesale price of 5s scots per copy.²⁴ Books were thus not commodities, like grain or ale, for which the prices of weighted measures can be traced with relative certainty.

Official pricing policy, where it can be detected and plotted, is an enormous aid to the price historian. Unfortunately there is little evidence of burgh price regulation for books to help the quest for consistent pricing data. The attempt by Edinburgh town council to set printed sheet prices for ballads in 1710 - this was to resolve a trade dispute between the book trade and paper cryers - is the only general example of book price fixing by the burghs. Street traders were to pay printers the wholesale prices of 16s per quire for new papers and pamphlets, 7s per quire for ballads and 5s per dozen story books.²⁵ There are a few other stray instances of burgh price mechanisms, the most extraordinary being the arrangements established in Aberdeen in

²³ Stock due for auction provides another pricing conundrum. See, for example, the profitable sideline business of auctioneering by the likes of John Tennent the Edinburgh bookseller. His testament, proved in 1718, refers to the 'fixtures of the dufuncts auction house'. SRO. CC8.8.87 (18 May, 1718).

²⁴ Plant, *The English Book Trade*, 256; John Grant, 'Archibald Hislop, Stationer, Edinburgh, 1668-1678' *EBS*, xii (1925), 39-40 using SRO. CS96, 3-6; SRO. CC8.8.85 (9 April, 1713). The Vallange/Campbell deal is an odd transaction bookseller to printer.

²⁵ *EBR*, 13, 199-200 and for dispute see chapter 1. A quire was 24 sheets. For details of burgh price regulation in other fields see A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, (Cambridge, 1995), 19-65. This is a remarkable work.

1622, whereby the pupils of the burgh school were provided with books 'free of charge' on paying to Edward Raban the burgh printer, 8d per quarter. Central government was also rarely involved in setting retail book prices, although there are a few examples. In the 1570s the privy council set the price of the folio Bassandyne/Arbuthnet bible to £4 13s 3d a copy, including black leather binding and clasps, rather than the £4 13s 8d suggested by the kirk and the printers. The difference between these two prices, and a full and total price of £5, was intended to meet the cost of obtaining subscription orders throughout the land, and the costs of this operation must be the motive for the price alteration. In the 1620s the price for the 'official' catechism *God and the King* seems to have been set at 8d a copy. By the end of the seventeenth century the government became particularly involved in setting prices for editions of the acts of parliament. The prices ranged from a 'rex dollar', or 58s scots, for a complete edition of the acts of parliament in 1698, to 2s 6d for printed session papers in 1701. By 1705 the set price for acts of parliament from an annual series of sessions was £1.10s.²⁶ Beyond these areas the government did express its opinions on pricing from time to time, such as in 1576 when a licence for a new grammar was granted to George Young, but subject to the view of the council as to what would constitute a fair price. Furthermore, although no government records confirm that prices were set for the likes of the Service Book of 1637, or the 'King James Bible', it is probable that crown, council or clergy had, at least for the first editions, more than a consultative role over pricing. Andro Hart's Geneva folio bible of 1610 appears to have been officially priced at £6 according to the records of the synod of Fife, while a letter from the bishop of Edinburgh to the presbytery of Dalkeith, dated April 1637, indicates that the controversial Service Book had been priced at £4. 16s

²⁶ ACR, 51, 20; SRO.PS.1.43, 57r; Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 279-80. There was some 'tooting and froing' on the price of the 1570s bible as the clergy and printers had agreed £4. 13s 4d in March 1575, see *BUK*(1), i, 327-9; *RPC*, i, 12, 245-6, 601 and *GBR*, 1, 344. SRO. PC.2. 27. 141r (October 1698); PC.1.52, 199 (March 1701); PC.1.52, 430 (November 1705).

a copy.²⁷ These are high prices, although the presses of Hart and Robert Young, printer of the Service Book, had delivered up two of the finest Scottish printings of the period.

Church records are also fairly bereft of specifics on the pricing of books, which may suggest that much of the communication over pricing was localised and informal. That is not to say that the church was uninterested in price levels. In 1646 the general assembly justifiably expressed concern over the high price of bibles for the poorest in society. Three years later, when a new psalm book was finally approved, the commissioners of the general assembly made a point of monitoring the printing and also the level of pricing. When Archibald Johnston of Wariston was given responsibility for setting the prices of general assembly acts in 1639, his anxiety reflected the conflict between profit and piety. However, by the end of the seventeenth century, the highest church court appeared to be more concerned with accuracy and legibility than mere prices.²⁸

By far the most impressive analysis of English book prices of the early modern period is that achieved by Francis R. Johnson for the years 1550 to 1640, which H. S. Bennet, using the same methodology, has taken back to the years 1480 to 1560.²⁹ Johnson's work is based on the price per printed page of books produced in England and involved the physical examination of the volumes, as well as the accumulation of pricing references from a variety of English and Scottish sources.³⁰

²⁷ SRO. PS.1.43 (February, 1576); SFR, 10; NLS. Wodrow MSS. folio lxvi, no.40.

²⁸ Baillie's *Letters*, ii, 349; GACR, ii, 328; Wariston's *Diary*, (1632-39), 410. For instance of general assembly commission concern over bibles with 'erroneous' texts, mostly imports, see commission of 1706, Lee, *Memorials*, 158.

²⁹ Francis R. Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550-1640', *The Library*, fifth series, v, (1950), 83-112 and in the same volume H.S. Bennett, 'Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1480-1560', 172-178.

³⁰ These sources include the inventories of the Scottish booksellers Thomas Bassandyne (d.1577) and Robert Gourlaw(d.1585), from which books supplied from England have been highlighted, and bills relating to the purchase of stock from London by the

Johnson's model is to be explained by the peculiarities of the English press regulation regime. In 1598 the Stationers' Company, apparently out of a desire to control excessive book prices, passed an ordinance which set maximum prices per printed sheet for the main format and type varieties of book production. Highly illustrated and unusual productions were excluded from these regulations, but the bulk of books printed from 1598 to the 1630s were priced within these official guide-lines. Indeed, a system of price standardisation clearly existed from at least the 1560s. The persistence of these regulations helped deliver steady English book prices from the 1480s to 1550, with a notable rise in the 1550s due to the belated impact of Henry VIII's debasement of the coinage. Prices increased slowly from 1560 to 1635 before rising steeply by 40%, probably due to a relaxation in the Stationers' price regime. These trends are of interest, not merely in comparison to Scotland, but because they often proceeded at variance with general price inflation. From 1560 to 1635 the price for a normal new book, printed in pica or large type, remained under 0.5d per printed sheet, even though in the same period the general

Edinburgh bookseller Samuel Hart (1635) and an anonymous book trader from the same burgh (1621-4), probably James Cathkin. Johnson persists with his purely English task and converts pounds scots to pounds sterling for stock held in Scotland. In accomplishing this he takes great care to adopt the exchange rate appropriate according to the original publication date of each volume. Thus 1576 is converted at the rate of 6, 1581 at 8 and 1583 at 7.63, and of course the standard 12 after 1603. This approach depends entirely on book traders accounting the value of stock as fixed to the cost of first supply.. However, this is not a credible policy for stock valuation for bookselling in any period, and indeed for any variety of luxury product. Naturally, the wholesale price will have been a foundation for price fixing, but both stock depreciation, and stock upward valuation, during inflationary periods, or for book lines that continued to invite the demand of readers, will also have dictated the stated valuation. We might also wonder at the potential for differing valuation ethics when a bookseller's bill is compared with the results of a probate inventory. Johnson was prompted to use his Scottish sources by F.S. Ferguson's important article 'Relations Between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers (-1640)', *The Library*, fourth series, viii, (1927), 145-198.

commodity-price index for England increased by 100%.³¹ Therefore, for those in England who could withstand the impact of inflation on the necessities of life, books were cheaper in real terms before the partial catch-up of the 1640s.

Early modern Scotland had no national, standardised system of prices for printed sheets. The 1710 sheet price regulations agreed by Edinburgh was a unique instance of doubtful credibility and may never have been applied. It may, of course, be possible to analyse Scottish sheet prices to the same level of intensity as Johnson, especially from the late seventeenth century, but it is not certain how useful this would be to our understanding of book pricing. The English book trade was a restricted internal market obsessed with its own regulations, while Scotland was a looser mixture of European, English and home produced stock creating a diversity of supply that all acted upon patterns of book pricing.

One of the most useful sources for book pricing information is the probate testament and inventory. There are of course drawbacks. The difficulty of edition identification, and half information mentioned above certainly apply to book merchant testaments. R. A. Houston has expressed frustration at the lack of book ownership information in general testaments, and it is all the more frustrating to find poor recording of book stock even in the testaments of book merchants! In particular, testaments from the second half of the seventeenth century show commissary court disregard for the details of edition, volume and price, and sometimes book stock is not given a specific value to distinguish it from household goods. Fortunately, some better record keeping returned from late seventeenth century.³² Scottish historians are accustomed to the paucity of records for the

³¹ Johnson, 'Notes on English Prices', 84, 89, 93; Bennett, 'Notes on English Prices', 174.

³² Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, 165. Blandly stated book stock values, with no edition details whatever, such as with the major Edinburgh booksellers Andrew Wilson (d.1654) Gideon Lithgow (d.1662), are a great disappointment to the book historian. BM, 277 and 279.

1650s, although it is unusual to find it continued post-Restoration. And of course for some book traders no will and testament was proved in any case. Nonetheless, a number of testament inventories have been analysed in order to establish the trends in arithmetic mean unit book price from the 1570s to the 1740s (see table 8 and figure 6 below). Also, attention will be given to book pricing trends for edition types and published genre.

Some explanation is required for both the statistics in table 8 and their representation in figure 6. The lack of details from the 1650s and 1660s is a problem and will be discussed below. The nineteen book traders selected have been split into two groups, those ostensibly printers and those booksellers, even though most were never absolute specialists. One of the difficulties in calculating price averages is the heavy sheet, unbound, and wholesale stock carried by domestic printers and bookbinders. Such bulk stock will tend to have a depressed unit price and particularly in comparison with stock given the more expensive binding and print finishing treatments (see appendix VI for a discussion on average pricing). However, for the sake of clarity simple average prices have been calculated based on total stock in each inventory and on total value. In periods where only one inventory is available to guide price estimates the spread of the inventory stock sample should provide statistical credibility. In addition, the titles gleaned from the testaments used are only those for which editions can be identified in relation to volume and price, and do not necessarily represent the entire book stock of each. The exceptions are Andro Hart, where no titles are specified, but he is included as the broad description of his vast stock suggests a wide cross-section of printed, English and imported stock, and John Vallange, the law bookseller, because of the high value of his specialist bookselling.

Table 8: Book Stock and Price Data from Book Traders' Testaments (see figure 6) (* indicates classified as printer for figure 6.)

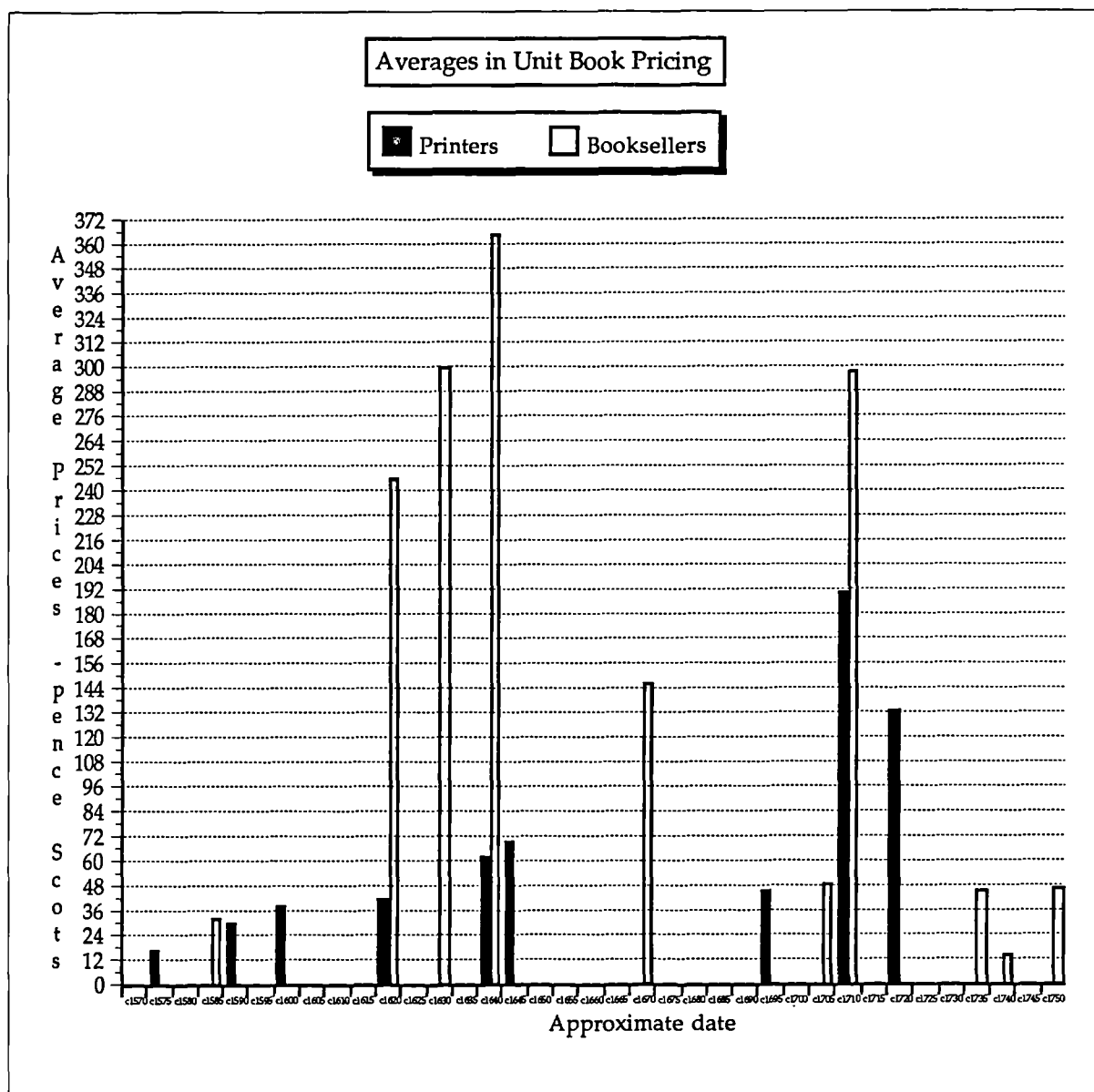
Name:	Thomas Bassandyne*	Robert Gourlaw	Henry Charteris*	Robert Charteris*	Andro Hart*	Richard Lawson	James Cathkin
Inventory date:	1577	1585	1599	1603	1621	1622	1631
Identifiable title lines:	349	260	36	16	-	11	13
Volume:	15,589	958	18,618	5120	88,477	3147	4408
Value:	£1089	£130	£2375	£824	£15,291	£3225	£5504
Average unit price:	1s 5d	2s 8d	2s 6d	3s 3d	3s 6d	£1.0s. 6d	£1.5s 0d.

