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Keith Marshall

France and the Scottish Press, 1700–1800



This paper amounts to an *état présent* of investigations directed towards establishing a bibliography of works originally written in French which were published in either their original or translated form between 1700 and 1800 in Scotland (the town of Berwick being taken as part of Scotland). The main body of the bibliography is of works written by Frenchmen, but includes also works written in the French language by Swiss, Germans, and even one Scotsman, the Chevalier Ramsay; to this are added grammar books and teaching aids for the French language, and travel works relating to France.

In compiling this bibliography, I have built on the solid foundations of the bibliography of the Foulis press by Philip Gaskell,¹ the checklist of editions and translations of Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau by Alison K. Howard,² and the not quite so solid foundation of Hugh M'Lean's bibliography of the Glasgow publisher, Robert Urie.³ The remainder of the material has been drawn from advertisements and lists in 18th century Scottish periodicals and newspapers, particularly the *Scots Magazine*; the sale catalogues of a few private 18th century Scottish libraries; and the collection of current stock and auction catalogues of 18th and early 19th century Edinburgh booksellers kept in the Edinburgh Public Library. I must emphasize that, apart from examining the 1762–92 purchasing records of Edinburgh University Library, and the 18th cen-

tury purchasing records and 1826 catalogue of St. Andrews University Library, I have made no systematic attempt so far to tap the resources of the major libraries both in Scotland and abroad. Consequently, the bibliography is incomplete, and since the authenticity of many editions to which I have found references has not been established, it must be expected that some of them will be ghosts produced by typographical errors.

However, my principal interest in this investigation lies not so much in the purely bibliographical sphere as in assessing the range and nature of 18th century Scottish concern with France, French and things French. And in this light, even allowing for the incompleteness of the list and the presumed presence of some ghosts, certain conclusions and hypotheses can be formed from it.

The take-off point for the Scottish press in general terms during the 18th century was the 1740's. In this it coincides approximately with the take-off of the Scottish economy and the intellectual flowering of the Scottish Enlightenment. This is probably no chance coincidence, but the sudden expansion of the Scottish press over the thirty or so years following 1740 must also be linked to the protracted struggle over copyright waged during this period between the established London publishers and the new, so-called pirates, among whom were many of the Scottish printers. Though it was one of the London booksellers' grouses that Scottish and English provincial booksellers undercut them on the sale prices of imported foreign works, the printing and publication in Scotland of foreign works does not seem to have been in itself a bone of contention. However, the take-off of the Scottish press in general and the development of its production of works originally published in French or concerning France appear to occur together in the 1740's.

In all, I have traced so far some 320-330 editions of 130 separate works, plus anthologies, collected works etc., which have this French connection, during the years 1700-1800. Of these, only 12 appeared in the first 40 years of the century, while in the decade beginning 1740 there was a distinct quickening, with 11 editions. Right in the middle of the century, came a sudden explosion, with no less than 18 editions in 1750 and 12 in 1751 alone. Thereafter the rate steadied down to an average of 8 or 9 a year.

Most of us would tend to think of the press as an expanding industry throughout the 18th century, and expect the output of the Scottish press to have increased steadily. This may be true on the general level, but it is not true on the level of the type of book I am here considering. My investigations so far show the 1750's as the most productive decade (91 editions) and thereafter a gradual decline in production; 1760's: 84

editions/ 1770's: 71 editions/ 1780's: 30 editions/ 1790's: 24 editions. The relative inadequacy of my sources for the last years of the century may well have exaggerated matters, but the fact of the decline is evident.

Of course, we are dealing here with a small scale phenomenon, where the impact of one publisher, one author or even one work can greatly influence the figures for the overall period and particular years in it. And this is precisely what happened, as will emerge in the course of this paper.

