Book availability in Canada, 1752-1820, and the Scottish contribution

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Book Availability in Canada, 1752-1820, and the Scottish Contribution

by

Fiona A. Black

Doctoral Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

February 1999

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Fiona A. Black

Abstract

The objectives of this study are threefold: to describe and analyse what reading material was available in Canada; to explain the business methods by which it was made available; and, to delineate by specific criteria the Scottish contribution to such availability. The study is the first to use newspaper advertisements, circulating library catalogues and business records to examine book availability, at the individual title level, in selected colonial Canadian towns. The primary research material is analysed by means of a customized database, BOOKSCAN, which includes bibliographic, business and geographic information in a single database. BOOKSCAN is a union catalogue with one record for each title, and multiple repeatable fields which detail where, when, how (for sale or loan, at what price, etc.) and by whom the title was made available. Narrative and graphical analyses include: intellectual content, occupation of book provider, geographic route of acquisition, business practice and, country of origin of shipment. Scottish contributions in terms of authorship, publishers, wholesalers and book trade personnel are examined in detail, and some preliminary comparisons are drawn between the trade in the Canadian colonies and that in provincial Scotland.

The principal findings question previous assumptions about the role of Scots in the early Canadian book trade. Scottish general merchants were frequently retailers of books in Canada, but Scottish publishers were not proactive in seeking Canadian markets, and Scottish printers tended not to emigrate to Canadian towns in this early period, as they did to American towns. The key business factor which determined whether Scottish publishers and booksellers exported to Canada was having a known contact in a Canadian town. Case studies of several Scots include: Alexander Morrison, bookbinder and stationer in Halifax; Richard, William, James and Alexander Kidston, general merchants in Halifax; and, John Neilson, printer in Quebec.

The greatest quantities of books shipped from Scotland were not those works of the Scottish Enlightenment, which tended to be shipped from London, but were school books, Bibles and chapbooks, categories supplied by stationers. The role of wholesaling stationers in book exports, uncovered in this study, suggests that previous surveys of book exports from Scotland may greatly underestimate the total, as stationers’ shipments were entered in the Customs Accounts generically as “stationery” rather than as “books”. Wholesaling stationers in Scotland and Scottish general merchants in Canada are the two principal groups of Scots who contributed to early Canadian book availability. This study contributes new information to the book histories of both Scotland and Canada, and provides a methodological model for future comparative research.
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Primary Sources: Manuscript  
Primary Sources: Printed (excluding newspapers)  

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For the opportunity to present portions of this and related research at conferences, I am grateful to the planning committees of SHARP for their conferences in Edinburgh, Cambridge and Vancouver; to the organizers of the History of the Provincial Book Trade Seminars in Bristol and Canterbury, and of the Scotia and Nova Scotia Conference in Halifax; and to the committee for the Founding Conference for a History of the Book in Canada project in Ottawa. I appreciate the comments and suggestions made by members of the audiences. My peripatetic life as a researcher was enriched by the kindness of many friends and I am grateful to them all, especially Katherine and Ian Bowes of Edinburgh and Rachel and Mark DeWolf of Halifax.

Roslyn and Carolyn Black spent their teenage years with a research student for a mother. They have my heartfelt thanks for their patience. Malcolm Black became their primary parent and our chief housekeeper, as well as being the informal advisor and reader of all of my work. His endless kindness and incomparable support cannot be thanked adequately here.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DCB</td>
<td>Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>Dewey Decimal Classification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESTC</td>
<td>The British Library. ESTC. [CD-ROM]. London: The British Library and ESTC North America, 1992. [The newly expanded file is the English Short Title Catalogue rather than the Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue. This dissertation used the latter database throughout.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAC</td>
<td>National Archives of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLC</td>
<td>National Library of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLS</td>
<td>National Library of Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PANS</td>
<td>Public Archives of Nova Scotia [from 1998, the official title is Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office (Kew)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRO</td>
<td>Scottish Record Office</td>
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</table>
Geographic Note

In this dissertation, references to "Canada" or "Canadian colonies" refer collectively to Upper Canada (modern Ontario), Lower Canada (modern Quebec), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. "Quebec" refers to Quebec city. "The Canadas" refers to Upper and Lower Canada together and "the Maritimes" refers to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick together. The "Northwest" refers to all of modern Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Maps 1.1 and 1.2 indicate the locations of colonies and towns which are the focus of this enquiry.
Chapter 1
Book availability in Canadian towns: local and transatlantic contexts

Introduction

"It is astonishing how often ‘trade follows the book’," the publisher Stanley Unwin wrote concerning the effect of British Council activities in the late colonial period. In the early colonial period the opposite was the case—the book followed trade. This dissertation explores English-language book availability, from 1752 to 1820, in those regions which later became part of Canada (see Maps 1.1 and 1.2). The project addresses the hypothesis that Scottish products and agents of the press were significant players in the development of a Canadian print culture. The study examines, therefore, the mechanisms whereby books by Scottish authors moved directly or indirectly from Scotland to Canada. It also discusses the role played by Scots in book distribution in Canada. Comprehensive data are examined for the Maritimes. Selected data for Upper and Lower Canada and for provincial Scotland are used for comparative purposes. This first chapter discusses book history research in Canada and in the transatlantic sphere and the reasons for investigating a Scottish dimension. Canada in the period 1750-1820 is briefly surveyed, especially relating to the towns studied here: Halifax, Saint John, Quebec, Montreal, Kingston and York (see Map 1.2). Finally, the contributions of this study towards an understanding of the roots of a distinctively Canadian cultural identity, so much embattled by free trade agreements in the 1990s, are outlined. The information is analysed by means of a customized database. The methodology and range of sources used are explained in Chapter 2. The study contributes significant new material and analyses concerning book availability, in Chapters 3 and 4, and questions general assumptions about the nature of the Scottish role in Canada's early print culture through a detailed investigation in Chapter 5.

As with many parts of the British empire, the different parts of Canada were settled over many years (in this case over two centuries). The Prairies and British Columbia, therefore, are excluded from the present study as there was no retail trade in books in this area in the early colonial period. This study offers new information, collated primarily from data for six regional centres of distribution, against which future work for other geographic areas may be compared and contrasted.
Map 1.1 The North Atlantic context
The focus is commercial distribution and therefore the work of religious organizations such as the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and, later, the British and Foreign Bible Society is discussed only briefly. Furthermore, underground distributive mechanisms for radical materials, whether political or religious, are excluded.

To delimit any study by particular dates can be difficult. By the mid-eighteenth century the combination of increased output, higher product quality and potential new markets across the ocean had led to the development of a transatlantic trade from both England and Scotland. The period 1750 to 1820 has relevance for this project, not only because of the Scottish Enlightenment and a general increase in printing activity in Scotland, but also because this time frame captures the beginnings of an organized import trade to Canada and the roots of bookselling (wholesale and retail) as an indigenous Canadian activity. For these seventy years, the trade in Canada was primarily concerned with importation and distribution, rather than with production. Economies of scale, so fragile in the publishing industry even under ideal conditions, were severely constrained, prior to the burgeoning immigration of the 1820s and the beginnings of the trans-Canada railway boom in the 1830s, by a very low and widely scattered population coupled with limited and slow transportation. The transportation methods to and within Canada were primarily water-borne, and ships, brigs, sloops and canoes predominated in the transporation of books and other goods (see Figure 1.1). Roads and the concomitant provision of stagecoaches and wagons were slow to develop and even by 1820 road transportation was uncommon or impossible between many settlements. This early period, while challenging to research due to a scarcity of records, is worthwhile as it provides an historical context for studies of later periods.

Book history research in Canada

Although book history is a relatively young discipline in its current iteration, the work of francophone Canadian book historians has developed, since the 1960s, in line with the French l'histoire du livre. This is reflected in the summary and review, twenty five years ago, by Lamonde, which has been supplemented since by other surveys of research. In English Canada, until recently, the only similar evaluative essays were McNally's bibliographic essays on Canadian library history.
Figure 1.1
Heading West: A Three-Masted Brig on the North Atlantic
Several bibliographic tools aid in providing an overview of research in Canadian book history.\textsuperscript{13} Table 1.1 provides information on published research, by topic, gleaned from the preliminary tool for English and French book history in Canada *The History of the Book in Canada: A Bibliography* (published in 1993).\textsuperscript{14} Table 1.2 brings the picture forward by providing similar information, for two broad categories, gleaned from the ongoing bibliographies in the Canadian book history journal *Épilogue* (for 1993 to 1997). While a detailed chronological analysis is not possible from these sources alone, the majority of the items discuss events and practices in the nineteenth and/or twentieth centuries.

Table 1.1
Topics of Research Articles
from *The History of the Book in Canada: A Bibliography* (1993)\textsuperscript{15}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Number of Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutions, Libraries and Librarianship</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Trade and Publishing</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals, Newspapers and Journalism</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed Books and Printing</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Aspects (includes readers and reading)</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliophily and Book Collecting</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal and Economic Aspects (includes copyright)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper, Inks, Type Design and Type Founding</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Works</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Binding and the Book Arts</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.2
Topics of Research Articles
from the Recent Publications section in Épilogue (1993-1997)\textsuperscript{16}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Number of Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Books and Print Culture</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library History</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although "Book Trade and Publishing" is the second largest group, in Table 1.1, in terms of published output, the proportion of items which deal with early English-language book distribution is very small. In general, Canadian book trade research for the period prior to 1820 has concentrated on book and periodical production which has resulted in, amongst other things, descriptive bibliographies of great worth in Canada's printing history.\textsuperscript{17} This emphasis on production has perhaps overshadowed the critical importance of distribution, during a period when local printing was very limited, and when book imports necessarily defined colonial print culture. Research on distribution to and within Canada, prior to 1820, from either Great Britain or America, has not formed a significant part of Canadian book history.\textsuperscript{18} Reception, measured by book ownership, has been represented by studies of auctions and estate sales used to study private libraries in Quebec and Montreal. This research has included information from the eighteenth century,\textsuperscript{19} but research on circulating libraries has tended to focus on the Victorian period and later. The current project contributes information on the contents of hitherto unresearched libraries prior to 1820.

A survey of the literature and research in progress was made by regional teams in preparation for the founding conference for A History of the Book in Canada in Ottawa in 1997.\textsuperscript{20} These bibliographic essays were analysed by topical specialists who presented thematic papers at the conference.\textsuperscript{21} It is apparent from the papers that a gap in knowledge exists, regarding general book availability and methods of book importing and distribution, for the pre-Victorian period. This is typified by the comment on distribution, "Much more research needs to be done in this field..."\textsuperscript{22} Furthermore, MacDonald's research in progress is the only work, prior to this dissertation, which investigates direct Scottish Canadian links in the book trade.\textsuperscript{23}
Knowledge of both production and distribution is integral to an understanding of 'book availability' which is, in turn, one of the foundations required in any country's book history. The heart of this project is a systematic search for the sources of book availability from 1752 to 1820. Canada, by Hall's definition, cannot attempt a 'history of the book' until it has an adequate 'history of the book trade.' George Parker combined much original research with a synthesis of earlier work on Canada's book trade. He provides some gross value figures of the import trade to various Canadian cities and colonies in the period 1867-1900. The earlier period requires much further original research before a synthesis will be possible.

Two studies which have some parallels with the current project are from the francophone Canadian book history tradition. The first of these is by Yolande Buono, whose "Imprimerie et diffusion de l'imprimé à Montréal, de 1776 à 1820" concentrates on local printing and printers. However Buono also collates, in an appendix, all auction sales of books advertised in the local newspapers, a proportion of which were English advertisements for both English and French books. In general Buono's list indicates a considerably more mature auction context in Montreal than has been found, for the current study, to be the case in Halifax. This dissertation complements Buono's extensive work for Montreal by supplying further information concerning the numerous sales of books evidenced in the Ermatinger papers (see Chapters 3 and 4). Buono's study differs markedly from this one in that she excludes any subject analysis of the items distributed.

The second study which offers parallels is that of Rejean Lemoine, whose "Le marché du livre à Québec, 1764-1839," examines book advertisements from the Quebec Gazette. Lemoine's work, completed in 1981, is the earliest Canadian research located which relied on computer-aided analysis. There have been no comparable English-language studies for any town. Lemoine's work has not been published and his thesis has not been used as a model for comparative analysis. Lemoine's database was bibliographical, without any enhancements related to business practices and routes of acquisition, such as the BOOKSCAN database features. This dissertation contributes to the quantitative book history of Canada by analysing newspaper advertisements for several towns across several decades, in terms of business information as well as bibliographic information.
Although this project is charting new territory, it builds on and complements earlier francophone and anglophone research, especially Parker's survey and work concerning early King's Printers such as John Neilson, who imported and distributed books from their print shops. The project relies on the extensive work carried out in the mid-twentieth century to microfilm all extant Canadian newspapers. More recent preservation and access projects have included the filming of pre-1900 publications relating to Canada, wherever published. These too have been invaluable for this project, although the parameters of filming do not at present include library and trade catalogues.

Transatlantic book trade studies
Models

Those agents of the press who were instrumental in the activities involved in distribution have been given equal status to printers and retail booksellers in Robert Darnton's model for the history of the book. Adams and Barker critique this model and offer an amended one, in which the "shipper" is not accorded such prominence. Their view that Darnton's model is weak because it focuses on people and communication, rather than on "the book," and that the shipper "merely provided a service, as he would for any other commodity" apparently overlooks a crucial point for any consideration of the transatlantic trade. Indeed, on this point Adams' and Barker's narrative is inconsistent: they clearly view the book as central, with the shipper and communication channels being over-emphasized by Darnton; yet they state that with distribution, the history of the book begins its dynamic phase...it consists of four elements: the initial impetus, the consequent moving of books, the destination, both intentional and unintentional, and the momentum that carried the process along... It is impossible to analyse these four elements without considering the role of merchants and shippers. Not all commodities were equal, in terms of profitability to merchants or shippers, and books could only go where more lucrative cargoes were destined: truly eighteenth-century Scottish books have to be considered as "produit d'industrie et comme marchandise." In this regard all of the players in the transatlantic trade are worthy of investigation for the role they played in book distribution, wherever they might be placed, horizontally or vertically, in book history models. Further, in spite of their negative
comments regarding shippers Adams and Barker hint at the potential importance of shippers' intervening role with their question: "To what extent was distribution dependent on overseas trade, however unselective...?" Merchants as shippers, wholesalers and retailers are the heroes of the following chapters.

Current understanding of eighteenth century book distribution include the centre and periphery model which is implicit in the writings of Feather. His work provides an invaluable framework for evaluation of the effects of Scottish printers and booksellers who complicate the neatness of such a model. Feather acknowledges the inherent differences of Edinburgh and Dublin compared with other provincial towns and cities, while explaining that in quantities of books and strength of organized national market penetration, London's pre-eminence had no real contenders. Sheer numbers certainly place London at the centre, but for the overseas trade there were multiple interconnecting factors. Willison's challenge to analyse the relevance of a centre and periphery model for a global view of book history is taken up here for one aspect of the international trade. In the mid-eighteenth century, London booksellers not only recommended but relied upon Edinburgh publishers for overseas shipments of staples such as Bibles and Prayer Books. Joint publication between Edinburgh and London distort a truly "central" view of London when these publications were exported, as they were, from both English and Scottish ports. Scottish publications exported via London are of particular concern to those studying the Scottish trade as such exports appear in official documents as English trade statistics. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 discuss evidence relating to this issue.

Across the ocean, the only contender for the designation "centre" was Philadelphia, which, with a population of approximately ten thousand by 1720 far exceeded any other town in either the American or Canadian colonies. The evidence for Canada suggests a much more fragmented book delivery structure—the outcome of a new and understandably fragmented business structure. London had vast importance, but its position was buttressed by booksellers in Scotland and the American colonies upon whom the London publishers relied for effective transatlantic distribution. Gross value figures for the British export trade in the eighteenth century have been compiled by Giles Barber, though due to the records used his figures end in 1780. An exploration of the details of
book shipments from ports other than London, and from sources which complement Customs Accounts, can help assess the efficacy of general models.

Business patterns

Patterns in the trade within England have been delineated by Feather, and he poses some queries which are addressed in a Scottish-Canadian context in this dissertation:

How did the provincials, booksellers and book buyers alike, discover what books were available? How and from whom were such books ordered, and on what terms were they supplied? Was there any mechanism for the central supply of books through wholesalers or others?

Hitherto there has been no comparable attempt to address broadly such questions for the Scottish trade in Scotland, or the Scottish trade to Canada, but McDougall’s work delineates some aspects of the picture for the Scottish-American trade and Raven’s work does the same for the English-American trade. In addition, Cole has offered some details of Irish reprints in Irish and Ulster-Scots' bookselling networks in America. This study complements the work of these scholars, by adding Canadian business connections to the picture of transatlantic trade.

This project supports a transatlantic extension of Feather’s conclusions regarding the interdependency of bookselling on the selling and shipping of other items, notably stationery. The growth of wholesaling, in support of and crucial for the growing general export trade, is referred to in Price’s survey; wholesalers were critical for the development of various credit practices upon which, before the advent of banks, the export trade relied. An example of a wholesaler shipping books is MacGoun’s stationery warehouse in Glasgow which advertised its stock with an emphasis on their services for the export trade. Their advertisement began, "Export merchants, country dealers, teachers and others...will be supplied..." Chapter 4 discusses the significance of books being classed at “stationery” in the Customs Accounts of export. This topic has potentially broad implications for studies of the export trade from Britain and the discussion offered in this dissertation provides some of the groundwork on which future research can be built.

What has the surviving evidence told about the forces and methods behind the distribution? Who initiated the distribution of books to the Scottish and Canadian provinces? If commerce in England, from 1750 to 1800 could be characterized generally
as involving “entrepreneurial stimulation of home demand” could this characterization
be applied to provincial and colonial book distribution? Much has been written on the
various factors which contributed to increasing book production in the later eighteenth
century. Although there is increasing debate concerning the effect on provincial
production of the 1774 judicial ruling on copyright, the interest here lies not so much in
production as in the specific forces behind, and methods of, transatlantic distribution.

This study indicates, primarily in Chapters 4 and 5, that the risks in terms of
financial loss were all too real. Further, the experiences of several of the large London
publishers may well have been known to their colleagues in the trade and many of those
experiences were considerably more negative than positive. Strahan dealt with Hall
because he knew and liked him. Elliott dealt with Dobson for similar reasons, yet was
severely let down, both personally and financially, for his efforts. “Official” suppliers to
the Charleston Library Society longed to be non-suppliers, due to the seemingly endless
intricacies and difficulties involved in providing books for such an overseas institutional
customer. It should be added here that the Library Society saw no reason whatever for
the variable of distance to affect their high expectations of perfect service from their
English suppliers. In this, members of the Society apparently held the same views as those
travellers and explorers in the more remote regions of Canada.

The Scottish dimension

In 1707, with the Union of the parliaments, several events took place which
altered the economic environment for Scotland. She now was permitted to engage in
trade with all of those countries with which England had earlier assumed a monopoly, and
"the Union opened the door to the Scots in our American colonies." Prior to 1745,
however, civil unrest, religious jealousies and political disputes meant that "little
encouragement was afforded to a free spirit of speculation in any considerable
enterprise." Nevertheless the enhanced markets eventually propelled much
manufacturing and mercantilism within Scotland, Glasgow being the first centre to take
advantage of new trading opportunities. In spite of a gradual move towards greater
economic equality with England, the Scots were viewed as different both culturally and
politically from those south of the border, due in part to the tensions of the Jacobite
uprisings and the battles culminating in Culloden. Such powerful contemporary events, further complicated by widely held views on the superiority of English as spoken and written in England, led to a wish to conceal or at least to downplay their cultural identity for some of the literati, and some who were agents of the dissemination of their ideas. They were keen to have a cosmopolitan link with London and not to be seen as exclusively 'provincially' Scottish. Indeed, "many Scots also saw themselves as willing participants in a new and larger nation." Such may have been the reasons behind key Scottish players in the book trade in London changing overtly Scottish names into something more Anglo-sounding, such as William Strachan electing to be Strahan, and John McMurray becoming, much less distinctively, Murray. By contrast, by the end of the study period 1820, Scotland had, through the dissemination in print of works by both Burns and Scott, attained a romantic image which was exploited by both politicians and businessmen as a "differential" and distinctive factor of this nation within a nation.

Scotland, therefore, not only was a clearly defined culture in the eighteenth century, it was acknowledged to be so for good or ill. In addition, the historiography of Scotland's economic and cultural history has led to such statements as Macmillan's:

Scotland has exerted in these last two centuries an influence on the outside world out of all proportion to its statistical size.

Such statements, if true, will bear close scrutiny regarding Scotland's transatlantic influence on the culture of print.

James Raven's caution, regarding potential "false perspectives" in histories of the book which take nation states as geographical bases for research, merits consideration. (The caution is valid although Scotland was no longer, by the study period, an independent nation.) Book imports from the American colonies are examined along with the larger shipments from London, Glasgow and Liverpool, to maintain a perspective of the broader book trade context within which Scotland made a contribution.

Within the British export trade in books in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, is it reasonable or feasible to single out the Scottish element for study? Books are international objects: this has been the case since before the advent of printing, but the complexity of the production and distribution methods which had evolved by the eighteenth century mean that to distinguish the nationality of a particular book is not always straightforward in studies tracking the movement of one country's books.
Edinburgh and to a lesser extent Glasgow were the centres of Scottish book production in the period,\textsuperscript{74} and within the book trade itself (as opposed to general trade) overseas shipments from Scotland were interwoven, and in some cases dependent on the trade of the London booksellers. Due to these complexities, as explained in Chapter 2, this research takes a multi-part definition of "Scottish book" as a basis for evaluating the role of Scottish print culture in Canada in economic and cultural terms.

The most formative period in general Scottish economic and social development was 1750-1850 and was "a time—the last time—when Scottish enterprise bore the stamp of purely Scottish characteristics...the whole country had not begun to be absorbed in the ocean of London."\textsuperscript{75} This grand statement, however, does not hold true for the book trade which, by 1750, was already heavily influenced by London publishing. The Scottish influences in Canada have been documented by many writers, from early relatively anecdotal writings,\textsuperscript{76} to more recent scholarly studies which attempt both to quantify and qualify the role of Scots in the development of Canada’s economic, cultural and political life.\textsuperscript{77} Economic historians, such as David Macmillan, have demonstrated that the Scottish element in many aspects of transatlantic commerce was clannish, pervasive and long-lasting.\textsuperscript{78} The involvement of Scots in Canadian print culture, whilst rightly alluded to by such scholars of the Canadian trade as George Parker,\textsuperscript{79} is by no means fully evident bibliographically in the items printed in Canada in this early period. This is the first study which systematically researches the input of the Scots in Canada’s early print culture.

Acknowledgement of the important role played by Scottish publishers and booksellers within Scotland has progressed somewhat from the narrow view expressed by Lord Cockburn:

\begin{quote}
Till [Constable] appeared, our publishing trade was at nearly the lowest ebb; partly because there was neither population nor independence to produce...and partly, because the publishers we had were too spiritless even for their position.\textsuperscript{80}
\end{quote}

No doubt some eighteenth century Scottish publishers and booksellers were indeed "spiritless" but those such as Strahan in London, Hamilton and Creech in Edinburgh, and Hall, Dobson, Robert Bell and others in North America were assertive in promoting Scottish (and other) texts and books.\textsuperscript{81} McDougall states that selling books to America was never easy, but that there was money to be made if colonial contacts could be
established. After the copyright battles in mid-century and especially after the 1774 judicial ruling the enhanced reprint trade in Scotland helped to finance the publication of significant new works especially in history, philosophy and the pure and applied sciences.

Table 1.3 indicates quantities of titles and editions published in London, Scotland and Edinburgh, drawn from ESTC and NSTC, and the titles in the BOOKSCAN database. Many thousands of the titles and editions published in Scotland and/or in London are not included in BOOKSCAN as no advertisement or catalogue information has been located for them in Canada to date. Chapters 3 and 4 include discussion of the various categories of book with little detail being recorded either by the shipper in Scotland (or London) or by the retailing merchant in Canada. Although the titles in the BOOKSCAN database represent, at the least, only 2.3% of titles published in Edinburgh and/or London in the seventy year period, the bibliographic and business information gleaned, for the more than 5,000 titles advertised, is sufficiently rich to support this detailed study.

Table 1.3
British Publication and Canadian Availability Figures, 1750-1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>No. of Titles/Editions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1750-1800</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>ESTC</td>
<td>23580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>ESTC</td>
<td>17686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>London</td>
<td>ESTC</td>
<td>168891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1820</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>NSTC</td>
<td>4622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>London</td>
<td>NSTC</td>
<td>40786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-1820</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>BOOKSCAN</td>
<td>5392</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although, as this table indicates, Edinburgh's publications were only approximately 10% those of London, there was no shortage of reprinted classics and new works to export from Scotland, if the booksellers would encourage such export. This research attempts to discern the extent of such encouragement. The letterbooks of David Hall and John Bell are notable in that they attest a remarkably organized system for export, albeit they both offered vociferous complaints about missing business letters, poorly packed books, and inattention to instructions. In fact, the eulogised Constable,
although he did send books across the ocean, did not do so in any entrepreneurial spirit of speculative sale, but merely supplied Canadian circulating libraries in Halifax and Miramichi, when requested (see Chapter 5).

If none of the Canadian towns had a pro-Scots intellectual of the stature of a Benjamin Franklin, the combined effect of Scottish churchmen, professors and medical doctors undoubtedly played a large part in creating a general awareness of things Scottish. Concerning Canadian book trade personnel in general (i.e., not just printers), Parker states that other than New Englanders and Loyalists, “most of the others were Scottish, the vanguard of an army of Scots and Ulstermen who dominated nineteenth-century printing and bookselling.” The lives and work of a few of these men have received some biographical attention, but there are others, such as Alexander Morrison, bookbinder and bookseller of Halifax, on whom much research is still required. There were still other emigrants, especially Scottish merchants, whose contributions have not yet been considered at all from a book trade perspective; this study begins to fill that gap. Research for this dissertation suggests that it was general merchants who formed the core of those promoting Scottish books, rather than booksellers, which was the case in America with Philadelphia as a sizeable draw for those in the trade. The Canadian situation may be compared with that of the southern American colonies which had similarly sparse populations. General merchants could spread their financial risk in ways which those concentrating on the sale of luxury commodities, such as books, could not do.

The economic context of the book trade in England had been described by Marjorie Plant long before the appearance of L’Apparition du livre and its encouragement to take such broad views of the trade. However, there is no equivalent to Plant’s study for Scotland. Some historians of the English trade do make passing mention of factors north of the border, and books on the Irish trade rightly allude to various Scottish connections and Ulster-Scots in the trade, but research concerned directly with the Scottish trade have tended to offer a relatively narrow focus to date. Enlightenment print culture in general was studied initially from the perspective of the authors, but more recently from a broader perspective including that of those who printed and published their works. The canon of texts which constitute the works of
the Scottish Enlightenment has been studied in minute detail and many of them are either still in print or have recently been reprinted. A selected group of Enlightenment works is used in Chapter 5 for a detailed analysis concerning their availability in Canada.

Scottish-Canadian studies, in a broad sense, have focussed on economic links, such as whaling, ship-building and the fur trade and have lagged behind Scottish-American studies in discussions of cultural, scientific and literary contributions and the texts which transported them. McDougall and Sher have both reported on some of the elements and mechanisms of the book trade between Scotland and the American colonies. This study offers, for the first time, details of the mechanisms between Scotland and Canada. The importance of studying those within the trade, in the larger picture of the history of books, might perhaps be self-evident. Equally important to Scottish-Canadian book history, however, is the study of those outwith the trade itself, especially as merchants "as literate men...helped to shape the social and cultural environment of their community." Costs, dead-ends and constraints may in fact characterize the export trade to Canada from the perspective of the Scottish publishers and booksellers. Chapter 4 offers details of transatlantic merchant practices, and contemporary limits to trade expansion such as lack of known business contacts and the "transport infrastructures" referred to by James Raven regarding the European trade.

Within the context of the "English Atlantic empire" Scotland was a contributing community, which became more important after 1740, with particularly numerous "interactive links between Scotland and America." From this same date, those in the Scottish book trade viewed the American market as a "beacon." This study concludes that, in general, such was not the case with the Canadian market, and the main reason for this, while complex (and detailed in Chapters 4 and 5), lies in the sparse population (see Table 1.4). In terms of potential market, the southern colonies would offer considerably more scope for profit; the very few official ports of entry in Canada attest the small market there.

Scottish emigration

The movement of people away from Scotland forms the subject of a huge literature. The settlement of parts of British North America coincided with the efforts
of landlords in the Highlands to depopulate the area for political as well as agricultural reasons. Advertisements were circulated in the Highland communities for emigration from Glasgow and many hundreds heeded the call. Ships from Aberdeen also made the crossing bearing settlers to Pictou, sixty miles from Halifax. These were mainly highland people however, with low levels of literacy in English. Mass migration from the Lowlands did not take place—it was characterized by individual emigration, often by those already with some apprenticeship experience in various trades, including printing.

'Emigrant' versus 'colonist'

Scots who migrated to Canada came therefore from two highly distinctive groups—Lowlanders often tended to be 'colonists,' migrating by their own volition, while Highlanders were more often 'emigrants' or 'settlers' fleeing distressed circumstances at home. The ethnic and cultural backgrounds of these two groups, while both distinctively non-English, were far from identical. The Lowlands had for centuries been penetrated by Anglo-Saxon and increasingly Western European influences. Highlanders and Islanders, by contrast, still had predominantly Celtic traditions, and the clan system remained the prime system of social and political control. There are many examples of the retention of close knit Highland communities in Canada, such as inspired John Campbell of Lochabar to write from La Chene in 1805 "...we have a Scotch settlement of our own here among the Canadians..."