Name:	Janet Mayne	James Bryson*	Robert Bryson*	Archibald Hislop	Robert Sanders(sen)*	William Norwell	John Vallange
Inventory date:	1639	1642	1645	1671	1694	1707	1713
Identifiable title lines:	9	27	49	91	50	32	-
Volume:	240	23,394	59,229	1720	37,490	1569	1555
Value:	£365	£6084	£17,439	£1051	£7246	£322	£1935
Average unit price:	£1.10s.5d	5s 3d	5s 10d	12s 3d	3s 10d	4s 1d	£1.4s.10d

Name:	Agnes Campbell*	James Watson(jun)*	Janet Hunter	Alexander Miller	James Nicol		
Inventory date:	1716	1722	1736	1742	1750		
Identifiable title lines:	79	19	439	205	120		
Volume:	56,541	25,130	15,939	23,234	1126		
Value:	£45,122	£13,908	£3096	£1388	£220		
Average unit price:	15s 11d	11s 1d	3s 10d	1s 3d	3s 11d		

Sources: Thomas Bassandyne (printer and bookseller, Edinburgh), BM, 191; Robert Gourlaw (bookseller Edinburgh), BM, 209; Henry Charteris (publisher, bookseller and printer, Edinburgh), BM, 223; Robert Charteris (printer, Edinburgh), testament of wife Margaret Wallace, BM, 236; Andro Hart (bookseller, publisher, printer, Edinburgh), BM, 241; Richard Lawson (bookseller, Edinburgh), BM, iii, 199; James Cathkin (bookseller, Edinburgh), BM, 249; Janet Mayne, wife of Cathkin (bookseller, Edinburgh), BM, 253; James Bryson (bookbinder, printer, bookseller, Edinburgh), BM, 259; Robert Bryson (bookbinder, printer, bookseller, Edinburgh), BM, 263; Archibald Hislop (bookbinder and bookseller, Edinburgh), SRO. CS.96. 4; Robert Sanders (printer, Glasgow), W.J. Couper, 'Robert Sanders the elder' *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, iii (1915), inventory printed from court of session records; William Norwell (bookbinder, bookseller, Glasgow), SRO. CC9.7.50 (8 September, 1707); John Vallange (of Chesters) (bookseller, Edinburgh), SRO. CC8.8.85 (April, 1713); Agnes Campbell (printer, Edinburgh), BM, 284; James Watson, the younger (printer, Edinburgh), SRO. CC8.8.88 (19 December, 1722); Janet Hunter, wife of James Brown (bookseller, bookbinder, printer, Glasgow), SRO. CC9.7.55 (15 November, 1736); Alexander Miller (bookseller, bookbinder, printer, Glasgow), SRO. CC9.7.57 (3 September, 1742); James Nicol (bookseller and printer until 1736, Aberdeen), SRO. CC1.6.31 (12 January, 1750).

Figure 6: Book Unit Price Averages Calculated from Book Trader Inventories³³



³³ See notes to table 8 for sources.

From the above graph it can be seen that in the 1570s the average unit price for books sold in Scotland was just under 1s 6d. This figure, calculated from Bassandyne's inventory, is built up from a mixture of Scottish and English printings, with a few from the Low Countries. During the last three decades of the inflationary 'price revolution', - when from the 1570s debasement of the Scottish coinage halved the gramage of silver and saw the scots pound tumble from an exchange rate to pound sterling of 6:1 to its final level of 12:1, - one of the most inflationary periods of book pricing took place. Between the 1570s and the first decade of the seventeenth century book prices more than doubled keeping ahead of currency inflation. After the union of the crowns average book prices had reached about 3s 6d per unit. In real terms books had become a greater luxury than in the 1570s. Throughout this period the relative prices of stock booksellers as against printers stocked with domestic printings were similar, as can be seen from the inventory of the Edinburgh bookseller Robert Gourlaw. Effective price restriction exercised in England helped keep Scottish book price inflation to modest levels after currency differentials were taken into account.

From 1603 to the 1640s a new phase in book pricing occurred. The expanding general demand for books in Scotland, and the desire for the more costly output of the London press dressed in quality bindings, led to a huge increase in average unit price for booksellers stocking significant quantities of English, as well as Scottish, editions. For such booksellers average prices reached about 8s by 1610 and rose to over £1 scots by the 1620s. This Anglo-Scottish inflation was created by the expanding importation of relatively dear English stock, and was not the result of price inflation in England where book price controls remained restrictive. The exchange rate factor no longer existed for new stock valuations. From the 1620s this trend in rising prices continued at 20% per decade for the 1630s and 1640s, aided by the loosening of price controls in England after 1635. Meanwhile, the price of domestic books produced and stocked by the Scottish press increased at roughly 25% per decade from 1600 to 1640, in part pulled upwards by the value of

English stock, at a time when overall price inflation in Scotland rose by only 25% for the first half of the seventeenth century. The trend towards more expensive books continued. The increase in paper prices in the 1630s was an additional cost for printers on both sides of the border, and therefore another inflationary factor. In fact, just as domestically printed books had doubled in price between 1570 and 1600, so they doubled again between 1600 and 1640. Average prices for home produced books approached at least 6s scots by the mid 1640s. Smout and Gibson state that the price of no other commodity except ale as much as doubled in the first half of the seventeenth century. Clearly books were exceptional.³⁴

For the period between the 1650s and 1670s bulk stock price trends in Scotland are more difficult to determine. The book trade profitability figures considered above suggest a slow decline in profits in the 1650s and into the 1660s, and this may well have been coupled with falling retail prices. The book trade with England, and all other Anglo-Scottish trade for that matter, suffered serious dislocation in the late 1640s and 1650s. No simple line can be drawn from the high prices of the 1640s to the diminished prices of the Restoration, although general slow deflation in overall prices of all goods from the 1650s to 1670s was probably reflected in gradually falling book prices.³⁵

By the 1680s a new factor was acting to drive down the prices of domestic book production. The relative explosion in competition from both printers and booksellers from the 1670s ensured that average book prices fell to around 4s by 1690. Furthermore, the price differentials between printers and booksellers had almost disappeared. The Scottish book trade had assimilated the pricing levels, if not always the printing standards of England, and had also become more confident in the value of its own product. However, something new and more difficult to explain occurred at the turn of the century. While prices in specialist books escalated, with scientific and medical titles proliferating from the

³⁴ Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages*, 164 and 6-11.

³⁵ Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages*, 165.

1680s and 1690s, and John Vallange's range of expensive law books and legal treatises for the growing and wealthy legal profession, general book prices also shot up by 300% from 1690 to 1710. The start of the eighteenth century was greeted by a quarter century of profitability and high prices never before experienced by Scottish printers. Given that the long term trend in general prices in Scotland remained relatively stable from the mid seventeenth century to mid eighteenth century, and wage inflation was also low as we shall see below, the price explosion at the beginning of the eighteenth century is an extraordinary phenomenon. High paper prices, before and after 1707, and new British paper and book import duties introduced into Scotland in 1712 helped to propel Scottish prices upwards.³⁶ The demand for domestic stock at these higher prices, ranging from unit prices of 11s to 16s, could not have been met by the stagnant incomes of the majority of society, and therefore high price demand must have been elite driven by relatively wealthy readers. This was helped by the fact that at last quality Scottish printing, as represented by James Watson, Robert Freebairn and Thomas Ruddiman, began to appeal to English booksellers and English purses. Thus a cautious approach to the argument that book production increases in Scotland were indicative of broader literacy, is supported by the contrast between high average book prices and low real incomes. Remarkably, much of Scotland's domestic output was more out of the reach of the pockets of ordinary Scots in 1710 than it was in 1610.

The book price levels in figure 6 show that Scotland's book trade was hit by a crisis between the success of the first three decades, and the advent of the press of the Foulis brothers in the 1740s. The 1730s and early 1740s were difficult years for printing with British paper duties continuing to increase costs, and the new copyright system leading to a reliance on reprint pirating, especially from the 1730s. However, bookselling continued to flourish in increasing numbers of provincial centres, and what now reduced average unit prices was the taste of readers as much as the fuel of elite demand or inflationary factors. The

³⁶ Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages*, 7; see chapter 5 for book and paper duties.

first half of the eighteenth century was the age of the bawdy ballad and chapbook, and bookseller inventories were now packed with scores of four to eight page booklets, priced at a few pence up to 3s, with exotic titles like *Black Eyed Susan and the Sailor's Lamentation*. Prices of 6s to 8s were common for many books, but average prices now dropped back to under 4s, and to the levels of the 1620s. As incomes slowly rose the new mass appetite for reading was answered by the supply of this cheap popular literature, along with the now established newspaper press which expanded and consolidated from the publishing of the *Edinburgh Gazette*, first printed by James Watson in 1699. Therefore, it was in the eighteenth century, not the seventeenth, that book production became a very powerful motor for widening literacy. Ability to read and ability to buy reading were, in spite of increased options for book borrowing in the eighteenth century, in essential collaterality. Nonetheless, in the previous century some demand was created by disposable income at the margins.

The relationship between incomes and book prices is worth closer scrutiny. Using Smout and Gibson's figures on daily wages for labourers and craftsmen interesting comparisons can be made. Day labourers, many of whom could not read, would have found books expensive purchases throughout most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the 1570s, when labourers' daily wages were around 2s, average book prices for domestic stock were 1s 5d. By 1600 the position improved slightly when wages rose to 5s per day and book prices to 3s 3d. However, over the next four decades book prices began to press upwards towards labourers' daily wages until in the early 1640s day wages ranged from 6s 8d to 8s and book prices reached at least 6s. A period of stagnant wage rates began in the 1660s, rates actually falling slightly in the 1690s, but wages of 6s a day compared with reduced average book prices of around 4s in the 1690s. After the extraordinary price explosion of the first quarter of the eighteenth century wages rose very marginally to 7s to 8s and book prices fell to under 4s.³⁷ Thus, apart from the first few years of the seventeenth century, book

³⁷ Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages*, 278

purchasing by literate labourers suffered the disincentive of the high relative price of books until the 1670s and 1680s and of course after the 1720s.

Scottish craftsmen were, of course, in a much better income position than labourers, especially rural labourers. In England craftsmen were paid half as much again as labourers, while in Scotland the ratio was 2:1 for most of the early modern period. Wide wage differentials, skilled to unskilled, are often associated with retarded economies, and must have suppressed book demand at the poorer end of the market. Craftsmen and burgesses were, nonetheless, sometimes owners of small quantities of books as witnessed by their probate records.³⁸ Gibson and Smout's wage figures for craftsmen, based on masons and wrights, indicate that, apart from the 1590s, 1630s to 1640s and the hiatus from 1700 to the 1720s, day wages were usually double the average domestic book stock price.³⁹ Only the expensive English and continental imported stock with print finishing above the most basic, remained beyond the purses of ordinary craftsmen, though not those of the more wealthy merchants and burgesses of the larger burghs.

The increase in the income of professional groups also accelerated book demand. Ministers were naturally among the most avid readers and book buyers. Since the Reformation finding a means to provide adequate stipends for ministers was a major concern for the church and the general assembly. In 1562 average stipends were £100 per year for the typical minister, a reasonable sum for book buying purposes provided it was inflation proof. By 1600 stipends could range from over

³⁸ Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*, 167-71 and appendix 2, 297-300. For merchants and books see Devine, 'The Scottish Merchant Community', 34-5.

³⁹ Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages*, 276, 274-5. High inflation in the general economy, as well as for books, eroded the difference in the late 1590s with day wages as 6s, and book prices edging over 2s 6d for domestic stock. Also, when domestic book stock prices reached the high levels of the 1630s and 1640s, and craftsmen's wages reached the new standard of a scots merk, or 13s 4d per day, average book prices were at least 6s.

1100 merks for George Gladstones to a mere 200 merks for the minister of Aberdour.⁴⁰ Thus the high inflation leading up to 1601 must have suppressed book demand from the majority of the clergy whose income remained under 400 merks. However, the lengthy negotiations between government and clergy from 1600 to 1633, aimed at concluding a constant platt, derived minimum stipends of 500 merks in 1617, and of 800 merks in 1633 which saw stipends increase in real terms at a time of modest inflation but high book inflation. From the reign of Charles I the clerical book buyers had the means to purchase books of domestic or imported origin, and some of the more wealthy, such as Edinburgh ministers with higher than average stipends, accumulated considerable libraries, as did Patrick Galloway who died in the 1620s leaving a library worth 4000 merks! The secular elite, such as the lawyers and gentry, were clearly also substantial book collectors, although it is important to note that landed rents and even noble finances were not in consistent good order and the 1590s, under heavy inflation, and late 1630s to 1660s, under political and military crisis and heavy taxation, could be especially difficult years for some hard-pressed and indebted lesser nobility.⁴¹

For all waged, of course, the numerous fluctuations in the cost of living, of providing food for the family, interfered with levels of disposable income for luxury items like books. Periods of dearth and high wheat and oat prices, such as the 1590s, 1630s and 1650s and 1690s, substantially increased the cost of living. After the hungry 1690s a half century of food price fluctuation ensued before cash wages for skilled

⁴⁰ Note a merk was two thirds of a pound.