Categorizing the works according to their subject is a next to impossible task, but some attempt at it must be made, while recognizing the inevitability of a degree of artificiality in some of the categorizations, if the significance of this aspect of 18th century publishing is to be gauged.⁴

BELLES LETTRES

41 TITLES; 21 AUTHORS; 108 EDITIONS (PLUS 5 ANTHOLOGIES AND 3 EDITIONS OF COMPLETE WORKS). The majority of works of this type were prose fiction: novels, short stories and dialogues. London publishers produced a large number of translations and adaptations of minor works of fiction, whereas the much smaller Scottish output is concentrated on the works of the more distinguished *littérateurs*. Each of the novels of Montesquieu and Rousseau was published more than once, but the fiction of Voltaire, being so much larger in bulk, was covered less well. But perhaps even more popular in this field were, firstly, Lesage with 7 editions of *Gil Blas* and 9 of *Le diable boîteux*, one or two of his other works being added to volumes primarily concerned with one or other of these principal works; and, secondly, Fénelon, with 10 editions of *Télémaque* and 4 editions of fables and dialogues. Lower down the scale of distinction, the Chevalier Ramsay's Scottish origins and his association with Fénelon earned him 4 editions of his *Voyages de Cyrus*, while there were 3 editions of Marmontel's *Contes moraux* and 2 of *Belisarius*, 1 edition of Florian's *Gonsalvo of Cordoba* and an odd edition of extracts from the novels of Mme. de Genlis at Perth in 1788.

Perhaps because of translation difficulties, there was little poetry. The initiative of the Foulis brothers was responsible for a collected *Oeuvres* of Boileau in French and a separate edition of the *Lutrin* in English. The only other poetry consisted of one edition of La Fontaine and one of Voltaire's *Pucelle d'Orleans*, the latter in French.

In the drama, the one writer to have caught the publishers' attention was Molière; through the joint efforts of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Berwick publishing houses, there appeared 3

French language editions of *Pièces choisies*, two English editions of the complete works, and *The mock doctor*, an adaptation by Henry Fielding. With the exception of a *Recueil des comédies et tragédies des plus célèbres auteurs français*, brought out in Edinburgh in 1784, the 17th century classical tragedies are conspicuously absent. A number of the Scottish literati had a high opinion of Voltaire as a dramatist, but the only evidence of a wider interest was Alexander Donaldson's inclusion of translations of *Mahomet* and *L'Orphelin de la Chine* in a selection of English (sic) plays in 1759. The third and only other 18th century French play I have found so far was de Belloy's *Siège de Calais* in 1765. Why the Foulis brothers should have brought out, during the Seven Years War, this propaganda piece designed to appeal to the anti-British feeling of the moment in France, is a mystery. To judge from the number of copies still in the Foulis' firm's stock when it was broken up in 1777, it did not go down well with the Scottish reading public.

Literary theory and criticism occupied the minds of nearly all the leading thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment, and many of them turned their attention to the French classical school. Their comments were not always favorable, but their discussion of French literary theory stimulated interest in it. From the Foulis and Urie in Glasgow, there were 4 editions of works by Fénelon on poetry and rhetoric, and 2 of Boileau's *Art poétique*. The abbé Batteux's *Principes de la littérature* appear regularly in the borrowing registers of St. Andrews and Edinburgh University Libraries, but only his *Principles of translation* were actually published in Scotland. Urie offered a collection of essays on dramatic poetry by Voltaire in 1761, and his *Essai sur le goût*, together with essays on the same subject by Montesquieu and D'Alembert were translated into English for the first time to appear with Gerard's *Essay on taste*, of which Kincaid and Bell published the second edition in 1764.

HISTORY

28 TITLES; 18 AUTHORS; 65 EDITIONS. The works in this section cover a wide range of ancient, modern European and world history. In keeping with current attitudes to the subject, the majority of them are distinguished by their style and/or their "philosophical" approach. Voltaire is the dominant figure: *La philosophie de l'histoire* and five other major historical works appeared, *Le siècle de Louis XIV* four or possibly five times. And there are other formative works among Montesquieu's history of Rome, Raynal's history of European

colonialism, Bayle's life of Gustavus Adolphus and Marmontel's history of the Incas. Surprisingly, perhaps, the now forgotten historian, Vertot, was very much to the fore in 11 editions of 5 different works, while an older 17th century approach was represented by Bossuet in his *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* and history of France.