Lowlanders spoke English or Braid Scots, were largely literate, and their religion was primarily a Knoxian form of Calvinism. Highlanders were mainly Gaelic speakers in a predominantly oral culture and tended to be Roman Catholic. Even when members of the latter group moved to the lowland towns, they were a culture apart, in many regards. This distinctiveness was retained in Canada and books would, by definition, only have been exported in any quantity to regions where there was a potential pool of readers. To focus on those regions known for their Scottish beginnings would not be productive for a study of Canada's early book trade—as those regions were largely populated by those Gaelic-speaking Catholics whose orality and religion did not permit or encourage wide reading.
Canada in the period 1750-1820

In 1750, there were no colonies in northern British North America to match those which would become the United States. Table 1.4 provides data on population figures from a variety of sources.122

Table 1.4
Population Data, 1800 and 1812

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Town/Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c1800</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1800</td>
<td>Saint John</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1800</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1800</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>6000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1800</td>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>British North America</td>
<td>&lt;500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>7500000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>Maritimes</td>
<td>&lt;100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>Lower Canada</td>
<td>330000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>Upper Canada</td>
<td>75000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

British settlement in Halifax (founded in 1749) preceded the British Conquest (1759-60), and attended it in Quebec and Montreal.126 After the notorious deportation of the Acadians and battles with the Americans, Saint John was founded as a Loyalist town in 1783.127 Kingston was likewise deliberately founded as a Loyalist refuge, in 1784.128 York (now Toronto), the last of the towns to attract permanent English residents, was selected in 1791 as a suitable site for guarding the troubled boundary with America and it was quickly promoted to be capital of the newly formed province of Upper Canada.129

All of the six towns were entrepots to varying degrees for the storage, selling and trans-shipment of raw materials from the interior, especially furs and timber. As a natural corollary, they were also key ports for the importation and distribution of European manufactured items, including books. The pattern of bookselling, which this dissertation charts, was manifestly different from the pattern to the south, where Philadelphia became
a book-selling centre. The Canadian colonies had no such centre for book imports. Halifax's location on the coast would have made it a geographically sensible choice, but it was slow to develop as a cultural centre, and remained a military outpost. Halifax was important but was not a recognised intellectual centre until the 1820s with the establishment of Dalhousie University.

In describing the highly organized shipping arrangements for both people and supplies for the founding of Halifax, Raddall provides a telling list:

...everything from fire engines to fishing gear, bricks, seeds, blankets...French Bibles for the enlightenment of the Acadians...field guns...muskets...surveyors' instruments...stationery...There was everything but a printing press.

This lack of a printing press was typical of the early days in all six towns. For Halifax, this deficiency was quickly remedied and within three years of the town's founding, a government-funded press was producing Canada's first newspaper, the *Halifax Gazette*, in which *Ames's Almanack for the Year 1753* was apparently the first book imported and advertised for sale in Canada.

After the disastrous attempt at founding Halifax with the poor and sick from the London slums, new waves of settlers were encouraged by the government, and hard-working German Lutherans were encouraged to populate the Nova Scotia coast. Early printed works from the Halifax press reflect this German population, as do a proportion of the imported books.

Saint John had some distinct cultural pretensions, as it was a centre for escaping Loyalists, to a greater extent than was Halifax. This Loyalist character, or rather a distinct segment of it, pervaded the cultural life, as a "little England" was created with regard to the established Church (Anglican), polite assemblies, Palladian mansions and an organized system of education for their children. Books formed an important component in their lives. The population of the town included others of course: American merchants, Indian traders and slaves, newly freed or still bound. In spite of this heterogeneity, the elite were almost all Loyalists and the merchants who were sympathetic to that cause, such as Hugh Johnston, were more likely to succeed. Of the British immigrants who were merchants, "by far the most significant were the Scots."
Quebec was the largest (and earliest established) of the towns, with a population of perhaps as many as eight thousand by the time of the British Conquest in 1759. It had characteristics in common with Halifax: they were both military, administrative and political centres. Not surprisingly it remained a predominantly French town, though many merchants (not just those involved in the fur trade) were Scottish or English from the evidence of customers who ordered handbills advertising their sales. Due to the influence of research trends in France, this part of Canada has received the most attention by historians of the book, though this has concentrated heavily on printing in Quebec and Montreal with very few reports dealing with book imports. Quebec was the first town in Canada to have a municipal directory and by the early 1820s the compiler boasted that the bookselling trade there was “flourishing, and there are several respectable stores...containing a good assortment of books.” This study offers details concerning that “assortment.”

In contrast to this rosy, although perhaps locally biassed, picture of book availability in Quebec, a Scottish traveller to Montreal stated that “there is at present but one book shop in it, whose collection of English authors has even moderate claims to respectability.” Montreal's main influx of British immigrants began to arrive in 1815 and with them developed a "dynamic merchant class, engaged in the import and export trade." However, long before this, Scottish merchants had been pre-eminent in the town, taking over the fur trade interests from the French after the Conquest. Their influence was far-reaching but not exclusive: the Scottish traveller John Duncan commented in 1819 that regardless of the numbers of Scottish merchants, Montreal "has still an aspect decidedly French, and that language assails your ear in every quarter." Quebec was the administrative capital of the province and was the main port, but Montreal was the entrance to the interior and as such was preeminent in the transshipment of imported goods including reading matter. From 1810 onwards Montreal "developed the most flourishing retail bookselling trade in the country" (a position it held for a century). The primary bookseller at the turn of the century was the Scotsman James Brown whose book and stationery store was established in 1801.

A contemporary commentator attempting to place Upper Canada in context, in terms of receiving letters, news and books, wrote, “A Londoner, who enjoys daily the
means of intelligence...can form no idea what a luxury a packet of papers from England is...when at the beginning of spring, the communication is opened.\textsuperscript{150} Kingston, with its Loyalist residents, was the cultural centre of this seeming wilderness by the early nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{151} Its location at the juncture of Lake Ontario and the St Lawrence River led to its historical significance as a port and place of trans-shipment.\textsuperscript{152} It did not see any significant urban development and growth until the War of 1812, although it had already a newspaper by that date (\textit{The Kingston Gazette}).\textsuperscript{153} Bookselling in the town itself has been sketched by Gundy.\textsuperscript{154}

In comparison with the other five towns, York was the last to develop as an organized settlement, although its roots as a busy French fur trading fort went back to the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{155} Between the Treaty of Paris in 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774, the economy of the region remained firmly rooted in the fur trade, which itself was becoming increasingly governed by Scots. After the American Revolution, there was an influx of Loyalists to the area and the Scottish surveyor Alexander Aitken was employed to survey the land in 1788. The first press in Upper Canada was established at Newark (now Niagara) by Governor John Graves Simcoe in 1791, the year that the old province of Quebec was divided into Lower and Upper Canada.\textsuperscript{156} York was officially selected as the capital of Upper Canada in 1793, by which date settlers were arriving to claim the fertile lands around the Lake Ontario.\textsuperscript{157} As with Quebec and Halifax, being the seat of colonial government affected the local print culture of York by providing the impetus and the operational funding for a print shop,\textsuperscript{158} and the press moved there from Newark in 1793. Due to its importance in the book trades in the nineteenth century, York has received more published research attention, by bibliographers and book historians, than the other anglophone towns. A model trade directory has been compiled, though this offers very few entries prior to 1820.\textsuperscript{159}

\textbf{Canadian readers and book availability}

Feather has stressed that:

the first concern of the book historian is to define the size and constitution of the audience for books...[and]...to know who the literates actually were.\textsuperscript{160}
For this, newspaper evidence is again important, especially in light of the dearth of reliable statistical evidence regarding early Canadian literacy. Different types of literacy (business literacy, children’s literacy, scholarly literacy, etc.) almost certainly affected the types of books made available in the different towns. The various analyses in Chapter 3 indicate the similarities and differences in availability across the Canadian colonies. Materials for school children and women are a particular feature in that chapter.

The communities of readers in the Canadian towns were remarkably mobile in the eighteenth century—considerably more so than those who lived in like-sized towns in Scotland and England at the time. Officers in the garrisons formed the largest single literate group within the towns at first, and they of course were a deliberately mobile group who often auctioned off their possessions, including books, when they moved, either back to Britain, or to other parts of the continent. Government officials (in Halifax, Quebec and York), merchants, seamen and schoolmasters, all required various printed items for their occupations, only some of which such as local Acts and almanacs were produced by the local printer.

Roots of a Canadian cultural identity

While book history and cultural history are not universally coterminous, there is a massive overlap of the two in looking at...those parts of the world settled by Europeans who came to dominate the existing local cultures. English and French, especially through the spread of religious tracts in the later nineteenth century, came to dominate the developing written culture of the various native groups in Canada, whose culture prior to the arrival of explorers, merchants and settlers was almost wholly oral. Research which investigates the oral and scribal aspects of early Canadian culture is increasing. The present study focuses on the books aimed primarily at those who were already English speakers and readers. The colonial mentality was informed both by word of mouth and the daily mechanics of living in a relative cultural outpost, and by reading books and serials. The foundation for a study of the roots of a Canadian identity relies, therefore, in knowing what books and serials were available, and this study provides that information. Regionalism remains an integral part of a Canadian identity, and Chapters 3 and 4 discuss similarities and differences in book availability among the
colonies. In the period prior to 1820, the Maritimes, Lower Canada and Upper Canada operated largely in isolation from each other.  

"[E]very nation is related to the rest of the world through its commodity imports and exports." This truism has greater cultural significance when the commodity is books and when the importing region is at such an early stage of economic development that it has few resources, human or mechanical, for producing its own requirements, and too scattered a market to make the effort financially worthwhile. The early urban inhabitants shared a "psychological and mercantile colonialism" which may have hindered the growth of a separate Canadian book trade thereby offering continuing encouragement to those who imported books.

There was no copyright law in Canada until 1832 nor any attempt at international copyright until the Berne Convention in 1886. The United States was also relatively slow to legislate copyright at the federal level and when it did, in 1790, it did not encourage either imports or indigenous authors: it encouraged pirated reprinting of already proven works by foreign authors. The threat to the Scottish, or British, book market in the Canadian colonies was from the south. American works were available more cheaply than the same works imported from Britain. A proportion of these works contravened copyright legislation if imported to Canada, as it was not until 1847 that legislation permitted the colonies to import foreign reprints of British copyright works. A contemporary comment from Philadelphia suggests that Dilworth's speller (consistently popular in the Canadian colonies) had an American edition of higher quality than "any imported from England or Scotland" though this fulsome praise may be tempered by the comment of John Robinson in 1810 at York: "We have quite a respectable Book-store here from the United States. Good authors, but wretched editions...

In the 1990s Canada is a major destination for books published in the United States. Due to the social and political will of Canadians to retain a Canadian cultural identity, rather than be subsumed by values and standards from the United States, complex legislation exists to protect Canadian "cultural industries." These industries include publishing. Early concern over Canada's identity and its relationship to book publishing and distribution can be discerned in the period prior to 1820, and these are described in Chapter 3, especially in relation to school books.
Conclusion

Assumptions and generalized statements abound concerning Scotland's influence in North America during the Enlightenment period. The effect of the Scottish diaspora on the print culture of Canada is examined here from the perspective of two factors—the characteristics of the available books and of the personnel involved in the book trade in its broadest sense. The resulting description and analysis contribute to the knowledge of the problems of supply and demand for books in British North America prior to Confederation and, in particular, to a broader understanding of the roles played by different agents, both inside and outside the book trade. The critical evaluation of the role of Scottish publishers in exporting to Canada in this period, and the elucidation of the smaller players in general trade who made books available are two threads running throughout this dissertation. It was the separate efforts of relatively small merchant enterprises which formed the early infrastructure for the dissemination of books from Scotland to Canada and which provided the early roots of a Canadian print culture.


3. Contemporary newspapers in the colonies attest the movement of Bibles and religious tracts by various societies. See, for example, the list of Bibles, Testaments and 49 other titles advertised by Jedediah Slason, the Fredericton treasurer of the SPCK, in the *New Brunswick Royal Gazette* (November 16, 1819): 3. See also Howsam, Leslie. *Cheap Bibles: nineteenth-century publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1991.

4. Iain Beavan refers to "dedicated agencies" in Aberdeen for the distribution of London publications which the established book trade would not touch for fear of prosecution; Beavan, Iain. "All new works of interest received on publication: Aberdeen and its access to the printed word, 1800-1850." In: Terry Brotherstone and Donald J. Withrington, eds. *The city and its worlds: aspects of Aberdeen's history since 1794*, 1996, pp. 94-114. Typescript, p. 4. There is a need for research in this area for Canada, particularly regarding the large numbers of Loyalist Afro-Americans, some of whom were literate, but who were often treated with condescension in the "respectable" white Loyalist society, and who may not have been well served by the mainstream print culture of the Canadian colonies. See, for example, Condon, Anne Gorman. "The Loyalist community in New Brunswick." In: Robert M. Calhoun, Timothy M. Barnes and George A. Rawlyk, ed. *Loyalists and community in North America*, 1994, pp. 164-165 and 170-171.


6. Andreae, Christopher. *Lines of country: an atlas of railway and waterway history in Canada*, 1997, p. 3. By 1820 only one ship, the SS Savannah, had made the transatlantic crossing under steam, without freight or passengers, but it would not be until the 1830s that this became common. Paine, Lincoln P. *Ships of the world: an historical encyclopedia*, 1997, pp. 460-461.


10. See, for example, Lamonde, Yvan. "La recherche récente en histoire de l'imprimé au Québec." Dans: Lamonde, Yvan, dir. L'imprimé au Québec: aspects historiques, 18e-20e siècles, 1983, pp. 9-23.


15. This bibliography lists items under more than one category as deemed appropriate by the compilers. Therefore the summary figures offered in the Table are a general, rather than a definitive, guide to the proportion of materials in each category.

16. The figures in this Table are gleaned from Épilogue 1993, 8 (1 & 2) to 1997, 12 (2).

17. For all of the regions with printers, see Tremaine, Marie. A bibliography of Canadian imprints, 1751-1800, 1952 (hereafter Tremaine); for one region's production, see Fleming, Patricia Lockhart. Atlantic Canadian imprints, 1801-1820: a bibliography, 1991 (hereafter Fleming, AC); and, for specific ephemera for one town, see Brisebois, Michel. The printing of handbills in Quebec city, 1764-1800: a listing with critical introduction, 1995.

18. For example, for the pre-1820 period, there has been no equivalent to Smith's overview of American imports to Canada; Smith, Allan. "American publications in nineteenth-century English Canada." Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1970, (9), 15-29.

19. For example, three MA theses are cited by Lamonde in his tables on private libraries, 1760-1829. The tables show numbers of titles in each library, they do not offer subject analysis. Lamonde, Yvan et Claude Beauchamp. Données statistiques sur l'histoire culturelle du Québec (1760-1900), 1996, Tableau 56, 56a et 56b.


21. The essays and accompanying bibliographies can be found at the web-site <http://www.hbic.library.utoronto.ca/>. The regions are the Maritimes,
Newfoundland, Ontario, Quebec, Prairie Provinces, Yukon and British Columbia.


23. MacDonald, "Scottish imprints in the diaspora."


27. Ibid., Annexe II, "Ventes de livres à l'encan à Montréal, 1778-1820."


30. Lemoine explains the necessity of using a computer; Ibid., pp 126 and 219.

31. Indeed, Lemoine's work was not used as a model for my own work, as I was unable to borrow a copy until after I had decided on the methodology and designed the BOOKSCAN file.


33. Neilson is the best-researched of all early Canadian booksellers. Although his printing business has received more research attention than his bookselling, see Hare, John et Jean-Pierre Wallot. "Le livre au Québec et la librairie Neilson au tournant du XIXe siècle." Dans: Claude Galanneau et Maurice Lemire, dirs. Livre et lecture au Québec, 1800-1850, 1988, pp. 93-112.

34. The project was initiated by the Canadian Library Association in the late 1940s.

35. The Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions is the independent body responsible for filming. It publishes a free biannual journal, Facsimile/Fac-Similé.


39. Ibid., p. 12.

40. Ibid., p. 22. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 3.


42. The need to investigate agents within book history models, in terms of their status (the vertical dimension) as well as their function (the horizontal dimension), has recently been emphasized by McDonald who expands on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu. See McDonald, Peter D. British literary culture and publishing practice, 1880-1914, 1997, pp.10-11.


44. The importance of London is emphasized in many of his publications; for example see Feather, John. The provincial book trade in eighteenth-century England, 1985, especially Chapters 1 and 4.


46. APS. David Hall Letterbooks, 1750-1771. Letterbook, 1750-1759. Hall to William Strahan, 1 November 1752.


50. Feather, The provincial book trade, Chapter 4. The cited queries are from page 44.

52. Cole, Richard Cargill. Irish booksellers and English writers, 1740-1800, 1986, especially Chapters 3 and 8 which concentrate on Irish booksellers in America. Cole offers a list of 101 Irishmen in the American booktrade, between 1750 and 1820, several of whom were Ulster-Scots.


55. Glasgow University Library. Special Collections. Eph N/139. Export merchants...applying at MacGoun's extensive...stationery warehouse...[n.d.]

56. Feather addresses this question from the perspective of examining how the London publishers used provincial booksellers to achieve market penetration for new items; Feather, The provincial book trade, pp. 64-68.


60. Hall and Strahan's friendship is attested by their correspondence. They discussed many things other than business, from the death of Hall's daughter to a trip to Scotland by Strahan. For example, see APS. David Hall Letterbook, 1767-1771. Hall to Strahan. 18 January 1769.


63. Black, "Beyond boundaries: book availability in the Canadian Northwest."

64. Historians are by no means united in their views of the effect of the Union on Scotland's cultural identity. A brief overview of the debate is offered in Scott, Paul H. "Introduction." In: Scotland: A Concise Cultural History, 1993, especially pp. 10-12. An essay, in the same volume, which includes a much longer perspective of cultural identity is Lynch, Michael. "Scottish culture in its historical perspective."


67. Campbell, Alexander. A journey from Edinburgh through parts of North Britain containing...observations on...manufactures, trade and commerce, 1802, Vol. 1, p.312.

68. "The Union has answered its end to them more than to any other part of Scotland, for their trade is now formed by it." Ibid., p. 606.

69. In 1752, a small collection by David Hume was apparently published, offering Scottish terms with their 'proper' English equivalents (though this has not been traced in ESTC); McCrum, Robert, William Cran and Robert MacNeil, The story of English, 1986, p. 145. See also McElroy, Davis D. Scotland's age of improvement: a survey of eighteenth-century literary clubs and societies, 1969.


71. John Murray's grandfather was also a "Murray." His reasons for changing his name in 1769 are given in Zachs, William. The first John Murray and the late eighteenth-century book trade, 1998, pp. 20-21. See also the family tree; Ibid., xvi-xvii.

72. Macmillan, David S. "Scottish migrations to Australia: the background and effects of the movement, 1788-1850" In: Proceedings of second colloquium on Scottish studies in Guelph, ON, 7 December 1968, 1969, p. 20. See also Scott, "Introduction." Scott offers a litany of comments, both contemporary and modern, which reflect the breadth of the nation's influence in a wide array of fields.

74. Glasgow was well behind Edinburgh (notwithstanding the high quality productions of the Foulis brothers and Urie) in terms of numbers of printers and booksellers; Gillespie, Roy A. "The Glasgow book trade to 1776." In: Kevin McCarra and Hamish Whyte, eds. *A Glasgow collection: essays in honour of Joe Fisher*, 1990, pp. 53-63.


76. See, for examples, LeMoine, J.M. "The Scot in New France, 1535-1880." *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec* New Ser., 1880, (15), 3-58; and, Rattray, W.J. *The Scot in British North America*, 1880. Much of the information in these texts is not sourced.


the 1710 Act, in 1774..." Perpetual copyright had never been recognized under Scots Law.

84. The figure of 2.3% can only be tentative as both NSTC and the BOOKSCAN database include multiple editions in each record, whereas ESTC provides a separate record for each edition.

85. ESTC and NSTC are commented upon in Chapter 2. They are not at all directly comparable in the figures they offer, due to their sources, bibliographic conventions and database structure.


88. Franklin was renowned for his enthusiasm for Scottish university education, and for Scottish books and he did much to promote both in the American colonies; Franklin, Benjamin. Memoirs of the life and writings of Benjamin Franklin, [1904?].

89. See, for example, MacDonald, James S. Annals North British Society, Halifax Nova Scotia, 1768-1903, 1905.

90. Nearly all the early printers in Canada were from these two groups; Fetherling, Douglas. The rise of the Canadian newspaper, 1990, p. 3.


92. The Dictionary of Canadian biography (DCB) is the primary source for relatively brief scholarly biographies of some of the early Scots in the trade. DCB provides access by occupation. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss DCB's coverage of Scottish agents of the press.

93. Morrison of Halifax was possibly that town's first bookseller who was not a general merchant—he was a book-binder and stationer; see for example his advertisement for "A large collection of books" in the Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser (June 18, 1799): 3. Morrison was possibly typical of stationers in provincial Britain at that time. See Feather, John. "John Clay of Daventry: the business of an eighteenth-century stationer." Studies in Bibliography, 1984, (37), 198-209.

94. McDougall has indicated the importance of tobacco merchants; McDougall, "Scottish books for America," pp. 25-27.


101. See for example, Graham, Henry Grey. Scottish men of letters in the eighteenth century, 1901.


106. McDougall, "Copyright Litigation in the Court of Session, 1738-1749" and McDougall, "Scottish Books for America."


110. Ibid., p. 9.


116. These cultural, including literary, influences were carried to Canada. See, for example, Waterston, Elizabeth. "The Lowland tradition in Canadian literature." In: W. Stanford Reid, ed. *The Scottish tradition in Canada*, 1976, pp. 203-231.


119. Ibid.

120. Withers, Charles W.J. "Kirk, club and culture change: Gaelic chapels, highland societies and the urban Gaelic subculture in eighteenth-century Scotland." *Social History*, 1985, (10), 171-192

121. Speaking of Catholic populations in early Canada, Murphy has stated that "...the Scots settled in precisely defined areas. At the time of their arrival, many were still primarily Gaelic-speaking." Murphy, Terrence. "Introduction." In: Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz, eds. *Creed and culture: the place of English-speaking Catholics in Canadian society, 1750-1930*, 1993, xxvii. The main Highland strongholds in Canada were on the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island), Cape Breton and eastern Nova Scotia and the Glengarry and Stormont regions of Upper Canada; Bumsted, J.M. "Scottish Catholicism in Canada, 1770-1845" *op cit.*, p. 79.

122. A useful overview of immigration levels from different countries is Robert, Jean-Claude. "An immigrant population." In: *HAC Volume II*, pp. 21-23. Population data varies from source to source due to the variety of original documents and estimates
used by each researcher. There was no census in Canada until the mid-nineteenth century.

123. All of the figures for c1800 are taken from Gentilcore, R. Louis, ed. *Historical atlas of Canada. Volume II. The Land transformed, 1800-1891*, 1993, Plate 4, "Eastern Canada, ca 1800."


125. Of the figure for Upper Canada, 60% were recent American immigrants, 20% were British immigrants and 20% were Loyalists; Errington, Jane and George A. Rawluk. "Creating a British-American political community in Upper Canada." In: Robert M. Calhoon, Timothy M. Barnes and George A. Rawluk, eds. *Loyalists and community in North America*, 1994, p. 198.

126. Historical sketches of all of the towns in this study are found in *The Canadian encyclopedia*. 2nd ed., 1988.


132. *Halifax Gazette* (March 24, 1753): 2. The almanac was being sold by John Bushell the printer who did not state his source, but it was likely to have been Boston or Philadelphia. As far as surviving evidence indicates, this was the first book to be imported and advertised in a Canadian paper. However, the first advertisement for a book was a prospectus in the *Halifax Gazette* (June 27, 1752).


139. Population figures for Quebec and Montreal are problematical prior to 1831 and 1825 respectively; Ruddel, David T. *Quebec city 1765-1832: the evolution of a colonial town*, 1987, p 23, note 10. However, Montreal became the major metropolis, ahead of Quebec in terms of size and mercantile activity, in the 1820s; "Montreal." In: *The Canadian encyclopedia*, 1988, p. 1379.

140. By 1851, due to increasing immigration, 41% of the population was British.

141. Brisebois, *The printing of handbills in Quebec City*, xli.


dates of each business when known.

150. Craig, Gerald M., ed. *Early travellers to the Canadas, 1791-1867*, 1955, pp. 9-10. The quote is from the anonymous "A traveller's impressions, 1792-93."

151. Osborne and Swainson, "A Poor Happy People: Establishing Loyalist Kingston."


155. Robinson, *Toronto during the French regime* details the French fur trade forts within the context of an urban history of Toronto. Robinson's explanations of the routes used by the traders from Albany when they wanted to expropriate as much land as they could after the defeat of their French rivals by the British provides a context for the routes used by printers and other members of the book trade who moved west and north from Albany in the same period. *Ibid.*, p. 151.


161. Due to ecclesiastical record-keeping in Quebec, there is greater scope for research into early literacy there than in English-speaking Canada. See, for example, the entries on l’alphabétisation in the section on "Social Aspects" in Bartlett et al., *The history of the book in Canada: a bibliography*, pp. 118-134.

162. For example, 23 titles were advertised by the auctioneer William Craft in August 1754; *Halifax Gazette* (August 17, 1754): 2. The 24 volume *Encyclopedia Pert hensis*, rather than being auctioned was the subject of a raffle in Quebec in 1815. The owner, who had imported the set the previous year, was returning to England; *Quebec Mercury* (May 2, 1815).

163. Tremaine; Fleming, UC; and Fleming, AC.

165. There were some notable attempts to publish material in the languages of the native peoples, the earliest by James Evans. See Mason, Roger Burford. "The Sound of innovation: James Evans’ syllabic alphabet." Queen’s Quarterly, 1994, 101 (4), 849-853.

166. This increase of research activity is reflected in a recent conference session: "Scribal publication in New France." Session at the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing Conference, Vancouver, 18 July 1998.


170. 2 Will. IV. c. 53. This was a statute of the Legislature of Lower Canada. In 1867 the Constitution Act gave exclusive jurisdiction over copyright to the federal government; Crane, Brian A. "Copyright Law." In: The Canadian encyclopedia, 1988, p. 515. The Dominion's first copyright act was passed in 1868, 31 Vict. c. 54; Nowell-Smith, Simon. International copyright law and the publisher in the reign of Queen Victoria, 1968, p. 87.

171. Nowell-Smith, International copyright law, p. 68.


177. Foreign (i.e., not Canadian) publishers account for over 55% of both the unit share and the dollar share of Canada’s book market. Canadian agents of foreign publishers account for a further 20% or more of the market. Duxbury, Nancy. *The reading and purchasing public: the market for trade books in English Canada 1991, volume 1, analysis*, 1995, pp. 37-39. The United States is the largest source of foreign publications.

178. Part of the legislation is embedded in “NAFTA”: Canada. *North American free trade agreement: between the government of Canada, the government of the United Mexican States and the government of the United States of America*, 1992. Chapter 21 of NAFTA includes exceptions for cultural industries which, as defined in the Agreement, include the publication of books, magazines, periodicals and newspapers.
Chapter 2
The BOOKSCAN Database: Its Sources, Structure and Application

Introduction

Chapter 1 has provided the historiographical context for this study. This chapter describes the sources for and the structure of the BOOKSCAN file, the database designed to facilitate analysis of what books were available in Canada and who made them available. The chapter explains the database structure and illustrates field contents, search strategies, capabilities and output formats.

Giles Barber referred, in 1982, to "recent" beginnings of research into the international distribution of books. He cited "paucity of records" as a major reason for the previous lack of research in this area.1 Certainly Canadian and Scottish records are incomplete. Therefore, this study makes as complete use as is feasible of all of the information contained in the sources which do remain. This project uses newspapers, booksellers and library catalogues, business records, probate records, Customs accounts and directories as its primary sources, with a major emphasis on newspapers.2 Figure 2.1 illustrates an advertisement for books from a Halifax paper.3 Several bibliographic tools, including the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) and the Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (NSTC), have provided invaluable baseline data as well as being crucial for verification of titles, publishers and places of publication.4 A particular strength of ESTC is its facility for searching by country of publication or by name of subsidiary bookseller from the imprint field.5 A distinctive strength of NSTC is the subject classification.

Methodology

The research database and the quantitative data derived from its contents contribute to an understanding of several interconnected factors, such as books available, towns where they were available and the occupations of those who sold them (see Table 2.2 for a complete list of factors included). However such quantitative data must be supplemented by additional qualitative research regarding intervening business practices such as terms of credit, known contacts, availability of publication information, etc. The business practices affecting the book trade to the Canadian colonies are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
Figure 2.1
Book Advertisement from a Halifax Newspaper
Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser (August 4, 1789)

RICHARD KIDSTON
HAS JUST RECEIVED
By the Brig Ceres, from LONDON,
The Following Large Collection of BOOKS.

DIVINITY and THEOLOGY.

Calvin's Commentaries, 4 vol. 13s.
Calamy's Christian Directory, 6d.
Draper's History of the Jews, 2 vol. 15s.

BY TREATY, 1762.
Marshall's Memoirs, 3 vol. 6d.
Scotsman's Memoirs, 3 vol. 6d.

Porteous's Dictionary, 4 vol. 3s.

By GAGE'S Paraphrase, 3 vol. 3s.

By WATER'S Body of Divinity, 2 vol. 4s.

Tyndal's History of the Bible, 6 vol. 5s.

By LOCKMAN'S History of the Church, 2 vol. 5s.
By STANHOP'S History of the Reformation, 4 vol. 12s.

BY BIBLE AND FRY'S BIBLE, 2 vol. 15s.

By HARRIS'S Biography, 3 vol. 6d.
By JAMES'S Euchological Works, 2 vol. 6d.
By WATTS'S Essay on the Constitution, 6d.

LAW and PHYSIC.

Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 vol. 13s.
Sampson's Physician, 6d.
Daru's Phrenological Physiology, 6d.

BLACKMONT'S History of the Jews, 2 vol. 8s.
Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 vol. 13s.
Sampson's Physician, 6d.
Daru's Physiological Physiology, 6d.

NOVELS and ROMANCES.

Ambrose Night, Entertainer, 4 vol. 15s.
Hervey's Memoirs, 5 vol. 15s.
Gentlemen's Magazine, 5 vol. 15s.

Cato's Memoirs, 3 vol. 6d.

V icer of Breda, 8 vol. 6d.

A New Discourse of the World, 2 vol. 6d.

Julia or Cassandra, 6 vol. 6d.
Colonel Cameron, 4 vol. 6d.
Sir Robert Greux, 5 vol. 6d.

Lamont, Earl of Balholm, 3 vol. 6d.
Catastrophe, 5 vol. 6d.
The study relies on an intensive reading of Canadian English-language newspapers, for selected Maritime towns, for the entire period of their publication between 1750 to 1820. For Upper and Lower Canada, selected runs of papers were sampled for the same period for comparative purposes. In order to compare the Canadian availability of books with that in provincial Scotland, sample newspapers have been read in a similar fashion for a variety of towns other than Edinburgh, Glasgow or Aberdeen. Data related to books, whether for sale by retail, wholesale or auction, or for lending, has been extracted and entered in the database. An electronic union catalogue (one record for each title), with added trade-related features, is the result. Analyses, using this database, form the core of the project.