⁴¹ For stipends see Gordon Donaldson, *Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of the Benefices*, (SHS, 1949), third series, XLII, xxiv and xxxiv-v; W. Roland Foster, 'A Constant Platt Achieved: Provision for the Ministry, 1600-38' in Duncan Shaw (ed.), *Reformation and Revolution*, (1967), 124-140 and Walter Makey, *The Church of the Covenant, 1637-1651*, (1979), 107-12. For books featured in the testaments of ministers see Foster, 'A Constant Platt', 136-7. For the ups and downs of noble finances see K.M. Brown, 'Noble Indebtedness in Scotland Between the Reformation and the Revolution' in *Historical Research*, 62 (1989), 260-275.

and unskilled began to push upwards and literate luxuries became more regularly possible for a mass audience. The spread of the purchasing of reading matter began in the seventeenth century but accelerated with greater urgency in the eighteenth century. Throughout the period book purchase beyond the necessities for piety, was rare for many, and even then the cost could be hard to bear. From the 1570s to the 1660s parliament and privy council enacted legislation prescribing the purchase of bibles and psalm books by householders. Households with over 300 merks yearly rent, or £500 of land or goods, were to comply with the order. Yet even by 1696, of the half dozen book traders listed in the poll tax register of Aberdeen, only the printer John Forbes and stationer William Thompson had sufficient wealth to be in this category.⁴²

Print workers themselves, journeymen and pressmen, became literate as a necessary skill for their respective trades. As one of the benefits of working with print, it is likely that basically produced scripture, along with catechisms for their children, will have been provided by their masters at nominal cost. There is little information on wage levels for pressmen. Compositors were paid up to 8s per day in the 1570s, a high wage for craftsmen, but much payment for printing work was on a piece basis. For example, in 1706 George Mosman, the Edinburgh printer, was paid £50 scots for producing 300 copies of the acts of the town council of Edinburgh. In 1712 James Watson stated that he would rather pay 20s per day to his quality Dutch pressmen than 18d per day to an incompetent. The lower of these figures must be some kind of jest for it is a ludicrously low wage unless a piece element was added. As for 20s per day, this would place Watson's pressmen above the wages of most craftsmen, and given the high quality of his printing was money well spent. However, the book trade was a microcosm for all Scottish society, with wealth ranging from the comfortable to the precarious. If a small bookbinder or bookseller had book stock he was under pressure to sell not to collect for his own pleasure. Private

⁴² Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages*, 162-7; APS, iii, c10, 139 (1579); John Stuart (ed.), *List of Pollable Persons in the Shire of Aberdeen, 1696*, (Aberdeen, 1844).

libraries were the preserve of colleges with endowments, gentry and nobility with cash reserves and credit, richer merchants, the new professionals of law and science, and the clergy who, with annual stipends increased to 800 merks in the reign of Charles I, had the means to experience the luxury as well as the piety of literature.⁴³

Average book prices offer an important guide to the investigation of book supply and demand, but the price history of individual book genre can also be traced. Although no type of book presented a range of bindings more than the Bible, which must lead us to be cautious when assessing price trends, folio bibles were priced at under £5 Scots in the 1580s, rose to about £12 by the 1640s, but fell back to under £8 by the 1720s. Quarto bibles shadowed folio bibles at prices about 25% lower. Octavo bibles, the most popular format for scripture in the early modern period, peaked in price at £6 in the 1640s, while prices of £1.10s became common in the early eighteenth century. Smaller pocket bibles were more widely available by the 1680s, and these were generally priced under a £1. Dutch and English bible printings were considered of greater aesthetic value, and until the 1720s appear to have commanded prices of 20% to 25% more than Scottish printings .

In the early eighteenth century it became the fashion to bind the Psalms with the Bible which could add 8s to 10s to the edition price. However, with New Testaments the addition of the Psalms was commonplace by the 1640s. New Testament prices were characteristically modest compared to full bibles, climbing in folio from 10s in the 1570s to 14s in the 1640s, but falling back to 6s-8s in the eighteenth century. One of the characteristics of New Testaments was that the smaller size volumes could be more expensive, as seen in the small 16mo edition sold by Richard Lawson for £1. 7s. 6d in 1631. Once again extra value was added with the Psalms - in 1707 William Norwell possessed plain folio New Testaments valued at 3s 7d per copy without psalms and 5s 5d with. The Psalms themselves were subjected to as many format and print finishing permutations as the Bible. In the

⁴³ RPC, i, 2, 582; EBR, 13, 117; Watson, *History of Printing*, 21.

late sixteenth century prices ranged from 3s 6d for a plain edition of psalms printed by John Ross, to 6s 8d for the same on fine white paper. Henry Charteris stocked a fine octavo in guilt binding priced at £2. 13s in 1599. By the 1700s psalms ranged in price from 3s for plain bound to 8s for calf gilt. Small psalms editions for 'bairnes' had been printed in Scotland since the 1580s, and remained priced at approximately 4s from then to the mid-seventeenth century, then dropped to 3s in the 1690s. George Buchanan's psalms in Latin remained popular since their first publication in 1566. Their price was 4s in octavo in the 1570s, 6s in 1600, falling back to 4s in the 1640s when other books increased in price, 3s in the 1690s, before recovering to 6s in the 1730s. Buchanan's Psalms of David often bucked general book pricing trends probably indicating demand from clergy and universities rather than a wider public.

Most of the other paraphernalia of religion came at modest prices. Fine catechisms were priced at a mere shilling in the 1570s. The popular *Vincent's Catechism* was printed in two printing qualities and at steady prices in the range 2s to 5s from the 1690s to 1750. The Confession of Faith was available at 2s-3s in English and 6s in Latin on fine paper by 1700. However, theology suffered a set-back in pricing in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The popular *Dolittle on the Sacraments*, for example, was sold for 3s in 1700 but only 1s 6d by 1740. Church history still retained its value. Knox's *History* sold for £1. 11s in the 1640s, and even a damaged copy was worth £2. 14s in 1736. *Rutherford's Letters* was widely stocked in the 1730s and sold for 18s, and Wodrow's two volume church history sold for the grand price of £10. 16s in 1736.

Education was the other print staple after religion. School books and grammars were generally of modest price. ABC's were 10d in the 1580s, Donatus was 6d by 1590, and the various rudiments, Dunbar, Despauterius and Pellison, ranged from 3d to 6d in the 1570s and 1580s to 1s in the 1720s. Grammar's were of course more expensive. An English edition of Linacre cost 8s in the 1570s, although Ramus and Despauterius were less expensive. Despauterius was still widely used 150 years later and could be purchased for 3s 4d in 1716. A great variety

of grammars were available, and any attempt at a national grammar had been abandoned after the Restoration. However, some editions were more in vogue than others, thus Ruddiman's new grammar sold for £1.2s.6d in the 1730s, while Kirkwood's now dated text went for only 8s.

School books showed remarkable stability in prices throughout the period. The same can be said of the most popular printings that reached a mass audience. Almanacs, or Prognostications, sold for 4d in 1600 and 4d by the 1680s. These productions, the earliest surviving edition coming from Edward Raban's Aberdeen press in the 1620s, sold in vast quantities and appeared in municipal editions in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow. No doubt the fact that they began to carry advertising in the 1660s helped the price remain static. Chapbooks and ballads, increasingly popular from the late seventeenth century could be purchased for under 1s, and early newspapers and newssheets were sold for pence by street vendors who reached the widest possible mass audience with low prices.

The demand for literature continued throughout the period and the market for Scots vernacular did not stop after the demise of the great vernacular publishers Henry Charteris and Andro Hart. The highest prices for a plain edition of Sir David Lindsay's *Works*, 7s to 8s, can, nevertheless, be traced to the early seventeenth century. By the 1730s his works were still in demand at 4s a volume.⁴⁴ The quarter century from 1580 was indeed a golden age for vernacular literature, although Thomas Ruddiman's fine editions of Gavin Douglas and William Dunbar would reactivate interest for an eighteenth century audience. More contemporary literature was, of course, also available. In the 1660s a London edition of Sir William Alexander's poems could be purchased for £3. 12s. English poetry and novels were in demand in

⁴⁴ In a similar way *Wallace* could be purchased for 10s in 1599, but was 4s 5d in the 1640s and 3s 4d by 1710. Robert Henryson's *Morall Fabillis of Esope in metre* sold for 2s in 1590 and a similar price in 1740, and yet none of the inventories studied show a copy of his *Testament of Cresseid* after that of Henry Charteris in 1599.

Scotland, including the work of Swift and Pope, while the words of Bunyan were especially popular. The first and second volumes of *Pilgrim's Progress* in octavo were valued at 2s 7d and 2s 10d respectively in sheets in the 1690s, but the separate volumes fell in price by the 1640s to be replaced by a single edition at 4s. Meanwhile, Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*, first published in 1666, was by 1707 priced at 3s but had fallen to 1s 6d by 1740. Even with the most popular authors price differentiation was evident when demand varied. On the other hand, 4s clearly became something of a standard price for novels. The London edition of Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722) was sold for 4s in the 1730s and *Robinson Crusoe* (1719-20) retailed at 4s for each of its three volumes. These prices were indicative of the first age when mass entertainment had become comparatively cheap at the same time as serious books rocketed upward in price, a familiar pattern in the twentieth century.

Latin classics continued to be sold throughout the early modern period, although the printing of such editions was not common in Scotland before the Foulis press. Mostly, the grammar schools and universities depended on English editions along with printings from the Low Countries. Over the period Latin classics tended to increase in price. An octavo edition of Terence cost 6s in the late sixteenth century before a period of inflation, and 18s by the 1740s. Editions of Virgil cost 5s in sheets in the 1690s, but Amsterdam editions retailed at 16s by the 1720s. By then Horace, like editions of Terence, were priced at 18s, although fine quality London editions could fetch over £2. The most popular classic text throughout the period was Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. Large quantities of old and new stock of varying degrees of production quality were sold for prices ranging from 6s to 16s in the late sixteenth century, and 8s to 18s in the early eighteenth. Old sheet stock could be acquired for a few pence.

As we shall see below, one of the expected features of the early modern period is the move from religious to secular publishing. However, one of the most interesting sub-plots is the change from religion as the leader in book volume to leader in book value. In the

inventories of Andro Hart and James Cathkin in the 1620s and 1630s, the volume of religious works averaged 50% to a stock value of 60%. By the late seventeenth century inventories show religious volume had dropped to nearly 40%, while value remained at over 60%. Thus in the late seventeenth century religion was more expensive, and a more valuable commodity to the book trade. In the eighteenth century the pattern changed again. The price for theology fell as that for the secular science increased. Latin works continued in importance for booksellers and customers and this is reflected in the high value of Latin stock. The fact that proportionately less Latin was published in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries did not end its commercial value. As always effective and profitable book publishing depended on blending the old with the new.

The Scale of the Book Trade

The most obvious means of considering the extent and rate of expansion of the book trade of a nation is to analyse statistically the surviving output of the domestic press. For Scotland the Aldis catalogue is our main source, and in its chronological assuredness it is of more use to the historian than the bibliographically more precise listing provided in Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-title catalogue (STC) of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1475-1640*, and Donald Wing's catalogue from 1641 to 1700.⁴⁵ There is a great interrelatedness between these bibliographical catalogues, but the amended master copy of Aldis, as maintained by the National Library of Scotland, provides additional details of the most recent Scottish discoveries and re-classifications.⁴⁶

A small number of British bibliographers and historians have employed a quantitative analysis of such book catalogues in order to estimate the size of the domestic press. Thus English researchers like Maureen Bell and John Barnard have carried out a quantitative analysis of British book production from 1475 to 1640 using Pollard and Redgrave, to calculate annual and five yearly production totals; London printing is set against that of the 'British provinces', including

⁴⁵ A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1475-1640*, (Oxford, 1926, since revised 1976, 1986, and third volume 1991). In fact the Aldis catalogue is based on the preparatory work of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, as well as references in Pollard and Redgrave, and on the less reliable Donald G. Wing, *Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America, and of English books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*, (New York, 1945-51, revised 1972).

⁴⁶ For the original card slips created by Aldis see NLS.MS. Acc.10474 and for interleaved copy with corrections, NLS. shelves 512. Aldis amendments have been noted up to March 1997.

Scotland; and graphical representations of foreign imports and British production counts are provided over time.⁴⁷ Scottish historians, such as David Stevenson, have used Aldis counts to illustrate the fluctuating levels of controversy during particular phases in early modern history, and in general Scottish historiography continues to use Aldis as a bench-mark.⁴⁸ But what of the validity of analysing Aldis? Stevenson provides a good rehearsal of the reservations. Firstly, in a raw count a bible is granted the same status as a single printed sheet when clearly the investment in time, skill and resource was far greater for lengthy volumes. Secondly, much of the output of the Scottish press is lost to us. The apparent oddities, as revealed by Aldis, of a silent Aberdeen press in some years in the 1650s, or of no Edinburgh periodical newssheets in 1664 when the output was extensive in 1663 and 1665, are examples that demand a cautious approach. The lack of surviving grammar editions is especially noteworthy. The apparent shortage of early Scottish printers from the 1540s to 1580s has prompted Durkan to remark that 'in desperation [Scottish] authors turned to Antwerp', but was some of their output printed domestically and then lost? Emerson's bold claim that 'Most of what Scottish printers produced is contained in Aldis' must be modified by Aldis's own qualification to beware 'the temptation to generalise from [his] list upon the state of literature' and to draw 'unsafe conclusions' as books were imported into Scotland from the continent and England, and much of the output of the Scottish press is lost to posterity.⁴⁹ Historians should instinctively baulk at the certainty of Emerson, yet at the same time appreciate that in other historical fields a source such as Aldis would be viewed as essential material.

⁴⁷ Bell and Barnard, 'STC Totals 1475-1640', *Publishing History*, xxxi, (1992).

⁴⁸ Stevenson, 'The Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 316. See for example the summary discussion of the Scottish press in Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, 258-261 which uses Aldis, book trade inventories and some known libraries but more qualitatively, and also Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*, 165.

⁴⁹ Stevenson, 'The Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 315-6; Durkan, 'Education', 134. Roger L. Emerson, 'Scottish Cultural Change 1660-1710 and the Union of 1707' in John Robertson, ed. *A Union for Empire*, (Cambridge, 1995), 140; Aldis, xv.

Is it possible to estimate the proportion of Scottish output that has 'vanished without trace'?⁵⁰ An analysis of book production might provide some clues. As we have seen, one of the known technical points of early modern printing is that the printing press available to Chepman and Myllar was essentially the same as that used by James Watson two hundred years later. We know from early modern accounts, such as Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* (1683-4), that the output per day from Caxton's time was four pages, or one sheet of an edition, per day, including setting, proofing, correcting and printing the edition length required, of an average of 500 impressions.⁵¹ From the printers' testaments it is clear that the number of presses owned in Scotland was rarely more than two or three per printing firm.⁵² Accepting Ferguson's premiss, that Scotland's printers 'could never have carried on at all if their total productions are represented by anything like the number now existing', and that to be commercially viable the presses had to be working most of the time, it might be thought possible to calculate the total output in any decade and make comparison with Aldis.⁵³ Unfortunately, the variables of format, page extent, working hours and the generally vague references to the number of presses in operation by printers, make such an analysis impossible, and we are forced back to the stark statistics provided by the Aldis catalogue.