In the Scottish universities, the standard work on ancient Middle Eastern history was Rollin's 10v. compilation, of which there were 6 editions. He was supported by Sabbathier's more original work on the same subject, and, for the Greek specialist, Chevalier's description of the plain of Troy.

There was a popular demand for works which presented history from the inside, written by major protagonists in the events themselves. French language works directed at this market were the memoirs of the Duc de Sully, the Maréchal de Saxe and Frederick the Great.

And sentiments of Jacobitism or Scottish independence were probably responsible for the publication of a translation by Patrick Abercrombie of Beauge's history of the Scottish civil war campaigns of 1548 and 1549, and James Freebairn's translation of Boisguilbert's life of Mary Stuart.

PHILOSOPHY

23 TITLES; 16 AUTHORS; 42 EDITIONS. Scottish interest in French philosophy was centred on political philosophy. Montesquieu of course leads the field; no less than 13 editions of the *Esprit des lois* in full and one of extracts (the chapters on the English constitution) were published. In his wake, there were 3 editions of the Parisian jurist Goguet's work on the origin of laws. Rousseau's *Contrat social*, on the other hand, did not attract publishers, and I have found only one possible Scottish edition of it, in 1764. Even Fénelon seems to have had one edition of maxims on civil government produced in 1722.

Rousseau makes an appearance through Urie's edition of *Pensées* in 1770, but otherwise the works on moral philosophy are unremarkable: La Rochefoucauld, Olivet's commentary on the thoughts of Cicero, Formey on philosophers and philosophy, the Prince de Conti on the duties of great men, and a Huguenot merchant, Sylvestre du Four's *Moral instruction of a father to a son*. There is an exception to this unremarkable list, perhaps, in Levesque de Pouilly's *Traité des sensations agréables*, brought out in translation by Dickson in 1766. Inspired, as were important elements of Scottish moral philosophy, by Shaftsbury, it was seen by Adam Smith, in his letter to the *Edinburgh Review* of 1756, as a re-statement of the British

sensationalist philosophy as well as being "a work that is in many respects original."

The only other philosophical pieces of note are 2 editions of Fontenelle's *Pluralité des mondes* and one of his *Histoire des oracles*, and an edition of *Miscellanies* by D'Alembert.

RELIGION

17 TITLES; 13 AUTHORS; 23 EDITIONS. The religious question so permeates many of the French works on belles lettres, history, philosophy and education published in Scotland, that readers of them could not but be familiar with the unorthodox religious views of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau and others. But publishers did not produce books specifically designed to promote these views. Equally it is not surprising that the militant Catholic viewpoint was not promoted either. Yet French language works on Christianity did appear. There were those, such as the considerable body of works by Fénelon and Ramsay, and the *Pensées* of Pascal, all brought out by the Foulis and Urie, which were evidently intended by their publishers as middle of the road, non-denominational buttresses to Christianity. There were works by the Swiss Protestants Jacques Armand, Jacob Vernet and Jacques Necker whose ideas would find sympathy with a large part of the Church of Scotland. And there were diverse combative works: D'Alembert's *Destruction des Jésuites*, which reflected ill on the Catholic Church, and the Catholic Bergier's attack on the deistic ideas in the writings of Rousseau.

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

11 TITLES; 6 AUTHORS; 18 EDITIONS. The borrowing registers of Edinburgh and St. Andrews University Libraries indicate a lively interest on the part of Scottish scientists and medical men and their students in contemporary French publications in these areas. And the Scottish respect for French scientists is proved by the foreign membership of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

But science and medicine appear to have been too specialized to tempt Scottish publishers to go beyond works which would have a popular appeal either by virtue of the reputation of their author, or the manner of presentation and level of the subject matter. So, Macquer's *Elements of chemistry* was published twice, in 1768 and 1777. Later, the widespread interest attracted by Lavoisier and his associates prompted publication in 1790 by Creech of his *Elements of Chemistry*;

his pupil Fourcroy's *Lectures on chemistry* having been brought out in 1785. Similarly, it was Buffon's wide appeal which encouraged Smellie to translate the huge *Natural philosophy* in 1780.