The information in the database is supplemented by business and other contemporary records which help show the mechanisms of the trade, i.e., how the books arrived in the towns, from which publisher or wholesaler they were acquired and by which retailer or librarian. In order to study the trade networks, a second database of biographical and business information related to all those who sold books in Canada, has been created and is described below. The intent was to use as complete a data set as can be created from surviving records to show patterns of book availability by source of shipment, subject or genre, and by type of availability (in specialist bookstores, general stores, circulating libraries, etc.) After analysis (see Chapter 3), similarities and differences in such availability, between the Canadian colonies and the Scottish provinces, can be described, at least provisionally (see Chapter 4). In addition, the Scottish contribution to Canadian print culture, a theme of this study, is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 using, in part, further analyses of the BOOKSCAN database.

Sources of Evidence

It is axiomatic, Tanselle believes, that the primary evidence for examining the history of the printing of a book lies in the book itself. Equally, it might be argued that the primary evidence for a study of book distribution lies in those artifacts which offer proof of such distribution: business records, bills of lading, customs accounts, book advertisements and booksellers' and library catalogues. Collectively, these are indicative of books leaving Great Britain and arriving in Canada. However, the survival rate of these
varying records differs. The primary sources discussed here, in terms of their relative merits concerning the Canadian trade, are newspapers, library catalogues and directories.

Ironically, extensive business records remain only for Scottish publishers who hardly exported at all to Canada, and for a Scottish bookseller in Canada who did not import from Scotland. Their records may be typical of the general practice of the time. If this is the case, then the Scottish input in the Canadian trade may be starkly different from the Scottish contribution to the American trade, as indicated by the research of McDougall and Sher. The various sources of evidence, taken together, are important not only for the contribution they provide towards an understanding of book availability in the Canadian colonies, but for the insight they provide into the mechanics of a transatlantic distribution of books.

Newspapers

The importance of using newspapers to delineate aspects of book distribution in the provincial English trade has been summarised by Feather, and detailed by several researchers. Newspapers are of no less importance in examining transatlantic book distribution. The printing history of colonial Canadian English-language newspapers has been examined by Tremaine and others. Use of newspapers is standard book history practice, but the complexities and time involved are considerable. The scarcity of other sources of information imposed a heavy reliance on newspaper evidence for this study which examines newspapers for six towns over several decades and details 5,392 titles. Table 2.1 indicates the first date of newspaper publishing in each of the towns studied. In Canada, extensive runs of some early newspapers are extant, while such is not true to nearly the same extent for provincial Scottish towns. Moreover, the infant business environment resulted in colonial papers carrying detailed advertisements for many commodities including books, while the relatively mature business environment in provincial Scotland led to an apparent relative dearth of book advertisements in Scottish newspapers other than those for new publications, or simple announcements of "large assortments" of books in bookstores or in libraries. Most book advertisements in Canadian papers definitely referred to books which were physically available in the town (only such advertisements have been included in this study).
Table 2.1
Date of First Newspaper in Selected Canadian Towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date of First Newspaper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>1776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint John/Fredericton</td>
<td>1784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark/York</td>
<td>1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Scotland, by contrast, a proportion of the advertisements were placed regularly by London publishers, such as Cooke, and the titles listed were by no means all immediately available, though they could certainly be ordered through the local bookseller. This aspect of British serial advertising is alluded to by Raven.

Relying on advertisements for primary material concerning bibliographical details can be problematical. For example, "Junius's Letters," without a date of publication, is insufficient information as there were several authors who used this pseudonym for political and satirical writings. The titles used in the newspaper advertisements were usually the spine titles. These followed a standard format in their brevity, although different binders would use variations on the theme, such as "Buchan's Domestic Medicine" or "Buchan on Domestic Medicine." These are clearly the same work, editions of which can be tracked easily in both ESTC and NSTC. However, sometimes the choice of title is so very brief that keyword searching in the latter tools produces either too wide an array of possibilities or nothing at all. In spite of these challenges, the majority of titles in the BOOKSCAN file were located in either ESTC or NSTC, although the edition advertised could not often be confirmed.

Reading extensive runs of newspapers helps to delineate not only the titles advertised but also the frequency of book advertisements. Often the same listing would appear for six months to a year, until the next shipment arrived. The prices at which the books were sold, and the quantities of each title available, are not always discernable. Chapter 4 includes a preliminary analysis of prices where they have been discovered.
Sometimes entire catalogues of British books would be reprinted in Canadian papers.\textsuperscript{24} However, these listings, whilst certainly alerting colonial readers to the existence of various texts and editions of texts, were not offering local sources of supply, they were simply reprints from various British periodicals. London publishers and prices were given and no local ordering mechanism was suggested. In such cases, it is probable that readers would deal directly with the London suppliers and therefore these title references have been excluded from the database.

Elements such as date and place of newspaper advertisement, name of ship and captain, have been included in the database to permit analysis of aspects of dissemination including route taken and time lag involved in the distribution of books. For example, in \textit{The Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser}, the following advertisement appeared after the arrival of the spring supply ships in 1799:

James Kidston, Has just received by the Ship HUNTER, from Glasgow, and REBECCA, from Liverpool, The following Articles, Which he will dispose of on the most reasonable terms, wholesale, and retail...The following collection of Books...\textsuperscript{25}

This example shows clearly one of the dilemmas facing the researcher who has to rely on newspaper advertisements as the primary evidence for the transatlantic trade. Kidston was advertising a wide range of goods—which ship, of the two named, had carried the books? For a study attempting to delineate the Scottish contribution, this poses a serious limitation if there is no corroborating evidence. However, the use of customs accounts can elucidate port of exit. Some of the limitations inherent in the official Customs records are discussed in Chapter 4.

\textbf{Library Catalogues}

In Scotland, extensive research by John Crawford, has unearthed a quantity of pre-1820 circulating library catalogues.\textsuperscript{26} In contrast, very few such catalogues remain for Canada. Therefore, newspaper advertisements (supplemented by a few library catalogues) have been used as proof of book availability in Canada, and library catalogues (supplemented by a few newspaper advertisements) have been used as proof in Scotland. It is argued here that the two, albeit different, sources do in fact offer data which can be compared legitimately regarding availability for sale or loan. In addition some of the circulating libraries in Scotland were operated as commercial enterprises by provincial
booksellers and these individuals offered the same books for sale as they did for loan. An example is Isaac Forsyth of Elgin whose business is used for comparative purposes in this study.

Directories

Directories or dictionaries of book trade personnel are rare for Canadian towns. Early York is covered to a limited extent in the meticulous directory of the Toronto trade compiled by Elizabeth Hulse. Saint John and Halifax have both received attention, though the data is unpublished. However, such dictionaries do not tell the whole story of book availability in early Canada because general merchants may have distributed more titles and volumes than any specialist wholesalers or retailers in the period—and they are, by definition, excluded from such sources. The contribution of this project to existing and planned directories, is to place those on the periphery of the trade but at the heart of the distributive networks, firmly in the picture of colonial book availability. Chapters 3 and 4 place these merchants in context and explain the role of the Scots amongst them.

Bibliographic Tools

The title data collected from newspapers and catalogues has been verified primarily via the *Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) and the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* (NSTC). The CD-ROM editions of both of these tools were used for title verification, supplemented by the print edition of Phase 1 (1801-1815) of NSTC. These electronic tools form the most comprehensive sources for books published in Britain between 1750 and 1820. They were supplemented by specialized print and electronic bibliographies for a closer analysis of such aspects as works of fiction and works in Gaelic. ESTC and NSTC both offer, for ease of verification, the capacity to search by keyword. Without such online sources, collection of global production figures (as far as can be determined from these tools) for Britain would have been much more time-consuming, if not impossible. Chapter 3 includes comparative analysis based on information gleaned from these tools and from the BOOKSCAN file.
The Challenge of the Scottish Element for the Methodology

By any measure (linguistic, cultural or economic), most books shipped from Britain might be seen at first sight as homogeneously “British.” However, Scottish booksellers in the period were sometimes explicitly at odds with their English counterparts;38 and thus there is worth in making a distinction in relation to port of export (see “Route” field in Table 2.2 below). However, even this simple goal presents difficulties if, for example, books exported from Greenock, were published and printed in London. The question of “nationality” in the eighteenth century book trade requires definition for an analysis of the relative strengths of the export trade in books from Scotland and England.49 For the purposes of this study, the working definition chosen is:

A Scottish book, in economic terms, is one in which the place of publication, as given in the imprint or deduced from other evidence, is a Scottish city or town. A Scottish-authored book is one written by a native Scot, no matter his or her place of residence and no matter where published.40

Newspaper advertisements in Canada as in Britain, usually did not explicitly state edition or publication information. It is sometimes possible to deduce this information from other factors, such as date of advertisement and port of exit, coupled with the use of source bibliographies. No assumptions are made that books shipped from Greenock or Port Glasgow were necessarily of Scottish origin, according to the above definition. By analysing the contents of the BOOKSCAN database, therefore, geographical patterns of trade shipments may be shown (see Chapters 3 and 4), but proportions of Scottish publications within this trade cannot be known with certainty in spite of the rich data in the file. However, an element which can be analysed with greater confidence is that of Scottish authorship and Chapter 5 details the results of such analysis.

Research Database Design

The use of database software, as customized for this project, is a new contribution to historical studies of book availability. Other historians of the book trade have created databases to aid their research41 and Lemoine’s database, referred to in Chapter 1, is of special interest as he drew heavily on newspaper evidence.42 However, there is no evidence that a specialized database has been created before to examine the mechanisms of book distribution to the colonies. A database was used because of the quantity of data
and the need to perform analyses across several factors. Replication of the methodology is feasible, not just with the existing data, but for other studies of international or intra national distribution of books. The requirements for the software included: custom designed fields with keyword search capacities on every field; Boolean searching capacity; multiple customized report formats; and exporting facility to other softwares for graphical display. The bibliography software Library Master was selected.43

BOOKSCAN Database

Table 2.2 describes each field in the primary research database of titles for sale or loan. The database structure draws on bibliographical precedents, such as online library catalogues and union lists, to record information related to the intellectual content and the physical format of the books. It also adds multiple non-bibliographic fields related to the business of the book trade. Every advertisement or bookseller’s or library catalogue reference to a title is within a single record. The database structure has been designed to accept virtually limitless repeated fields; hence lists of advertisements, catalogues, and booksellers, for certain widely-available titles are as lengthy as the available data requires. To date, bibliographical databases (such as the ESTC) and trade related databases (such as the British Book Trade Index and Michael Turner’s database of the London book trade) have been wholly separate entities.44 The novelty of the present database lies in its combination of bibliographical and business features.45 In other words, the BOOKSCAN database addresses the question “who made what titles available, and where and when did they do so.”46
Table 2.2 BOOKSCAN Research Database Field Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIELD NAMES</th>
<th>DESCRIPTIONS</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author¹</td>
<td>Author(s), editor(s), translator(s)</td>
<td>Buchan, William, 1729-1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FemAuth</td>
<td>Enumerates female authorship. &quot;Yes&quot; or blank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title²</td>
<td>Spine title as it appears in advertisement</td>
<td>Buchan’s Domestic Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paperdate³</td>
<td>Date, acronym for newspaper, name of advertiser (bookseller)</td>
<td>July 21, 1789 p.2--RGNSA*--R.Kidston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catpdate⁴</td>
<td>Title of library or bookseller’s catalogue, town, date</td>
<td>Catalogue of the Elgin Circulating Library (Forsyth)--Elgin--1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookseller⁵</td>
<td>Name, trade, town</td>
<td>Kidston, Richard--General Merchant--Halifax Forsyth, Isaac--Bookseller/Librarian--Elgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PriceBNA⁶</td>
<td>Advertised price, town, date in British North America</td>
<td>5s 6d/Halifax/1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PriceGB⁷</td>
<td>Advertised price, town, date in Britain</td>
<td>7s 6d/Elgin/1789 7s 6d/Hawick/1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Route⁸</td>
<td>Port of entry, port of exit, name of ship and captain (if known), date</td>
<td>Halifax/R.Kidston--London/Brig Ceres--June 1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotpdate⁹</td>
<td>Date(s) of Scottish editions</td>
<td>1769 [and all relevant dates]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotbtcon¹⁰</td>
<td>Name of person and town in Scotland with a trade connection to the bookseller in BNA</td>
<td>Kidston Family--Merchants--Paisley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Londonpdate¹¹</td>
<td>Date(s) of London editions</td>
<td>1772 [and all relevant dates]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otherpdate¹²</td>
<td>Date(s) of publications not available from London or Scotland</td>
<td>Philadelphia--1785 [and all relevant dates]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othlang</td>
<td>Language if other than English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESTC#¹³</td>
<td>Cross reference to edition(s) in ESTC</td>
<td>Where very numerous, sample numbers will be offered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSTC#¹⁴</td>
<td>Cross reference to edition(s) in NSTC, Phase 1</td>
<td>B5116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref#¹⁵</td>
<td>Cross reference to other research bibliographies or databases</td>
<td>Sher #92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ExportSRO¹⁶</td>
<td>Cross reference to Custom’s Quarterly Account for any relevant book shipments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Brief Heading as used in NSTC</td>
<td>General and Personal Hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDC#¹⁷</td>
<td>Dewey Classification (3 figures)</td>
<td>613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* RGNSA Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser
Notes to Table 2.2:

1. Full author information will be added only when confirmed from the text itself or from ESTC or NSTC.
2. Titles are entered in the form in which they appear in the newspaper as these were remarkably consistent.
3. The paper field is searchable on all of the subfields; for examples, all books advertised in "HJ" (Halifax Journal) can be found; all books arriving in a specific month, etc.
4. A book list appearing in a newspaper is not considered a "catalogue"—this field is for those titles found in early printed catalogues from circulating libraries, booksellers, auctioneers, etc.
5. "Bookseller" refers to any person engaging in the selling or lending of books.
6. The price is often lacking in advertisements.
7. Price information for books for sale in Scotland is drawn from catalogues and business records.
8. The route information is often embedded within the advertisement; no assumptions are being made about the phrase "recently arrived" relating to the "ships entered harbour" section of the same issue of any newspaper. The extant runs of newspapers are not always sufficiently complete for such links to be made. Advertisements often ran for many months and "recently arrived" lost its relevance, though it was not removed from the advertisement.
9. Dates of Scottish editions which were published prior to the advertisement(s) or catalogue(s).
10. Known connections within trade networks are defined in this field.
11. Dates of London editions which were published prior to the advertisement(s) or catalogue(s).
12. Place and date of publication of works not issued in London or in any Scottish town. These are most often American.
13/14. Reference number(s) relating to entries in ESTC and/or NSTC for quick cross-reference.
15. Specialist bibliographies or lists are referenced here, such as Rick Sher's "Scottish Enlightenment Database" and James Raven's British Fiction.
16. Reference to book shipments found in the Port Customs Collectors' Quarterly Accounts for Scotland. These references will be added as found in the Scottish Record Office through future research. The SRO ledgers often also include the names of shipping agents and these will be recorded to aid in analysis of the trade networks.
17. The classification scheme used by both ECBB (and by John Feather in his analysis based on that tool) and by NSTC, is that of Dewey (first three figures). In order to facilitate comparisons and analyses with earlier work, the same scheme has been chosen for this project, (see Appendix A).

The BOOKSCAN database is designed not only for the required analysis, but also for speed of data entry. Various authority lists and indexes have been created. The authority lists permit "dumping" of oft-repeated information, such as that in the newspaper advertisement or bookseller fields. The indexes allow rapid searching for certain field contents. For those fields not indexed (the software has a limit of eight indexes per database), keyword searches are always feasible.
The database has been customized to permit printing of individual records when necessary. However, of far greater utility for this study, is the capacity for specially formatted reports. These report formats are designed to take certain fields from each record and pull them together in a report which can be printed. For example, at the simplest level, the software can print out every title, in alphabetical order, from a specific newspaper advertisement (or from any other subset, or from the entire database). Or, a different report format could be used to print the same information in a classified arrangement. Or, all books which were shipped in the spring shipments to any of the six towns in a given year could be displayed by author. These examples illustrate that the possibilities are limited only by the constraints of the data and by the researcher's imagination.

A variety of “format files” and “style sheets” have been programmed for this database. Table 2.3 illustrates the format files. The style sheets are designed, like traditional bibliographic style sheets, to print (or show on screen) the record data in a specified order and with specified punctuation and spaces between field contents. The reports generated by the various formats can be created for the entire database, or for “record lists” of groups of records. A record list is simply a chosen subset of the database. For example, the record list might be all of the titles advertised in one town over a range of years, or, all of the titles advertised by a particular bookseller, or, all of the titles shipped from a certain port in a given year or group of years. The record lists can be saved and updated as further data is added to the database, and any number of reports can be formatted for each record list. All of the reports can be exported from the database software directly into word processing software.

Library Master will also produce simple numeric data. Such figures as numbers of titles in certain subjects or by certain authors sold by specific booksellers can be produced. These figures are used in the analyses in Chapters 3 to 5 and contribute to an understanding of the similarities and differences in book availability in towns within Canada and between Canada and Scotland. The database alone cannot, of course, explain the reasons for these similarities and differences. Nevertheless, it is in these ways that the database helps to address the research questions posed in Chapter 1.
Table 2.3
Selected Report Format Files and Their Descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Format Name</th>
<th>Description/Commentary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RECORD</td>
<td>A listing by author/title, with complete record data for each title.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADEAUT</td>
<td>A listing by author/title, with route taken for shipments. <em>May indicate that certain author's works were more often shipped from certain ports</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADETITLE</td>
<td>A checklist of titles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADEAD</td>
<td>Arranged by title, with each relevant advertisement or catalogue. <em>Offers a clear picture of the most frequently advertised titles.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADESUB</td>
<td>Classified arrangement with author/title information. <em>Offers details to enhance the simple figures concerning numbers of titles for each subject.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADEPORT</td>
<td>Arranged by port of export, then by subject and title. <em>Offers details, as with TRADESUB, to enhance figures.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Boolean and Keyword Searches**

There are, in addition to the programmed reports, an endless number of searches which can be performed, just as in many online catalogues, by using specified command language phrases. Library Master permits the use of Boolean strategies, nesting, keyword searching and truncation. A single example will indicate the utility of these for the current research. From surviving evidence, the Kidstons were the preeminent sellers of books in Halifax in the last twelve years of the eighteenth century. They advertised a total of 557 different titles. Knowing this, it is interesting to investigate titles which were available in the town in that twelve year period, which could not be bought in the Kidstons' store, and from whom they were available. Such a search in Library Master would be formulated, in the "search" window, as follows:

\[
((7={178} \text{ or } 7={179}) \text{ and } 7=\text{halifax}) \text{ and not } 11=\text{kidston}
\]

where 7 is the Route field and 11 is the Bookseller field (see Table 2.2). The result is 64 titles, most of which were for sale either by the newspaper printer or by one of the local auctioneers (or sometimes both).
"Bookseller" Database

Table 2.4 lists the fields in the second customized database, which illustrates the business links between those who sold or loaned books in Canada and business contacts in Britain. As much information as could be collated in the period of the project, for every bookseller and librarian noted, has been entered here; but for pragmatic purposes some booksellers, such as the Kidstons of Halifax and John Neilson of Quebec, have been the subject of more intensive research in order to provide detailed case studies (see Chapter 5).

Table 2.4
Fields in Bookseller Database with Sample Data from One Record

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>Morrison, Alexander, ?-1814</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRADE</td>
<td>Binder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bookseller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stationer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATION/ADDRESS</td>
<td>Sign of the Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Near the Town Guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grenville Street, next door to Mr Thomas Donaldson Confectionery and opposite Mr Andrew Cumming Cabinet-maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOWN IN CANADA</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNOWN DATES IN CANADA</td>
<td>1786-1811?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOWN IN AMERICA</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATES IN AMERICA</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOWN IN BRITAIN</td>
<td>Glasgow?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTACTS IN GB</td>
<td>Family in Glasgow. Possible business links with bookselling firm of Morrison and M'Callum. No links located with Morrison's of Perth and St Andrews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNOWN DATES IN GB</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Benefits of electronic structure and searches

The research questions outlined in Chapter 1 could not be addressed conveniently without computer assistance. Both “diachronic and synchronic forms of historical enquiry,” the benefits of which are emphasized by McKenzie (in relation to ESTC and similar files) are feasible via the research database. The following chapters display the results of both of these types of enquiry in a variety of graphs.

In addition, apart from the obvious advantages of speed and portability, the electronic format permits various analyses of data which would be virtually impossible otherwise. For example, database-wide searches can be performed which produce reports of titles offered for sale and loan in certain subject areas, etc. This type of analysis is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. A further example is the capability of the file to delineate titles only offered at auction. Comparisons such as for prices charged in colonial towns and provincial Scottish towns are made relatively easy with an electronic file. For example, data from the Elgin bookseller Isaac Forsyth can be compared for 1789, with the prices charged in the same year for the same titles, by Richard Kidston, merchant in Halifax. Interesting here is that whilst most of the comparable titles cost more in Halifax than they did in Elgin, some cost the same, and one or two cost less. The reasons for these less expected findings are possibly more complex than simply edition or type of binding, although it is feasible that those factors are the most significant in these ‘reverse’ price differentials. The range of possible searches and reports from the BOOKSCAN file is very wide; a selection is used in this study.
In conclusion, this chapter has detailed the intensive use made of newspapers and has described the elements of data extracted from them and entered in the BOOKSCAN file. The following chapter draws on the file for a variety of analyses which are displayed graphically. The remaining chapters also rely heavily on the database for analyses, and the final chapter reviews the database briefly in terms both of its usefulness for this project and its potential for future applications.

2. For English Canada there are no detailed finding aids to print culture sources such as those of Yvan Lamonde for French-Canada. See for example, Lamonde, Yvan and Daniel Oliver. Les bibliothèques personnelles au Québec: inventaire analytique et préliminaire des sources, 1983. CIHM does not include bookseller or library catalogues as a matter of course, although some have been microfilmed. Probate records have been used for individual merchants and booksellers, where found. The only systematic Canadian study located, which uses probate records to analyse book ownership is Field, Richard Henning. “The material lives of Lunenburg German merchants and yeoman: the evidence based on probate inventories, 1760-1830,” Ph.D., 1990, Chapter 6. For directories, see Ryder, Dorothy E. Checklist of Canadian directories/Répertoire des annuaires canadiens, 1790-1950, 1979. This tool offers only two pre-1821 directories each for Quebec and Montreal, and none at all for the other towns studied. Book trade directories are rare for Canada, but see Hulse, Elizabeth. A dictionary of Toronto printers, publishers, booksellers and the allied trades, 1798-1900, 1982.


9. The lack of long runs of business records is a frustrating lacuna on both sides of the Atlantic. A comprehensive guide to sources is needed for Canadian book history; the History of the Book in Canada project plans to compile such a tool. Existing contributions include Hulse, Elizabeth. "Sources for the study of the book trades in nineteenth-century Toronto: some notes from a work in progress." Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1979, 18, 39-46; and the Canadian Publishers Records Database, accessible via telnet://delos.lib.sfu.ca.

10. National Library of Scotland (NLS) Constable Papers and Bell and Bradfute Papers; and National Archives of Canada (NAC) Neilson Papers.


12. Warren McDougall offered welcome advice on the potential use of newspapers and customs records.


15. Tremaine includes papers for all towns up to 1800. See also, Tobin, Brian. The Upper Canada Gazette and its printers, 1793-1849, 1993; and Firth, Edith G., ed. Early Toronto newspapers, 1793-1867, 1961.

16. Other researchers have found the procedure challenging also. “Scanning the newspaper ads for books, translating the shortened “spine titles” listed in the ads into full, searchable titles, and determining the author—often not mentioned in the ad...proved to be difficult and time-consuming tasks.” Remer, Rosalind. Printers and men of capital: Philadelphia book publishers in the New Republic, 1996, p.53, note 47.

17. Selection of six provincial Scottish towns, to be used for comparative purposes in this study, had originally been made based on similarity of population with the
Canadian towns. This proved to be naïve, however, as so few Scottish newspapers remain for the period, that selection was ultimately made on the simple basis of which towns had surviving papers available for research at the National Library of Scotland. Papers sampled include those for Ayr, Dumfries, Dundee, Inverness, Kelso, Leith, Montrose and Perth.

18. From an array of examples, see Dundee Perth and Cupar Advertiser, or Perth, Fife and Angus Shires Intelligencer (Jan 9, 1807): 1; Dumfries Weekly Journal (May 24, 1803): 1; and, The Kelso Mail, Roxburgh, Berwickshire and Northumberland Gazette (May 28, 1804).

19. For example 59 titles, all Cooke’s editions, were advertised in The Kelso Mail, Roxburgh, Berwickshire and Northumberland Gazette (October 18, 1804) by the printer/bookseller James Ballantyne. However, he may not have had all 59 titles in stock. He would accept local orders and request them from Cooke.


21. For examples, see NSTC J1222-J1227. “Junius’s Letters” appear in numerous advertisements and catalogues in the BOOKSCAN file, from Fletcher’s listing in the Nova Scotia Chronicle (July 31-August 7, 1770): 255 to the Catalogue of books in the library of the legislature of Upper Canada (1817).


23. I am very grateful to Sandrine Ferré for the several hundred searches she performed on my behalf in ESTC, before I had access to the database.

24. See, for example, The Nova Scotia Magazine for July and August, 1789.


26. Crawford, John C. “Public library printed catalogues cataloguing project.” I am indebted to Dr Crawford for making available his bibliography before publication. The current project has located at least one catalogue known to Dr Crawford, but with no known location present in his listing—see Forsyth, Isaac. A catalogue of the Elgin circulating library, 1789 which is now held at the National Library of Scotland. Of the thirty-two eighteenth century catalogues identified by Crawford, eight are for Aberdeen, three for Edinburgh and four for Glasgow.

27. The adjective “provincial” is critical here, as the study is not discussing books available in circulating libraries in Edinburgh or Glasgow.


30. Maritime Provinces Bibliographical Research Group. “A dictionary of Maritime printers, publishers, booksellers and the allied trades, 1751-1900.” I am grateful to Shirley Elliott for her generosity in sharing the research notes gathered in the 1970s. The proposed dictionary has not been completed and published. A more recent survey, for Halifax, of information in published sources is Greaves, Susan. “A dictionary of Halifax printers, publishers, booksellers and related trades.” Term paper, School of Library and Information Studies, Dalhousie University, 1990.

31. For colonial regions, this begs the question of the appropriateness of using a narrow working definition for “book and allied trades.” If the goal is to show the growth of the trade itself, such a definition is appropriate. However, if the goal is, as in this project, to show who was making books available to the public, then a broader view is appropriate.


33. Frank Robinson and John Bloomberg-Rissman supplied me with copies of NSTC and ESTC respectively. I am much in their debt.


36. NSTC’s search design is not as user-friendly because keyword searching in the title field alone is not feasible. For further details, see Black, “[Review of] Nineteenth century short title catalogue.”

37. The phrase “global production figures” refers to totals for given years and places, gleaned from ESTC and NSTC. Without contemporary official reports of book production, it is not possible to know what the actual figures were.

38. Martin Moonie has emphasized that the Scots in London and Edinburgh, whilst sometimes fighting each other in the courts over reprints of older works, could at the same time, be cooperating over the co-publication of new works. I am grateful to Martin Moonie for sharing his work in progress. See also McDougall, Warren. “[Review of] Dublin’s trade in Books, 1550-1800, by M. Pollard.” *The Library*, 1993, (15), 60-62.

40. Don McKenzie, at the meeting of the Book Trade History Group, London, 4 December, 1995, suggested that the editors of the History of the Book in Scotland project should “choose a level of definition appropriate to the particular case.” I have attempted to adopt the wisdom of this as a guiding principle.

41. For example, database software is used to analyse books listed in estate inventories, account books and other sources; Woolf, Daniel. The History book and its readers in England, 1475-1730, 1999 forthcoming.

42. Lemoine, Réjean. “Le marche du livre à Québec, 1764-1839,” MA thèse, 1981. It is indicative of the separateness of much French and English book history that this early example of imaginative database design has hardly been referred to in the English-language literature.

43. The programming language is explained fully in Library Master 3.0 reference manual, 1995, especially chapters 18, 19 and 21. Several software packages were reviewed and I am grateful to Sandra Alston for sharing her considerable expertise of bibliographic software.

44. There is a very wide variety of searching capacities in the various databases currently being developed in Britain. Michael Turner’s file of London apprentices is a relatively sophisticated design in Paradox software. At the other end of the scale is the simple text file, the Scottish Book Trade Index, accessible via http://www.nls.ac.uk/catalogues/sbti/intro.htm.

45. ESTC (though not NSTC) does, of course, include business information, because it (usually) includes the full imprint data. The fact that this information was a deliberate contemporary means of providing “inside” business information to wholesalers and retailers has been referred to by several scholars, but most clearly by Foxon and by Feather. See Foxon, David. Pope and the early eighteenth-century book trade, 1991, pp. 1-8; and Feather, The Provincial book trade, pp. 59-62.

46. The ‘why’ is not addressed directly by the database (‘why’ is a question rarely addressed by technological support systems), but the information collated within it and the various reports generated, do help focus the inquiry.


48. A further factor is that some multi-volume sets such as the Encyclopaedia Britannica were offered for sale only through auction in some colonial towns, never as new items. This may be the result of the cost for such items necessitating a special order before a merchant/bookseller would have it shipped. Special orders, of course, did not appear in newspaper advertisements, unless the person placing the order had moved elsewhere by the time the volumes arrived—this may have been the reason behind Alexander Morrison’s special single-title Halifax advertisement for The English Encyclopaedia in 1808. See Nova Scotia Royal Gazette (April 19, 1808): supplement. Morrison advertised the price simply as “first cost and charges.”
49. Due to the road conditions in Scotland in 1789, books would have been most likely to have arrived in Elgin via the coastal shipping trade from Leith and London. Transportation to Halifax and Elgin was therefore of the same type, and both book shipments would have been insured for sea transport. However, the transatlantic insurance and freight charges would have been higher. There is no published work to date on the effects of freight and insurance rates on the transoceanic costs of books, although Raven discusses these rates between London and America in his “Establishing and maintaining credit lines overseas: the case of the export book trade from London in the eighteenth century, mechanisms and personnel.” In: Laurence Fontaine and Paul Servais, eds. *Des personnes aux institutions réseaux et culture du crédit du XVIe au Xxe siècle en Europe*, 1997, pp. 144-162. A synthesis of such costs is needed, for comparative analysis of book shipping and related costs to various colonial and post-colonial regions.