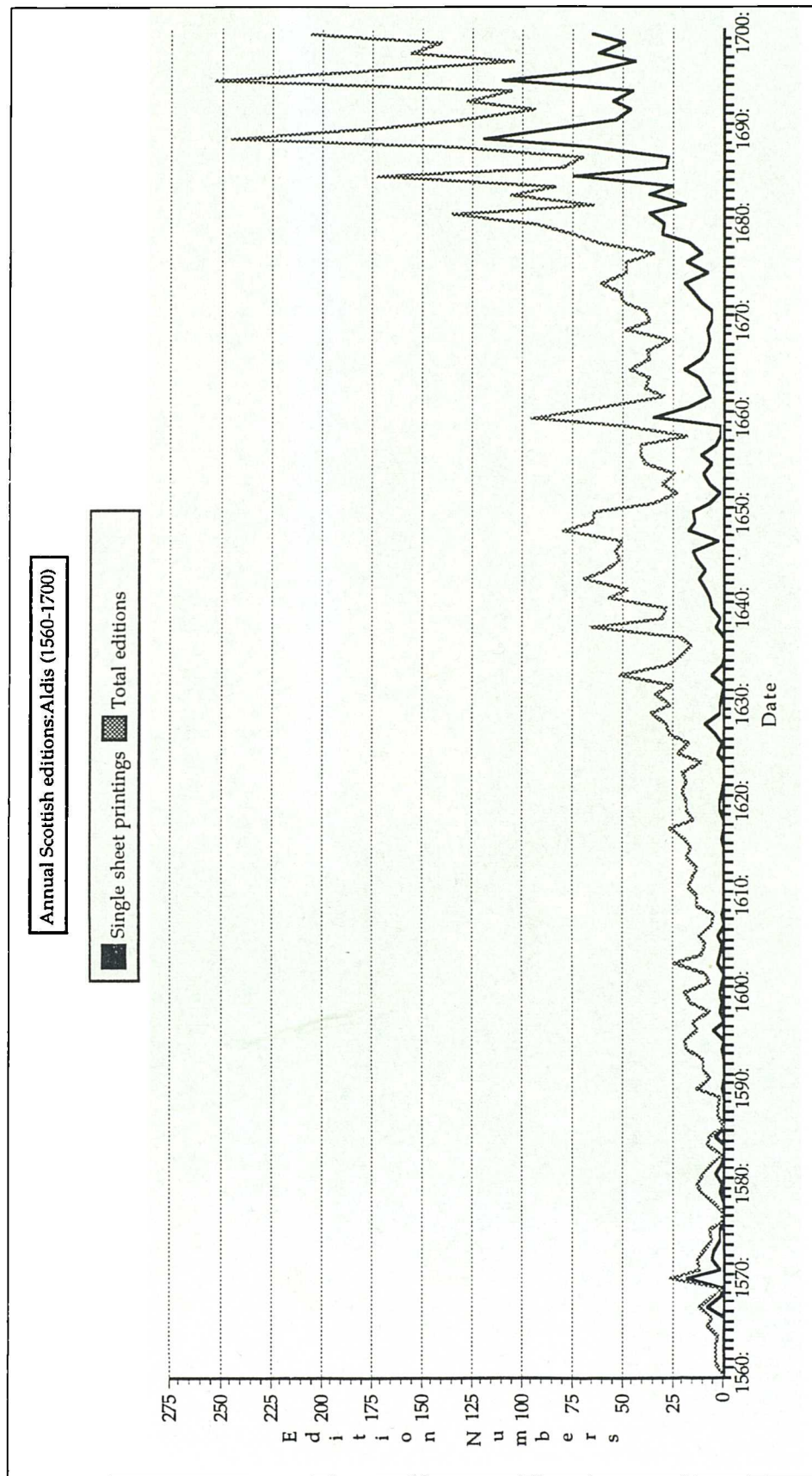
⁵⁰ William Beattie, *The Scottish Tradition in Printed Books*, (1949), 2.

⁵¹ H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475-1557*, (Cambridge, 1952), 229.

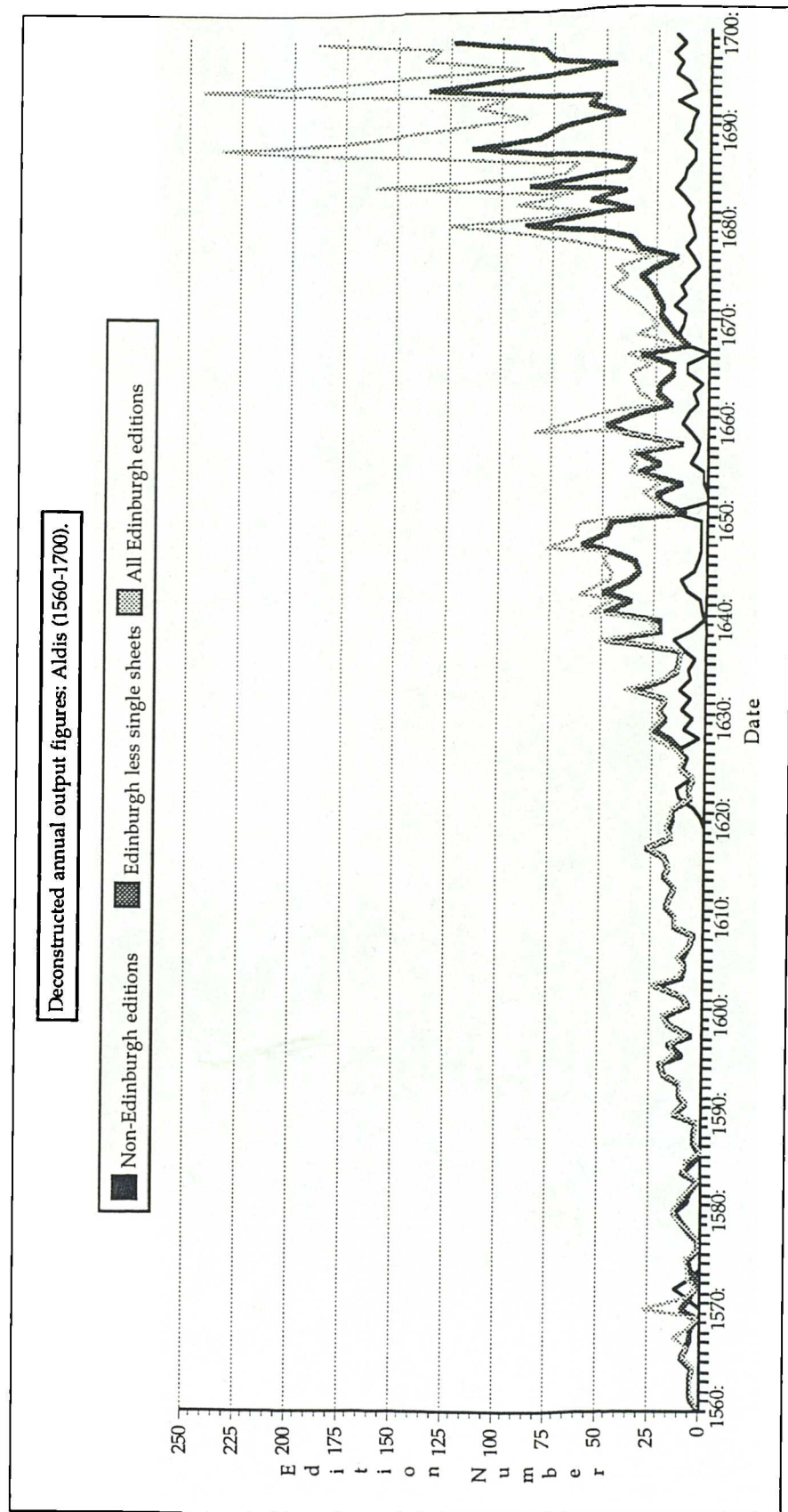
⁵² While in England the numbers of presses was controlled by the Stationers' Company, in Scotland the shortage of presses was the 'control'.

⁵³ Ferguson, 'Relations Between London and Edinburgh Printers', 146.

Aldis Analysis, Figure 7: Annual Output Levels for all Scotland showing Single Sheet printings and Total Editions
 (Total editions include single sheets printings but exclude newsheets from 1660s)



Aldis Analysis, Figure 8: Annual Output Levels for Edinburgh(including Leith) and Outwith Edinburgh
 (showing Edinburgh with and without single sheet printings and excluding newsheets from the 1660s, and all non-Edinburgh editions)



One simple means to estimate the changing rate of press output using Aldis is to separate the single sheet and broadsheet output from that for books and pamphlets, see figure 7 above which summarises this output from 1560 to 1700. Single sheet items, mainly printed government proclamations and enactments before the 1670s, were very few in number before the 1640s, apart from a flurry of government proclamations during the Marian civil war, and a busy privy council session in 1628. It is necessary to stress, of course, that not all enactments and state proclamations were single sheet printings, but the setting aside of such physically slight production provides a better notion of the 'core activity' of the Scottish press. The total editions figures employed for all Scotland include single sheet printings yet exclude the distorting effect of various newssheet and newspaper productions from the 1660s and 1690s to provide a clearer picture of output trends.⁵⁴ Figure 7 shows an increase in the core production of books and pamphlets when the single sheet and total edition charts diverge. From relatively low and moderately rising levels between the 1590s and 1630s, the domestic press virtually doubled its output of core publications in the 1640s, a rise that was due to increasing numbers of theology editions, general assembly activity and declarations, and

⁵⁴ The newssheets excluded are *Mercurius Politicus* and *Mercurius Publicus* (1660, printed by Higgins, 45 surviving numbers); *Mercurius Caledonius* (1661, printed by 'A Society of Stationers', 10 surviving numbers); *Kingdoms Intelligencer* (1662, printer uncertain, 14 surviving numbers); *Kingdoms Intelligencer* (1663, printer uncertain, 10 surviving numbers); *The Intelligencer* (1665, printer uncertain, unspecified numbers from June to December); *The Intelligencer* (1666, printer uncertain, unspecified numbers throughout year); *Edinburgh Gazette* (1699, printed by John Reid (elder and younger) and James Watson, younger, 88 numbers), and *Edinburgh Gazette* (1700, printer John Reid, younger, perhaps 95 numbers of which only 8 survive). See Aldis nos. 1651, 1652, 1702, 1739.5, 1740, 1740.5, 1755, 1755.3, 1791.5, 1816.3, 3843, 3961.3 (last not in 1970 edition). Smaller news production such as the few editions of the *Mercurius Britanicus* printed by Higgins 1659-60 are not excluded as they are not statistically significant.

scripture and liturgical printing.⁵⁵ Military defeat, and economic difficulties in the 1650s, as well as the suspension of general assembly patronage from 1653, helped to suppress print output which fell back to the levels of the 1630s, though probably not as far as the 1620s.

The figures for the 1660s indicate that the recovery from the recession of the early 1650s was slow and gradual. The flurry of activity 1660-61 was to a great extent the result of government information and legislative printing by the Restoration regime. Indeed, it was only from the mid-1660s that core output began to grow again.⁵⁶ From 1670 government publishing, and the printing of acts of council and parliament, expanded at a dramatic rate and not only in single sheet editions. Regulation and repression, especially over conventicling, led to greater numbers of privy council printed enactments in 1674, 1676, and especially 1679 and 1680 when the murder of archbishop Sharp, and the battle of Bothwell Brig, produced a wave of proclamations, printed speeches by Charles II, anonymous comment and officially printed communications between king and council. At the same time, core book output reached unparalleled heights in 1679-80. In part this was due to the demand for news which the halting of newssheets in the 1660s had not dispelled. But it also reflected the increasing capacity of the Anderson press under Agnes Campbell. In 1680, for example, Campbell was able to reprint literature, such as Elizabeth Melville's *A godly dream*, not printed in Scotland since 1606, and Alexander Montgomerie's poem *The cherry and the slae*, along with the informations, addresses and letters of officialdom. 1680 not 1660 was

⁵⁵ The years 1635-7 were, however, peculiarly lean for Edinburgh with the representative of the Stationers' Company, Robert Young, who acquired the king's printer patent in 1632, doing very little work from Edinburgh, a fact which strengthens the view that the entire operation was more intended to stifle than to develop printing north of the border. It is just as well that Raban in Aberdeen was productive at this time.

⁵⁶ Notwithstanding the slump in 1668 which suggests that an elderly Evan Tyler, and his English partners in the Society of Stationers, were losing interest in Edinburgh long before their final departure in 1671-72.

the watershed of cultural diversity in Scottish domestic publishing for by then press capacity was large enough to meet a spectrum of demands from head, heart and soul.

From 1680 controversy generated a sporadic but growing appetite for overt newssheets and in depth accounts. 1681 was the first year to exhibit this phenomenon, and in a way which outstripped the earlier interest in covenanters. In this year the Exclusion crisis in England, the Test Act controversy in Scotland, and the convoluted trial of the earl of Shaftesbury at the Old Bailey, ensured that a quarter of the entire output of the press was devoted to news editions, in a year when printings of government enactments were not especially frequent. Ironically, the lack of newspapers to summarise current events may have aided the prospects for the majority of printers and booksellers at this time. Similar current affairs obsessiveness characterised the output of the Scottish press in 1683, when the great topic was the Ryhouse Plot, and 1685, when a new monarch and the Argyll rebellion brought a wave of news and reports, as well as government proclamations, printed letters from James VII to his executive in Scotland, and numerous polite and adulatory messages southwards from Scotland to the king. However, the greatest government print effusion of the period was reserved for 1689 and the Glorious Revolution. Declarations, and proclamations spread and letters flew between two alternative monarchies and the privy council, nobility and clergy, and news publishing returned to the levels of 1681. The age of the printed 'humble address' and printed open letter had also arrived.

For the next two years the Jacobite question continued to dominate press output. Government measures against Jacobites ensured a large output of printed proclamations in 1690, along with news books of the conflict in Ireland culminating in the Battle of the Boyne. Strangely, while government returned to something other than crisis management in 1691, the appetite for books giving news from Ireland was greater than in the previous year. 'Accounts of ...', 'Further accounts of ...', 'Exact accounts of ...', and 'True accounts of ...' were published to inform the reader about specific small actions, the bravery

of individuals, or the minute details of some judicial trial of a notable Jacobite. In fact from 1690 a new fashion for printing law cases, and submissions by parties in such cases, began which, along with printed law theses, grew steadily to the end of the century. By the 1690s printed informations and opinions were a common medium for many, from the middling sort to the nobility, from burgh councils to craftsmen's groups. The medium of print was no longer the preserve of the famous and the fanatical.

In spite of the resolution of the politico-religious conflict in 1689-90 government administrative printing in the 1690s surpassed that of the troubled 1680s. The apex of this was the year 1695 which witnessed one of the most hectic parliamentary sessions in the history of the Scottish parliament. Measures such as the formation of the Company of Scotland and the Bank of Scotland were passed, and these and other enactments of economic and trade policy dominated government business and printing. Improvement was a powerful theme during the decade as witnessed by the printing of nearly fifty works on the ideas of improvement. The year 1695 also produced dozens of printed petitions to John Hay, marquis of Tweeddale, the chancellor, and it became common thereafter for individuals and bodies to petition parliament typographically via the king's commissioner.