In the field of medicine, one specialized work was published in Edinburgh, in 1768--Degraviers' *On the human eye and ear*. However, there was obviously a demand on the part of a larger public for the popularized medicine of the Swiss physician Tissot, who was something of a best seller with 7 editions on such subjects as onanism, the diseases of people of fashion, and of sedentary and literary persons.

TRAVEL

9 TITLES; 8 AUTHORS; 10 EDITIONS. The leading writers of the Scottish Enlightenment were not by any means unaware of the enormous intellectual importance of the opening up of the rest of the world to Europeans, and both the stocks in Edinburgh and St. Andrews University Libraries show that travel literature was popular among readers there. Yet only a few French works on the subject came off the Scottish presses: Volney on Syria and Egypt, Savary's letters on Greece, the 16th century Busbequius on Turkey, an anonymous *Travels of a philosopher*, the Comtesse d'Aunoi's *A lady's travels in Spain*, Pierre Chantreau's *Travels in Russia* and the Baron de Non's *Travels through Sicily and Malta*.

The Scots themselves had a reputation as travellers. Many visited France, and Scottish manuscript archives contain plenty of records of tours. However, although several were published in London, I have found none published in Scotland apart from a 1700 edition of Sir Andrew Balfour's letters on France and Italy.

EDUCATION

7 TITLES; 6 AUTHORS; 16 EDITIONS. Within this small section there are two types of work, the theoretical and the practical. Among the theoreticians, it is remarkable that the majority--Bossuet, Fénelon, Ramsay, Fontenay--represent a definitely Catholic view on the general moral purposes of educating middle and upper class boys and girls. Does this indicate common ground between Catholicism and Protestantism in this area? The only radical voice is Rousseau's *Emile*, which went into 3 or 4 editions between 1763 and 1773. Fénelon was also represented on the practical side by his letters to the Duke of Burgundy, and the most widely read of all French works on

education was Rollin's *Method of teaching and studying the belles lettres* etc., an all-embracing 4v. course, popular with students and staff in the Scottish universities, and of which there were 4 Scottish editions.

FRENCH LANGUAGE TEXT BOOKS

15 TITLES; 13 AUTHORS; 28 EDITIONS. The French language did not become an official part of the educational syllabus at any level until the 19th century, but since at least a reading knowledge of French was a necessary part of the accomplishments of a gentleman, it was taught unofficially around all the universities by mid-century, in a number of the grammar schools and privately. Consequently, a literature of dictionaries, grammars and reading books grew up in support. Certain of these teaching aids were reprints of works published in London--the grammars and dictionaries of Boyer and Cooman, the fables of Chambaud. Others were anonymous. But the majority were compiled by Scots for the Scottish market. Most of the authors were teachers.

William Ker, who produced both a grammar and a *recueil* of French literature taught in Edinburgh during the 1720's and 30's, Alexander Carlyle being among his pupils. James Freebairn, who published a grammar in 1734, operated in the same place at the same time. Later in the century, Arthur Masson, "maître-ès-arts et de langues", made the rather grandiose gesture of dedicating his very successful *recueil à l'usage des écoles* to Denis Diderot. One, Elphinston, who produced a *recueil* in 1759, is probably the same James Elphinston as made himself a reputation teaching French in a private academy he set up in London. And William Ross, author of *The French scholar's guide* (Glasgow, 1772) was possibly a teacher in Glasgow.

Taken all together, the great majority of these works published in Scotland were translated into English, but a significant number appeared in the original French: 28 works in 41 separate editions. Of these, 12 editions of 9 works were *recueils* specifically designed for teaching purposes, and it seems likely that the 4 editions in French of *Télémaque*, the 4 of *Gil Blas* and *Le diable botteur*, and the 3 of *Pièces choisies* by Molière may be to some extent explained by their being used as language textbooks too.