Chapter 3
Book Availability: Bookshops, Libraries and Their Contents

Introduction

This chapter offers details about the books which were available in the various Canadian regions from 1752 to 1820. The evolution and development of business practices relating to this book availability are discussed in Chapter 4. The current chapter draws heavily on data from the BOOKSCAN database, supplemented by archival evidence. This file, with over five thousand records, each with varying quantities of information across twenty fields, has the potential for a very wide array of analyses. Those deemed appropriate for this initial analysis are described below. Various other potential analyses are described in the concluding chapter.

The chapter includes discussion of the subject or intellectual content of the titles in general, as well as a closer analysis of titles made available by particular occupational groups. Comparisons are made between books available for sale and for loan; between those which were new and those which were second hand; between those stocked by specialist booksellers and those stocked by merchants; and, among all the towns in the study. In addition, certain genres are used as examples of closer study. These include genres with high proportions of titles in the database such as school books, and genres of significance due to contemporary publishing trends, such as conduct books for women. A brief survey is offered of the representation of titles by and for women in the BOOKSCAN database. In this chapter therefore, a picture is drawn of what was made available by whom, in an attempt to discern patterns of book availability and some initial observations are offered comparing this availability with other provincial regions.

Titles by region and time period

To help place the following discussion within a geographic and temporal framework, Tables 3.1 and 3.2 provide figures for numbers of titles advertised for sale or loan by place, and by decade, in the BOOKSCAN database. These are the gross figures which are analysed in detail throughout this chapter. The figures for Maritime towns are more comprehensive than for other regions as explained in Chapter 2.
Table 3.1
Titles in Research Database by Place of Advertisement in Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niagara/York</td>
<td>1,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredericton/Saint John</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2
Titles Advertised in Canada, in Research Database, by Decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1750s</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760s</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770s</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780s</td>
<td>683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790s</td>
<td>953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800s</td>
<td>1,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810s*</td>
<td>1,748</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes 1820 which is the final year of the study.

Subject analysis

Much of the analyses described here concern the “hundred” divisions of the Dewey Decimal Classification scheme, 20th edition. Appendix A indicates the subjects covered by each class. In some instances, more detail is provided where both the quality and quantity of available data make this feasible. In general, however, the limitations of the broad classification applied in NSTC effectively preclude accurate comparisons between availability and production at the “tens” divisions of the Dewey scheme. This section
includes a variety of analyses, based on the Subject and Dewey fields in the BOOKSCAN database, but excludes detailed analysis of a particular Scottish element which is discussed in Chapter 5.

The books' intellectual content has been gleaned primarily from ESTC and NSTC. While only NSTC includes a field for "subject," ESTC includes complete subtitle information which is extremely helpful in determining the subject of cryptic references in advertisements, such as "Mair's Lectures," "Heron's Extracts" or "Croker's Dictionary." A caveat alluded to in Chapter 2 requires emphasis here: this analysis is based on surviving evidence, primarily from newspaper advertisements. This source typically referred either not at all, or only in generic terms, to several major categories of publication, including plays, novels, religious tracts and children's books. Plays, novels and magazines often appear simply as those terms. Children's books were often referred to by one of several generic headings, such as "toy books" or "histories," and occasionally lists of titles were provided, though from the evidence, this was rare. The sources of supply for such categories of printed material included wholesale stationers. The significance of this point, explained in detail in Chapter 4, centres on the probable large quantities of these categories which were shipped to Canada, but which cannot be qualified by title. Consequently, imaginative literature, religious works and chapbooks are under-represented, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in the analysis of titles which follows.

Another category which is generally under-represented is pamphlets. These pamphlets were either advertised simply as "latest pamphlets" or (worse for book historians) were possibly included in the "&c., & c." which was typically used to close advertisements of new book arrivals. Although pamphlets were published on almost every topic, many would have been on contentious religious and/or political subjects and some of the latter were published locally in Canada. The presence of topical materials, so crucial to a fuller understanding of the comparative intellectual climate in newly developing regions, is extremely difficult to chart with certainty. While it is likely that pamphlets and current issues of newspapers were often packed for shipment along with books, there is little available data. In addition, Davie Hall's letters from Philadelphia attest lapses in the provision of topical and ephemeral items, even from a London source (William Strahan), who was unlikely to have lacked them.
Newspaper advertisements did not generally include titles of individual pamphlets, although some provincial booksellers included detailed listings of this category in their separately printed lists, and occasionally such lists were reprinted in Canadian towns. An example is the extensive list entitled “Catalogue of the Principal Books and Pamphlets Published in Great Britain in 1788” (from the Analytical Review) which was included in Canada’s first (albeit short-lived) literary periodical, The Nova-Scotia Magazine.

**British production by subject**

In order to place the subject content of Canadian and Scottish book stocks within a broader framework it is necessary to examine production in terms of subject. Three published sources are used for this: Feather’s analysis based on Eighteenth Century British Books (ECBB), Crawford’s analysis based on Bent’s London Catalogue of Books and Eliot’s analysis from NSTC. These are supplemented by further analysis of the NSTC file. The published sources give a broad picture of production by subject, based on number of titles, although the picture drawn from each source is rather different. Principal among the reasons for the differences are the source lists themselves: ECBB is based on the holdings of major academic libraries only while the London Catalogue is a compilation of items published. British production is the focus, as the quantity of American publications delineated in this study is relatively small. However, American imprints are included in NSTC, and therefore the analysis covering 1800-1820 does include data from both countries. Further research, bringing this study forward in time, will possibly reveal many more links between American producers and Canadian retailers and at that stage, detailed subject comparisons between American production and Canadian availability will be appropriate.

Figure 3.1 graphs Feather’s, Eliot’s and Crawford’s figures arranged by Dewey classification (Crawford’s data does not permit direct comparison with all Dewey classes, and only those which are clearly comparable have been used). The information shown represents the proportion of titles published in each category, it does not reflect the size of editions.
The graph shows that the information drawn from the three sources, which represent differing time periods, is generally consistent. Religion (200), literature (800) and history/geography (900) show strongly across all three sources, while language (400)—the classification for so many school books such as spellers and grammars, which were imported so frequently to Canada (see section below)—shows a significantly smaller proportion of titles published.

**Canadian availability by subject**

Similar patterns, by number of titles (but, significantly, not by number of shipments of each title) may be discerned in the BOOKSCAN database from the 1750s to 1820, although social science (300) and applied science (600) have stronger showings regarding availability compared with production. Figure 3.2 illustrates the gross percentages of subjects of the titles advertised for sale or loan in each decade.
Comparing the data in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 indicates a similar pattern in subjects produced in Britain and subjects available in Canada. One of the findings of this study is that the subject availability was not only similar to subject production, but generally similar across the colonies (though certainly not identical). For example, several comparative searches have been run in the database. Using a sample of four collections advertised from 1818 to 1820, comparisons are possible across the different Canadian colonies. Figure 3.3 shows the percentages of each Dewey subject class in the advertisements of two booksellers in Halifax, one in Quebec and one in York. Although some differences between towns and individual sellers are evident, there is a relative emphasis of literature and history/geography over the social sciences, arts, philosophy and generalities.
Such analysis of the gross proportions of each subject made available in Canada, may be enhanced by examining the proportions of titles in each subject which remained the same across four decades of advertisements. Figure 3.4 charts the percentages of advertised titles in common between three pairs of decades: 1780s and 1810s; 1790s and 1810s; and, 1800s and 1810s.

Figure 3.4

There is a striking uniformity in the proportions illustrated, with the exception of religious works and literature, both of which show a smaller percentage of uniformity for the 1800s to 1810s comparison. The overall uniformity is, in part, a reflection of the long life of many titles in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Occupations of book providers

The primary occupations of those who advertised books in Canada included printers, booksellers/stationers, circulating librarians, general merchants, ship chandlers, apothecaries and teachers. Appendix B lists all of the book providers discovered in this research from newspaper advertisements, with their occupation, arranged by town. In terms of frequency of new advertisements, in all regions except Montreal and Quebec, and
illustrated by the information in Appendix B, the main players in the provision of books were general merchants. Figure 3.5 indicates that general merchants stocked items in those subjects likely to have relatively wide sale appeal, such as fiction, history and travel and less of more esoteric subjects such as philosophy. This is not at all surprising, as merchants would arguably have been even more biased, than specialist booksellers, towards sure sellers.

**Figure 3.5**

![Subject Analysis of Book Stocks](image)

To examine this argument a comparison can be made between the subjects held by merchants and the subjects held by those within the book trade. Figure 3.6 examines printers, booksellers/stationers and general merchants. The argument that merchants might be more inclined to stock sure sellers is not supported, as there is considerable consistency between these three groups.

**Figure 3.6**

![Subject Content of Book Stocks](image)
Specialist merchants such as apothecaries and chandlers clearly focussed their small book supplies on items of direct relevance to the bulk of their stock. Figure 3.7 illustrates this clearly.

Figure 3.7

Subject Analysis of Book Stocks
Apothecaries/Chandlers, 1752-1820

The maps, charts, seamen’s handbooks and works of navigation which are so much in evidence in the BOOKSCAN database, were so widely required in the Canadian towns that they appear in advertisements by a wide array of occupational groups. For general merchants, they were only a relatively small proportion of their book stock, while they formed one hundred percent of a chandler’s stock. These works were of great and enduring importance in a maritime commercial world. David Steel was a prolific publisher of charts for both the North Atlantic and for the St Lawrence River system as well as those other ubiquitous maritime items, Navy Lists. These are in evidence in newspaper advertisements for all of the Canadian towns. Mount and Page published Atkinson’s Epitome of Navigation, as well as Haseldon’s Seaman’s Daily Assistant, both of which could be purchased by merchant and navy seamen in several stores in Canadian towns. Many nautical works appear to be amongst the most frequently imported items, next to school books and Bibles. This is not surprising as the navigation of waterways, both oceanic and inland, was crucial for commercial survival. A distinction should be drawn between maps (mainly terrestrial) and charts (primarily oceanic), as the former could be
found in libraries as well as stores, whereas the latter were the almost exclusive domain of those who sold them.\textsuperscript{20}

One individual in the BOOKSCAN database changed his occupation significantly while in Canada. Robert Fletcher of Halifax did not gradually specialize his business interests—he broadened them, and his business evolved from that of printer to that of general merchant.\textsuperscript{21} His stock may therefore be analysed to ascertain if his changing occupational category affected the stock he imported.\textsuperscript{22} Figure 3.8 indicates the subject proportions of his stock.

\textbf{Figure 3.8}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure3.8.png}
\caption{Robert Fletcher's Book Stock From Printer to General Merchant}
\end{figure}

By 1785, when he was no longer a printer, Fletcher's stock held proportionately more school books, religious items and items in the sciences, and less generalities and applied sciences. His seeming interest in philosophy as a merchant has to be tempered by the knowledge that it rests on the import of only two titles (of a total of 46). His stock halved in size, in terms of numbers of titles imported and advertised, from his days as a printer to his time as a merchant. This may be a reflection of differing sources of supply as well as an adjustment to a different customer group and it ties in with the general findings of this project that a wider array of titles tended to be stocked by specialists. Fletcher was possibly an atypical general merchant as his initial knowledge and contacts within the trade may have affected his supply routes when he became a general merchant. Certainly he continued to import books from London. If other examples of such occupational
changes come to light in the future, it may be possible to compare Fletcher with others and to note whether he was typical.

The heterogeneity of collections in terms of actual titles is made clear from analyses of booksellers' stocks in both Canada and Scotland. For example, the advertised titles from 1769 to the 1780s of the printer, bookseller and merchant Robert Fletcher in Halifax and of the printers and booksellers William Brown and Thomas Gilmore in Quebec indicate a 6.7% overlap (44 titles from a total of 657). A similar analysis of the stock of bookseller Isaac Forsyth in Elgin with the bookselling merchant family of Kidstons in Halifax from 1789 to 1812 is of interest. Figure 3.9 compares these two stocks by proportion of subject content.

Figure 3.9

There are some similarities in overall subjects held, as literature, religion and history/travel are relatively strong for both locations. However, an analysis of individual titles indicates only a 10.8% overlap (165 titles from a total of 1,528). Furthermore, a “snapshot” of Kidston stock and Forsyth stock for 1789 (a year in which listings were produced by both men) indicates even less of an overlap, at 5.7%.

As with the Kidston-Forsyth comparison, the individual book lists from 1818 to 1820, analysed in Figure 3.3 above, have very little overlap in terms of titles and no titles are common to all four lists. The potential reasons for such variations include the following intervening factors: whether the books were for sale or loan; the country of export; and whether the bookseller had placed a specific order or relied on a selection
made by a wholesaler. These factors are discussed in Chapter 4. Two striking elements of the shipments are that Dawson (York, 1818) imported significantly more literature for his bookshop and circulating library than did the others who were all printers and stationers. The latter (Eaton, Minns and Neilson), on the other hand, imported proportionately more school books (400s) than did Dawson. Dawson was catering to a different clientele and required a wide array of novels, plays and poetry for lending purposes, while certainly not neglecting school books which were the bread and butter of all Canadian book stocks.

The subject content of Fletcher’s (Halifax) and Brown and Gilmore’s (Quebec) stocks is shown in Figure 3.10. This figure indicates that, while the 800 Dewey Class is clearly better represented than others, there are notable differences between the two book stocks. The 000s, 400s, 700s and 900s show the greatest differences.

**Figure 3.10**

The 000s discrepancy might be explained by the presence of more information for periodical titles (all of which are classified here) in one region over the other. However, the differences in the other three classes are more problematical to explain. Why, for example would more books in the Fine and Applied Arts be imported to Halifax than to Quebec, and why would the indisputably popular travel and history books and works of biography appeal less to a bookseller in Halifax than in Quebec? Posing these questions is itself a challenge as several trade and cultural factors will have intervened in book provision. The possible sources of the books to both places across time; the previous trade experience of the Canadian booksellers and their personal trade networks; the
relative financial security of the Canadian firm; and modes of business transaction (specific titles versus category orders versus consignment shipments) will all have played a part (see Chapter 4).

Comparison of intellectual content: consistency and diversity

The information analysed in Figures 3.2 to 3.10 indicates some clear patterns in Canadian book availability. The notable heterogeneity when individual titles are analysed is important because, overall, the subject proportions in each of the figures are remarkably consistent and belie idiosyncrasies in local availability. Although individual shipments show a variation in subject proportions, as Figure 3.9 shows, the general consistency of subject matter holds true across several factors: occupation of book provider, location and time. Figure 3.6 indicates general consistency of proportion of subjects stocked by three occupational groups. Figures 3.3 and 3.10 support this finding from the perspective of one occupation across different towns. Figure 3.9 confirms the consistency of proportions of subjects, this time between locations in Canada and Scotland.

In summary, religion, literature, history/biography and travel (DDC 200s, 800s and 900s) were the subjects represented by more titles in Canada than the other Dewey classifications. The preliminary comparisons with Scottish provincial availability show the same to be true there. The various analyses offered here therefore support the conclusion that there was remarkable consistency in subjects offered for sale or loan in various Canadian towns, but that readers had access to a diversity of titles depending on their location and the time period.

Loan versus sale—Library catalogues

The analysis offered here is presented with caution, due to the relative paucity of library information for the period, compared with bookselling information. That libraries of varying size and range of materials were present in all six locations is not in question, as they are referred to in newspaper notices to subscribers, etc.26 That more of them existed than may ever be known, is equally certain. The Canadian catalogues used here for comparative purposes may not be representative of the whole, but they provide a starting point and their use in this study helps to raise further questions for future
investigation. Table 3.3 lists the sample of Canadian library catalogues analysed in this study. This information is compared with data from three Scottish library catalogues (Elgin, Dunse and Hawick).

Table 3.3
Canadian Library Catalogues Separately Printed
or Printed in English-Language Newspapers in BOOKSCAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montreal Library</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niagara Library</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Niagara</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>by 1820</td>
<td></td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulating Library, Thomas Bennett</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;1,800 volumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec Library</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>by 1813</td>
<td></td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library of the Legislature of Upper Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>York</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Circulating Library - sale or loan</td>
<td>Abdiel Kirk Music Teacher/ Librarian/Bookseller</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York Circulating Library - sale or loan</td>
<td>George Dawson Binder/Bookseller/ Librarian</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax Library</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loan versus sale—Booksellers’ catalogues

Booksellers’ catalogues, while sparse for provincial regions in both countries, have been made use of, in addition to newspaper advertisements. For Scotland, a source for catalogue information (i.e., the potential availability of extant catalogues) is the Scottish Book Trade Index. However, a systematic search of the SBTI revealed only nineteen references to extant catalogues, all of them metropolitan and therefore outwith the scope of this study. Catalogues for Elgin and Inverness (not referred to in SBTI but discovered by this study) have been analysed for comparative purposes. For Canada, with the
exception of separately printed catalogues from John Neilson’s business (for 1800 and 1811), all of the Canadian booksellers’ listings have been extracted from newspapers.

Figure 3.3 indicates that circulating library stocks might have been notably different from retail book stocks as the titles stocked by George Dawson of York in 1818 formed a library as well as a retail stock. The Figure shows that Dawson’s stock differed from those of stocks which were exclusively for sale, especially in the lower proportion of school books and in the considerably higher proportion of works of imaginative literature. Therefore, comparing Dawson’s stock in York with that of another library in the same period, but in a distant town (Abdiel Kirk’s library in Halifax), might be instructive.

Figure 3.11

Figure 3.11 shows a preponderance of literature and history/geography far outweighing any other subject, but the lack of language, science and applied science in the Halifax library will require further evidence to explain.

A category without clear definition in a scheme such as Dewey’s is school books, and these were more likely to be located on store than library shelves, with the exception of standard works of Latin and Greek and the histories of Goldsmith and others. Also, works of technology were not apparently as common for loan as for sale. Manuals on carpentry and on brewing, for example, were advertised in various papers, but are not found in extant library catalogues. Imaginative literature and standard works of reference were common to both stores and libraries; the editions might have been different,
but there is insufficient evidence to study this aspect across the whole database. Format affected price, of course, and could be a problem for library budgets. For example, the bookseller John Brown in Dunse wrote to John Bell in Edinburgh, “I received the copy of the History of Man & the copy of Buchanans History—They are too high copies for the way that I intended them, as I meant to put them into my Circulating Library...would be much obliged...[if you would] procure me a second hand copy of each if possible...”

**Quantities**

The number of copies of each title held by booksellers and merchants is almost impossible to elucidate from surviving evidence, though it is reasonable to assume that often only one or two copies of each title would be held and that turnover would be slow in both Canada and Scotland, just as Graham Pollard deduced that it was in the English provinces. In a few cases, it is possible to measure local turnover of titles in the Canadian colonies. In November 1802 John Bennett of York, Upper Canada, advertised a shipment of 77 titles. By May 7th of the following year, he had 26 titles left, including some of the “elegant pocket Bibles, Edinburgh edition.” In Halifax in 1802, the auctioneer Charles Hill sold off the remaining book stock of James Kidston, listing 25 titles which were possible survivors from Kidston’s 1799 shipment of 158 titles. How many copies Bennett or Kidston originally held of each title is impossible to know from surviving evidence.

A merchant whose estate inventory has survived is John Kirby of Halifax. His remaining stock indicates that he was probably a local retailer only, rather than a wholesaler. For example, the inventory lists “13 Testaments at 1s 4d,” “17 doz Primmers at 2s,” “2 ½ doz Spellings at 10s [per dozen],” etc. It does not seem likely that the dozens or indeed hundreds of copies of individual titles which were shipped regularly to the American colonies were matched in this early period in Canada, with the exception of school books. When the Halifax bookbinder and bookseller, Alexander Morrison, offered the ten volume quarto English Encyclopedia for sale in 1808, for “first cost and charges,” he stated clearly that he had “just one set for sale.”

Occasionally, large numbers of single titles were offered for sale in the Maritimes, a probable indication of an awareness of the local market. For example, in 1796, the merchant Hugh Johnston of Saint John, imported on the ship Lucy from Glasgow “a few
hundred copies” of the Dundee author James Donaldson’s four volume *Modern Agriculture*, just after it had been printed in Edinburgh by Adam Neill and Company. Johnston emphasized in his advertisement that the work was “worthy the attention of every farmer particularly those in this infant country.” Johnston, as far as evidence shows, had no interest in importing general book shipments, which he left in the hands of those such as the printers John Ryan and Jacob Mott and the stationer Samuel Bent. However, his lucrative lumber business meant that he had agents throughout the areas of the new province which were being cleared for farming.

**New materials versus second-hand and the role of book auctions**

Information about the second hand trade in books comes primarily from archival evidence for Montreal and Halifax, the former having far richer records. Due to the sources (estate inventories, sheriffs’ sales of bankrupts and ledgers of auction sales), data for second hand books can be richer than for new books—purchaser and price being two factors which are often lacking for the study of new books. The current project has insufficient data to discern, with confidence, trends and differences between the trades in new and second hand materials. However, one interesting element has already emerged; of the 106 titles in the database which are only in evidence from auction records, (i.e., not listed in any bookseller’s stock), 26.4% fall within Dewey class 900, 15.1% are from the 800s, and 12.3% from the 200s. These figures are open to differing interpretations, however, and the low showing for Philosophy (0.9%) may reflect not a low proportion of ownership of works in that subject, but rather a uniformity in availability and ownership; many of the titles which were philosophical and were listed in auction lists, were also available in bookshops, and so do not appear in the 106 titles referred to above. In addition, publishing of geographies and travel accounts was expanding and this may be reflected in the array of titles for sale only by auctioneers, as well as the array in that subject class available from auctions as well as retail stores.

Auctions of used books were far more common in early Canada than auctions of new items. Indeed, booksellers trade sales, common in Europe, less common but present in colonial America, were almost unknown in early Canada, although there is evidence that the primary bookselling business (Neilson in Quebec) did hold auctions on occasion.
addition, some special auctions of imported books were held by general auctioneers, such as that of law books purchased in France which were listed in a catalogue by the firm of Burns and Woolsey in 1801. Auctions were a standard business practice in the colonies for off-loading unsold stock in a wide array of commodities, but from advertisement evidence, they do not seem to have been used frequently by booksellers in Canada, even though returning unsold stock to the supplier was not an easy option. In Scotland, by contrast, unsold books were returned, on occasion, to metropolitan suppliers, as John Gillies of Perth referred to in a letter to John Bell in the spring of 1780.

The needs for information—non-fiction materials

Newspapers and other serial publications, along with private letters, were the primary means by which recent information was disseminated to the North American colonies. New advances in physics, technology and agriculture formed some of the recent information available in Canadian publications which reprinted from British and American sources. However, for reasons of space, the newspaper accounts were limited either to editorial commentary or to relatively short summaries or sections from monograph length publications on the topics. Periodicals such as the Monthly Review certainly included longer selections, and such selections may well have satisfied the requirements of many of the readers.

However, what of those readers who required, or would welcome, the entire text of recent non-fiction publications? They could send personal orders to friends and booksellers in Britain, but for local availability Table 3.4 offers examples from the database of proportions of titles in selected subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>DDC</th>
<th>Number of Topical Titles in BOOKSCAN</th>
<th>Number of Titles in Whole Class (e.g. 300s) in BOOKSCAN</th>
<th>Percentage of Topical Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Science</td>
<td>320-329</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Sciences</td>
<td>610-619</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>Number of Topical Titles in BOOKSCAN</td>
<td>Number of Titles in Whole Class (e.g. 300s) in BOOKSCAN</td>
<td>Percentage of Topical Subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>630-639</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Arts &amp; Sciences</td>
<td>640-649</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography &amp; Travel</td>
<td>910-919</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>1202</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 680s would have been included, but there are no titles in the BOOKSCAN database with this classification.

The subjects included are politics, medicine, applied sciences (engineering and building, agriculture, domestic science), geography and travel. These subject areas have been selected due to an increase in numbers of titles published over the seventy year period and their relative topicality. However, all of these subjects include titles which were steady sellers over several decades, and it is instructive to sample the BOOKSCAN database to search for recency of publication in selected subjects. This discussion is suggestive rather than exhaustive, and offers a preliminary indication of what further research may reveal as typical of transatlantic shipments to Canada regarding recency of publication. For examples, the titles classified as 329, 613, 641 and 917 are analysed in some detail, based on numbers of titles in those subjects imported between 1800 and 1820 compared with numbers of publications in those subjects in the same period, gleaned from NSTC. Figure 3.12 illustrates the different proportions, for politics, medicine, cookery and travel (in North America), of Canadian imports and general publication. This figure is of interest because it allows comparison of actual availability in Canada of certain classes of material as a percentage of the availability of all materials in the 10s division of DDC, measured against the same elements in terms of production (as found in NSTC).
Other than the travel materials which are similar—9.41% of the 910s class in NSTC and 8.86% of the same class in the BOOKSCAN database—there are no similarities. It might be reasonable to conclude from these figures that certain classes of material were more likely to be imported to Canada, than would have been deduced from quantity of titles published. In all cases, (Practical Politics, General & Personal Hygiene and Food & Drink), considerably greater proportions are located in Canadian towns than were published in the same time period. This is equally a reflection of the lack of other materials in the broad classes. Seventy five per cent of all materials advertised in the 640s in Canada, from 1800 to 1820, were concerned with cookery, whereas cookery books only formed 47.7% of production in that period.

The need for recreation—imaginative literature

Analysing the availability of new works of imaginative literature—here taken to include song lyrics as well as poetry, plays and novels—in any colonial region involves challenges to discern details. “Selection of plays, latest published” is of little utility regarding which publications or within what date range; “latest published” could have been advertising hyperbole. Notwithstanding such constraints, the following analysis focusses on samples from this literature. The total number of titles in the BOOKSCAN database in DDC 800s is 1,739. Table 3.6 offers an analysis of this DDC class by tens divisions which are described in Table 3.5
Table 3.5
Dewey Decimal Classification Literature Tens Divisions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DDC Tens Division</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>Literature (Belles Lettres): Theory, Rhetoric, History, Description, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>810</td>
<td>American Literature in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>820</td>
<td>English Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>830</td>
<td>Germanic Languages Literature: German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>840</td>
<td>Romance Languages Literature: French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>850</td>
<td>Italian Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>860</td>
<td>Spanish and Portuguese Literatures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>870</td>
<td>Latin Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>880</td>
<td>Greek Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>890</td>
<td>Literatures of Other Languages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6
Dewey Literature Tens Divisions for Sale or Loan in BOOKSCAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DDC Class</th>
<th>Number of Titles in DDC Class</th>
<th>Percentage of Titles in Class*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>810</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>820</td>
<td>1351</td>
<td>77.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>830</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>840</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>8.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>850</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>860</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>870</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>880</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>890</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total is 101.07 due to a few items being in more than one class
The large proportion of works in English is not surprising, as this project focuses on English-language book availability (and see Table 3.7 below). Of the foreign-language works in the BOOKSCAN database, by far the majority are in English translation; a few are in French translation (such as "Julie, roman traduit de la langue Russe" listed in Neilson's 1800 catalogue). There is a discernable difference in foreign language materials available in Quebec and in Halifax. For example, of the German, French, Italian and Spanish language titles represented, 36% were available in Quebec for sale or loan, and 18% were available in Halifax. Of the Latin and Greek works, 51% were available in Quebec and 28% in Halifax. Such examples reinforce the general picture that there were differences between the towns of this study, even if the general trend was towards a similarity of subject availability when measured by titles. Quebec's and Halifax's markets were notably different, and the French students and Roman Catholic readers in the former would have had differing reading tastes to the mercantile and navy readers in Halifax.

Of the over 77% of titles in the 800s which fall within English literature, some further analysis is useful. Table 3.7 indicates the proportions of the total of 1,351 titles in the 820s which fall within each further subdivision (poetry, fiction, essays, etc.).

Table 3.7
Subdivisions within English Literature: Proportions in BOOKSCAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dewey Subdivisions</th>
<th>Percentage of Entire 820 Class*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>820 Literature</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>821 Poetry</td>
<td>21.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>822 Drama</td>
<td>8.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>823 Fiction</td>
<td>40.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>824 Essays</td>
<td>2.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>825 Speeches</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>826 Letters</td>
<td>4.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>827 Satire and Humour</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>828 Miscellaneous/Chapbooks</td>
<td>20.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>829 Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total is 101.18 due to a few items being in more than one class.
Table 3.7 offers evidence of the large preponderance of works of poetry, fiction, and miscellaneous works including chapbooks, which formed the staple of many book stocks in Canadian (and Scottish) towns. Between them, these three categories form over 83% of all items classed as English Literature in the database. While this seems to leave little room for doubt that these three subdivisions were the most frequently imported, evidence for some of the other subdivisions should be viewed with caution. For example, the tiny proportion of items classed as speeches (825), probably does not represent the true proportion due to the fact that many speeches were of a highly topical nature, would have been printed in pamphlet form and, as is discussed in Chapter 2, pamphlets were often not enumerated by title in the newspaper advertisements. Those speeches in the BOOKSCAN file tend to be collections, such as William Pitt's "Speeches" or William Hazlitt's *Eloquence of the British Senate*.52

Materials in evidence from the earliest advertisements—School books

While the first advertisement of a book, by title, was a subscription notice inserted by an army captain (see section in Chapter 4 on Subscriptions),53 the first advertisement for locally available books was for "School Books." Two teachers, Leigh and Wragg, placed an advertisement in the first issue of the first Canadian newspaper, the *Halifax Gazette*, in 1752.54 The book trade often used standard headings for groups of books in advertisements and "School Books" occurs more frequently than other generic headings in the BOOKSCAN database. Analysis of British production, between 1700 and 1773, of works classed by William Bent as "school books" indicates that 6.0 % of titles were in this category.55 The proportion rises to 12.8 % when translations of classics and works used in trade and by apprentices including dictionaries, grammars and technical handbooks are added. However the overall proportion of production by quantity is likely to have been higher, as editions of school books, with a relatively assured and steady market, would have been larger than for many other items.56 As further evidence of the importance of this category of book, data relating to books sold by John Neilson in Quebec from 1792-1812, shows a large proportion of sales in the school book category, although the relative proportions of school books to religious books are wholly different for the "livres français" than for the "livres anglais." This is an interesting but unsurprising finding due to the
difference in religion as well as in language: Roman Catholic readers traditionally had access to far fewer titles in religion than did Protestants. Of the French works sold in this period, 21% were school books, whereas 38% of the English items sold were in this category. Local publishing of school books was certainly carried out but, especially prior to 1800, these were mainly of the most elementary readers and spelling books. For the French-Canadian market, some “standard European French and Latin manuals” were published. However, the vast majority of school books were imported throughout the seventy year period, as the “small scattered schools” of the English-speaking Protestants did not provide a sufficient market base for local production.