The printing agenda of the bulk of the 1690s had the character of peacetime pre-occupations, but that did not mean that political controversy had disappeared. The issue that gripped Scotland from 1695 to 1700 was the Darien scheme. Some 15% of the press output of 1696 related to the subscription, recruitment and financing for the project. In 1699, when the scheme began to collapse, a similar proportion of output, some anonymous, expressed resentment with king and England, and this ran into 1700. By then the *Edinburgh Gazette* was in its second year, and while the government had some difficulty in controlling the contents of this newspaper, which stepped into the Darien controversy a few times, it was no longer practical to suspend publication in the manner of the 1660s. Newssheets and diurnals were now commonplace, many printed in England and

brought up to Scotland through the postmasters of burghs, and often made available for customers in the coffee and ale houses of Edinburgh. A news blackout was now beyond the means of the government of Scotland, and in any case an educated Scot was now expected to be familiar with the secular affairs of the day. Information was a necessity for polite society. Furthermore, aside from the growth of news and periodical editions and government material, in the last two decades of the century the proliferation of editions of science, medicine, and the law confirm the movement from a spiritual to a secular agenda. The number of sermons and religious editions increased from 1660 to 1700, but importantly as a proportion of output fell after the 1670s.⁵⁷

The core output of the Scottish press increased more rapidly from the late 1670s by which time it had surpassed the levels of the 1640s. Indeed, by the 1690s, core output had doubled compared to the 1640s, but there could still be difficult years. Figure 8 above shows that the economic recession of the early 1690s, brought on by European mercantilism, wars and the policies of England, was reflected in a reduced press output. A similar reduction in core publications occurred in 1686 and 1687, despite continued high levels of government information publishing. The recession of the 1690s was, however, brief and by 1700 core output levels had stabilised at about 225% of the 1640s. Figure 8 also shows that after an initial surge in activity in 1680-81, core output levels for Edinburgh were very erratic. In several years of the 1680s, during the so-called 'Killing Times' and in the 1690s, they dropped below the peak achieved in the Edinburgh dominated press of the 1640s. In part, of course, this was because Edinburgh was the home of most single sheet printing which has survived, and most government information publishing, short or long, as well as the periodical press which has been omitted from the statistics. By contrast

⁵⁷ Emerson provides an extremely useful summary of these genre by decade. He uses Aldis's 1970 edition. Amendments up to 1997 indicate that the numbers of petitions and informations for law cases was even greater thus emphasising the trend away from the religious. Emerson, 'Scottish Cultural Change', 142-3.

figure 8 also shows that the output of non-Edinburgh printing, important in only Aberdeen and Glasgow from the 1620s to 1700, was less erratic though on a much smaller scale, being occasionally interrupted by the likes of the low output of an elderly Edward Raban in Aberdeen, or the disinterest of the heirs of George Anderson in Glasgow.⁵⁸ Surviving output for Aberdeen and Glasgow is mainly in core activity and it remained steady from the late 1660s onwards and during that period of greatest increase in overall Scottish output.⁵⁹

The above Aldis analysis comes to conclusions about press activity although not the book trade as a whole, including bookselling. In order to resolve this book trade activity estimates have been produced for printers, booksellers and all book traders (see figures 9-11 below).⁶⁰ These activity estimates represent a plotting of known dates of trade activity by over 170 printers and press partnerships and nearly 400 booksellers and bookbinders from 1500 to 1730. Given that the information we have on activity is changing, and the work of such as the British Book Trade Index is amending our knowledge all the time, a full list of those book traders and their assumed dates is provided in the appendices (see appendix IV and V), with no apologies for the fact that new research will inevitably alter the profile of individuals. The activity periods have been arranged in estimates of active traders in five year periods. In order to make some allowance for the poor information for some - often only a single year is known to us, perhaps the year of death - an active trader, say made a burgess in 1662 and recorded in a testament as a creditor in 1669, is assumed to have been in trade in 1660 and 1670 as well as 1665. In addition, known overlaps in yearly dates, where in the same year a printer or bookseller is

⁵⁸ It should not be forgotten that Robert Lekpreuik printed in St. Andrews and Stirling during the early 1570s and Raban in St. Andrews 1620-22. Indeed, although earlier than our statistical sample, the printer John Scot operated in St. Andrews from the 1540s to c1571, and for a period may have been the only printer in Scotland.

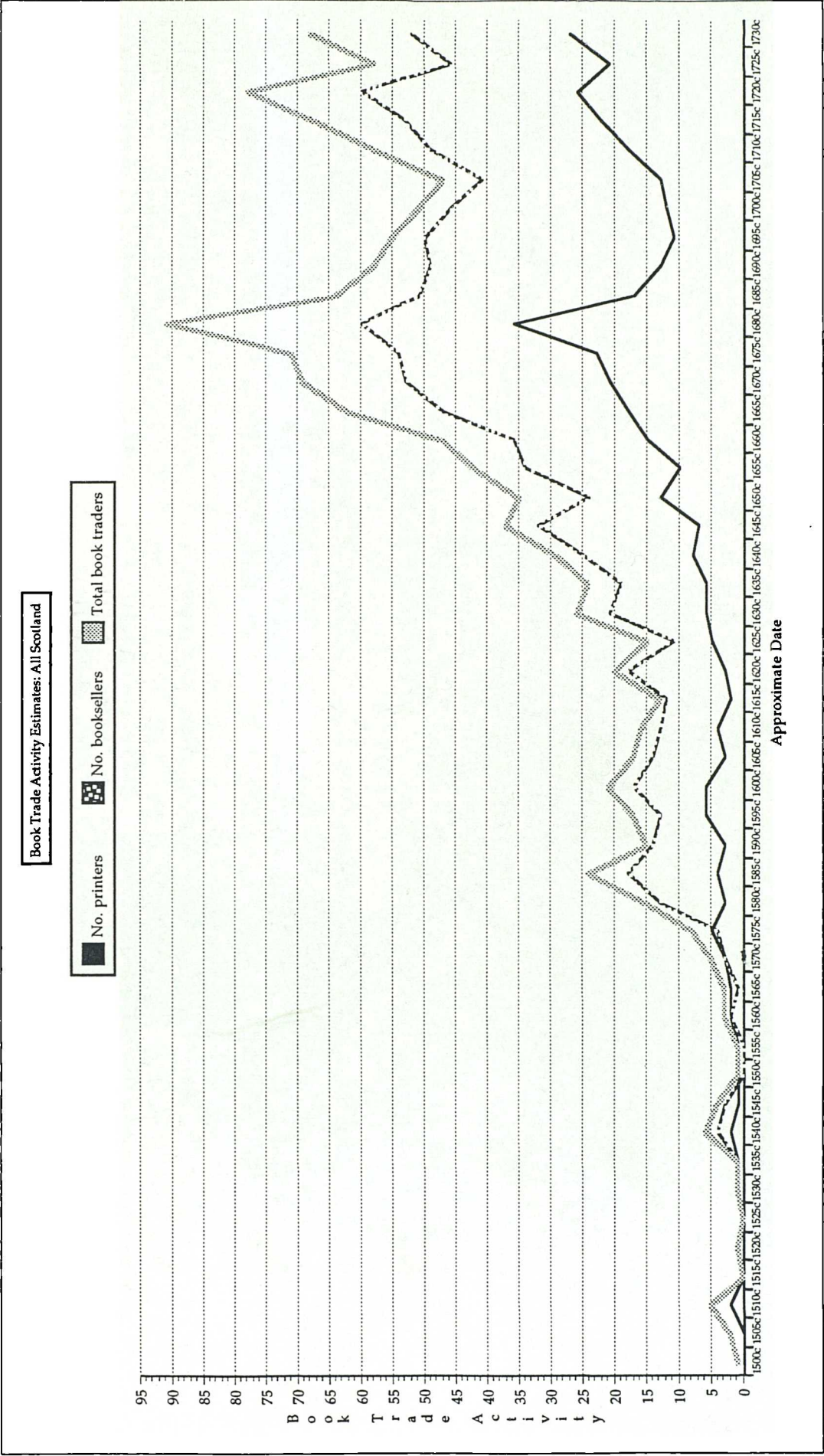
⁵⁹ The qualification for output levels for Edinburgh must be that it only reached double the rates of the 1640s by the very end of the century.

⁶⁰ All book traders includes printers, booksellers, bookbinders and stationers.

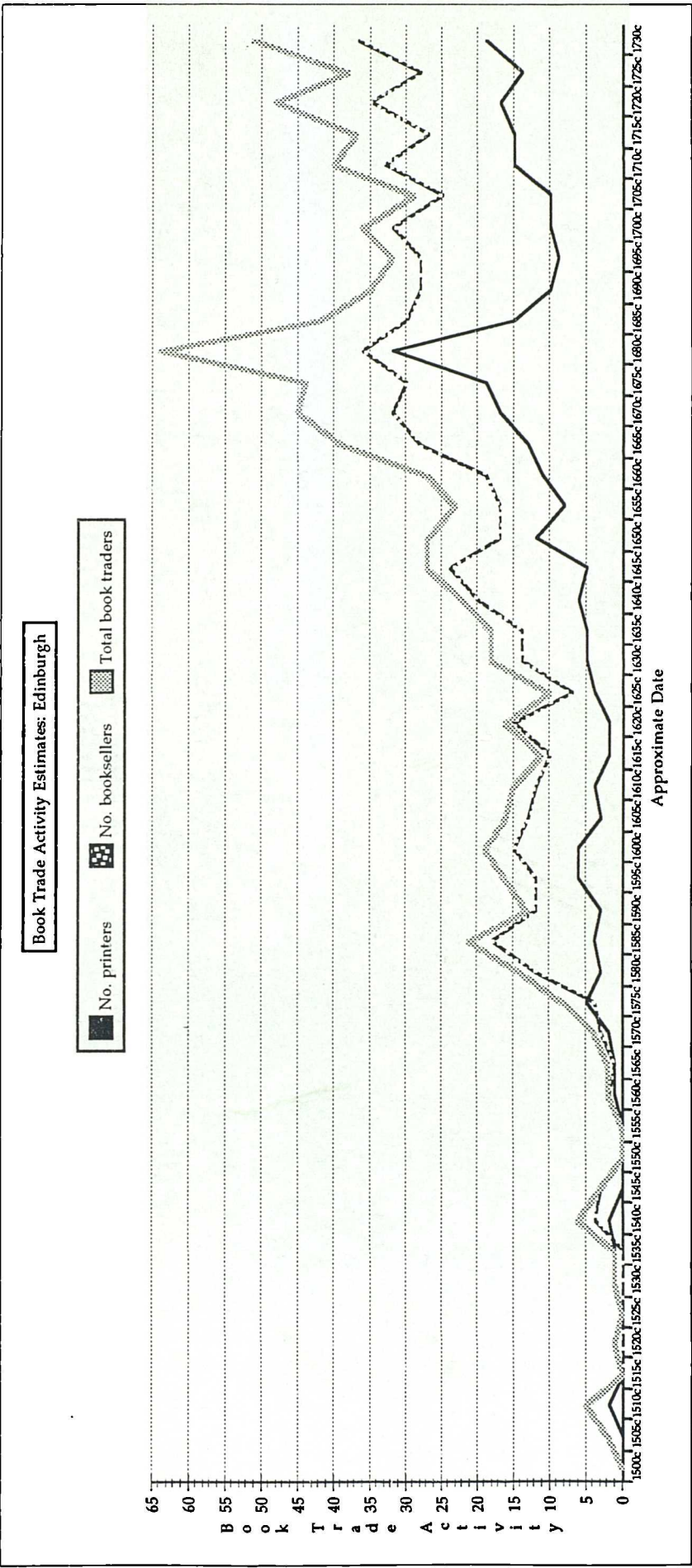
believed to have passed his press or book stock to his widow, son, partner or successor, have been avoided for statistical purposes.

The approach to these statistics must be clarified in terms of content and nomenclature. All book traders known only as apprentices, and dates of apprenticeships for 'senior' traders, have been excluded from the calculations. However, journeymen have been included as well as burgesses. Particularly with regard to printers, partnerships as well as individual printers are included. A twentieth-century publisher may have several imprints, all of which can be considered a publishing initiative, and it would not occur necessarily to the modern student of publishing to exclude Puffin Books from statistics because it is a part of Penguin Books. Thus Andrew Anderson is included as a printer, and so are some of his partnerships. In other words the activity estimates are in effect a measure of publishing and book trading initiative, something beyond the apprentice, but not the burgess, partner and even the journeyman printer who, as a skilled productive unit, is too important to ignore. In addition, printer/booksellers, such as Andro Hart, are included in both the bookselling and printing figures, while such duplications are removed for the total book trader figures.

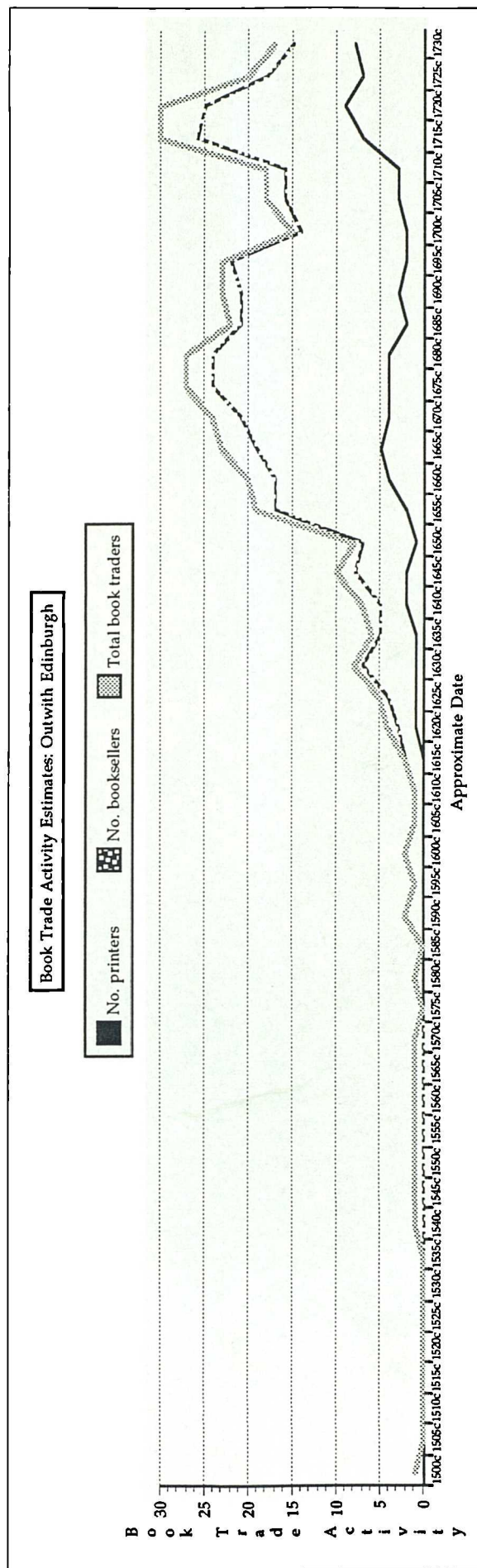
Book Trade Activity Estimates, Figure 9: Five Yearly Activity Estimates for all Scotland Indicating Likely Numbers of Active Book Traders (showing estimates of printers, booksellers (including bookbinders and stationers), and all book traders)