The remaining 16 untranslated works may suggest a small but significant demand for literature in French. Since translated poetry is of dubious value, it was no doubt for this reason that the Foulis published Boileau's *Oeuvres* and *Art poétique*, Belloy's *Siège de Calais* and Voltaire's *Pucelle d'Orléans* in

the original, as did the Edinburgh publishers of the *Variétés dramatiques*. In the case of Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV*, Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* and *Considérations sur les Romains*, and perhaps D'Alembert's *Destruction des Jésuites*, the explanation is possibly to be found in the fact that such major works by well-known names would have a widespread appeal and could be expected to have interest for all who read French. However there are no such simple explanations for the production of minority interest items like Charles Coypel's *Dialogues sur la connaissance de la peinture*, or Fontenay's *Lettres sur l'éducation des princes*. Publications such as these in French can only be seen as speculative kite-flying on the part of booksellers.

With regard to the editions published in English, the question arises who translated them? Though in a large number of cases the translator is not identified, I would hazard a guess that the majority of translations used in Scottish editions were taken from earlier London editions. Among those definitely established as of London origin are Ozell's translation of the *Lettres persanes*, Nugent's of Voltaire's *Histoire universelle*, Kendrick's of *Emile*, Justamond's of Raynal and William Soames' of Boileau's *Art poétique*.

Yet the Scottish press was by no means wholly derivative in this respect, for it spawned a number of new translations by Scotsmen. One Scottish translator is worth particular note. This is Robert Heron (1764-1807)⁵, who has been identified as the definite translator of 11 works, and the probable translator of a further 5, all published during the 1790's. Though he was intended for the Scottish Church, and got as far as to be appointed assistant to the Rev. Hugh Blair, Heron became involved with publishers during the 1780's as a means of supporting himself during his divinity studies. His chief association was with the Morisons in Perth, for whom he produced possibly as many as 8 translations--5 items of ephemera together with Chantreau's *Travels in Russia* and 2 works of fiction, Marmontel's *Moral tales* and Florian's *Gonsalvo of Cordoba*. But he also did work for Edinburgh publishers, including more influential pieces, such as Fourcroy's *Elements of chemistry and natural history* and *Arabian tales*, the continuation of *The Arabian nights*.⁶

Evidence so far does not point to there being any other professional translators as existed in London, though there is a connection between translation and professional language teaching in the case of James Freebairn, who published privately his version of Boisguilbert's life of Mary Stuart. The same may be the case with the Elphinston who translated the Foulis editions of Fénelon's *Dialogues of the dead* in 1754 and *Fables* in 1761, if this is the same man as produced the teaching

recueil already mentioned. A number of other translators were involved out of a personal interest in the subject of the work they translated. This was the case with Andrew Dalzell, Professor of Greek at Edinburgh, and Chevalier's *Description of the plain of Troy*; Robert Kerr, surgeon to the Orphans Hospital in Edinburgh, and Lavoisier's *Elements of chemistry*; and William Robertson, clerk to Lord Monboddo, who translated the French account of Memmie le Blanc, a savage girl found in the woods of Champagne. In the same vein, Alexander Gerard seems to have himself translated D'Alembert, Montesquieu and Voltaire's essays on taste to appear with his own; and Watt's *Bibliotheca britannica* gives the Rev. Thomas Blacklock as the translator of Jacques Armand's *Discourse on Christianity*. Other translators were William Smellie, Andrew Henderson, and the Rev. James Millar.

As the capital and the centre of the Scottish publishing industry, Edinburgh was where the greater number of these books--some 180 editions--were produced. But it is a mark of the industrial and cultural advance of Glasgow that some 115 of the editions were published there. Other, provincial towns, I have found so far, contributed very little: Perth 9, Aberdeen 6, Berwick 5, Dumfries 2, and Dundee 1.