Although schools were not mandated by the various colonial governments until towards or after 1820, the close of the study period, they were certainly present in all of the towns under review and the need for suitable books was apparent. Until education was “centralized and institutionalized by the organization of departments of education [and] state-run schools” there was great latitude in the variety of school books which teachers and pupils could use. This latitude was reflected in the array of titles which were imported by booksellers and merchants.

The early schools varied from tiny establishments catering for a few day pupils to the early equivalent of business academies which offered appropriate topics in evening classes for the merchant community and for young men keen to learn the art of celestial navigation. The provision of school books by a variety of retailers in each of the Canadian towns meant that, for this particular category of book, purchasers had options regarding where they could buy. Due to this competition in the market place, low prices were sometimes a feature of the advertisements. An example is the advertisement placed by Thomas Cary Junior and Company in the Quebec Mercury in October 1820. Cary stated that in addition to their “usual supply of school books” they had “lately received the following which they can afford at very low prices...” The list included five titles and is relatively unusual, from the newspapers surveyed, because Cary included not just the puff about low prices, but the prices themselves which ranged from 1s 3d to 1s 8d.

The category of school books is important for the light that can be thrown on several related aspects of the trade. First, school books, along with Bibles and prayer books, were the most ubiquitous items in early advertisements, and were referred to as
"usual supplies" by 1820. Often the newspaper advertisement referred only to the generic category—booksellers and merchants apparently did not feel it necessary to detail the particular titles because they knew that many of the potential customers would find the simple announcement of the classification sufficient. Second, school books form a particularly interesting collection when viewed from the perspective of customs classification—they were, legally or illegally, apparently shipped often as "stationery" rather than as "books" (see Chapter 4). Related to this point, the complaints that American school books flooded the Canadian market with unsuitably republican notions, can be investigated for the seventy year period to see if, by comparison, British school books were necessarily in short supply. The glowing accounts of all things American, the non-sectarian nature of American schools and the practical orientation of their teaching and texts caused offence in Canada. Parker states that:

After the War of 1812 the circulation of itinerant American schoolmasters and their textbooks (especially histories and geographies) created conflicts as serious as those among the churches over education...American [school books]...were cheaper and easier to obtain than British schoolbooks.

Of the 205 instances in the database of titles classified as "school books" with a known port of export, 62.44% were shipped from London, 27.32% from the Clyde, and 10.24% from American towns. These figures indicate an apparent preponderance of British shipments. However, it is instructive to remember that the size of each shipment is unknown, and it is not inconceivable that the average size of shipments (by quantity of each title) from American suppliers may have compensated for the apparently smaller number of shipments overall. British texts, from both Scotland and England, were apparently well represented in the Maritime colonies and also in the Canadas. However, from the 1790s onward, as is discussed in Chapter 4, regular American book shipments were sent to the towns in Upper and Lower Canada which are currently under-represented in the BOOKSCAN database compared to the towns of the Maritimes. Therefore, further intensive data collection from newspapers for the Canadas may reveal changing patterns in those colonies concerning American texts shipped there via the Great Lakes, smuggled or otherwise (see below). The use of "foreign books" was not banned in Upper Canadian schools until the School Act of 1846, by which time Canadian production of appropriate texts had been deliberately fostered.
Also, American published school books were by no means always American authored. Foreign texts which had no particular political bent and were therefore potential sellers in America, were re-printed by American printers. After 1790, the year in which the first United States copyright law was passed, these items could no longer be legally considered piracies, as this statute offered no protection to foreign works. Reprinting such works was an economically essential part of American publishing and it included school books. For this reason, bare statistics taken from the BOOKSCAN database regarding port of export should be qualified. Some titles were imported to Canada from both Britain and America. Apart from Lindley Murray's works, Goldsmith's History of England, Dilworth's Spelling Book, a variety of Ready Reckoners, Entick's Dictionary and Johnson's Dictionary were items classified as "School Books" which were imported from both places.

Bibliographies of early Canadian printing may be compared with sources for the United States, and the evidence attests the earlier printing of a wider array of school books south of the border. Few books classified as school books or text books were printed in Canada prior to 1820, and those which were tended to be reprints of English or French works. Examples are the Abecedaire printed by Edmund Ward in Halifax in 1817 from the French edition and Walkingame's Tutor's Assistant which Nahum Mower printed in Montreal in 1818, from the fifty-first London edition. Mower also published editions of Perrin's Elements of French Conversation and A Grammar of the French Tongue, and Porny's Syllabaire français or a French Spelling Book. One example of the few locally written Canadian texts is John Strachan's Concise Introduction to Practical Arithmetic printed by Mower in Montreal in 1809, written when Strachan was proprietor of a successful private school in Upper Canada, before he became a politically astute Bishop.

As further evidence of the American contrast with the Canadian reliance on imports, early in the nineteenth century the publishers in New York who produced texts for schools, formed the first trade combination concerning such production. The New York Association of Booksellers, a group of ten firms, stated that they had:

associated themselves for the Purpose of giving correct American Editions of such elementary Works as are in general use in our Schools, Academies, and Colleges; and also for the publication of such other Books as may be interesting to the Community, or conducive to the advancement of general knowledge.
There was no equivalent association early in the century in Canada. Nor was there an equivalent to the national trade bibliography *Catalogue of all the Books Printed in the United States With the Prices and Places Where Published Annexed*, published by the booksellers in Boston in January 1804. This early American trade listing shows clearly the range of school books which were, by 1804, available from American suppliers. One hundred and ten titles appear under the heading of "School Books" itself, and many other titles used in schools appear in the "Miscellanies" section. The "School Books" constitute 8.2% of production by title, and considerably more of production by quantity. By comparison, school books constitute 6.5% of the BOOKSCAN database by title, but the generic heading "School Books" in the file possibly conceals a considerably greater range of titles.

The popular works by Dilworth, Enfield, Fenning, Mair, Murray and Perry are all included in the Boston booksellers’ catalogue, along with original American works such as spelling and grammar books by Webster. Indeed the presence of Webster’s books in the BOOKSCAN database is further evidence of the sources of supply to different Canadian regions. No works by Webster have been located in Maritime newspapers, but they are present in York and Kingston papers. Indeed, school books were amongst those items worth the risks associated with smuggling. In 1820 the Customs' Collector at Bath on the Great Lakes, seized a shipment of 2,856 books. Of these, twenty-four dozen (288) were Webster’s *Spelling Book*, which were subsequently advertised by the auctioneer John Strange in Kingston for sale "to the highest bidder." It is significant that these spelling books were seized, because it shows that school books were not yet separately classified in Customs tariffs. Later on, titles “used as text books in the curriculum of any...school in Canada” were classified as “Free Goods” for import, if they were “not printed or reprinted in Canada.” NSTC, while limited regarding Canadian imprints, indicates (not surprisingly) several American editions of Webster’s *American Spelling Book* in the period immediately prior to the seizure, and it seems probable, from this evidence, that it was a Brattleborough, Vermont, printing which was seized. Newspaper evidence is scant for such seizures, and a desideratum for early Canadian book history is a systematic study of book smuggling, to complement studies focussing on the legitimate trade, such as the present one.
Although generic advertisements predominate for school books, a compilation of specific titles has been gleaned from advertisements across the decades from all of the towns. Appendix C lists the items which were classified as school books by the headers used in the advertisements. Dozens of further titles appropriate for school use, but not specifically appearing under that rubric, were advertised in one or more of the towns. The most frequently advertised books in the BOOKSCAN database include many of those listed in this Appendix.

The author’s names in this listing are those which would have been expected, as many of these authors’ works were reprinted with regularity, sometimes with revisions, over many decades. The most frequently cited school book author overall, in the BOOKSCAN database, is Thomas Dilworth (i.e., he is the author whose works appeared in the largest number of advertisements). Lindley Murray was the apparent “best-seller” in some regions in terms of the variety of grammar and spelling books available, and Morrison took the lead for arithmetic titles.

Recent research on the career of the Quaker grammarian Lindley Murray offers bibliographic details and information about the intellectual content of his works. His early works were printed in York (England) and Longman and Rees acquired the copyright to the *English Grammar* in 1799. The Longman firm, like William Strahan, “developed the sale of English books across the Atlantic” and it is probable that Murray’s works were sent to “the English Plantations” from the Longman warehouse. Eventually, Murray’s works were also published in the United States and a proportion of the advertised arrivals of his works in Canadian towns were possibly from American suppliers. Furthermore, by 1814, some of Murray’s titles were being published in Quebec, a sure indication of local demand. In addition to newspaper evidence, other records attest the ubiquity of Murray’s works in Canada. For example, the personal papers of Thomas McCord in Montreal include accounts with Thomas Turner for Murray’s *Grammar* in 1814 and with A. Bowman for the *Lecteur français* in 1817.

As with the other authors of school books, there is evidence of the availability of Murray’s works in the Scottish provinces as well as in Canada—but in Scotland several suppliers would be named within the distribution area of the advertising newspaper. For example, Archibald Rutherford, bookseller in Kelso, advertised Murray’s *English Spelling*
*Book and First Book for Children* in 1805, and his advertisement lists five other regional distributors. In the Canadian advertisements for school books, by Murray and others, only a single supplier is named although these, such as Stephen Miles in Kingston, John Neilson in Quebec and George Eaton in Halifax, may have resold the books wholesale to country merchants. Although the pattern seems to have been for Murray’s titles to have been listed individually, on occasion generic statements such as “Murray’s school books” appeared. An example is the advertisement place by the bookbinder and stationer, J.B. Cheesman in Kingston in 1817.

**Women authors and women as audience**

From the earliest years of book advertisements in Canadian towns, there is evidence of reading materials specifically targeted at women. “Ladies’ Magazines” were regularly referred to and, increasingly, books aimed at female readers were imported. There is worth in using the BOOKSCAN database as a tool to examine the relative availability in Canada of books by women as well as books for women. The tools used for verification (ESTC and NSTC) do not offer a “sex of author” field and therefore the following comments are preliminary. However, this section offers further evidence of the utility of the BOOKSCAN database for investigating an array of topics, and for comparing the situation in different regions and towns. Two hundred and thirty eight titles by one hundred and fourteen female authors have been identified to date. Figure 3.13 indicates the currently known proportions of women authors to all known authors in the BOOKSCAN database, across different towns.

![Figure 3.13](image_url)
The complete listing, of 113 women authors (plus the anonymous "By a Lady" category), is provided in Appendix D. Figure 3.13 indicates greater proportions of titles by women in collections which served as circulating libraries as well as retail stocks. The examples offered are the stocks of Forsyth in Elgin and Dawson in York, in both of which the titles by women comprised more than 20% of the total number of titles.

Those authors who are represented in Canadian lists by more than three titles in the database are given below in Table 3.8. The lists err on the side of caution regarding inclusiveness. For example, amongst the cookery books advertised in Canada, John Neilson and William Minns referred to a *Domestic Cookery*. While this may have been *A New System of Domestic Cookery* by "A Lady" who is known to be Maria Eliza Rundell, the short title used in the advertisement could have been used in the generic sense to refer to a variety of works, and no assumption has been made concerning authorship with this title, or any other, where there are grounds for doubt.

**Table 3.8**

**Women authors in BOOKSCAN with more than three titles advertised**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author's Name</th>
<th>DDC</th>
<th>Number of Titles available in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous/By a Lady</td>
<td>345, 370, 376, 395, 520, 813, 821, 823, 826, 828, 929</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney, Frances, 1752-1840</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgeworth, Maria, 1767-1849</td>
<td>372, 823, 828</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genlis, Stephanie Felicité, 1746-1830</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More, Hannah, 1745-1833</td>
<td>241, 370, 376</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opie, Amelia Alderson, 1769-1853</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radcliffe, Ann, 1764-1823</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowson, Susanna Haswell, 1762-1824</td>
<td>376, 813</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Charlotte, 1749-1806</td>
<td>574, 821, 823, 828</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimmer, Sarah, 1741-1810</td>
<td>200, 221, 225, 372, 471, 574, 823, 828</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West, Jane, 1758-1852</td>
<td>302, 376, 395, 821, 823</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The intellectual content common amongst these authors is that at least some of their works are regarded as imaginative literature. Besides that feature, these volumes
include several on women's education and women's rights (see below), as well as works of religion. Smith and Trimmer wrote works on nature study, as did at least one of the anonymous authors. In general, however, as Figure 3.14 indicates, these and the rest of the female authors represented in the database, contributed most to the 800s.

**Figure 3.14**

Books written for women included some consistently popular works on female education and deportment. During the seventy years covered by this study, there was an "enormous proliferation of conduct literature for women." The BOOKSCAN database contains twenty-eight titles classified under Education of Women (DDC 376) or Women's Rights (DDC 302). A close analysis of how representative this group is compared with all publications in those subject areas is not possible with the source bibliographies used. NSTC often uses a very broad classification. For example, John Gregory's *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* is given only the number 828.3, whereas the addition of 376 would have been useful. To compensate for this, wherever the content of a work was known to concern the education of women or the issue of women's rights, 376 or 302 was added to the BOOKSCAN database. As the file stands, 32.4% of the titles classified in the 370s are concerned with women. By combining figures from Eliot's recent analysis with
more detailed analysis performed for this project, 6.5% of NSTC's titles classified in the 370s, from 1801-1820, are concerned with women's education. From this comparison, further questions arise: is the large difference in percentages due to some inherent emphasis on women's education, in the books imported to Canada? Could the NSTC file be enhanced systematically so that future work in women's issues in print culture can be better supported?

A sample of six frequently reprinted titles can be found in Canadian catalogues or advertisements. This sample is of interest because, unlike other popular works of non-fiction such as the histories of Hume and Robertson, these titles do not seem to have been standard items in Canadian retail book stocks—they do not seem to have been regularly or frequently imported for sale. However, the newspaper evidence suggests that they were likely to be selected for libraries, whether in a commercially circulating library such as that of George Dawson of York, or a subscription library such as the Quebec Library. In provincial Scotland too, there is clear evidence of library availability of these titles—from Isaac Forsyth's Circulating Library to the subscription libraries of Dunse and Hawick.

Table 3.9 lists the six titles by their earliest known publication date and gives the dates of their announcements in Canadian newspapers. To place this very small sample in a broader context: of all of the titles in the BOOKSCAN database classified in categories assumed to be primarily written for women concerning their conduct, habits and education, 26.8% were made available by merchants, 26.8% were made available by specialist booksellers and 56.1% were listed by libraries. While the titles in this Table were available in a variety of Canadian locations, a greater array of recent titles for women, by English as well as Scottish authors, is evidenced in the Scottish sources.

Table 3.9
Conduct Literature for Women: Examples from BOOKSCAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publication Date</th>
<th>Advertisement Date</th>
<th>Canadian Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Fordyce</td>
<td>Sermons to Young Women</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>1801, Library</td>
<td>Niagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hester Chapone</td>
<td>Letters on the Improvement of the Mind</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>1808, Library 1816, Bookseller</td>
<td>Quebec Halifax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gregory</td>
<td><em>Father's Legacy to his Daughters</em></td>
<td>1774</td>
<td>1816, Bookseller</td>
<td>Halifax York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catharine Macaulay</td>
<td><em>Letters on Education</em></td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>1808, Library</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Gisborne</td>
<td><em>An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex</em></td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>1800, Bookseller 1801, Library 1811, Bookseller</td>
<td>Quebec Niagara Quebec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane West</td>
<td><em>Letters to a Young Lady</em></td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>1809, Auctioneer 1816, Bookseller</td>
<td>Halifax Halifax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Summary of analyses

A wide array of titles, representing all Dewey subject classes, were shipped to all regions of Canada. Some subjects were consistently more commonly represented in advertisements than others. Literature and history/geography were usually ahead of every other Dewey class including religion. While there were clearly broad similarities in relative proportions of subjects, the evidence also supports the conclusion that provincial book availability in Canada was heterogeneous regarding individual titles available in book stocks in different Canadian towns, and amongst individual book sellers. The book stocks made available, by sale or loan, new or second-hand, in each Canadian town, were the result of myriad factors, described in the next chapter. The result of these intervening factors was a strong tendency to *consistency* of subject and to *variety* of titles.
1. Increasing interest in the conjunction of women's studies and book history is exemplified by a recent conference in Edmonton "Women and Literary History" (organized by the Orlando Project, September 1997), and by a special theme issue of SHARP News, 1998, 6 (4).


5. For example, a "Collection, titled Pamphlets" in the Catalogue of the public library at Hawick (1792) included, amongst others: Akenside's Odes, Art of preserving health, Goldsmith's Traveller and Halpenny's Design of small houses.


7. The relatively high proportion of political items printed in Lower Canada, in relation to other subjects printed, is demonstrated in John Hare and Jean-Pierre Wallot. Les imprimés dans le bas-Canada, 1801-1840. I, 1801-1810, 1967, pp. 15-16. Political (mainly relating to elections) materials are significantly ahead of every other category, with government documents coming second. Tremaine, Fleming, UC and Fleming, AC all provide information on pamphlets. In addition, the earliest pamphlets published in Kingston are referred to in Gundy, H.P. "Publishing and bookselling in Kingston since 1810." Historic Kingston, [1961?], (10), 23.

8. Alston, "The eighteenth-century non-book" refers to the challenges in locating surviving copies of various classes of ephemera. A survey of selected pamphlets, by title, could be made of the ESTC file, to search for Canadian holdings. This would of course require a listing of specific titles to be searched, as there is no other way to access the file appropriately.
9. APS. Hall Papers. David Hall Letter Books. Hall to Strahan, 6 July 1771. This is an example of a letter where Hall complains of slow delivery of magazines; in this letter he also complains that no new pamphlets have been received.

10. A provincial Scottish example is the Sale catalogue of books for 1801 published by the bookseller Edward Lesslie in Dundee and advertised by him in the Dundee Weekly Advertiser (January 16, 1801): 1. The advertisement stated that the catalogue included “Divinity, History, Cookery, School Books, &c. &c. To which is added a list of Pamphlets, Maps, and Charts.”

11. Nova-Scotia Magazine 1 (July 1789): 59-63. This did not list pamphlets as a separate heading, they were included as appropriate within the subject classes. Book notices (not advertisements for local availability) in this magazine can be traced through Vincent, Thomas and Ann LaBrash. The Nova-Scotia Magazine, 1789-1792: contents report and index, 1982.


13. Upper Canada Gazette (February 26, 1818): 1, advertised by George Dawson, York, for his bookshop and circulating library; Free Press (May 25, 1819): 83, advertised by George Eaton, Halifax, printer and stationer; Quebec Gazette (June 28, 1819): 2, listed by John Neilson for his bookshop; and, Weekly Chronicle (May 19, 1820): 2, listed by William Minns a printer and stationer in Halifax.

14. The period 1780 to 1820 was selected for this particular analysis, as the quantities of titles in the BOOKSCAN database for earlier decades was deemed too small to offer appropriate comparability. See Table 3.2.

15. Appendix B is not intended to be a comprehensive list—it represents all of those book providers for whom there are book lists in the BOOKSCAN database, and offers richer data for the Maritime colonies.


17. Witt, Mario M. A Bibliography of the works written and published by David Steel and his successors, 1991.

was often referred to simply as the “Daily Assistant” or “Seaman’s Daily Assistant” and examples of these are Robert Fletcher’s listing in the Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle (September 1, 1772): 3 and Brymer and Belcher’s advertisement in the Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser (March 9, 1790): 3.

19. If a list of ‘best-sellers’ were compiled for the Canadian colonies, based on availability across time, Hamilton Moore’s Navigation would possibly be second only to the Bible. Moore’s work was imported from the Clyde and from London and ranged in local price from 9s Halifax currency in 1789 to 18s 2d Quebec currency in 1811. Examples include Thomson and Reid’s advertisement in the Saint John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser (February 12, 1796): 1; and, George Eaton’s listing in the Acadian Recorder (June 8, 1816): 3.

20. Examples of maps in a library collection include the two “Maps of the Globes” and the “Maps of Europe, Asia, Africa and America” listed in the 1808 Catalogue of English and French books in the Quebec library.


23. Examples of advertisements by the Kidston family are: Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser (June 23, 1789): 3; (July 21, 1789): 1; (April 30, 1799): 2; Halifax Journal (June 16, 1796): 3; (May 24, 1798): 1; (May 2, 1799); Nova Scotia Royal Gazette (May 2, 1809): 2. For Elgin, see Forsyth, Isaac. A catalogue of the Elgin circulating library, 1789; and Forsyth, I. List of books and stationary, [1812?] (bound with other provincial booksellers’ lists; NLS. Acc 5000/1390).

24. For further analysis of the Kidstons’ and Forsyth’s stocks, see my “Book distribution to the Scottish and Canadian provinces, 1750-1820: examples of methods and availability.” In: Peter Isaac and Barry McKay, eds. The reach of print: making, selling and using books, 1998, pp. 103-120.

25. An inherent problem in comparing book stocks is the greater use of generic terms by some booksellers. For a project which perforce relies on newspaper evidence, there is no easy solution to this. “Magazines” was a frequent term in fact, with both Fletcher and Brown and Gilmore; see examples, Nova Scotia Chronicle (May 15-22, 1770): 167; Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle (November 10, 1772): 3; Quebec Gazette (September 6, 1787): 4; and, Quebec Gazette (September 25, 1788): supplement p. 2. However, Fletcher also inserted detailed lists of periodical titles on occasion; see in particular Nova Scotia Chronicle (June 20-27, 1769): 207, which includes 14 periodical titles ranging from the Military Register to the Guardian and the Tatler.

26. For examples, see the advertisement inserted by Thomas Bennett in the Nova Scotia Royal Gazette (July 29, 1802): 1; and that inserted by the printer in the
27. As the SBTI is not in database format, a simple word search was performed across the text files which comprise the Index.

28. The SBTI includes references to advertisements of catalogues (i.e., no known extant copies).


33. For example, Benjamin’s *Country builder’s assistant* was advertised regularly in *Saint John* by the printers Jacob Mott and John Ryan; *Saint John Gazette and General Advertiser* (June 14, 1799): 3; *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* (December 29, 1801): 4. *Every man his own brewer* was listed by Robert Fletcher in the *Nova Scotia Chronicle* (July 31-August 7, 1770): 255. In Scotland, such items might appear in libraries. See for example, *Observations on Brewery* in the Duns *Catalogue of books in the subscription library*, 1789.

34. NLS. Bell & Bradfute Papers. Box 2, File 1, Correspondence, 1789-1792. Brown to Bell, 16 October 1792.


37. Hill’s auction advertisement appeared in the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (September 9, 1802): 3. Kidston’s shipment, from Glasgow or Liverpool, was advertised in the *Halifax Journal* (May 2, 1799): 2. Only seventeen of the twenty five titles listed by the auctioneer appeared in the 1799 list.

38. PANS. Halifax County Original Estate Papers. John Kirby, Merchant, Inventory [microfilm], pp. 6 and 8.


43. I am very grateful to Patricia Kennedy who alerted me to the book auction records in the Edward William Grey ledgers at NAC.

44. NAC. Ermatinger Estate. MG19 A2 Series III. These records include the auction ledgers of Edward William Gray which have not yet been systematically analysed for the book sales they contain, many of which were estate or bankruptcy sales.


46. Tremaine, xviii explains that there are no extant book auction records from the Brown and Gilmore or subsequent Neilson business. For American trade sales, see Winship, Michael. “Getting the books out: trade sales, parcel sales and book fairs in the nineteenth-century United States.” In: Michael Hackenberg, ed. *Getting the books out: papers of the Chicago Conference on the Book in 19th-Century America*, 1987, pp. 4-25. There were, arguably, no businesses in Canada prior to 1820 (other than Neilson’s) which were large enough to engage in trade sales.

47. This catalogue is referred to in Vlach, Milada et Yolande Buono. *Catalogue collectif des impressions québécoises*, 1984. The Burns and Woolsey catalogue is the only auction catalogue listed, which deals with books.

48. APS. Hall Papers. David Hall Letter Book, 1750-1759. Hall to Strahan, 2 February 1751. Hall reiterates here that he has to resort to getting rid of books through auctions, when he has unsaleable stock. This brought him no profit due to the lower prices and the commission due to the auctioneer.

49. NLS. Bell & Bradfute Papers. Box 1, File 1, Correspondence, 1771-1781. Gillies to Bell, 26 April 1780.

50. As with other NSTC analyses described in this chapter, the figures gleaned for this study do not all exactly match those given in various tables in Eliot, “Patterns and trends and the NSTC.” The reasons for this rest with the options available in searching that source. In this instance the discrepancies were sometimes surprisingly wide—for example, Eliot’s figure for the 910s in 1801-1820 is 4,963 and my figure for the 910s in 1800-1820 is 4,664. One might have imagined that my figure should be greater, as it includes 1800. In this particular instance, I am unable to account for the difference,
but several checks of my own figures produced consistent results.


52. For example, Pitt’s speeches were purchased in June 1810 for the Quebec Library and purchased in 1816 for the Library of the Legislature in York; *Catalogue of English and French books in the Quebec library at the Bishop’s palace, where the rules may be seen, 1808* [and supplements], and *A catalogue of books in the library of the legislature of Upper-Canada, 1817*. Hazlitt’s volume was advertised by George Eaton in Halifax; *Acadian Recorder* (June 8, 1816): 3.

53. *Halifax Gazette* (June 27, 1752). The work in question was Richard Rolt’s *Memoirs of...John, Earl of Crauford, first Earl of Scotland*.


55. John Crawford provides a table of numbers of titles in fourteen different categories, based on William Bent’s *London catalogue of books, 1773*. The table is based on contemporary divisions, some of them grouped together by Crawford. One of the headings frequently used in contemporary listings is “school books.” Crawford, “The origins and development of societal library activity in Scotland,” pp. 37-40. The author explains the limitations of figures drawn from Bent, as they are not exhaustive, and do not include all reprints. Ian Maxted provides more comprehensive gross figures (totals per year, but without subject breakdown) in his *The London book trades, 1775-1800*, xxxi, Table 11, “The Output of Books, 1700-1836.” Maxted’s sources included trade listings and estimates of totals gleaned from reviewing periodicals; he did not use Bent’s catalogue.

56. For example, Monaghan offers figures to suggest that the school book author, Lindley Murray, was the “largest-selling author in the world in the first four decades of the nineteenth century.” School books had frequent, sometimes large, editions. See Monaghan, Charles. *The Murrays of Murray hill*, 1998, Appendix “Lindley Murray’s Publishing Numbers.”


59. Tremaine, xv.

60. Ibid.

62. Notices of new schools, hours of operation, etc., were a regular feature in Canadian papers, beginning with Leigh and Wragg's advertisement in the *Halifax Gazette* (March 23, 1752): 4. It was rare for such notices to state which books were used by teacher and students; but in 1820 R. Milbourn's notice concerning his "English Academy" in Quebec listed a variety of texts by author and subject, though not by title. See *Quebec Mercury* (May 9, 1820): 145.

63. *Quebec Mercury* (October 13, 1820), supplement p. 6.

64. For example, "In addition to their usual supply of School Books, T. Cary, Jun. & Co. have lately received the following, which they can afford at very low prices..." *Quebec Mercury* (October 13, 1820): supplement p. 6. The list consisted of five specific school books, with prices attached.

65. Wilson, J. Donald. "Common school texts in use in Upper Canada prior to 1845." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, 1970, (9), 36-53. Wilson cites examples of frustration with American texts on p. 36. Wilson's paper was prepared almost entirely without recourse to contemporary advertisements for school books; it relies on Board of Education minutes for evidence of particular titles, and therefore does not include discussion of the pre-Board period of the current study.

66. Parker, *The beginnings of the book trade*, p. 24. Parker cites the articles of the pseudonymous 'Palemon' printed in the *Montreal Herald* and reprinted in the *Kingston Gazette* in 1815 in which the author stated that American books "teach us to hate the government that we ought, and are bound, to support..." *Montreal Herald* (July 22, 1815).


69. For example, Dilworth's *Spelling book* was imported from Glasgow by James Kidston in Halifax; from New York by Quetton St. George; from London by John Neilson in Quebec; and from Liverpool by Stephen Humbert. See *Halifax Journal* (January 7, 1796): 1; *Upper Canada Gazette* (May 19, 1804): 4; Neilson, *Catalogue of books*, 1811; and, *Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* (June 8, 1815): 3.

70. The title page of *The tutor's assistant* is reproduced in Wilson, "Common school texts," p. 41. For the Maritimes, there is only a single item under "Textbook" in the index to Fleming, AC and this was the grammar, *Abecedaire*, printed for a French teacher in Halifax, B. Perro; see entry NS138.


73. Quoted in Growoll, Adolph. *Book trade bibliography in the United States in the nineteenth century*, 1898, v. Following the New York venture, a similar though smaller association was established in Philadelphia. However, these associations were short-lived and it was not until 1855 that what would eventually be termed The Book Publishers' Association was formed.

74. The seventy-nine page catalogue is reprinted in entirety in Growoll, *Book trade bibliography in the United States*. It was intended to be the first of a biennial listing of use to the trade and to customers, but no further issues apparently appeared; *Ibid.*, xvi.

75. *Ibid.* In his Chapter 4, Growoll discusses the number of titles within each classification of the catalogue. His brief description focusses on the numbers of some classes of titles published in each American town, rather than on the proportion of each subject printed.

76. The database was searched using the subject heading “School Books” or the DDC classifications 420s, 440s, 470s, 480s and 513. A total of 352 titles resulted from the file of 5,392 titles.

77. Examples include Tiffany's advertisement in the *Upper Canadian Gazette and American Oracle* (November 2, 1796): 1, for “Webster's 2nd part” (i.e., his *English Grammar*) and Palmer's advertisement in the *Kingston Gazette* (September 8, 1818): 3, for “Webster's Spelling Book.”