Book Trade Activity Estimates, Figure 10: Five Yearly Activity Estimates for Edinburgh Indicating Likely Numbers of Active Book Traders (showing estimates of printers, booksellers (including bookbinders and stationers), and all book traders) (Edinburgh includes Leith)

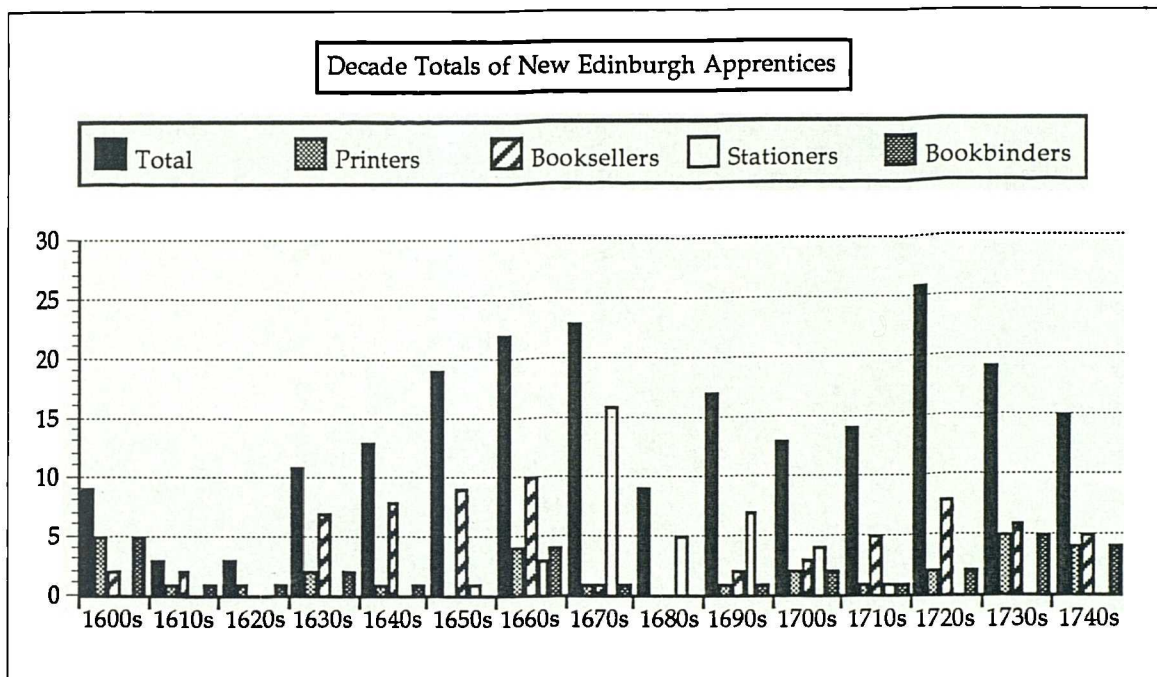


Book Trade Activity Estimates, Figure 11: Five Yearly Activity Estimates Outwith Edinburgh Indicating Likely Numbers of Active BookTraders (showing estimates of printers, booksellers and stationers), and all book traders)



Included in the figures for booksellers are all bookbinders and stationers. Essentially there are two main types of book trader in early modern Scotland, the printer who may or may not also be a bookseller, and the bookseller who may also be a bookbinder. Invariably, as revealed by their testaments, bookbinders took the opportunity to sell books. Indeed, the only true specialists were some printers. In Scotland the term stationer is entirely synonymous with bookseller until well into the eighteenth century, and was a fashionable term introduced in the 1680s that was without any necessary relevance to status, wealth or experience. That stationer was synonymous with bookseller is seen in a simple analysis of Edinburgh apprentices based on the apprentice roll for the burgh (see figure 12).

Figure 12: The Number of Book Trade Apprentices in Edinburgh, by decade, 1600-1750



In the 1670s and 1680s the number of bookselling apprentices dropped to one and naught respectively, when the number of stationer apprentices became sixteen and six in the same decades. Furthermore, many earlier book traders, such as Andro Hart or Gideon Lithgow, described themselves as bookbinders, printers, stationers and printers

whenever the fancy took them. To attempt any more detailed differentiation other than printer and bookseller would be entirely specious.⁶¹

There have, of course, been some earlier quantitative assessments of the scale of the book trade. In his study of occupational structures in the Scottish town of the 1690s, Ian D. Whyte discovered forty book traders in Edinburgh, along with two in Glasgow and seven in Aberdeen. For this exercise his sources were poll tax records for Lothian, Renfrewshire and Aberdeenshire. In Edinburgh only goldsmiths and wigmakers constituted a larger group than the combined figure for printers, booksellers, stationers and bookbinders.⁶² Helen Dingwall has located a smaller number of Edinburgh book traders, seventeen in all, in the Poll Tax returns for 1694, but these relative snapshots cannot provide us with an idea of changing trend.⁶³ MacMillan's work on the craft guilds of Edinburgh indicates that there were eighty-nine book trade burgesses in the capital in the seventeenth century, thirty from 1600-49 and fifty-nine from 1650-99.⁶⁴ These figures are in line with estimates that the book trade at least doubled in size during the course of the seventeenth century. The difficulty, however, is that so many book traders do not appear to have become burgesses, or the records of their enrolment have gone missing. The book traders listed in the appendices suggest that over ninety printers and over 170 booksellers and bookbinders were active in Edinburgh in the seventeenth century, excluding all apprentices. The extent of the book

⁶¹ This questions the suggestion that larger numbers of stationers in 1699 compared with 1635, as seen in stent roll figures, indicate necessarily a 'rise of the luxury market'. see Helen M. Dingwall, *Late Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh: A Demographic Study*, (Aldershot, 1994), 159.

⁶² Ian D. Whyte, 'The Occupational Structure of Scottish Burghs in the Late Seventeenth century' in Lynch (ed), *Early Modern Town*, 237. Not some occupational background for Aberdeen can be found in Gordon R. Debrisay, 'Authority and Discipline in Aberdeen, 1650-1700' (PhD, St. Andrews, 1989).

⁶³ Dingwall, *Late Seventeenth Century Edinburgh*, :289-293.

⁶⁴ MacMillan, 'Edinburgh Burgess Community', 94; *ibid.*, 106.

trade is greater than historians have so far estimated, and more extensive than that conveyed by the analysis of Aldis alone, and the book trade activity estimates are an effort to put these difficulties of scale in a more satisfactory perspective.

The activity estimate figures for the whole of Scotland(figure 9), show a familiar picture as far as printing is concerned. From low and relatively static levels between the 1500s and 1570s, the total number of book traders begins to rise from the 1570s, increases slowly until the 1640s and more dramatically from the 1640s to 1670s. The activity levels fall back in the 1690s from the high point of the early 1680s, but recover at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It can be seen that the 1640s show growth compared to the 1620s, although it may be that Aldis underestimates the domestic press work between 1590 and 1605. The sudden increase in printing activity c1650 and c1680 is slightly exaggerated by the recruitment of journeymen, first by the Society of Stationers in the late 1640s, and then by Agnes Campbell for the king's printing house in the late 1670s, but nevertheless their employment was an obvious indication of hectic activity.⁶⁵ The recession of the 1650s is clear, although the climb from this begins before 1660, leading to a flatter and more gradual rate of increase before the late 1670s. Printing activity did suffer during the 'Killing Times' of the early 1680s, while it is surprising that the heavy publishing activity of 1689/90 is not reflected in activity levels. The explanation for this may be that the extra printing work was carried out by a relatively small number of existing workmen and presses. The following general economic difficulties of the early 1690s are clear enough, with only a slow recovery before 1705, and like 1690, this does not reflect high Aldis figures for 1700. However, a period of expansion began around the Treaty of Union which, from figures 10 and 11, can be seen to have started in Edinburgh, although it was boosted by the spread of printing to other centres by 1715, such as Dundee and Dumfries, and in particular an increase in the Glasgow trade. Figure 11 shows that non-Edinburgh printing before then, although mostly only from the two

⁶⁵ *EBR*, 8, 252 (exemption from levies); *RPC*, 3, 5, 441-2.

presses of Aberdeen and Glasgow with a variety of numbers of journeymen and burgess printers, was as steady as Aldis suggests from the mid-1650s. The collapse in non-Edinburgh 'Aldis output' in 1658, and to some extent that of the early 1650s, can probably be put down to lost output.

Professor R.A. Houston has commented on the undoubted difficulties of establishing a relationship between expanding literacy and book production.⁶⁶ A consideration of the scale and spread of bookselling offers another means of justifying the argument for increasing literacy in Scotland in the early modern period, and in a manner inclusive of books imported from England and the Continent. Whereas the printing activity of Edinburgh, underpinned by other centres, has provided much of the trend of total trade activity in figure 9, it is clear that the numerically larger Scottish bookselling trade is a much more significant statistical influence. Somewhat like printing, estimates of bookselling activity doubled on average between the 1640s and the early eighteenth century. If all book trade activity is taken into account, even allowing for the unsustainable levels of 1678-80, it can be seen that the book trade had on average grown nearly four times the size of c1600 by the early eighteenth century. The expanding supply of books generated by numerous book traders will have certainly led to more depth of reading by existing readers, as well as the dissemination of reading skills throughout society. Nonetheless, if general literacy had not increased in this period then the demand side of Scotland's book culture cannot be adequately explained.

The business of selling books did not slavishly follow the trading patterns of printing. Bookselling struggled to get off the ground before 1580, then experienced something of a spurt based largely on expanding North Sea imports before Spain ended the trade with Antwerp (see chapter 3). Nonetheless, bookselling was convincingly established by 1600. The next thirty years saw uneven development including a flat decade before 1615 and a brief recession in bookselling

⁶⁶ Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*, 163-5.

activity in 1625 which, as can be seen from figures 10 and 11, was concentrated in Edinburgh, and not reflected in domestic printing. As it was for printing, the 1640s was a period of expansion for bookselling, but the figures for all Scotland show that a down-turn in bookselling activity accompanied printing in the early 1650s. However, the figure of bookselling outwith Edinburgh provides the remarkable picture of an accelerated spreading of bookselling to the burghs of Scotland from 1650, while the capital's booksellers suffered a flat period throughout the 1650s. As we saw above, the trade of Edinburgh, rather than the other burghs of Scotland, was pitched into a trade slump in the Cromwellian years. 'Provincial bookselling' gathered pace until a high-point was reached in the 1670s. New booksellers were to be found in St. Andrews and Perth, and for the first time appear in Dundee, Ayr, Dumfries, Lanark and Kilmarnock and even Banff and Forres in the north (see table 9). Furthermore, by 1680 bookselling activity outwith Edinburgh had, within three decades, expanded to the point that it was, numerically if not financially, virtually equal to that within the capital. Perhaps the most surprising outcome is that the period between c1590 and the 1620s, when the Scottish economy began to improve, is not reflected in high book trade activity levels.

Table 9: First Recorded Dates of Book Traders Outwith Edinburgh and Leith

<u>Printers</u>	<u>Booksellers/ bookbinders</u>
St. Andrews - 1545	Stirling - 1503
Stirling - 1571	Perth - 1587
Aberdeen - 1622	Glasgow - 1599
Glasgow - 1638	St. Andrews - 1599
Dundee - 1703	Aberdeen - 1613
Dumfries - 1711	Peebles - 1630
	Dundee - 1662
	Ayr - 1668
	Dumfries - 1670
	Irvine - 1673
	Lanark - 1674
	Banff - 1676
	Kilmarnock - 1676
	Forres - 1678
	Kirkcaldy - 1679
	Paisley - 1680
	Kelso - 1694
	Culross - 1716
	Inverness - 1716
	Linlithgow - 1716

Edinburgh bookselling revived more quickly than Edinburgh printing from the recession of the 1650s, yet it too experienced the unsustainable boom of 1678-80. Bookselling was adversely affected by the 'Killing Times' and the 1690s recession, although not so deeply as the burgh's printing trade. Many of the gains in the 1670s were not lost in the 1680s and 1690s. Indeed, if we set aside the recession of the 1650s, and the growth of the 1670s, it can be seen that, in spite of fluctuations in activity in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, underlying bookselling activity in Edinburgh increased at the steady rate of 5%-7% per decade from 1640 to 1730. Therefore, much of the more dramatic increase in bookselling in Scotland resulted from its dispersal to the corners of the nation, and not more gradual developments in the capital. The activity estimates for bookselling outwith Edinburgh, after some difficulties in the 1690s, appear to have experienced a more severe set-back in the first decade of the eighteenth century. It is not clear why this should be the case, although Edinburgh had an uncertain time of it before 1707 and high book wholesale prices may have caused difficulties outside Edinburgh. It is possible that sources discovered in the future will reduce the apparent slump from 1700 to 1710 and the apparent contraction in 1730. It must also be remembered that many of those booksellers in the small burghs of Scotland were not necessarily specialists. A sample of Perth booksellers from the 1680s and 1690s shows this clearly. James and Patrick Black were booksellers and glaziers, and their contemporaries of the same burgh Andrew Watt and James Swells were barbers as well as vendors of books. Even major printers could trade in other goods. The Aberdeen printer and bookseller James Nicoll, a printer from 1710 to 1736 and bookseller only from 1736 to 1749, had a large stock of haberdashery in his inventory in 1749.⁶⁷ Bookselling was a trade which offered some flexibility, both for the chapman, and the retainer of a permanent booth or shop, and it would have been economically prudent for the bookseller in a small burgh to retain alternative activities to withstand the perils of a down-turn in the book trade.

⁶⁷ Carnie, (2); 87, 116, 118; SRO. CC20.4.14 (Watt, 15 October, 1685); CC1.6.31 (Nicoll, 12 January, 1750).

Nevertheless, the book trade activity estimates provide an opportunity to quantify the impact of booksellers, both small and large, within and without of Edinburgh. The obsession with the domestic printing industry as a measure of book commerce, and therefore book reading and culture, has prevented bibliographical historians from correctly assessing the scale of the Scottish book trade. Although not everywhere by the end of the early modern period, the printed book was to be found in all burghs, and in most dwellings of the middling sort and above. In a historical period only twice the length of the history of the television printed matter had by 1730 become as common to perhaps half the population.