In Edinburgh, 30 different publishing firms were involved, some showing more interest than others--Alexander Donaldson, Charles Elliot, Kincaid and Bell, Dickson, Gordon, Gray and Creech. In Glasgow, on the other hand, the output was spread over only 8 firms. Taken overall, three publishers stand out sufficiently from all the others for it to be said that they made a minor speciality of printing French works: the Foulis, Robert Urie, and Alexander Donaldson.

The efforts of the two Glasgow firms--the Foulis and Urie--were largely responsible for the relatively high number of editions printed in that city. The Foulis brothers' interest in French literature can be appreciated in the context of the fact that the foundation of their bookselling business was intimately connected with France. Their early stock consisted of continental editions, mostly of the Classics, bought in the course of three trips to Paris in 1738, 1739 and 1743; and their French connection was maintained through further trips by Robert in the early 1750's, primarily to buy materials and engage staff for their Academy of Fine Art.⁷ Foulis publishing had a style all of its own, not only in respect of the high standards of typography and binding, but also in respect of their choice of texts. In the area of French texts, their choice reflects their own intellectual preoccupations. According to Father Thomas Innes of the Scots College in Paris, whom they met in 1738, they both had it in mind to become teachers in the belles lettres⁸, and though this ambition was

never fulfilled, their interest in education is evident in the fact that four of their first five French publications, all in the 1740's, were concerned with that subject. Their interest in a unitarian type of religion--"piety and morality to which they seem to reduce all," as Innes puts it--dates from at least as early. On the same visit to Paris they became friendly with the Chevalier Ramsay and once their printing presses were established in Glasgow, they produced, mostly in the 1750's, a remarkable series of 12 editions of Fénelon and 6 of Ramsay, covering almost the complete works of the two men. Whatever the religious loyalties of Fénelon and his pupil may have been in fact, the Foulis saw in their work an inspiration to non-sectarian Christianity.⁹ Their other great interest was fine art, on which they published two French works along with Winckleman's famous treatise and others by Italian artists. It was one of the reasons for the Foulis' lack of financial success that they put personal ideals before profit. This is borne out by almost every one of their 37 French editions.

There is something of the crusader, too, in the other outstanding Glasgow printer of the 18th century, Robert Urie. The 64 editions of French works I have traced to him make him, thus far, the most prolific publisher of such works in Scotland. By comparison with the Foulis, he is an obscure figure, for he did not play a prominent part in the cultural life of the city as they did, and only the bare outlines of his career have been established. Born in 1713, he came of a family of some standing and it is possible that he attended classes at Glasgow University in 1728. After serving his apprenticeship with Alexander Millar, a Glasgow merchant and printer, he began his publishing career in 1740, in partnership with others. In 1747 he started printing on his own and by 1750 was installed in a printing shop at the foot of the Salt-mercat, where he remained until his death in 1771. To judge from his will, he was a very successful publisher financially and in the last decade or so of his career seems to have preferred to be known as a bookseller and publisher rather than a printer, although he continued to have a printing press under his direction.¹⁰ He began by publishing religious works and up to 1750 he appears to have shared the Foulis' enthusiasm for Fénelon. But thereafter, as his output increases, he makes a radical change of tack. He becomes, in a broad sense, "*philosophe*" orientated, 80% of his French texts after that being by Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Fontenelle, Formey and Bayle. His particular concentration is on Voltaire--23 editions of 16 works, half the total editions of Voltaire by all Scottish publishers put together.

The third pre-eminent publisher of French works, Alexander Donaldson, differs considerably from these Glaswegian con-

temporaries in his professional approach. Probably the most enterprising and successful Scottish publisher of the century from the commercial point of view, his activities in the French field suggest a hard-headed business sense informed by a critical awareness of the current intellectual scene; but without the enthusiasms of the Foulis and Urie, more up to the minute in his choice of texts than the Foulis, and not putting so many of his eggs in one basket as Urie. There is a definite bias towards "*philosophe*" writers like Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire, but he divides his attentions more equally among them and backs them up with repeated editions of such safe sellers as Saxe, Lesage and Tissot. To date I have traced 40 editions by Donaldson; however, some at least of the Edinburgh editions whose publishers have not yet been identified must be by him, and a fuller picture of him has still to emerge.