78. *Kingston Chronicle* (May 26, 1820): 1. Besides the spelling books, the seizure included forty dozen “History books” and one hundred and seventy-four dozen “Almanacks.” The Almanacks were very likely to have been American in origin rather than British. An almanac which was not created for the meridian nearest to its readers, would be of very limited utility. Colonial printers used almanacs as a staple of their trade, and when they were shipped north into Canada, duty was payable.


80. For discussion of some of the limitations of NSTC from a Canadian research perspective, see my review in *Epilogue*, 1996, 11 (1), 50-54.

81. There were Brattleborough editions/printings in several years, including 1817, 1819 and 1820; NSTC 2W10929, 2W10930 and 2W10931 respectively.

82. While no systematic study of smuggling has been undertaken for any period of Canadian book history, a paper investigating the related issue of Canadian imports of British copyright material printed in the USA is MacDonald, Mary Lu. "The Montreal

83. The term “best-seller” here can, of course, only refer to selling from the wholesale to the retail level. No sales figures have been uncovered for Canadian booksellers which would permit analysis of quantities sold at the retail level. In addition, the country merchant account books and inventories surveyed at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, indicate such items as “spelling books” but no information about authors; PANS. Halifax County Original Estate Papers. John Kirby, Merchant, Inventory.

84. Monaghan. The Murrays of Murray Hill, especially chapters 4, 7 and 9; and, Allott, Stephen. Lindley Murray, 1745-1826: Quaker grammarian of New York and old York, 1991. These works illustrate the difficulties faced by scholars who wish to claim a particular nationality for their subjects (see the related comments on Robert Bell, Scottish or Irish, in Chapter 5).


86. Ibid., p. 12.

87. Nine of Murray’s titles appear in Catalogue of all the books printed in the United States, 1804, p. 73-74. They were variously printed in Boston, Albany, New York, Charleston.

88. See, for example, Thomas Cary’s publication notice for Murray’s “First Book” which he printed from the eighth edition; Quebec Mercury (May 10, 1814): 152.


90. Kelso Mail (March 11, 1805): 1. The SBTI indicates 1820 as the earliest known date for Rutherford’s bookselling business, but this advertisement indicates that Rutherford (or a namesake) was in business fifteen years earlier.

91. For examples of Murray’s books advertised by booksellers who might have sold them wholesale, see Kingston Gazette (August 18, 1812): 1; Quebec Gazette (June 28, 1819): 2; and in Halifax, Free Press (May 25, 1819): 83.

92. Kingston Gazette (December 16, 1817): 3. Cheesman’s advertisement included thirteen other titles, all of which could be classified as school books with the probable exception of Benjamin’s Architecture.

93. The database includes a field to designate if the author is female, although a proportion of the records in the file, as explained in Chapter 2, have no definitive author information.
94. Analysis of the BOOKSCAN database for women authors was performed in May 1998.

95. Author information has been gleaned from ESTC and NSTC, but future work using specialist bibliographies may reveal further female authors.

96. For John Neilson’s advertisement see the *Quebec Gazette* (June 28, 1819): 2; Minns’ Halifax listing appears in the *Weekly Chronicle* (May 19, 1820): 2. A variety of cookery books had been advertised in Canada since “Cookery, 2 v.” had appeared in William Craft’s auction advertisement in the *Halifax Gazette* (August 17, 1754): 2.


98. Popularity is with reference to frequency of reprinting and/or new editions. Both ESTC and NSTC indicate multiple editions, usually appearing in London, Dublin and the US (and occasionally other places) for the titles discussed in detail here.


100. This is based on 22 titles classified as 376 and 68 classified in all of the 370s.

101. Eliot. “*Patterns and trends* and the NSTC,” Table H1, “Social Science by Decade: By Numbers.” As explained above, duplicating some of the searches run by Eliot did not always produce totals identical to those in his Tables. An example is the total for 1811-1820 for the 370-379 Dewey range. Eliot gives 1,458, but my searches produced either 1,462 (including the option “182-”) or 1,456 (excluding the option “182-”).

102. The titles selected were all recently re-issued in facsimile as representative of conduct literature for women; *Female education in the age of enlightenment*. Introduction by Janet Todd. 3 volumes, 1996.

103. Gregory’s *Father’s legacy to his daughters* appears in Dawson’s Circulating Library; see *Upper Canada Gazette* (February 26, 1818): 1. Macaulay’s *Letters on education* and Chapone’s *Letters on the improvement of the mind* both appear in the *Catalogue of English and French books in the Quebec library*, 1808.

104. For examples: Chapone’s *Letters* appear in the *Catalogue of the public library at Hawick*, 1792; and Fordyce’s *Sermons* and Gregory’s *Father’s Legacy* appear in the same catalogue as well as in Forsyth’s *Catalogue of the Elgin circulating library*, 1789, and the *Catalogue of books in the subscription library* (at Dunse), 1789.

105. The relevant DDC numbers used in this analysis are 302, 376, 391, 392, 395 and 649.

106. Of a total of 41 titles in these categories which appear in Canadian lists, 11 were listed by booksellers, 11 by general merchants and 23 by libraries. Some were listed by...
more than one source and so the total percentage figure is more than 100.

107. Contemporary comments indicate perceived differences between Scottish and English conduct literature. For example, Gregory's *Father's legacy* recommended too much "reserve" which the commentator considered a "striking feature" of the Scots; *Critical Review* (October 1783) quoted in Moran, "[Review of] Female education in the age of enlightenment," p. 30.
Chapter 4
Factors in Transatlantic Trade
and Comparative Methods of Book Availability
in Canada and Scotland

Introduction
The general context of the Canadian book trade may be explained as the conjunction of the well-established trade practices of Britain with the emerging business climate in relatively new colonial areas. The points of conjunction can be seen in specific aspects of the Canadian trade including the characteristics of book stocks, discussed in Chapter 3 and in the various methods and agents of distribution discussed in this chapter. In any business endeavour involving the sale of goods there are two important aspects of distribution—distribution of information concerning the items available, and distribution of the items themselves. Both aspects of distribution are discussed in this chapter.

The chapter is divided into thematic sections which discuss the circuit involved in book availability taking personal trade contacts as the starting point and pricing practices as an end point. In between, general and trade-specific business practices are discussed and analysed with varying levels of detail depending on the perceived importance of the practice or element and on the availability of evidence. The largest sections are “Sellers of books” and “Exports, wholesaling and the question of stationery” and these reflect the paramount importance of these topics for a greater understanding of the early Canadian trade in books.

The relative strengths of supply and demand are implicit throughout the following discussion and are made explicit where they appear to have had a notable effect on the emerging Canadian trade. There was not a single cohesive book trade in the Canada of this seventy year period; there were several trading areas, each with distinctive traits, although most traits were present to a greater or lesser degree in all regions depending upon the general stage of their economic development.

Factors in transatlantic trade and selected comparisons with Scotland
The eighteenth-century transatlantic book trade can perhaps be characterized as presenting more constraints than opportunities. Critical factors can be grouped into various categories to aid a framework for discussion: personal knowledge of the colonial
scene and transatlantic business contacts; methods of transportation; sellers of books; wholesaling; distribution and marketing techniques; finance; information—both general and trade-specific; and, pricing practices.

**Known Contacts**

As Constable’s letter-books make abundantly clear, he and his colleagues were wholly unwilling to engage in financial dealings with unknown companies, nor did he deal with merchant houses in Scotland or in England. The Strahan-Hall correspondence and the work of McDougall and others regarding booksellers’ links with America points to the importance of known contacts, preferably individuals sent from Britain. Direct personal knowledge of the colonies was not a realistic business objective for most in the book trade in Britain, but the importance of personal and business contacts should not be underestimated in eighteenth-century transoceanic trade. Booksellers could deal with another firm or they could deal directly with individuals. Scottish book trade members who were in Scotland itself tended to work through colleagues in London who suggested contacts in the American colonies. Two example are the King’s Printers in Scotland, Adrian Watkins and Alexander Kincaid, who shipped Bibles, Testaments and Prayer Books to David Hall in Philadelphia on several occasions. Kincaid and his partner John Bell sent a variety of other titles to Hall and to others. The Edinburgh men sent the Bibles after a recommendation from Strahan in London. The latter does not seem to have had any contacts in the Canadian colonies, and extant records do not indicate that either Watkins or Kincaid ever shipped any books to any town in Nova Scotia or Canada.

Wholesale bookseller/publishers such as Archibald Constable made it clear that they preferred to deal with retail booksellers rather than with individuals whom they did not know, even if that person was only forty miles away in Glasgow. The preference for dealing with someone known (or at least someone recommended by someone known) was for purposes of relative financial security (see section on Finance below). If booksellers and publishers chose to retain more control in any colonial transactions by dealing only with people they knew in colonies, this would of necessity restrict the number of shipments they could send. Known contacts in Nova Scotia, by Scottish booksellers in London and Edinburgh may have been very rare.
On the other hand, general merchants and merchants trading mainly in single commodities such as tobacco or lumber or sugar, had already established networks within the north Atlantic and Scots interconnections, in particular, have been noted in such networks. Sometimes Scottish booksellers would supply these merchants with small book stocks of primarily standard religious works, history books, school books and magazines. This pattern can be seen in book shipments sent via the tobacco trade to Maryland and Virginia. In these cases it is possible that the impetus for this trade came from the merchants rather than the bookseller. The merchant saw a relatively obvious business opportunity and the Scottish bookseller had the advantage of dealing with a local merchant/agent. This relatively risk-free system is how at least some of the general merchants in Halifax, described below, acquired their book stock. There is no evidence that they were ordering directly from publishers; rather it is likely that they bought from local suppliers, at the retail or wholesale level, in the ports of export where they had agents.

Booksellers who travelled to Canada

Fairbairn was apparently the first member of a Scottish bookselling business who deliberately targeted any of the Canadian colonies (although there is no evidence that he formed a trade link with a bookseller in Canada). His actions are worth scrutiny for the details they may reveal about some of the business motivations and mechanics of the trade. Fairbairn’s Halifax advertisement, from 1819, reads:

BOOKS—BARGAINS. T. Fairbairn begs to acquaint the public of Halifax and its vicinity, that he has just arrived from Edinburgh [sic], with an extensive and choice collection of Books, comprising almost every work of merit in general Estimation in the old Country, which he has for Sale, at the Shop lately occupied by Mr. Marsters, next door to Mr. George Innes’, Sackville Street; as his stay in Halifax will be for a short period only, he will dispose of his present Stock at the lowest London and Edinburgh prices, and thereby offers to the Public an opportunity of making up their Libraries on conditions that may probably never again occur in this Province. A liberal allowance will be made to schools and Country dealers who will find their advantage in an early application. Catalogues are ready for delivery (Gratis) at Shop as above. N.B. T.F. will be happy to receive orders for such books for the Library or Counting-House as may not be amongst his present collection, and have them ready for delivery early in the Spring at the lowest rates.
Fairbairn's advertisement is interesting because it was similar in several ways to a more extensive advertisement placed in a Halifax paper nearly sixty years earlier, in which James Rivington announced the presence of himself and his book stock. Rivington’s advertisement offered more details concerning his stock:

James Rivington, Bookseller and Stationer from London, has imported a large and curious collection of books in history, divinity, law, physick, mathematics, classics, architecture, navigation, a variety of the best novels and books of entertainment with a good assortment of Greek, Latin and English School books, a great choice of low priced histories, books of piety, Bibles, Testaments, Psalters, Primers, Hymnbooks and all sorts of articles for the supply of Country stores...stationary wares, maps of Nova Scotia, Charts of Halifax and Chignecto Harbours, the Grand Cart of the River St Lawrence...great chart of the Sea of Nova Scotia, New England and New York...sets of books for merchants...ledger and waste books... [and] paper...[All] sold at his store...[near] the Parade.

Rivington did not state explicitly that he was only in the town for a short while, but there are no records of his having established a permanent shop in Halifax. From the well-established, and financially successful, London publishing and bookselling family, Rivington migrated to the American colonies in 1760. It is significant that he describes himself as being from London and not from New York, which in 1761 certainly could not compete with the British metropolis as a book centre in terms of marketing panache. Indeed most of his book stock would probably have been from London. The lack of evidence of similar shipments by others suggests that this trip to Halifax was unusual amongst American booksellers and, until Fairbairn’s business venture, possibly unheard of amongst English or Scottish booksellers.

Although few booksellers seem to have made the journey to the Canadian colonies, there were those who stayed at home who targeted colonial readers and merchants in newspaper advertisements. For example, William Cobbett and, to a lesser extent, Richard Phillips, were noted for their political activism which may have influenced their decisions to promote bookselling in the colonies. Cobbett and Morgan’s 1801 advertisement17 and Phillips’s 1806 advertisement are the earliest ones located which offer to take direct orders from readers. Phillips’s notice reads:

To Booksellers and all Lovers of Literature. Mr Richard Phillips, a well known publisher of books in London, having learnt that there exists in every part of North America, an increasing taste for London Publications, hereby undertakes to ship from London with punctuality and good faith,
assortments of the newest and most valuable publications...In every instance he expects remittances in good bills, or orders for prompt payment, of which an extra discount will be allowed, or he expects references to good houses in London, where payment must be guaranteed in ten months from the shipping of the goods. No attention can be paid to any application unless the payment is unequivocally secured in either [of] these ways.

Phillips refers to the colonists' probable lack of local access to books, an interesting and understandable assumption though not, as this study shows, wholly justified. Phillips also explains the usual discounts and systems of payment and this information would have been of use to local booksellers and merchants as well as to those settlers and colonists who wished to order privately.

While British and American booksellers' apparently rare journeys to Canada are nevertheless revealing, of equal importance is evidence of the trade reverse: Canadian booksellers whether within the trade or not, making book-buying trips to Britain or America. There is evidence of this for both merchants and for printer/booksellers. John Neilson, the cosmopolitan Scot who never apparently purchased books for his Quebec bookstore from Scotland, advertised in the Quebec Gazette, in advance of his trips to London and Paris and offered to take special orders for books. The highly successful French-Canadian merchant Quetton St. George regularly travelled to New York to buy supplies for his various outlets in the Canadas, and these supplies often included books which he listed in his subsequent advertisements. In spite of such examples, however, the norm appears to have been that there were few direct contacts between suppliers and distributors.

**Transportation and speed of delivery**

For Canada, the primary communication and trading routes into the towns in this study are of critical importance as they affected directly both the methods and the speed of transportation and also the subsequent availability of various goods. These routes help to explain the different characteristics of each Canadian region. They developed as direct consequences of the external and internal political and military situations. Furthermore, some of the trading routes retained their importance in spite of a changing political climate. The close connections between the northern United States and the Canadian
towns on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence were maintained in spite of the imposition of border restrictions following the American Revolution, and the further international stresses of the war of 1812. The geographic imperatives of the water routes continued to shape merchants’ networks and some of these merchants, including those who sold books, appear simply to have ignored the changed political situation. In 1814, for example, Porteous and Hancox of Montreal stated that they had “received at Quebec by the different recent arrivals from Europe...[an]...assortment ...comprising every article necessary for the summer and winter town and country trade of this and markets of the United States.” In addition, some booksellers in the United States expressed their willingness to sell by mail at the retail level to purchasers across the Great Lakes. James Eastburn & Company of New York inserted a lengthy advertisement targeting “Gentlemen from Canada,” specifically Montreal and area. Although the trading routes sometimes favoured one geographic source over another, both major suppliers (Britain and America) could be in evidence for books to particular locations in the same year. Getting regular supplies from one source certainly did not preclude occasional supplies from another (see examples below under Sellers of Books).

In Britain there was a well-established system for the distribution of books from the 'centre' of London, to the 'periphery' or provinces. Edinburgh publishers with strong ties with London firms, such as William Creech and, later, Archibald Constable, acted in a capacity of clearing houses supplying the Scottish provincial market. However, they did not do this to the exclusion of London publishers, who also supplied provincial Scottish wholesalers and retailers directly, to judge from contemporary advertisements. The distributive system included country newspaper agents, apothecaries, general merchants and stationers, as well as those who could be described as specialist booksellers. Although there is no synthesis for Scotland, equivalent to Feather's for England, Iain Beavan's work for Aberdeen, coupled with a reading of extant newspapers from a variety of small Scottish towns, indicates that the pattern was similar if not identical, and the geographic distribution of information about books, and the books themselves, can be plotted using this evidence. Kelso and Dundee offer examples of the geographic reach of networks used by provincial Scottish wholesalers and retailers (See Maps 4.1 and 4.2).
Map 4.1
Distribution Network from Kelso, Scotland, c.1790-1810
Map 4.2
Distribution Network from Dundee, Scotland, c.1800-1810
The average distance from centre to periphery of these two networks is 25.75 miles for Kelso and 25.4 miles for Dundee, but the usefulness of such distance information must be considered in light of the difference in transportation methods. Kelso had an entirely road-dependent network, whereas Dundee made use of coastal transportation, which in this period, barring severe storms, was more reliable. For Kelso, the border between Scotland and England did not exist as far as the distributive networks were concerned. This is borne out in the records of the Edinburgh firm Bell and Bradfute's customers who included, amongst other English customers, the Carlisle bookseller Francis Jollie. Information about the trade from these towns does show that the system Feather describes for England, was certainly apparent in Scotland also. Merchants in regional towns acted in a wholesaling capacity for books, in just the way they would have done for other commodities. There were middlemen involved at the regional and local level and this pattern is mirrored, though not precisely duplicated, by the business arrangements for book distribution in Canada.

In the Canadian provinces the geographic spread of agents from a single primary distributor was much larger in terms of distance than that within Scotland. As with the example of Dundee, Halifax book agents made use of coastal transport to distribute their goods around the province. The only exception in the early days was that Windsor, fifty miles away, did receive newspapers and possibly books by wagon, over an apparently dire road which was the first to traverse the province.

Halifax was distant from and somewhat isolated from contact with the remaining towns in this study, other than Saint John; the north south connections were stronger in this period than those between the east and west. One of these towns, Kingston, which once laid a claim to become the capital of Upper Canada, offers an example of the similarities and differences between Maritime book distribution and that of the interior provinces. The book agents listed in the *Kingston Chronicle* in 1819 are up to 200 miles from Kingston, which is considerably further than most of the links in Nova Scotia. However, the Upper Canadian network is similar to that of Nova Scotia in that most of the links were on water routes. This water travel is similar to that for the Dundee network, but for the latter the distances are significantly compressed due to the obvious difference in density of population. Another difference is the number of agents; the
Scottish newspapers sampled might list up to six agents, rarely more, whereas the limited numbers of centres of newspaper printing and book distribution in Canada resulted in some lists including sixteen agents or more. This reflects the smaller number of newspapers produced in Canada, compared with Scotland, when measured against the number of settlements served by each newspaper. Due to the considerable difference in density of population, this is not surprising.

The trading routes to the differing regions of Canada also affected the frequency of the arrivals of book shipments. Due to winter freeze-up, the St. Lawrence river was not navigable all year and therefore shipments via that seaway, to Upper Canadian and Lower Canadian towns, were seasonal. However, as with provincial Scottish towns, Niagara, Kingston, York, Quebec and Montreal could, due to the interior water routes used, receive books in any month of the year from the American colonies. Halifax and Saint John, received books from Britain usually only once or twice a year, with the main spring and autumn arrivals of merchant shipping. Coastal sloops, on the other hand, could supply books from American towns even during winter. Information from the “Route” field in the BOOKSCAN file indicates that the transatlantic book shipments were more likely to arrive in April, May or October than in any other months. Mid-winter transatlantic shipments to Halifax and Saint John were rare, and some of them were not delivered by merchant ship, but by Packet Ship—the latter could legally deliver small parcels mailed to individuals, but were not supposed to carry packages for trade.

Information from the studied towns, related to newspaper agents and agents who received book subscriptions, reveals some patterns about this important element of early book availability. In this early period, there was a web of separate regional networks, several of them overlapping, rather than any “national” distribution of books governed by the pre-eminence of one location. In this, the early Canadian trade was similar to that in America, although by the 1790s Mathew Carey was deliberately aiming to build a national distribution system from his base in Philadelphia. Some American booksellers and publishers may have considered the northern colonies “their” territory, in a similar light to the Carolinas and other, relatively remote southern colonies. However, evidence is very scant regarding American networks at work in Canada. Carey certainly shipped books to Halifax on occasion, but these were shipments to private individuals rather than
to members of the trade. Remer has referred to the various distribution methods and networks of Philadelphia publishers in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The business records surviving for Canada certainly do not match those of the new republic, but some parts of the picture may be drawn nevertheless and these are discussed below.

Even in Scotland, with its generally better-established road system, water transportation (usually coastal shipping), was preferred by booksellers. Exceptions to this occurred when speed was important, which was usually for one of two reasons: the acquisition of current news and the filling of special orders for individuals. The letter books of the Edinburgh firms of Constable and Bell and Bradfute attest the preference for sending books "by the Fly" when customers or retailers expressed urgency. For example, Robert Armstrong, bookseller in Hawick, requested from Constable "as many nos of Walker's Lectures as are published" and Shaw's Zoology "by the Fly" as a customer was waiting for them. The same bookseller wrote urgently on March 17th 1802 that he had "impatient" local gentlemen waiting for copies of "Minstrelsy" (Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border)—and he wrote again on March 22nd acknowledging receipt of the books. In November 1780, the bookseller John Gillies of Perth requested 24 copies of Justin in sheets from Bell and Bradfute. These were required by a schoolmaster at the Grammar school, and Gillies wrote "I must be punctualy answerd in school books otherwise I must be a loser..." He therefore requested that Bell and Bradfute send the sheets by return with the bearer of his order. By contrast, in May 1780, John Campbell ordered Smith's History of the Druids and was content to have it sent "by this week's carrier" to Crief, and from thence to Achmore.

Readers in the colonies could not hope to have such rapid delivery of books. This was certainly the case for trade shipments to booksellers and merchants, but individuals could and did use their own correspondents as book purchasers, and such orders were transported by Packet ships which often sailed alone, thus reducing the overall time of passage. Packet ships were forbidden by law from transporting commercial cargoes, but they could carry packages as well as letters addressed to individuals. Diaries such as those kept by Anna Kearny in Halifax, who "flew to the window as soon as [her] eyes were open" to discover if the packet signals had been raised on the flagstaffs, attest the intense importance of packet ship deliveries to those in the colonies.
have acquired her copy of Charlotte Smith's new novel *The Banished Man* in this way, although generic advertisements for "novels" were a regular feature of colonial advertisements so it is possible that she purchased it locally.\(^46\) Merchant ships too, of course, could be used for transporting personal commissions, as happened when the Adriatic brought "a large parcel of Magazines, Reviews and Parliamentary Registers" to Captain Kearny from his wife's uncle in England.\(^47\)

**Sellers of books**

The various businesses, which provided books in Canada at the retail level, could have relied on a single source of supply but seem more often to have received materials from a variety of sources. Their supplies were received via various transaction methods and geographic locations, some within and some outwith the trade itself, and some responding to supply side as opposed to demand side imperatives. An example is offered in an advertisement, inserted in the *Montreal Gazette* by the publisher James Brown, in which he offers a list of school books imported from London and Liverpool, along with a consignment of new travel books, law books and novels from New York.\(^48\) The point is emphasized that with the possible exception of chandlers and apothecaries (discussed below), sellers of books gained their book stocks from an array of sources, sometimes several in one year.

Appendix B indicates the principal occupations of those who made books available in Canada. This information appears, by percentage of each occupation, in Table 4.1. Book agents could and did include newspaper printers and proprietors, but in comparing the two provincial regions of Canada and Scotland, the evidence suggests a much greater reliance on general and specialist merchants in Canada, for the period prior to 1800, with increasing numbers of booksellers after the turn of the century.\(^49\)
Table 4.1
Occupations of Advertisers of Books in Selected Canadian Towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Merchant</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auctioneer</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookseller and/or Stationer and/or Bookbinder</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware Merchant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druggist/Apothecary</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Seller/Piano Maker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher or School Board</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Proprietor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship’s Chandler</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheriff</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydrographer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurseryman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchmaker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The early book trade in Canada was operated, at least at the final retail level, primarily by those outwith the trade itself. Due to the differences in size of market and stability of business structure in both countries, this is not surprising. Using Halifax as an example, the largest number of titles were advertised by the general merchant firm of Kidston which was in business for over twenty years, a considerable time in the widely fluctuating economic climate of that military port. While the quantities of each title which the Kidstons imported were possibly small, they may have made use of their colonial merchant network in order to distribute books. There is certainly evidence that merchants in villages and hamlets had supplies of those perennial best-sellers, Bibles, testaments, primers and spelling books.

Certain categories of books and pamphlets were more likely to be sold by sellers with a commercial or aesthetic interest in the subject matter. New music was advertised
by music teachers, for example. In addition to general merchants, ships' chandlers, such as Benjamin Salter of Halifax sold Moore's Navigation and Seaman's Assistant, works of obvious utility to their customers. Chandlers also stocked such items in the ports of Dundee and Leith. Apothecaries and druggists advertised Solomon's Guide to Health—indeed, Solomon's medicines and books were part of a prolific business enterprise with virtually the same advertisement appearing in both Scottish and Canadian newspapers, such as the Kelso Mail, the Dumfries Weekly Journal and the Quebec Mercury. Canadian druggists also advertised school books, as well as the Edinburgh New Dispensatory and the latest editions of Buchan's Domestic Medicine, both of which were ubiquitous in both the Scottish and English provinces.

Typical of country book agents in Scotland but not referred to as such in Canada were "writers" who often acted not only as newspaper distributors but as agents for popular series of pocket editions. Indeed the list offered in Cooke's advertisement in the Dundee Perth and Cupar Advertiser in early 1807 shows an almost equal occupational division of agents between booksellers and writers, the sole merchant listed being Charles Blair of Dunkeld.

A group of sellers about which very little appears to be known for Canada is that of peddlers or "flying stationers." That such individuals were in operation in the country regions of Scotland is indicated in imprints in the chapbook literature which was their staple stock. Peddlers of any sort were a feature of the initial stages of settlement in colonial areas, along with markets and fairs and they will have been present in early book retailing in Canada, as Rimer has shown that they were in Philadelphia. The very nature of the evidence used for this study favours the discovery of merchants, as sellers of books, who were situated in the "emerging retail concentrations" of the six towns. However, itinerant traders were also in operation and indeed they "continued long after the appearance of a central place system." Urban street sellers and carriers were likely to have sold broadsides in Canadian towns, but no evidence has been uncovered to date to substantiate this. Indeed research into this aspect of the British provincial urban trade is still in its infancy, although the distributive system in place in London, from printer to mercury (a person, often female, who distributed newspapers and pamphlets) to hawker, has been clearly described by David Foxon.
Comparative importance of merchants

The evidence gathered indicates the overarching importance of merchants as distributors of books in Canada. The history of early North American mercantile systems and of communities of merchants has been told partly in terms of the commercial and political power they sought and gained, and of the staples in which they traded outwards. The inward trade of colonial necessities—finished consumer goods—by general merchants has not received the same level of attention from mercantile historians. For example, the biographies of many merchants who appear in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB) (see Table 4.2) do not usually include information about imported goods, beyond broad statements, and none have been located which refer to imports of books. The Table was therefore compiled by scanning all the entries in the relevant volumes—the indexes are not sufficiently detailed to indicate the biographies of those who were involved in book distribution—and by checking specifically for bookselling merchants identified from advertisements. Most of the latter do not have entries in the DCB.

### Table 4.2
Coverage of agents of print culture, 1750-1820, in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Place of Business</th>
<th>Dates in Canada</th>
<th>DCB Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brown, James</td>
<td>Bookbinder, bookseller, publisher</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Quebec, Montreal</td>
<td>1797-1845</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, William</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1764-1789</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Brymer, Alexander</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Boston, Halifax</td>
<td>1776-1801</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushell, John</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1751-</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cary, Thomas</td>
<td>Newspaper editor</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Montreal, Quebec</td>
<td>c1787-1823</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie, James</td>
<td>Doctor, newspaperman</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>1817-1843</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td>Place of Business</td>
<td>Dates in Canada</td>
<td>DCB Volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cochran, William</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>N. Ireland</td>
<td>Philadelphia, New York, Halifax</td>
<td>1788-1833</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cockrell, Richard</td>
<td>Editor, publisher</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>U.S., Niagara</td>
<td>1795-1829</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collins, Francis</td>
<td>Compositor, journalist, printer, publisher</td>
<td>N. Ireland</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>1818-1834</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desbarats, Pierre-Édouard</td>
<td>Merchant, printer</td>
<td>Lower Canada</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1794-1828</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwards, Edward</td>
<td>Bookseller, printer, publisher</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>1781-1816</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferguson, Bartemas</td>
<td>Newspaperman, printer</td>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>St. Catharines, Niagara, York</td>
<td>1817-1832</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher, Robert</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1760?</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French, Charles</td>
<td>Assistant printer, journeyman printer</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>-1828</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilmore, Thomas</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Ireland or Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1763?</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Gray, Edward William</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>1760-1810</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green, Bartholomew</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1751</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry, Anthony</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland, Anthony</td>
<td>Printer, editor</td>
<td>Halifax, NS</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1785-1830</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horne, Robert Charles</td>
<td>Printer, publisher</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>1812-1845</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howe, John</td>
<td>Printer, newspaperman</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1776-1835</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Humbert, Stephen</td>
<td>Merchant, Methodist lay preacher, musician</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Saint John</td>
<td>1783-1849</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td>Place of Business</td>
<td>Dates in Canada</td>
<td>DCB Volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphreys, James</td>
<td>Printer, publisher</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Shelburne</td>
<td>c1784-1796?</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jautard, Valentin</td>
<td></td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe [slave]</td>
<td>Pressman to Brown &amp; Gilmore in</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quebec in Quebec</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LeFrançois,</td>
<td>Printer, bookseller</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>-1829</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saint John</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lugin, George</td>
<td>Printer, newspaperman</td>
<td>Saint John,</td>
<td>Saint John</td>
<td>c1792-1835</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiliman</td>
<td></td>
<td>NB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McBride, Edward</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Niagara</td>
<td>York, Niagara</td>
<td>c1791-1834</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesplet, Fleury</td>
<td>Printer, journalist</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minns, William</td>
<td>Printer, publisher</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1780?-1827</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore, William</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mott, Jacob S.</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Long Island</td>
<td>Saint John</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neilson, John</td>
<td>Printer, editor, bookseller</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Quebec?</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neilson, Samuel</td>
<td>Printer, editor</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1785-1793</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neilson, Samuel</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Osgood, Thaddeus</td>
<td>Minister, educator</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Upper and Lower Canada</td>
<td>1807-1852</td>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawling, Benjamin</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Niagara</td>
<td>1818-1819</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peters, William</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>Niagara</td>
<td>1818?-1820</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birdseye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, James</td>
<td>Printer, publisher</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Shelburne, Charlottetown</td>
<td>1784-?</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td>Place of Business</td>
<td>Dates in Canada</td>
<td>DCB Volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy, Louis</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryan, John</td>
<td>Printer, publisher</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>Saint John</td>
<td>?-1847</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. George, Quetton†</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Upper Canada</td>
<td>1798-1815?</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sower, Christopher</td>
<td>Printer, editor</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Saint John</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spark, Alexander</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tazewell, Samuel Oliver</td>
<td>Lithographer, librarian</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>1820-?</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomson, Hugh Christopher</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Kingston of Scottish parents</td>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>1791-1834</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiffany, Sylvester</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Niagara</td>
<td>1790?</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vondenvelden, William</td>
<td>Printer, translator</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1780s-1790s?</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willcocks, Joseph</td>
<td>Printer, publisher</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Niagara</td>
<td>1807-1812</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, John</td>
<td>Agriculturalist, merchant, special librarian</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>1814-1837</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These men are not identified in DCB as agents of print culture
† Entered in DCB under Quetton St. George, Laurent (born Laurent Quet)

Many early printers and publishers do appear in the DCB, as is indicated in the above table, but merchants, if they are included at all, remain largely hidden from view in terms of their contribution to book availability in Canada. This is true too of British book trade history, with a few exceptions. However in Canada the importance of merchants to the trade was evident in all areas (see Appendix B and Table 4.1).