The Pattern of Trade and the Economic Stimulus

The dispersal of reading matter within Scotland depended on an effective distribution system. By the late sixteenth century it is clear that a network of bookshops had taken root in Scotland, mainly in Edinburgh, but also in other major burghs. In England early book distribution, until Elizabethan times, had been carried to the provinces by the mechanism of markets and fairs, like those at Stourbridge near Cambridge, or St. Freswide's in Oxford. The London booksellers who brought their books to these fairs, were actually following the routes of paper salesmen, well worn since the early fifteenth century, and still important for provincial paper distribution until the seventeenth century. In Scotland burgh fairs seem to have had greater importance than country markets for trade in all kinds of goods, and Smout's remark that 'Before 1603, most of the markets and nearly all the fairs were held in royal burghs' may help to explain the probable dominance of burgh fairs for both paper and book trading outside Edinburgh in the sixteenth century.⁶⁸ Bookshops were springing up everywhere in places like Inverness, Dumfries, Peebles, Kirkcaldy and Paisley, and the requirement for book trading at fairs no doubt became mainly a question of provincial booksellers stocking up from the stalls of the large Edinburgh booksellers. Even this began to disappear by 1700, by which time shipments of stock would be made directly from large to small stock holders. The old meaning of the word stationer, a bookseller with a permanent booth in a university, had in the permanence of book vending locations become a reality for all Scottish large and medium sized booksellers by the 1630s. Furthermore by the 1660s the majority of booksellers and printers of reasonable means had a warehouse as well as booth/shop or press house in order to store bulk

⁶⁸ Smout, *Scottish Trade*. 16. Ballard has calculated that nearly 300 fairs and markets were authorised by the Scottish crown in the seventeenth century. The privileges of the royal burghs were certainly under threat. A. Ballard, 'Theory of the Scottish Burgh'. *SHR.*, xiii. (1916), 22,

stock. By the second half of the seventeenth century if book stock was held in the domestic quarters of a middling book trader it was quite likely that this was for personal pleasure and not for retail sale.

The complexity of retail and wholesale interactions can be as complex for book commerce as any other trade. The details and list of debtors and creditors from the testaments of booksellers and printers provide a means to consider the contacts and trading networks of Scotland's book trade. It is not surprising that trade links between the book merchants of Edinburgh and London existed before the Reformation.⁶⁹ It is generally accepted that much of the literature that generated the ideology for the Reformation in Scotland came from the English press. By the 1570s regular channels of communication had been established, so much so that according to his testament of 1579 London was the source for 80% of Thomas Bassandyne's English language stock.⁷⁰ For post-Reformation Scotland English was the language of God, and so, computing the analysis of Margaret Bald into percentages, 50% of the books imported from England from 1500 to 1625 were on theology,⁷¹ and a fifth were practical guides indicating

⁶⁹ For a general survey of links between London and Edinburgh see Ferguson, 'Relations Between London and Edinburgh Printers', 145-198.

⁷⁰ BM, 191.

⁷¹ For an analysis of subject matter imported from England see M.A Bald, 'Vernacular Books imported into Scotland', *SHR*, xxiii, (1926), 254-267. For booksellers the percentages were, using Bald's subject classifications - 50% theology; 16% tales, poems and jest; 10% history, contemporary events and political theory; 21% practical guides and 3% translated classics. For some reason Bald does not do the obvious and display her figures in percentages. She scoured four major sources: the wills of Edinburgh booksellers, the libraries of Queen Mary and James VI, the libraries of the universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, including benefactions from King James, Prince Henry and Prince Charles, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and the major bequests of Drummond of Hawthornden, and lastly a range of miscellaneous references from state papers and other documents, which often mention a 'type' of book rather than a specific title. A total of 443 titles were identified in her survey, of which half came from the booksellers' wills. Her view that the stock of the booksellers, rather than the royal or

that the demand for general non-fiction was well-established before the Restoration. The inventories of the likes of Henry Charteris(1599), Robert Smyth (1602) and James Cathkin (1631) confirm that English printers and stationers, like Richard Watkins, Richard Field, Robert Allott and Geoffrey Edmonston, supplied the bulk of vernacular books to Scotland.⁷² Meanwhile, Latin works, classics, theology and law texts were acquired from the Low Countries. As we have seen above, in the 1570s and early 1580s Bassandyne and Charteris, and various other Scottish book traders, were supplied with Latin printings by the Plantin press at Antwerp, including fine editions of George Buchanan's works. Soon after, Andro Hart, a more wealthy merchant and book trader, went further afield and commissioned printers and book suppliers from throughout the Low Countries and beyond.

Having established external trading contacts by 1625, both for covert and overt book trade dissemination, the remaining decades of the seventeenth century were spent creating an internal domestic network. The testaments of James and Robert Bryson indicate that by the 1630s and 1640s the Edinburgh press was supplying booksellers in Glasgow and Aberdeen, such as John Neil and Robert Melvill respectively. This was an important first stage in a tripartite relationship which would be established between the three printing burghs of Scotland. Moreover, Glasgow, although no more committed to printing than Aberdeen in the seventeenth century, developed its own internal burgh network. The testament of the Glasgow bookseller John Neil (1657) lists no less than seven other Glasgow book traders as debtors.⁷³ It is easy to imagine Glasgow booksellers bulk buying stock and re-supplying one another, and also seeking to redeem a customer's order from the most convenient local source.

university libraries, are more likely to indicate the tastes of the general reader must be correct.

⁷² BM, 223; *ibid.*, 233; *ibid.*, 249.

⁷³ BM, 259; *ibid.*, 263. SRO.CC9.7.32.

The proliferation of booksellers in the smaller burghs of Scotland led by the 1670s to a concentric structure of wholesale supply moving inwards from London, to Edinburgh and to the smaller provincial towns such as Dundee, Kilmarnock, St. Andrews, and Lanark. The testament of the king's printer Andrew Anderson (1676) reveals simultaneous contacts in such burghs and to London. Larger Edinburgh booksellers, such as Archibald Hislop, made regular orders from the booksellers of London, as seen in his account book entries from 1668 to 1678 which include stock acquired from Simon Miller, Dorman Newman, Thomas Cockerill, and Robert Boutler.⁷⁴ Indeed, the customs books of Leith confirm that the early 1680s were especially busy for importing stock from England.⁷⁵ The English press provided books of particular authorship and genre and also of print specification. The more expensive folio books were not so commonly printed in Scotland, and so there was a direct correlation between format and the supplier. This can be seen in the format specific catalogue printed for an auction by the bookseller Alexander Henderson in 1693, and in another auction catalogue dated 1719. Both list printed books collected but printed as far back as the 1540s, and the imprints show that the vast majority of Scottish editions were octavo or smaller, and that folio works in particular had to be imported from England or the Continent.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ BM, 282. Cockerill and the bookseller Richard Chiswell were creditors of Hislop when he died in 1678, and were owed the large amounts of £1000 and £670 scots respectively for stock supplied. For Hislop see SRO.CS96/3. and CC8.8.76.

⁷⁵ SRO. E72. 15, 20. Leith Entry Books, 1680-81. See references to the following book merchants importing books: John Swintoun, Alexander Ogilvie, Gideon Shaw, Walter Cunningham, George Leslie, John Cairnes, John Brown, John Nicolson and most frequently John Calderwood.

⁷⁶ NLS. H.32e.48 (1 and 2): 'Catalogue of Books Being the Appendix promised in the last Catalogue Which are to be sold by way of Auction the last day of March on Friday (1693) ... The Catalogues are to be had at Alexander Henderson's shop, bookseller in the Locken-booth' and 'A Catalogue of Books Being the Library of a very Learned Gentleman lately deceased consisting of Law, Divinity, Belles Lettres ... to be auctioned 22 January, 1719'.

In fact Continental suppliers remained essential after the 1630s and to the end of the century. This was especially so for stock imported from Holland, although still in the genre of theology and for Latin classics. Edinburgh booksellers, such as the suicide victim John Masone, were indebted to Dutch suppliers like Arnold Leirs of Rotterdam in the 1670s.⁷⁷ The bible trade with Holland was regarded as especially lucrative, and from the 1670s Glasgow became an entrepôt for the import of Dutch English language bibles in breach of the rights of the king's printer (see chapter 3).

By the end of the seventeenth century the book trade network seems complete with only the addition of new 'book burghs' required to increase the internal links. However, by the 1720s a new international book trading partner had become of particular significance - Ireland. The Edinburgh printer James Watson, the younger, was on his death in 1722 owed debts by the Belfast printer John Gardner, and interestingly also by the Newcastle booksellers Joseph Button, Ralph Shaw, and Martin Bryson. The book trade of Glasgow had even closer links across the Irish Sea. These links had fully developed by the 1670s as seen by the customs records of Glasgow.⁷⁸ By the 1730s the Glasgow bookseller and printer Alexander Miller had supplied the Belfast booksellers Messrs Wilson and McGee, although the trade was two-way, as can be seen in the inventory of Janet Hunter, bookseller of Glasgow, and widow to one of the James Browns of the burgh. The ninety titles identified in her warehouse, where printing origin is indicated, breakdown as follows:

London: 41
Dublin: 20
Belfast: 1
Amsterdam: 6
The Hague: 2
Glasgow: 5
Edinburgh: 15

⁷⁷ SRO. PS. 3/2. 493.

⁷⁸ SRO. E72. 10, 3. Quarterly Import and Export Books (1671-72) with book and paper stock exports to Ireland.

Thus Ireland had by 1735 become second only to London for the supply of printed books to a major Glasgow bookseller. Nevertheless, something more profound than this had developed by the second decade of the eighteenth century. The testaments of the king's printer Agnes Campbell (1716), and that of Watson, reveal that Edinburgh had become the epicentre for book trading in the northern British Isles. Campbell and Watson traded with Berwick, Durham and Newcastle. Belfast printers, like Robert Gardner and John Blair, and the Belfast bookseller John Holmes, were supplied with book stock and printing materials by Campbell. Indeed, Agnes Campbell even provided finance capital to Holmes and the Londonderry merchant Henry Thomson.⁷⁹ It is a glimmer of what must have been a particularly fertile trade, and one worthy of in-depth research at a later date in the context of Edinburgh as the centre of north British print culture before the Enlightenment. Meanwhile, Glasgow by the 1740s had augmented its book trading with a pious customer further afield - the colonial market of America.

The output of the Scottish press changed over time but in harmony with its demand for external stock imported from England and the Continent. These transformations can be seen as entering three phases. The period after the youthful pangs of the incunabula decades, which ended with the Reformation, up to the 1630s was a long spell of mixed publishing, of the celebration of vernacular Scottish literature, and of the provision of liturgy and school books. The second phase, from the late 1630s to 1660, was the age of theology when, just as entertainment and practical non-fiction began to develop a readership, they were supplanted by theology coupled with the first continuous wave of scripture printing in Scotland. The recession of the 1650s, with the qualifications above, was a period of relative contraction, but the publication of religious texts remained dominant. The third phase began slowly in the 1660s, though it gathered pace in the 1670s and beyond. In this phase religious texts declined and a wide variety of secular books on science, the law, and current affairs began to

⁷⁹ SRO.CC8.8.88; CC9.7.65; CC9.7.55; CC8.8.86.

predominate. Yet in spite of these phases some aspects of publishing remained constant. School books were always required, government proclamations needed immediate printing, and prognostications and almanacs, the most profitable publishing properties of the seventeenth century, were in demand year on year.

The secure arrival of newspapers in the 1690s gives the impression of a watershed, of something inherently new, yet in reality the press was responding to a demand that already existed. The urgent demand for news in the 1670s and 1680s was remarkable judged by the surviving output of the Scottish press. Indeed, this pattern of supply responding to demand is essential to understanding the history of books in Scotland and in all nations. David Stevenson has commented on Scotland's reliance on the English press as having 'hampered the growth of native printing'.⁸⁰ However, this is a narrow view of the dynamics of book dissemination. The domestic press needed interested readers before it could find a willing custom for its supply. It is for this reason that the dispersal of book merchants, large and small, to the corners of the country was so important in broadening the readership base as well as inspiring existing book collectors. Scotland's early modern economy may have been relatively fragile but it was sufficiently robust to provide the stimulus for profit by some book traders, and for printed matter to come into the homes and hands of more and more readers old and new.

⁸⁰ Stevenson, 'Scottish Covenanters and their Printers', 317.

Conclusion: Politicisation, Profit and Public Policy

Providing employment and commissions for printers, making appointments to the royal press, and retaining the good will of the book trade were loosely defined parts of government policy in the early modern period. Most presses were relatively at ease with the government of the day, perhaps sometimes out of fear of punishment although more commonly out of basic commercial self-interest. This simple commercial necessity is lost on much of Scotland's historiography, conflict being more intoxicating than harmony. This research has sought to strike the appropriate balance between the book trade as a business and as a medium for high politics.

The question of whether a particular press was a government supporter or government opponent has exercised book historians and it is worth commenting on the validity of such judgments. Our main evidence for the political stance of a printer is, of course, output. On this basis, for example, Paul Watry has concluded that John Scot (f.1539-71) was a 'Catholic printer'; Thomas Bassandyne (f.1564-77) a Catholic supporter who ran foul of the general assembly in 1568 for printing a pro-Catholic work *The fall of the roman kirk*, and Robert Lekpreuik (f.1561-82) a 'servant to the Protestant party' who, in the words of Michael Lynch, was an 'ultra-Protestant'.¹ The character of John Scot's output is mixed, however, and he appears more of a 'sometimes Catholic'. Thus he printed archbishop Hamilton's Catechism in 1552, was arrested for printing the writings of the Catholic priest Ninian Winzet in 1562, but also produced an edition of the Protestant Confessions of Faith in 1561. As for Bassandyne he was the printer for the queen's men during the Marian civil war, yet seemed to evolve as an episcopalian rather than a 'proto-Catholic', which of course made him suitable for royal commission after the war

¹ Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing', 28, 40, 31, 36; Michael Lynch, (ed.) 'Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms', *Innes Review*, xxxviii, 27n

ended. Indeed, what the general assembly found so objectionable in *The fall of the roman kirk* was the erastianism with which it declared the king head of the kirk, a starkly 'un-Catholic' view.

Meanwhile, the case for Lekpreuik rests with his extensive pro-Protestant output during the civil war period in the late 1560s and early 1570s, and in direct opposition to Bassandyne, although at that time Lekpreuik had done as much to attack Protestant supporters of Queen Mary, such as Maitland of Lethington, as he had Catholics.² Much of Lekpreuik's reputation as an ultra-Protestant rests on his edition of *Ane Dialog or Mutuall talking betuix a Clerk and ane Courteour Concerning foure Parische kirks till ane Minister* (1574), but this poetic work by John Davidson was a critique of financial provision for the kirk rather than Protestant polemic. Also, during the reign of Queen Mary, during which Lekpreuik became royal printer, he printed commissions from court Catholics, and even an account of Mary's marriage to the dauphin. These questions of religious persuasion, therefore, engage with printing in a peculiarly obtuse manner. Watry views it as a victory for a Catholic circle at court when, in 1566, Edward Henryson, a Catholic and member of the 'Bothwell legal circle', was given the licence in preference to Lekpreuik to print the acts of parliament. Also, there is surprise that Lekpreuik, the Protestant, should print the acts, the first edition of which included some of the old statutes against Protestants.³ However, the subsequent printing history of statute confirms that the right had been vested in Henryson the distinguished lawyer not Henryson the Catholic, and this is merely a precursor to the responsibility for printing acts being

² For summary of Lethington's attempt to stop publication by Lekpreuik of George Buchanan's *The Chamaeleon* (1570), see Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 203-4.