The publication of French works in Scotland proves, obviously, that there was a demand for them in the country. But this simple conclusion has to be qualified.

The limited number of works and authors does not mean that there was the same limited interest on the part of all Scotsmen in French literature and thought. The range of French books acquired and read in large libraries like those of the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh was vastly greater than the range of the books actually published by Scottish booksellers. The same is true of large personal libraries such as that of Adam Smith. In fact the owners and administrators of large libraries like these showed little interest in the French production of the Scottish press; only a handful of Scottish editions were acquired by St. Andrews, even fewer by Edinburgh University, and Adam Smith's library contains only one Scottish edition in about 400 French works. Besides, Glasgow University Library is supposed to have been very haphazard about acquiring Foulis editions of all types, despite the fact that the Foulis business was carried on from within the university itself. These libraries were stocked on the basis of a much wider awareness of French literature, science and thought and by direct or indirect purchasing from the continent and London. Moreover, this broad demand was not limited to libraries whose business it was to cover as wide an area as they could afford to. For Scottish booksellers, through the media of their catalogues and the periodical press, regularly advertised to the general public a considerable selection of the latest London and continental editions. What came off the Scottish presses was therefore an auxiliary source of supply for the booksellers' market.

This could lead us to the conclusion that the Scottish booksellers supplied the specialized market by importing and the

popular market by a combination of imported and locally published books. There is a degree of truth in this. However, it is possible that some of the locally published books were intended for export. We know that Scottish publications were sold in England, from the fact that, in 1759, London publishers raised £3000 to buy up all the copies of Scottish editions in the hands of English booksellers, in an effort to squeeze the Scottish publishers out of the English market.¹¹ There may have been Scottish editions of French works among those. Labor costs in Scotland were low by comparison with England, and books could therefore be produced more cheaply. Alexander Donaldson, whose individual contribution to the total number of French works produced in Scotland was at least second biggest, made his fortune by catering for the cheap mass market through his London shop,¹² to which a fair proportion of his Edinburgh production was presumably sent.

If the fact of Donaldson's editions cannot be taken as clear proof of a popular Scottish demand for French literature, neither, though for different reasons, can those of the other major publishers in this area, the Foulis and Urie. The enthusiasms of these two firms for particular authors and subjects suggest not so much a response to a freely developing public demand as an attempt to lead public taste and create a particular demand. The production of these three publishing houses, who among them were responsible for nearly half of the French works I have traced so far, is therefore of limited value as evidence of what French works Scotland really wanted to read. In fact the French works published in Scotland in the 18th century may tell us as much about the personalities of leading publishers as about the reading tastes of the nation.

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NOTES

1. Philip Gaskell, *A Bibliography of the Foulis Press* (London, 1964).
2. Alison K. Howard, "Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau in eighteenth century Scotland; a check-list of editions and translations of their works published in Scotland before 1801," *Bibliothek*, 2 (1959-62), 40-63.
3. Hugh M'Lean, "Robert Urie, printer in Glasgow," *Records*

of the *Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, 3 (1915), 89-108.

4. This categorization omits a handful of items of topical ephemera.
5. I am grateful to Mr. W. A. Kelly of the National Library of Scotland for drawing my attention to Heron.
6. Much of this information on Heron is taken from James Sinton, "Robert Heron and his writings, with a bibliography," *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 15 (1935), 17-33.
7. David Murray, *Robert and Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press* (Glasgow, 1913) pp. 4-6 and 58-9.
8. David Murray, *Some Letters of Robert Foulis* (Glasgow, 1917) p. 63.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
10. I am indebted to Mr. Roy Gillespie of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, for this biographical information on Urie.
11. A. S. Collins, "Some aspects of copyright from 1700 to 1800," *The Library*, New Series 7 (1926), 67-81.
12. W. F. Gray, "Alexander Donaldson and his fight for cheap books," *Juridical Review*, 38 (1926), 180-202.