Gradually, as the population base increased, the economic climate of Halifax must have appeared sufficiently encouraging for the establishment of, or evolution of, specialist book outlets. The store and stock which George Eaton bought from Alexander Morrison in 1811 had not always been primarily a bookshop. Morrison's earliest known advertisement to mention books (he had advertised, at least from 1786, as a bookbinder...
and stationer) was in June 1799. By the second decade of the new century, Eaton was considered "the principal book seller and stationer in the town."

The evolving situation in Halifax is also reflected in the evidence from other regions although their first decade of printing, and therefore newspaper evidence, was later (1760s for Quebec; 1790s for Niagara and York, for example). Those towns which were government centres as well as significant military posts were more likely to gain a specialist bookseller—often the government printer—earlier than towns which were neither. Niagara and Kingston both had early claims to the services of a King’s Printer, and both had relatively cultured and literate populations, compared to the newer settlement of York. York in the early days relied on general merchants’ provision of books. Its trade evolved in the early nineteenth century in a fashion similar to Halifax’s several decades earlier and by 1820 it too boasted at least one bookshop and a circulating library.

In Quebec, the printer-booksellers Brown and Gilmore initially offered book stocks which were akin to those of general merchants, but gradually William Brown and his successors Samuel and then John Neilson expanded their range to become the principal booksellers in the Canadas. However, newspaper and archival evidence for Lower Canada indicates the continuing provision of books through general merchants. For example, the merchant James Durward offered several titles in common with the printer William Brown in the 1780s. These included such perennial sellers as The Spectator, Bailey’s and Dyche’s Dictionaries, Swift’s Works, and Guthrie’s History of the World. General demand for such items led to their supply by a variety of businesspeople. Even when specialists were available to take individual orders, some members of the public and some merchants continued to engage in such business. For example, in 1798 James Dunlop of Montreal wrote to his brother, Alexander, in Glasgow, requesting further supplies of Bibles, Prayer Books and spelling books for sale in his store. He also requested that his brother, a bookseller, procure from Glasgow or London, several items required to fill special orders including Duncan’s Annals of Medicine for 1798, required by Dr John Rowand, and about £5 worth of harpsichord music for Captain Gordon, who wanted it as a gift for his wife. It seems reasonable to state that the early trade in Canada remained diverse in terms of those tradesmen and retailers from whom the public could buy or order books and periodicals.
Exports, wholesaling and the question of stationery

The principal occupations of the sellers described in the previous section is important for a number of reasons. Not only did their principal line of business tend to dictate the size and quality of their book stocks, it dictated the mechanisms by which they acquired their stocks. What were some of the specific forces behind, and methods of, book distribution? This was a period "of great flux in the...distributive capacity of the book trades". Publishers and wholesalers within Britain relied on the presence of booksellers in remote towns—they took their presence wholly for granted. Other than the printers in Canadian towns (some of whom stocked remarkably few books to judge from advertisements), there were no specialist booksellers for the first few decades after a town's founding. However, there were "sellers of books" as have been described above, and the evidence suggests that they relied largely on wholesalers, in London and Glasgow primarily, for their book stocks.

Wholesalers who supplied books to retailers, from a variety of printers and publishers, appear to be largely unsung in published accounts of book distribution. The wholesalers may also have been publishers and booksellers. An example in Edinburgh is Walter Berry whose book and stationery warehouse was on Drummond Street. His business strategy was to sell wholesale to a series of regional distributors who were sometimes retailers but were also usually wholesalers, such as Donaldson and Chalmers of Dundee. The Dundee business, in turn, undertook to advertise jointly with Berry within their own distributive area and to resell the books to country retailers. Even though Berry acquired much of his own Edinburgh stock from London, the country booksellers were still, so the advertisements stated, receiving their stock at the same price and on the same credit terms as if they dealt directly with the London publishers. Clearly it was more convenient for them to deal with a regional supplier who would have been able to ascertain their creditworthiness with greater ease. The same business structure seems to have functioned for distribution to the Canadian provinces. For the trade to Canada, wholesalers included those such as Wynn and Scholey of London who supplied the printer-bookseller John Neilson of Quebec on a regular basis, but also general merchants.
The wholesale business tended to rely on regular turnover of relatively large quantities of readily accessible stock—whether of worsted stockings, hats or books. The latest publication in philosophical rhetoric, requiring a well-educated consumer perhaps was not as likely to be stocked by wholesalers supplying new colonial areas, as bundles of tried and true titles for the school market, and light literature for the middle-rank literates in the new towns. New poetry, plays and novels, whether "undeniably pulp" or not, were more likely to sell. If this was the case, in fact, then it is necessary to consider wholesale stationers, as they may have shipped far more books to Canada than has hitherto been recognised.

Customs records as measures of book exports

Between 1750 and 1780 a total of 596 hundredweight and 28 pounds of British-published books (i.e., a total weight of 66,752 pounds) were recorded as being shipped from London to Nova Scotia. Summary figures for exports from Scottish ports, between 1755 and 1811, are detailed in Tables 4.3 and 4.4 and offer a picture of book shipments to Canada (Ontario and Quebec) and to Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Collective figures for the American colonies are included for comparative purposes.

Table 4.3

Book Exports from Scottish Ports 1755-1811
extracted from the Annual Summary Customs Accounts
(Data in format given in Annual Customs Summary Accounts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Nova Scotia</th>
<th>Newfoundland</th>
<th>America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>£20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36cwt 2qt 24lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>£15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61cwt 3qt 26lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>£40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792</td>
<td>£10</td>
<td>2cwt 2qt 20lb</td>
<td></td>
<td>46cwt 3qt 14lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>12cwt 3qt 12lb</td>
<td></td>
<td>6cwt†</td>
<td>£576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>2cwt 1qt 21lb</td>
<td></td>
<td>1cwt 1qt 24lb</td>
<td>9cwt 2qt 27lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£1,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1807</td>
<td>1cwt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7cwt 0qt 8lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£15 4s 0d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quantities, unless in sterling, are by weight given as "hundredweights(cwt).quarters.pounds" (i.e., one hundredweight = 112 pounds; one quarter = 28 pounds). Bound books were usually valued at £11/cwt and unbound at £12/cwt; though this varied throughout the period.90

### Table 4.4

Annual Summary Customs data ‘normalized’ (by weight) for comparative purposes
(All figures are given as hundredweight, quarters, pounds)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>Nova Scotia</th>
<th>Newfoundland</th>
<th>America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>1.3.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36.2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>1.1.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61.3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>3.2.16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792</td>
<td>0.3.18</td>
<td>2.2.20</td>
<td></td>
<td>46.3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>12.3.12</td>
<td>6.0.0‡</td>
<td></td>
<td>52.1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>2.1.21</td>
<td>1.1.24</td>
<td></td>
<td>169.0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1807</td>
<td>1.0.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>0.3.21</td>
<td>0.1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>0.0.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The impression gained by this data needs to be treated with some caution however. Evidence from newspaper advertisements in both Halifax and Saint John shows clearly that books were arriving, apparently from Port Glasgow or Greenock, in years when the Customs Collectors’ summary statements indicate no books moving at all to Nova Scotia or to New Brunswick, from any Scottish port. Table 4.5 gives examples of advertised shipments arriving in the Maritimes, for which there is no reference of export in the summary accounts of Customs.91 Although one might suppose that shipments of a few copies of a single title such as William Gordon’s *New Geographical Grammar*92 might not
be recorded separately by Customs' Collectors, other shipments are not so easy to explain,93 such as "A Large Collection of Books."94

### Table 4.5

Selected advertisements (in Halifax or Saint John papers) for books from Scottish ports, for which there is no corresponding entry in the annual Customs summary statements of exports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Port of Exit Ship</th>
<th>Merchant</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Advertisement Date</th>
<th>Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Brig Mary</td>
<td>George Grant &amp; John Howe</td>
<td>Halifax Journal</td>
<td>August 12, 1790, p.1</td>
<td>William Gordon's New Geographical Grammar...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Scipio</td>
<td>James Kidston</td>
<td>Halifax Journal</td>
<td>January 7, 1796, p.1</td>
<td>Fenning's and Dilworth's Spelling Books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Neptune</td>
<td>James Kidston</td>
<td>Halifax Journal</td>
<td>May 5, 1796, p.3</td>
<td>Bibles, Testaments, School Books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Lucy</td>
<td>Johnston &amp; Ward</td>
<td>Saint John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser</td>
<td>November 4, 1796, p.1</td>
<td>James Donaldson’s Agriculture...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Ship Liberty</td>
<td>Lang &amp; Turner</td>
<td>Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser</td>
<td>July 22, 1800, p.3</td>
<td>“Books and Stationary”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Nancy</td>
<td>Archibald McColl</td>
<td>Nova Scotia Royal Gazette</td>
<td>May 21, 1801, p.3</td>
<td>English Bibles and Testaments, Gaelic Bibles and Testaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh via Greenock Ship William</td>
<td>Colin Campbell</td>
<td>Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser</td>
<td>May 26, 1801, p.3</td>
<td>Music (“Scotch, Italian and other...”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Brig Charlotte</td>
<td>James Beith</td>
<td>Nova Scotia Royal Gazette</td>
<td>June 17, 1802, p.3</td>
<td>“A Large Collection of Books”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenock Paragon</td>
<td>James Leaver</td>
<td>Nova Scotia Royal Gazette</td>
<td>April 28, 1807, p.1</td>
<td>Bibles School Books</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of importance for historians of the early colonial book trade is that the surviving records were shaped by the nature of the traders, their cargoes, and the business or legislative imperative which dictated that the records be created. A general merchant purchasing dictionaries, school books, ready reckoners and Bibles from British suppliers, was indisputably purchasing "books." However, merchants advertised all such items under the rubric of "stationery" and this is a key point. They not only advertised as sellers of stationery (amongst many other items), they ordered their books from wholesale stationers. The goods were, this author believes, entered in the Customs accounts under the general heading of stationery, which often did not list individual items. 95 Thus, many of the regular shipments of books are possibly not discoverable via the Customs accounts, as the books are never referred to as such. This pattern appears to be a factor that has been largely overlooked to date in investigations of book exports via the records of the official Customs collectors. 96 Rediker has stated that it would be "conservative to estimate that the trade of the empire exceeded customs accounts by 15 to 20 percent." 97 He was referring to smuggling and to trade in general; for the book trade, any underestimation is more likely due to books being shipped as stationery.

Feather has explained the common suppliers for English provincial booksellers: they bought their books largely from London and their paper, often, locally. 98 For colonial retailers, there were initially no local suppliers of paper and therefore both books and paper (and other stationery) had to be imported. Wholesaling stationers in London supplied books as well as stationery since some book genres fell under the category of stationery. Certain categories, such as Bibles and dictionaries were especially likely to have been shipped as stationery. Evidence for this is drawn both from contemporary newspapers and from listings printed for wholesale and retail stationers such as John Young of Inverness. 99 In addition, wholesale stationers such as MacGoun's of Glasgow,
included books, along with paper and business ledgers, in their advertisements. Of particular note for this study is that MacGoun's deliberately targeted export merchants (see Figure 4.1).\footnote{11}

Figure 4.1

EXPORT MERCHANTS, COUNTRY DEALERS, TEACHERS, and Others, are respectfully informed, that, by applying at

MACGOUN'S
EXTENSIVE WHOLESALE AND RETAIL
STATIONERY WAREHOUSE,
OPPOSITE THE BLACK BULL INN, ARGYLL-STREET,
GLASGOW,
they will be supplied with the following Articles of the best qualities, on the lowest Terms.


Day-Books, Journals, Ledgers, and all kinds of AC-

COMPT BOOKS, Ruled and Bounded to any Pattern.

SCHOOL PAPER BOOKS of all kinds.

Counting Slates, different sizes.

A Fine Assortment of REEVES' PATENT COLOURS, Camel Hair Brushes, and India Ink.

PORTABLE WRITING DESKS.

PRINTING done in the neatest manner on the lowest terms.

BOOKS BOUND in the neatest manner to any Pattern.

A NUMEROUS ASSORTMENT OF

Historical, Classical, and Entertaining Books, in general Estimation, are constantly kept for Sale, and all kinds of SCHOOL BOOKS and LONDON NEW PUBLICATIONS, Catalogues of which, and of Music may be had gratis.

W. LANG, PRINTER, 65, BELL-STREET.
Another type of book which moved under the rubric of stationery was chapbooks. They deserve mention though they are problematical to analyse for the overseas provinces as they were often simply referred to generically as "children's books," "toy books" or "histories" in advertisements. This category of books was important in the colonies, if ubiquity of availability is used as a measure of worth. By the early nineteenth century in provincial Scotland there were preselected collections of juvenile works, such as the six hundred titles ranging in price from a penny to a guinea each, offered wholesale to country booksellers by Donaldson and Chalmers of Dundee. This same collection, apparently, was also advertised in Kingston although its route to the colony is not yet known.

It is relatively easy to discern possible gaps in reporting of book shipments (intentional or otherwise) from Scottish ports, but much more difficult regarding the port of London. The Customs' Accounts for that port refer to book exports every year; much detective work will be required to discover if books which merchants imported from there were entered correctly. For example, in 1799 Etter and Tidmarsh of Halifax imported a wide array of merchandise on the Ships Commerce and Lord Macartney. Their advertisement in The Weekly Chronicle (see Figure 4.2) listed no school books (not even as a generic heading), but did offer "A few sets celebrated novels, newest publications." A clue to their source for these novels in London may lie in their additional statement that they had imported "Stationary of all kinds" on the same ships. Therefore it is not just schools books, Bibles and chapbooks which may have been entered as "stationery"—popular new works of fiction need also to be considered.
Figure 4.2
Advertisement from the *Weekly Chronicle* (August 31, 1799)

---

*Etterand Tidmarsh.*

Have just received from the Ships *Commeria* and *Lord Macartney* from London.

A very general assortment of British Merchandize;

And now on Sale, in the Room, and in large Stores by Mr. Price & Co., near the very fine Furniture, Crockery and China, all at very low Prices or short Credit.

Among which are,

1. A very good Assortment of Ribbons.
2. Linen, cotton, and lawn pocket handkerchiefs.
3. Muslin and polycasco.
4. Linen and cotton looking- and apron hacks.
5.海军 dock and bed ticking.
6. Real India mantles and plain white calico.
8. Superfine mixed cloths.
9. White and mix'd cloths.
10. Mixture of thick and thin.
11. Gold and silver lace.
12. Crape and other materials.
13. A general Assortment of linens.
14. Stationary of all kinds.
15. Black, pink, sky blue and yellow scarfs.
16. Black, Green, and Yellow.
17. Silk and cotton blend.
18. Men's and Women's coats.
20. Gentlemen's stockings.
22. Lincns, June 1799.

---

*Advertisement Details:*

- Ribbons
- Linen, cotton, and lawn pocket handkerchiefs
- Muslin and polycasco
- Linen and cotton looking- and apron hacks
- Navy blue
- Superfine mixed cloths
- White and mix'd cloths
- Mixture of thick and thin
- Gold and silver lace
- Crape and other materials
- A general Assortment of linens
- Stationary of all kinds
- Black, pink, sky blue and yellow scarfs
- Black, Green, and Yellow
- Silk and cotton blend
- Men's and Women's coats
- Boys' worsted and cotton
- Gentlemen's stockings
- Gentlemen's silk
- Lincns, June 1799
All of the books stocked by wholesale stationers were also available from wholesale booksellers and this complicates the already complex issue of how they were recorded in Customs records. For example, James Raven has described two “typical” shipments to a bookseller in Boston in 1773, in which “unbound pamphlets, plays or small publications in canvas wrapping” formed 26% of the total number of titles. Raven then uses this information as a means of analysing, by format and binding, annual shipments of books to the North American colonies in the early 1770s. By his calculations, such items only formed 2.4% of the total weight of the shipments recorded in the annual Customs summary statements, but due to their individual lightness they constituted the largest quantity of items imported (at 41,034 items per year compared with 36,476 for bound duodecimos, the next largest category). Since these very items are those which are the most likely to have been regularly shipped as stationery in addition to being sometimes recorded as books, work to date may not only underestimate exports and imports but may be grossly misleading for the category of pamphlets and chapbooks.

**Distribution and Marketing Techniques**

Not all of the national methods of distribution and marketing worked equally well for books to the Canadian colonies. The primary reason for this in the early years was almost certainly the youthful state of print culture and the book trade within and between the Canadian towns.

**Books in Numbers**

The distance and time involved for distribution from producer to consumer played a large role in the relevance or otherwise of some of the newer marketing techniques for transatlantic trade. For example, one increasingly pervasive technique was the production of books in parts or numbers, thereby reducing the unit price. However, the success of this technique relied absolutely on frequent and relatively speedy delivery from publisher to retailer. As has been shown in Chapter 3, the same titles could sometimes be found for sale in Canadian towns, as were for sale in provincial Scotland—but in Canada novels and other works available in numbers in Scotland, were usually only available in entirety, judging by newspaper evidence. It is significant that Cooke’s regular and
lengthy advertisements in Scottish newspapers, were not matched by similar advertisements in Canada.\(^{107}\)

Cheap reading material in the Canadian colonies was therefore not as heterogeneous as that available in Scotland, although there are rare examples of items published in parts in Britain being shipped in parts, rather than bound, when the set was complete. An example is the edition of Morris's *Scotch Poets*, which Richard Kidston advertised for sale "in four parts" in June 1789.\(^{108}\) Although not part of the trade networks, the SPCK shipped various school books in parts, to permit their sale in single parts for just a few pennies in the colonies.\(^{109}\) In general, however, cheap materials in Canada were primarily monthly periodicals\(^{110}\) (though even these were sometimes sold a year at a time, and bound\(^{111}\)) and pamphlets (political and otherwise) or chapbooks. This is not to imply that no newly published numbered items were ever advertised in Canadian towns—John Ryan, the printer in Saint John, offered the first two numbers of William Cobbett's *Porcupine's Rush-Light* in early 1800, and undertook "to furnish the succeeding numbers as they are printed."\(^{112}\) Ryan was able to make this offer because the items were being shipped to him from New York and not across the Atlantic.\(^{113}\)

In addition, works such as encyclopaedias were sometimes published and sold in numbers. This occurred over a twelve year period to 1806, with the publication of *Encyclopædia Perthensis* by the Morison printing and publishing firm in Perth.\(^{114}\) No evidence has been found to suggest that the parts were exported, although several completed sets of 23 volumes were offered for sale in Montreal in 1808.\(^{115}\)

**Consignments**

Consignments—goods shipped unsolicited—did take place to the Canadian provinces, but they do not seem to have been common from British ports. There are several reasons why consignments may not have been an appealing marketing method to an overseas constituency, some of which are discussed here and some in the section below on "Finance."

Consignments shipments apparently resulted in a keen attempt by the local seller to set the prices sufficiently low to ensure that the shipment sold in entirety. For example the merchant firm of Campbell & Stewart in Saint John received a shipment of 83 books
on consignment in 1786, possibly from Glasgow, and stated clearly in their advertisement that as a result, their prices would be low. In that same year, a shipment of books had arrived in Halifax on consignment and were offered new for sale by the auctioneer William Millet. As with most transatlantic shipments, it is difficult to ascertain the numbers of each title shipped without business records to augment the newspaper advertisements. However, Millet’s consignment included 38 distinct titles and they indicate a range of materials likely to sell in the town. Practical works were included such as *The Seaman’s Daily Assistant*, *Moore’s Navigation*, *Guthrie’s Geographical Grammar*, *Trader’s Sure Guide*, *Mair’s Book-keeping*, *Salmon’s Geographical Grammar* and *Hopper’s Measurement*. Such works were advertised regularly in the Halifax papers and this consignment included other ubiquitous items such as Bibles, Hervey’s *Meditations*, Watt’s *Hymns*, literary items such as *The Spectator* and yet more recreational fare in the form of novels such as those by Samuel Richardson, Tobias Smollett and Frances (Fanny) Burney as well as collections of songs. All of these works were perennial steady sellers in the North American colonies, just as they were in Great Britain. Copies were shipped to the colonies from London and Glasgow and possibly also from Liverpool. On occasion, consignments included expensive works, such as occurred with Alexander Allison of Montreal who advertised the remaining four sets of *Encyclopædia Perthensis* in April 1808. Allison stated that in order “to close the consignment, he is now enabled to dispose of [the sets] at the reduced price of £17 1 Os for the 23 volumes plus atlas, “elegantly bound in calf.”

Although Kincaid and Bell were sending books to Boston, on sale or return nearly six decades earlier, returns would not have appealed to Scottish booksellers due to the long-distance nature of the transaction. In 1820, Archibald Constable wrote to John Young in Halifax, referring to books and periodicals which had been shipped to Halifax from Greenock:

We regret to find that the Edin[burgh] Review does not suit...and...rather than be at the expense of receiving it back, we are willing that you dispose of it if you can, at a reduction of 25 per cent from the price charged.

This would have led to a financial loss for Constable, but clearly the amount would have been less than the cost of paying for further insurance and packing for a return transatlantic crossing. This is an indication of the relatively narrow profit margins
involved in overseas shipments and these would have constrained any speculative trade. While publishers would accept unsold books back from retailers, they understandably preferred not to. In a letter to James Smith of Leith who wished books to take for sale in Corfu, Constable offered to accept unsold books back, but adds “these are unusual terms in the sale of books” and would only send his own publications under this system as “we could not send any other books on sale or return.”

A detail regarding an apparently typical colonial retail treatment of consignments comes from the American-born Gideon Tiffany, in his second year as printer in the little town of Niagara, Upper Canada, who advertised over 180 titles in 1796 which were a consignment and for which he thus expected “ready payment in cash.” Tiffany’s advertisement is important as it was for books shipped to him through the Great Lakes from America. It would seem that consignment selling from the south was relatively common; sometimes the advertisement stated explicitly that the books were from the States, as in James Brown’s Montreal advertisement in August 1807. Sometimes, as with Tiffany, it is necessary to know the regular supply routes of the individual Canadian sellers, in order to deduce the source.

Exchange

One of the common distributive methods after the middle of the eighteenth century across Europe, not just in Britain, was the system of exchange. This worked for books as well as for periodical articles. In Scotland exchanges were arranged, either between provincial individuals or country retailers and Edinburgh suppliers. For example a minister in Wigton and a bookseller in Dumfries arranged for exchanges with the Edinburgh firm of Bell and Bradfute in 1778. William Blackwood’s catalogues for both 1809 and 1812 were explicit concerning exchanges: “The full value given for libraries of parcels of books either in money or exchange” as was William Laing’s catalogue of 1813. The system of exchange was in regular use by publishers in the American colonies, from at least the 1790s. However, the fact that so few book retailers were within the book trade itself in Canada was a detriment to the system of exchange. In addition there was little literary periodical production and there was certainly no quantity of book production which could have worked as an exchange, although Brown and
Gilmore's shipment of "30 books of Ordinances" to the wholesaler Peter Wynne in London in 1777 may possibly have been in part payment for a shipment of stationery.\textsuperscript{131}

The general lack of exchanges between Canada and Britain or America is not to state that there were no local literary endeavours: the \textit{Nova Scotia Magazine} was a prime example of a Canadian literary effort.\textsuperscript{132} However its own local market area was not sufficient to support it, nor were its local contributors sufficient to fill its pages with local literary material. Exchange was not really feasible as a way of attracting book shipments to any of the Canadian regions.

\textbf{Book Auctions}

Large scale auctions, well-advertised and running over several days, were a feature of the trade in Scotland, and surviving catalogues offer evidence of the considerable array of old and rare books which were sold through this means.\textsuperscript{133} Such book sales are quite distinct from the trade sales of copyright shares, etc., which were not at the retail level (and were not open to the public).\textsuperscript{134} Chapter 3 includes details of the state of the second-hand trade in books in the different Canadian regions in terms of what was sold second-hand through local auctioneers. Buono's study of auctions by both English and French auctioneers in Montreal indicates the contribution of this method of book provision in that town.\textsuperscript{135} Not surprisingly, the larger towns of Quebec and Montreal offered more frequent and sometimes larger auctions, but they are of importance in all the studied towns because it was often auctioneers who were the earliest businesses to offer books for sale. In Halifax, for example, other than the sale of American almanacs by the printer, and of school books by teachers and a hardware merchant,\textsuperscript{136} the earliest sale of books located to date is that of the auctioneer William Craft, who offered 23 titles in his newspaper catalogue of August 1754.\textsuperscript{137} A limitation with many of the advertisements is that they refer simply to "books," "valuable books" or "quelques livres" and so preclude any content analyses as the separately printed catalogues, sometimes referred to, have not survived.\textsuperscript{138}
Figure 4.3
Auction Advertisement, Halifax
*Weekly Chronicle* (April 21, 1809)

BY THOMAS LEAVER,
At his Room, on Tuesday next, at 12 o'clock.

Hume's Hist. of England, continued; hot-pressed paper;
Chatellieux Travels in America;
Marryat's Art of Healing;
*Oeuvres de Bertin*; Expel. to Holland in 1799;
Hoyles Games; Sky Lark;
Thomsons Seasons; Joseph Andrews;
Robinson Crusoe; Topographer;
Scott's Recueil, 4 Comedies;
Brook's Gazetteer;
Delamennil's French Dictionary;
Sheridan's Pronouncing do.
Robinson's Hist. of America; 2 Book-Shelves,
A Barometer, a Chest of Drawers,
A Microscope, a Telescope,
A Bedstead and Furniture, a Fur Cloak, and a
FISHING ROD.
The property of a Gentleman leaving the
Province.

SUGAR, BRANDY, CORDAGE;
A quantity of DRUGS, &c., as usual—
He has also,
200 Longheads of SALT;
for sale at Manchester, Nova Scotia;
April 14.
These book auctions were often part of an estate sale in Scotland. In Canada too, estate sales were relatively common, but often auctions of books were part of a property sale of goods “belonging to a gentlemen about to leave this place,” a telling comment on the mobility of many of the readers there. Figure 4.3 (above) illustrates one such listing advertised by the auctioneer Thomas Leaver in Halifax. These auctions were conducted by general auctioneers, not those with knowledge of the trade. Nevertheless, some trade features were copied by these auctioneers, and for the larger auctions (of several hundred volumes) advance notification was common and printed catalogues were made available ahead of the sale. The printing and bookselling firms of Brown and Gilmore and latterly John Neilson, in Quebec, held retail book auctions in that town, but none of their auction catalogues has survived. Nevertheless, although the scale of auctions and operating personnel were markedly different between Scotland and Canada in this period, this method of distribution bore some similarities also. Local booksellers, as well as retail purchasers, would sometimes buy a few items for their own stock from such auctions, especially if the auction was that of a merchant’s stock. The records of the auctioneer, Edward William Gray, who was frequently hired by the Sheriff of Montreal to hold estate and bankruptcy auctions are revealing on this point. However, auctions were not a means of distributing books to Canada. Auctions were, in this period, almost wholly confined to local sales within Canada, for which printed lists were supplied ahead of the day of sale to local customers.

**Direct Orders**

English and American offers to fill direct orders were regularly, if not frequently, placed in the Canadian papers. For example, the retail bookselling firm of James Eastburn & Company of New York placed such an advertisement in Montreal in 1819. Direct orders from Canada, whether for wholesale, retail, or library use seemed to offer some level of financial security for the supplier. A newspaper advertisement, in 1806, promoted the placing of orders directly with a publisher/bookseller in London on the grounds that:

in every part of North America, [there is] an increasing taste for English Literature, without a corresponding Increase of Facilities for obtaining the best ...Publications...
The only Scottish firm, found to date, to have offered to take direct orders is that of Fairbairn (see above). However, though possibly not being proactive in seeking out those who would place direct orders, some Scottish publishers certainly responded promptly if orders were sent to them. In 1820 Archibald Constable sent a letter to the Scot, Archibald McQueen, stating that he was filling McQueen's order for books for the library at Miramichi in New Brunswick. Constable said:

> We shall be very glad to continue to supply the Miramichi library...and as an earnest of our wish to encourage such undertakings we discount 15[%] from the enclosed Invoice...We shall be happy to receive your future orders.\(^{146}\)

Constable also filled orders for the literary agriculturalist, John Young of Halifax, who operated a societal library there.\(^{147}\) Reacting, then, to orders received, was an acceptable business practice, and the costs of packing and insurance were added to the invoice. The profit margins between publisher, wholesaler and retailer were not large enough to absorb the costs of transatlantic transportation. Finance was on a relatively precarious footing for most of those involved.

**Finance**

One of the major constraints of the book trade (or indeed of any trade) was the question of payment for the goods. Banks, with international mechanisms for the transfer of funds in various currencies, were still evolving in this period.\(^{148}\) However, there were accepted practices which were followed by wholesalers and retailers engaging in overseas trade. Much further work is needed to clarify the financial arrangements used by the book wholesalers, but if they were dealing with larger general merchant houses, they were almost certainly assured prompt payment in bills drawn on reputable houses.