³ Watry, 'Sixteenth Century Printing', 36. For an account of the 'legal circle' see Julian Goodare, 'Queen Mary's Catholic Interlude' in Lynch, 'Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms', 160 and John Durkan, 'The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots', also in 'Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms', 77-78.

placed in the gift of the clerk register.⁴ Furthermore, involvement of Lekpreuik is hardly surprising when he was royal printer and his competitors were in no position to take on the job. Scot was in prison, Bassandyne barely started in trade in Scotland, and was about to be censured by the kirk for printing *The Fall of the Roman Kirk*, and John Ross was some eight years from starting his press. That which seems amazing was purely of necessity, and the danger of bold assertions on the politico-religious proclivities of Scotland's press is plain enough.

The above reservations do not disqualify Scotland's book makers from an important position in political radicalism and, of course, controversy could be good for business. A continuous line of presbyterian press dissent can be traced from the 1580s to the covenanting revolution of 1638-9, the key figures being Andro Hart and his third wife Janet Kene. Hart, James and Edward Cathkin, Richard Lawson, James and Robert Bryson and John Wreittoun were all presbyterian book traders connected by commerce and marriage.⁵ But other printers like Robert Waldegrave, the former Marprelate printer, and Edward Raban, Aberdeen printer and former Leiden nonconformist, appeared to drift from radicalism to establishment status. Raban, who fell under the influence of the bishop of Aberdeen, attempted even-handedness printing for and against the National Covenant, yet this was a commercial and personal disaster for him, as

⁴ For a summary account of Henryson's role, and that of others, in compiling the first complete printed acts see Cairns, 'Legal Humanism', 48-52.

⁵ For details of the presbyterian book trade network see Calderwood, *History*, iv, 78-9 and *Calendar of State Papers (Scotland)*, vii, no.171; Calderwood, *History*, v, 510-2, 520-1; vii, 348-9; *ibid.*, 382-3 and BM, i, 199-215 for Cathkin's account of his own interrogation by James VI in London. Calderwood, *History*, vii, 433-4 and 439-442. For a discussion of women in Melvillian nonconformity see forthcoming Alastair Mann 'Embroidery to Enterprise: the role of women in the book trade of early modern Scotland' in *Women in Scotland 1100-1750* (Tuckwell, 1998)

was the neutrality shown by Evan Tyler during the Engagement crisis.⁶ Neutrality could be an unpopular commodity.

The increase in the number of presses after the Restoration facilitated more covert printing activity and a more sustained challenge to government propaganda. But who were the printers of 'anti-government' material of a presbyterian and covenanting, let alone Cameronian hue? The printers and booksellers George Swintoun and James Glen were arrested in 1661 for printing scandalous papers of a covenanter nature, and Glen in particular, in spite of his respected commercial status and accumulation of copyrights, seems to have continued to operate for the covenanters. It was Glen who met the bond of caution for John Reid, the elder, in 1690 when Reid was found guilty of printing the *Vindication of the Address* following on from the *humble address of the regimented Cameronian presbyterians* (1689). Reid was released only because of his previous record of printing anti-Catholic tracts. James Glen was also a thorn in the side of the government of James VII. In November 1687, Glen was imprisoned for selling an anti-Catholic pamphlet *the Root of Romish Rites* without a licence. It was during this show trial that Glen provocatively asked if he could now sell the Bible as it was patently anti-papist!⁷

Probably the most important presbyterian printer after the Restoration was George Mosman (f.1669-1707). Mosman's radical credentials included arrest in 1669 for attending conventicles, and accusations of further such 'crimes' in 1676, 1683 and 1685. At a time when the Anglo-Dutch war against France raged, in March 1690

⁶ See Sprunger (2), 143-4 and Duff, 'The Early Career of Edward Raban', 239-56; Edmond, *Aberdeen Printers*, iv. xxiv-xxv.

⁷ RPC, iii, 1, 73; RPC, iii, 15, 704; MacLehose, *Glasgow University Press*, 60-61. Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers 1641-67*, 83. Fountainhall *Decisions*, i, 482. In Fountainhall's account of the case the level of frustration is evident: 'seeing they not only print at the Abbay, but freely import and spread their Popish books against our religion, tho they are prohibited by standing laws to do it. But this shows what a weak fence laws unexecuted are'. W.J.Couper, 'Watson', 244-245.

Mosman was arrested for printing *A wish for Peace*. However, this did not stop the general assembly appointing him printer to the kirk, a post surely reward to a consistent supporter of the true kirk, and for his production of a vast quantity of theology and scripture.

Meanwhile, the position of John Reid, confused as it is by the activities of Reid younger and elder, reflects the inherent difficulties of making swift judgements on the religious allegiance of printers. Reid, the elder, printed in 1689 much presbyterian and covenanting printed matter, but also the *Remonstrance and protestation against deposing James II*, the vending of which resulted in the arrest of Robert Allen, servant of the bookseller Martha Stevenson, as late as March 1691.⁸ Reid's behaviour can surely be explained by commercial considerations - he had been paid to print the tract.

The most blatant print propaganda was that generated by the military press, even though the impact of such press activity must have been considerably diluted once swords were drawn. The duel between the presses of Lekpreuik and Bassandyne during the Marian civil war, and the transportation of presses in the baggage trains of Charles I, the covenanters and Cromwell, illustrate the use of typographic pugilism within Scotland. This did not necessarily reflect the political allegiance of the book makers themselves. In 1644 the Aberdeen printer Edward Raban found himself obliged to print the marquis of Montrose's *Declaration* after the cavalier had occupied Aberdeen. The printing may not have taken place at the point of a sword but the implicit threat was clear enough. Furthermore, if 'local' printers could not be found then it was possible to bring in outsiders. The most striking example of this was the ninth earl of Argyll's use of Dutch printers during the abortive Argyll Rising of 1685. In June 1685, the month after Argyll's action failed, the Dutch printer Geills Willamsone, a servant of the Amsterdam printer Jacob Vandervelde, was interrogated and imprisoned over the printing at Campbeltown of Argyll's *Declaration*.⁹

⁸ RPC, iii, 2, 626; RPC, iii, 8, 294-6; RPC, iii, 15, 141 and 144; RPC, iii, 16, 228 and 248.

⁹ RPC, iii, 11, 306 and 427. The Dutchman had transported printing materials from Holland, and admitted printing for Argyll.

The most celebrated commitment by a printer to the cause of war was that of the Jacobite Robert Freebairn.¹⁰ Freebairn was an establishment figure before the rebellion of 1715, involved as he was in the co-partnery for the gift of royal printer granted in 1711, the subject of much litigation, and in editorial and publishing endeavours with the grammarian Thomas Ruddiman. These were just some of the commercial and intellectual activities suspended by the failed rebellion. By October 1715 a press owned by the Aberdeen printer James Nicol had been united, forcibly or willingly is unclear, with the skills of Freebairn in the burgh of Perth, headquarters of the Jacobites under the earl of Mar. The press ran for only a few weeks before it fled north back to Aberdeen, and Freebairn into exile. Books and politics were parallel considerations for Freebairn in a way not so obviously discernible for the majority of printers in the period. The key point for Scottish book history is that to consider the book trade only in the light of historical crises delivers not merely a quantitative distortion of the scale of the book trade, but the usual qualitative dangers of assumptions as to motive and politicisation.

To counteract the disproportionate impact of dramatic events the consideration of the engagement with the press by the burghs, clergy and government, and in particular the discussion and analysis of the scale of the trade in chapter 7, has attempted to place equal emphasis on books grand and mundane, and on book traders wealthy and destitute. It is for this reason that the foundation of the research is the accumulated listing of as many booksellers and printers as possible (see appendices IV and V), using existing bibliographical references and those found anew from a variety of archival sources. Thus in the two centuries covered the approach has been to move from the identified book merchants to the contexts that influenced their productive lives.

It has been shown that the scale of the Scottish book trade was greater than we might infer from previous historiography, even

¹⁰ For an account of Freebairn see W.J. Couper, 'The Pretender's Printer' in *SHR*, xv, (1917), 106-23. He returned to Scotland in 1722.

though it has never been satisfactorily quantified. This is especially true of bookselling which has been relatively ignored by bibliographical historians more interested in the physical evidence provided by the output of the domestic press. In small nations, however, the business of selling books is more likely to be a motor for literacy and book dissemination than a relatively small domestic press output, and in Scotland was of crucial importance for provincial centres. Meanwhile, the expected conclusion that book printing and selling increased over the early modern period can be made, although the rate of growth of output, of trade activity, of liberty to publish and especially of profitability were frequent variables. Economic recessions, such as those of the early 1650s and early 1690s, had their impact on the business of books, but more especially in Edinburgh where the larger book trade had further to fall, and where specialisation in book commerce was more established. Yet, the 1650s were the point of take-off for small booksellers outwith Edinburgh which provides an important qualification to the accepted picture of Cromwellian economic depression. Trade with English book suppliers remained continuous and as we have also seen overseas presses, and especially those of the Low Countries, were from the 1570s to the 1690s equally significant for the expanding Scottish readership. Indeed, in the provision of Latin texts and scripture the presses and book suppliers of Antwerp and Amsterdam were more important than those of London.

Apart from the government the main institutions involved in book control and dissemination were the burghs and the church. The role of the Scottish 'printing burghs' has no equivalent in English book history and as shown above the lack of a Scottish Stationers' Company left the burghs of Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow to play a crucial role as censors, licensors and trade policemen, which far exceeded the traditional activities of monitoring craft and merchant behaviour. Local rather than centralised control mirrored the decentralised authority exercised in the Low Countries. As employers and patrons Scottish magistrates also reflected the aspirations for learning and literacy of the middle reaches of society. Burgh policy for

the printed book was a cocktail of commercial practicality and authoritarianism, but also idealism.

The engagement of the clergy in book matters is more predictable. The church in Scotland provided most of the authors and topics of controversy, and many of the most avid readers and committed book buyers. Nevertheless, as regulators of the book trade the church has been shown to be relatively passive in the face of secular authority. Senior clergy and clerical courts pressed for government action over books of religious deviancy, while local church courts were more concerned with moral behaviour in a general sense. Ironically, that section of society for whom literacy was a professional requirement also produced the least consistent and structured formulation of book trade policy. The clergy, in episcopalian or presbyterian guise, was fond of using the literate accelerator, but somewhat fretful and ineffective in its use of the illiberal brake of censorship.

The book trade law of Scotland has provided some of the more interesting points of contrast with regulation in England. Early modern copyright in Scotland, until now regarded as nonexistent or vague, can be seen to have existed both in legal theory and in the practicalities of book commerce. The movement from royal prerogative to government prerogative with the British copyright act of 1710 shows that the English Stationers' licensing system was anomalous. British interpretations of intellectual property were in the eighteenth century cast in terms of Scottish traditions that always placed authority with the crown. Nonetheless, in the area of book licensing, as seen in chapter 5, no records survive that confirm Scottish permission to publish was regulated with the administrative efficiency of the Stationers. Scottish license, be it burgh, church or government, was piecemeal, but always with the understanding that publication of undesirable material would lead to appropriate punishment. That said, the most extreme sanctions for seditious press activity were rarely life-threatening. One of the surprising conclusions of this research is that Scottish censorship was less aggressive in physical punishment than was its English counterpart while the number of banned books suggests Scotland was a kingdom of typical

rather than extreme censorship activity compared to other European nations. Censorship was applied unevenly throughout the period and it is impossible to conclude that tight censorship gradually gave rise to more relaxed attitudes in the early eighteenth century. Moreover, the expansion in available printed matter from the 1670s ensured for practical reasons that government control over printing became associated with politics and current affairs and less with any desire to license the majority, let alone the entirety, of book printing and book sale.

As for the institutions of the nation, the clergy, burghs, parliament, privy council and crown, they encouraged, they facilitated and sometimes they aided the book trade by doing simply nothing at all. Where policies of regulation and control were required the government did what it could to censor, though not to silence. It was not merely a question of the printed beast being uncontrollable - should not the church have abandoned the fight against sin, or the law that against crime if the management of the press was such a hopeless task? It may have been impossible to stop the proliferation of print, yet it was within the objectives of public policy to modulate its course and the rate of its acceleration in specific genre. Furthermore, government and printing learnt to cooperate and this is not so surprising. Each grew to respect the power of the other. Printing, though, has too often been branded a mass production technique, to be coupled with mining and shipbuilding, when its role as a defining catalyst should place it alongside the compass and gunpowder. Thus, like navigation and warfare, in the early modern period and in Scotland, printing became the sport of kings, but also of commoners to an immeasurable extent and in the deep reaches of society.

Is this significance reflected in the historiography? The question of whether print culture is isolated or integrated into effective historiography has exercised European and American book historians. Revisionists like Elizabeth Eisenstein, in her *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979), emphasise that historians have ignored the pervasive influence of printing, and so have unwittingly distorted their account of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the 'Scientific Revolution'. Books make and not only mediate human history.

However, as Eisenstein's critics have put it 'the story of early modern intellectuals must in the end be a history of ideas', and history must not 'elevate manner at the expense of matter', the medium over the message. But book history should not have to choose between Erasmus and printing ink, and nor should national history become a ghetto which ignores the universal and the comparative. To quote Steinberg, 'the history of printing is an integral part of the general history of civilisation', and Scotland must be seen as a European nation coming to terms with a universal media.¹²

Although no single work of historiography has so far outlined the history of the book trade in early modern Scotland, an attempt has been made to show the multi-faceted quality of the culture of the book, and that Scotland, as all nations, engaged with the printed word in complex, idiosyncratic and sometimes obscure ways. There are moments of contrast and commonality with the experiences of other nations, and especially those close 'book cousins' England and the Low Countries. Nonetheless, kings, legislators, authors, patrons, printers, booksellers, librarians and readers all played their part in the creation of a recognisable Scottish tradition. That Scottish historians should have so ignored this cornerstone of national history is bewildering. Unfortunately, since the 1940s Scottish bibliographical history, and in particular Scottish studies, has become obsessed with the literary and not the literature. It is as if the smartly printed belles-lettres of Drummond of Hawthornden should entirely represent the reading of his fellow contemporaries. Today English 'literature' too often supplants the history of the Scottish book. The cure for this 'bagpipes and ballads' mentality is to show by research that the Scottish book reflected and precipitated a national history, while it tried to make a profit.

¹² E.L.Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and cultural transformation in early-modern Europe*. (Cambridge, 1979) following Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographical Man*, (Toronto, London, 1962). Her critics are Anthony T. Grafton, 'The importance of Being Printed' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, ii, (1980), 286 and T. K. Rabb, 'Debate, The Advent of Printing and the Problem of the Renaissance', *Past and Present*, 52 (1971), 136; Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 11. See Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450-1550*, (Wiesbaden, 1967) for a provocative print culture analysis.

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