One method for reducing financial risk was to insist on a clearly defined method of payment. As Richard Phillips insisted in 1806,\(^{149}\) "remittances in good bills" was a requirement, and this usually meant payment from a mercantile house in London.\(^{150}\) Raven has described the tedious and costly mechanisms involved in the transatlantic payment for books—these could involve paper currency, bills of exchange or promissary notes. For a variety of reasons, bills of exchange were used often in transatlantic affairs.\(^{151}\) London was the centre of the credit structure and the book trade was no different from
other businesses regarding the need for relatively secure credit. In short, a London connection was not only important for the financial transactions of the book trade, it was from the evidence, often vital. The activities of the book trades of Edinburgh and Glasgow should thus be interpreted within this constraining financial context, especially regarding their overseas shipments. One Glasgow firm had a sufficient number of American retailing customers to warrant setting in type a business letter concerning transatlantic credit, though no references to the letter being sent to Canada have been so far located. On at least one occasion, the Scottish merchant in Montreal, James Dunlop was able to speak for Neilson the printer bookseller in Quebec, regarding the latter’s creditworthiness —“Mr Nilson [sic] the printer of Quebec has ordered some Types from Mr Wilson. I consider him perfectly safe to credit.”

Even with such clear statements and accepted practices, as in Phillips’s advertisement, extracting the payments due from colonial booksellers could be a challenge. In 1798 William Creech, an Edinburgh bookseller and publisher with strong business ties to the London trade, wrote a near despairing letter to W.H. Tod in Philadelphia in which he refers to debts owed to him by six individuals and booksellers in the American colonies. He concludes his letter:

The trouble and delay in getting business settled in America really sickens mercantile people in Britain with regard to answering orders... The difficulty lay in the fact that commerce in books was one "in which exceptionally long credit was expected by client retailers and customers." The supplying booksellers had to carry, in the interim, not only the production costs of the books themselves but the not inconsiderable freight and insurance costs. Overall, for at least some of the London wholesaling booksellers and publishers, their trade to the colonies "was hardly worth" all of the effort involved. Considering the much smaller population base in the Canadian colonies, a reluctance by both London and Edinburgh publishers to make any firm commitments on behalf of readers in Canada is perhaps understandable. Even when admiring the "spirit and industry" shown by the Robinsons of Leeds in their shipments overseas, Constable in Edinburgh chose not to emulate them and his joint publications which did end up in the Canadian provinces were not distributed from Edinburgh as they were to the Scottish provinces, but were shipped apparently by merchants’ agents who had purchased them from Longman in London.
There would be, for financial arrangements, a clear advantage if books were sold (and paid for) on a local level, to merchant companies which, in turn, would send the books overseas through their own distributive network. From evidence uncovered to date, this was the primary route for books moving to Nova Scotia in the early period, and remained a mode of book distribution even after Halifax acquired its first specialist bookseller, Alexander Morrison, in the 1780s. In addition, general merchants in the colonies who were by definition dealing in a wide array of goods, would not be so dependent financially on a relatively rapid turnover of book stock. The books stocked by general merchants would only form a relatively small proportion of their entire stock. The Halifax merchant John Kirby (or Kerby) provides an example of a merchant for whom school books and stationery were a staple though not large part of his regular stock.\textsuperscript{160}

**General and Trade-Specific Information**

The need for various types of information, beyond financial information, is apparent, if not self-consciously so, in the letterbooks of such Scots booksellers as John Bell of Edinburgh and Davie Hall in Philadelphia, both engaging in international trade.\textsuperscript{161} Fundamental information concerning appropriate shippers and sailing schedules, etc., was of importance to both book specialists and general merchants. The major coffee houses in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh were the equivalent to the daily trade bulletins of this century—dates of ship clearances and names of captains and shipping agents were regularly exchanged in the commercial and social atmosphere of such emporia. For example, the Tontine Coffee-Room in Glasgow in the 1780s included amongst its patrons "the most influential members of the mercantile community" in the city.\textsuperscript{162} The early coffee houses in Halifax had similar patrons and served precisely the same purposes for the exchange of information.

An example of a potentially vital publication for dealers in books is the following, from a Halifax paper in 1801:\textsuperscript{163}

**PROSPECTUS OF A GENERAL SHIPPING AND COMMERCIAL LIST**

Published at the General Post Office conformably to a plan, submitted to, an approved of by His Majesty's Post-Master General. This list exhibits a periodical account of the sailings and arrivals of merchant ships at all ports, both foreign and domestic...Publication every Monday,
Wednesday and Friday...The list will be sent by the post...to America at £1. 3s. per annum...Orders will be received...by every Postmaster in the British Settlements abroad.

Not only were there periodical publications such as this one, the local newspapers themselves often fulfilled a similar role with the insertion of shipping information. The Halifax merchants could order a range of goods from British merchants with instructions to have the goods shipped aboard specific ships, which they knew (on good authority) to be heading for Halifax. This was no hit and miss business structure. There was therefore, at least in theory, time to plan what book stock should be ordered.

Another tool for business people in both Scotland and Nova Scotia, was of course, the locally-produced almanac. These ranged from pamphlets of a few pages, to yearbooks of surprising sophistication. Scottish almanacs which were available in Halifax, such as the New Glasgow Almanac for 1806, included information which might indeed help Halifax merchants, such as lists of Banks in Edinburgh and Glasgow and lists of merchants and manufacturers in Glasgow. Although details of the Bookbinders' Society were included, there is no listing of booksellers in the city, which could have been used by colonial merchants wishing to import. From a Scottish perspective, other than distances between various towns in the colonies and tables of stamp duties for bills of exchange, there was little in their local almanacs which would be of real aid to a transatlantic book trade.

In addition to almanacs, general mercantile handbooks, printed in several British towns, provided information ranging from conversion of weights and measures, to mercantile and Maritime laws and customs. Some of these handbooks were offered for sale in Halifax; for example The Merchants' Directory, or Lex Mercatoria. While of general use for a wide array of goods and suppliers, the information which was lacking in any and all of these published tools was a listing of wholesale and retail booksellers on both sides of the ocean. Such a tool might have been created, as there was a useful precedent in the form of a pocket guide by John Pendred. In addition, basic information such as population figures in the colonies, which sometimes appeared in London and other British papers, would have affected how the various colonies were viewed in terms of potential markets worth targeting with book shipments.
The information required by booksellers included not only what was in print and from whom was it available. Such bibliographic information would have been of greater importance to specialist booksellers, who would include amongst their customers those wishing to place special orders for the latest publications and editions, than to general merchants who would have been aiming to hold a stock of general, topical and practical interest. In short, general merchants may not have been concerned if they did not have the latest edition of the general London Catalogue of Books or house catalogues from individual English or Scottish publishers, as they were relying on agents in Scotland and England to ship appropriate titles. Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider how they, and their customers, knew not only what was in print but what might have been forthcoming, in order to compare their access to this information with those in the Scottish provinces.

Books-in-print lists, newspaper advertisements, catalogues, prospectuses and, by the late eighteenth century, reviewing periodicals, were the standard methods by which information about books was disseminated. These differing methods by which publishers and editors informed the public of available titles, were of varying importance in the Scottish and Canadian provinces.

Books-in-print lists and catalogues

Lists of books in print were available to both lowland and highland booksellers and book purchasers, at least in county towns. Interestingly, the flow of information was certainly not all one way, from London and or Edinburgh out to the Scottish provinces—both Isaac Forsyth of Elgin and John Young of Inverness were keeping Edinburgh publishers and distributors aware of their own stocks. What of the Canadian provinces however? How might bookish merchants and the literate settlers have known what was generally available in print? Some London publishers, though apparently none from Edinburgh, deliberately advertised in the Canadian colonies. An example is the English publisher Richard Phillips who, in 1806 advertised “Catalogues of the best books and editions of books published in London: within the last seven years, and in the current year.” The arrival of sale quantities of such separately-printed books-in-print lists in the Canadian colonies, however, was probably relatively rare. However, copies of Bent’s
London Catalogue of Books from 1791 are extant in Canadian Maritime repositories and individual readers would have acquired them privately and directly from Britain on occasion. As with the scattered readers in other Canadian regions, Maritime readers probably shared such lists with friends, thus disseminating the information concerning what was in print.

General lists of forthcoming titles do not appear to have been common in Britain in this period, although the proposal in 1807 for a new trade monthly “devoted to the immediate use of Booksellers...by presenting a correct account of all works announced for publication...” would indicate a perceived need for such lists (at least on the part of the proposer). In contrast, by the early 1800s, American publishers and booksellers in Philadelphia had formed a company to consolidate and promote the members’ interests and one of their methods was to publish just such periodical in-print and forthcoming book lists. The contemporary state of the publishing trade in Canada did not justify such a regular practice of indigenous printing, but it is important to consider the potential availability of such American lists in the Canadian colonies. In the 1790s and 1800s American books were shipped regularly to Niagara and York, and the printers, booksellers and librarians who imported them may have selected their stock from such lists. On the other hand, it would seem reasonable to conjecture that some general merchants may have purchased American books from the same suppliers, on consignment or otherwise, which they did not select title by title, but which filled their more generic requirements for steady sellers such as school books, Bibles, sermons, almanacs, and technical manuals such as guides to farriery and builders’ assistants.

Some of the more enterprising of the Scottish booksellers, such as the Duncans of Glasgow, had catalogues of in-print titles from Scotland distributed to their American agents. For example, in 1818 Archibald Constable wrote to the Duncans saying, “[We] are obliged by your offer to insert our books in your Catalogue for the American market.” However, these booksellers and publishers seem to have paid little attention to the colonies to the north before the 1820s. While it is not assumed that such catalogues never made their way north through the Great Lakes or on coastal sloops, the only advertisement from a Scottish bookseller, located to date in a Canadian newspaper, is that of T. Fairbairn of Edinburgh who transported himself as well as catalogues and a
book stock to Halifax in July 1819. Catalogues of books available through Scottish and English wholesalers who targeted export merchants, such as Archibald MacGoun (see Figure 4.1 above) may have had a wide circulation amongst colonial merchants, although no copies have been located to date in Canadian archives.

Evidence of locally produced book catalogues in Canada is scant. The more heavily populated colonies of Upper and Lower Canada offered a more suitable business climate for the production and dissemination of local book catalogues. Although the printer William Brown in Quebec, appeared to prefer the standard book lists published in his own newspaper, one of his successors, John Neilson, produced separately printed catalogues on a regular basis, as did the French-Canadian bookseller, Hector Bossange, and these catalogues may have had relatively wide distribution in both Upper and Lower Canada.

An interesting subset of forthcoming and in-print lists are the relatively rare lists of titles advertised before the relevant shipment arrived in Canada. These would have served the same mercantile function, at the local level, of trade lists in Scotland. No examples have been found to date for such Canadian lists of English books, but a lengthy list of French books “daily expected per the [ship] Canada from London” was advertised by the Quebec merchant-auctioneer Reiffenstein in 1818. The general lack of such lists in Canadian papers may be evidence that the precise contents of shipments had usually not been preselected by the Canadian retailer.

Newspaper advertisements

Newspapers as a means of disseminating book information were common in both Scotland and Canada. Although London papers were available to both, albeit in small numbers in Canada; American papers were certainly more common in Canada than in Scotland. Weekly papers from New York were available promptly in Niagara, and New York and Boston papers lay scattered on the same tables with London papers in the Exchange Coffee House in Saint John. In this way, American book information from newspapers, was clearly available at least in regional centres in Canada. It was local, rather than British-based or American-based lists, which seem to have been far more common in the indigenous Canadian papers. A significant difference between Scotland
and Canada, in the provincial distribution of information about books, is the length of time over which an advertisement would run. In Halifax and Saint John the same advertisement might appear for a year—literally until the next shipment arrived. In Scottish provincial papers, on the other hand, detailed lists were relatively uncommon, and never, from the papers reviewed, appeared for more than a few weeks. More common in Scotland was the use of provincial papers by London and Edinburgh publishers to advertise newly published books and journals. Examples include lists of recent publications from Archibald Constable, and extensive lists of Cooke’s pocket editions.\textsuperscript{186}

For readers in Canada, new publications of particular local interest were sometimes advertised, but not usually by the British publisher—such advertisements were inserted by a local supplier after the books had arrived in the colonies. This illustrates another general difference in the information about books in the two regions—in Scotland, lowland provincial readers and buyers, were kept informed through their newspapers of at least a proportion of books either new or forthcoming, before they were available for local purchase. This might relate to centrally published works from London and Edinburgh, both in book and periodical form, or to locally published works such as \textit{Extracts for the Use of Parish Schools}, selected by Thomas S. Hardie, minister of Ashkirk, and printed and sold by Robert Armstrong of Hawick.\textsuperscript{187} The more common model in the Canadian provinces was that newspaper advertisements only related to books which had already arrived in the town.

\textbf{Prospectuses and subscription publication}\textsuperscript{188}

Feather has described the differences between prospectuses and the usually ensuing subscription publication.\textsuperscript{189} Accepting these differences, it nevertheless seems reasonable to consider both together within this section on the dissemination of information about planned publications, however published. A good proportion of the books advertised by prospectus and published by subscription had a provincial flavour, Scottish or Canadian, even if the item in question be it a book, map, or an art print, was physically produced in London.\textsuperscript{190} Prospectuses were published in both Scottish and Canadian newspapers, but in Scotland they were more often also published as separate items. In Canada prospectus notices in newspapers advertised books of sermons and
hymns, as well as items of local current affairs, such as an *Accurate History of the Settlement of His Majesty's Exiled Loyalists on the North Side of the Bay of Fundy* for which subscriptions were accepted by printers in Halifax, Shelburne and Saint John, and by a merchant in Parr. Also included on occasion were notices of religious works published in the colonies to the south, such as *The Universal Prayer, to Which is Added a Dissertation on Extreme Unction*, as well as those with a British connection such as Thomas Wood's *Progress of Christianity*. Subscriptions to the former could be handed in to Robert Fletcher the printer and merchant in Halifax, as well as to printers and booksellers in Boston, New York and Philadelphia in 1770. Sometimes there would be more than one subscription receiver in a colonial town, by separate printing firms for example, or by a printer, a general merchant and a minister as was the case in Fredericton in 1819 for the *Remembrancer or Ecclesiastical and Literary Miscellany*.

A particular Scottish link might have been expected with the prospectus notice of Richard Rolt's *Memoirs of the Life and Character of...John...First Earl of Scotland*, which was the first book advertisement, by title, to be printed in a Canadian newspaper. This was inserted by Robert Campbell, a military captain stationed in Halifax. Although he probably expected some fellow Scots in Halifax to subscribe, by the time the book was published in 1753 any such subscribers, who were primarily military had moved to new posts, mainly in the Netherlands and Germany; Campbell himself apparently being listed as a Lieutenant in Holland. Not one subscriber is listed as living in Nova Scotia. This evidence is instructive as it may be a reflection of the small numbers of literate, book-buying Scots in Halifax in the early 1750s, other than navy and army officers who were a highly mobile group. Indeed the 558 subscribers to Rolt's book were primarily landed gentry and military men.

Although other subscription lists have not been traced for works advertised in early Canada (indeed, according to ESTC, some of the works may never have been published), it is possible to look for evidence of Canadian retailers ordering multiple copies of such items, for delivery to specific customers or for general retail sale. For example, Brown and Gilmore in Quebec subscribed in 1772 for 25 copies of Nathaniel Evans' *Poems on Several Occasions*. The bookselling merchant, John Hemmington
near the Navy Yard in Halifax, accepted subscriptions in 1805 for *The Progress of Christianity*, as well as purchasing multiple copies for his store.199

Sometimes, of course, the prospectus (or "proposal" as they were often called in the newspapers) was not for an item being published in London or America, but for a local publication. An example is the *Union Harmony or British America's Sacred Vocal Music* which was published by the music-loving merchant Stephen Humbert in Saint John200 and advertised by him and by George Lugrin, printer in Fredericton. Significantly, the second edition was advertised as being "sold much cheaper than music books introduced from the United States."201

**Reviewing periodicals**

Magazines, including reviewing periodicals, were of special importance in the overseas provinces, to judge from the ubiquity of references to their availability for reading, borrowing or buying. Figure 4.4 lists some of the serial publications available. The list excludes items which were originally published as serials but became standard bound works, such as *The Spectator*, *The Rambler*, and *The Idler*. Such items were regularly advertised in the Canadian towns.

**Figure 4.4**

*Serials Advertised in Selected Canadian Towns*202

- American Clerk's Magazine
- Analytical Review
- Anti-Jacobin Magazine
- Belle Assemblee, or, Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine
- Blackwood's Magazine
- British Critic
- Christian Monitor
- Connoisseur
- Crell's Chemical Journal
- Critical Review
- Drawing Magazine
- Edinburgh Almanack and Scots Register
- Edinburgh Magazine
- Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal
- English Magazine
- European Magazine
- Farmer and Mechanic's Magazine
- Gentleman's Magazine
- Guardian
- Herald
These serials were listed by a range of sellers, from the watchmaker Charles Geddes in Halifax, and general merchants in several towns, to specialists such as printers and booksellers. They were however, also listed in library catalogues and not just those for elite subscription or special libraries, such as the Legislative Library of Upper Canada on the one hand, or the Duns Subscription Library on the other. They appear in catalogues for publicly accessible circulating libraries, such as that run by the bookseller Forsyth in Elgin. These items were important for readers in both regions although on at least one occasion, Archibald Constable sent the Edinburgh Review on speculation to the specialist
agricultural library operated by the Scot, John Young in Halifax, and was rebuffed for his efforts. Maritime readers did not receive the quarterly or monthly notices of the publication of journals in the seemingly superfluous (though presumably profitable) habit of some Scottish newspaper printers and booksellers.

Overall, it seems fair to summarize the availability of information about books in the following way: provincial Scottish readers were informed regularly of forthcoming titles from the proactive publishers whose practice was to seek deep market penetration on a regular basis. The Canadian provincials on the other hand, apparently relied to a far greater extent on the physical presence of books, and their representation in local newspaper advertisements. There are several possible reasons for this and they merit further research: the British publishers may have sent all of their forthcoming notices to the wholesaling booksellers and printers in the larger colonial centres, such as Quebec, assuming dissemination from there. This happened in Scotland with Edinburgh acting as a major centre for dissemination of information about London and London-Edinburgh publications, by Creech, Constable and others. However, Canada did not follow this centre and periphery model, due to its geography and political development. It had numerous regional centres of distribution, most notable among these being Quebec, with its distributive network through the Great Lakes region and along the St. Lawrence River, but no effective single centre. Books in Halifax arrived from an array of British and American cities, but very significantly, apparently never from Quebec.

Prices, Duties, etc.

In the eighteenth century there were no legislated regulations regarding retail book prices. For Scotland, there is evidence from the end of the century that wholesale booksellers and stationers could and did cooperate to set prices for the benefit of all, particularly with regard to Bibles and school books. In Canada, there were no such collaborative pricing endeavours and surviving evidence of retail prices is scant, but nevertheless revealing. First, the expectation that, due to shipping over greater distances, prices would necessarily be higher in Canada than in provincial Scotland, is not always supported by the evidence. However, the exact effect of various factors, such as differences in paper quality and in bindings, can be difficult to discern, as price information
in Canadian advertisements rarely alluded to such factors. Secondly, the apparent standard practice of American colonial booksellers of doubling the sterling price, was certainly not duplicated in the northern colonies.\textsuperscript{212} Thirdly, a critical difference between many of the provincial booksellers in Scotland and those in the Canadian colonies, was that the former could purchase books wholesale, unbound, sewed, in boards, or bound;\textsuperscript{213} whereas the latter were almost always importing books bound, to judge from customs evidence. There was therefore a wider choice for customers in provincial Scotland and some of the local price lists reflect this.\textsuperscript{214} This raises interesting issues concerning profit margins in the early Canadian trade, a subject for future investigation.

It might seem reasonable to suppose that the norm with prices would be that the Canadian settlers would have to pay more for their books, and this was true more often that not. The norm in Canada seems to have been a 25\% increase over the provincial Scottish price. For example, \textit{Arabian Nights Entertainments} in four volumes, sold for 12s in Elgin, 12s in Hawick\textsuperscript{215} but for 15s in Halifax; and Hugh Blair's \textit{Sermons} were also sold for 12s and 15s respectively.\textsuperscript{216} However, there are interesting exceptions to the 25\% increase, when, for example, the price in Halifax might be lower than that in Elgin or elsewhere in Scotland. On these occasions, a difference in binding, or in edition, may have been the critical factor. In 1789, the apparently standard price of Buchan's \textit{Domestic Medicine} in Scotland was 7s 6d.\textsuperscript{217} That same year it was selling in Halifax for 5s 6d, a price which begs questions regarding the origin of the shipment.\textsuperscript{218} The English provincial shopkeeper, Abraham Dent, sold a two volume edition of Hervey's \textit{Meditations} for 6s in 1762.\textsuperscript{219} In 1769, the same work was sold for 4s 6d in Nova Scotia (for "2 volumes in 1").\textsuperscript{220} These examples of lower prices for some titles in Canada than in provincial Scotland or England are useful as reminders that colonials did not necessarily have to pay more than there compatriots at home—but it may never be possible to perform a definitive analysis on such price anomalies as there is no surviving evidence regarding edition and binding, etc.

Other price comparisons are rather more complex to make. In Quebec, the local currency was "livres" which were not equivalent to pounds sterling, as might be supposed, but were one twenty-fourth of the sterling value, although this rate of exchange fluctuated.\textsuperscript{221} Thus, a price of "£21" entered in a Montreal auctioneer's records for five
volumes of Abbé Raynal’s *Philosophical and Political History of the... West Indies*, when converted to 17s 1d, is seen to be close to the price just four years later in Elgin (18s for six volumes of the same work).  

While detailed charts of relevant import duties for books and stationery, such as are available for the post-Confederation period, have not been traced for the early period, newspapers provide some evidence of such added costs. The principal source of information is the government notice, which appeared with unending regularity, concerning the movement of goods north from the American colonies and the United States. During the periods of war, these notices clarified what essential goods could enter Canada duty free: flour, various types of timber, pitch, tar, turpentine, etc. The rate of duty on all other goods was usually, apparently, the same. For example, in the summer of 1815, it was ten per cent.

A clear difference in the two provincial areas concerns wholesaling and retailing prices for books other than school books and almanacs. There is no equivalent evidence for the Maritimes, for example, to the sheet catalogues of Forsyth in Elgin which include a wholesale price of 12s for Blair’s *Sermons*, four volumes in two, in boards, and 14s retail for the same edition and format. It would be several decades before the population base in the Canadian colonies was sufficient to support local wholesaling of books.

Even specialists in the Canadian trade, such as printers, engaged in a trade practice for which there does not seem to be evidence for provincial Scotland by this period—they did not always expect money in exchange for books and newspapers, they would accept produce such as grain, other goods, or rags in exchange. In this, the Canadian book market behaved similarly to that described by McDougall for the Carolinas and Maryland.

Insurance costs for the trade in books to the colonies varied considerably, but was especially high during the frequent times of war. In addition, overseas trade was fraught with relatively high freight rates. The “for cost and charges” appearing in Canadian advertisements indicates clearly that retailers there could not usually absorb high insurance and shipping costs. For the Scottish provinces, the country bookseller had to bear the cost of carriage, if he were to charge the standard price such as that given in
the major London catalogues. Charging the London or Edinburgh price was accepted in the British provincial trade in general, as was the resulting norm that country booksellers could not achieve the same profit margins as their colleagues in London or Edinburgh, and were not often in a position to offer cut prices as they would have had relatively restricted turnover. Unexpectedly, even in the Maritime provinces, there is evidence of the standard London price being used, even though the seller in this instance also had to cover oceanic shipping and insurance costs. This may have been simply a business strategy, by booksellers such as the English merchant and printer, Robert Fletcher, to establish a name in the town as a provider of books. Fletcher’s profit margin would apparently have been slim indeed. The 138 titles he advertised in 1771 range from standard gazetteers, school books and religious works, to recent works of history and *The History of Emily Montague* by Frances Brooke, which was the first Canadian work of fiction.

**Conclusion**

The methods by which the overseas colonists learned about and acquired their reading materials bore some similarities with those in small-town Scotland. The prevalence of bookselling by general merchants was certainly greater in Canada, though this is not surprising. A further notable difference is that concerning the readers’ access to information about forthcoming and recently-published works. Research to date indicates that, other than the relatively rare cases of subscription proposals being circulated in Canadian newspapers, readers in Canada would not usually know in advance of new publications. Canadian book-buyers however, understandably, had readier access to American publications, both reprints of the same works which were available in the Scottish provinces, as well as titles on current colonial affairs. For the heterogeneous readerships which existed in both the Maritime and the Scottish provinces, the local sellers of books would have been meeting at least a proportion of their needs.

With the significant numbers of Scots who migrated to various colonies in this period, one might imagine that some of the Edinburgh firms would view some of the colonies as logical extensions of the local provincial market. The evidence uncovered to date suggests overwhelmingly that the opposite was in fact the case and that members of the Scottish trade were content to have London serve the colonies. Overall, the Scottish
publishers were apparently a dull lot when it came to proactive business practices. They might admire the spirit of enterprise in others, but in general they did not copy it. The following chapter examines the role of Scots in the provision of books within Canada, from wherever they were importing.
1. As with any business "circuit," any element might have been selected as the starting point—the order used here is the one which appeared most logical based on the evidence.


3. APS. David Hall Letterbooks, 1750-1771 [microform].


13. Fairbairn may have been related to John Fairbairn who was in the trade from the 1770s until his death in 1810, or he may have had connections with the partnership of Fairbairn and Anderson who were in business in 1819-1820, at least; SBTI. No ledgers and only one business letter survive, and genealogical records, while suggesting a link, have not proved one. Scottish church records [CD-ROM], 1995. I am grateful to my colleague Kenneth G. Aitken for searching this tool on my behalf. It lists a Thomas Fairbairn who was the son of James Fairbairn (and a man of that name was in partnership for a period with John Fairbairn the bookseller) and who was christened on
November 14, 1780 at St. Cuthberts in Edinburgh.


15. Halifax Gazette (May 14, 1761).


17. Cobbett and Morgan offered to fill orders "for every...article, that issues from the press, in whatever size or form." Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser (July 7, 1801): 3.


19. It is not known how many of the Gazette's readers took up Neilson's offer, but he certainly provided books to a network of correspondents in Upper and Lower Canada, and some of these were possibly items he purchased on his buying trips.


21. St. George advertised at least two such shipments to York in 1804; Upper Canada Gazette (September 15, 1804): 4, and (December 15, 1804): 4.


25. For example, see the advertisement from Cooke, of 59 titles, in the Kelso Mail or Roxburgh, Berwickshire and Northumberland Gazette (October 18, 1804): 1.


27. Newspaper advertisements and colophons have been used to chart these networks: Kelso Mail or Roxburgh, Berwickshire and Northumberland Gazette and Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser.
28. This is not to imply that all was well with the Scottish coastal trade in this period. In a letter of March 1790, Hugh Bell of Edinburgh wrote “Britain with much wisdom and good effect has of late years constructed Turnpike Roads and Inland Navigations—Her conduct with respect to the coasting Trade by no means entitles her to equal praise...” NLS. MS 14. Melville Papers. fol. 27.

29. NLS. Dep. 317. Francis Jollie, Carlisle, to John Bell, 7 April 1781. “Sir pleas send me a list of your good books in qrs with the lowest prices prefixed; and I shall give you an order...”


32. For example, the *Kingston Chronicle* (February 26, 1819): 4.

33. Retailers in York and Brockville received books via the Great Lakes in December and January. See *Upper Canada Gazette* (December 15, 1804): 4 (advertised by Quetton St. George); and, *Kingston Gazette* (January 16, 1813): 3 (advertised by H. Spafford & Co.).

34. Arnell, J.C. *Atlantic mails: a history of the mail service between Great Britain and Canada to 1889*, 1980, p. 9. However, the regulations were not always adhered to: the merchant William Grigg advertised “Song books...Music books...Magazines ...Charts ...Newbury books for children” in the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* (January 11, 1785): 3. They were delivered to him on the Hermione Packet from London.


36. Stern states that Mathew Carey of Philadelphia had an agent in Halifax by 1790, but she provides no evidence for this. No evidence has been found in extant Halifax newspapers to support Stern's statement. Stern, Madeleine B. “Dissemination of popular books in the midwest and far west during the nineteenth century.” In: Michael Hackenberg, ed. *Getting the books out: papers of the Chicago Conference on the Book in 19th-century America*, 1987, pp. 76-97.

37. My thanks to Warren McDougall for noting Canadian references on my behalf from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 227B Lea and Febiger Letter Book, May 20, 1789 to November 15, 1791. McDougall located seven letters to correspondents in Canada, all in Halifax, only one of which may have been to a bookseller (“Mr Howe” who may have been John Howe, the publisher of the *Halifax Journal*).

39. For example, early in the nineteenth century Alexander Brown of the Atheneum Reading Room in Aberdeen, “arranged for...magazines and newspapers to be brought up by mail coach. Glasgow and Edinburgh papers were available for consultation two days after publication” although London papers such as Cobbett’s *Register* took slightly longer to arrive; Beavan, Iain. “All new works of interest received on publication:’ Aberdeen and its access to the printed word, 1800-1850.” In: Terry Brotherstone and Donald J. Withrington, eds. *The city and its worlds: aspects of Aberdeen’s history since 1794*, 1996, pp. 94-114. [Quotation from p. 2 of typescript copy].

40. NLS. MS 668. Robert Armstrong, Hawick, to Constable, 23 August 1801.

41. NLS. MS 668. Robert Armstrong, Hawick, to Constable, 22 March 1802.

42. NLS. Dep. 317. Box 1, Correspondence 1771-1781. John Gillies, Perth, to John Bell, 22 November 1780.

43. NLS. Dep. 317. John Campbell, Achmore, to John Bell, 21 May 1780.

44. Harrison, Jane E. *Until next year: letter writing and the mails in the Canadas, 1640-1830*, 1997. This work includes graphs showing the speed of mail delivery in different months.

45. PANS. MG1 No. 526A. Diary of Anna Kearny, Halifax 1795 and Sydney [Cape Breton] 1802. Entry for 6 June 1795.

46. PANS. MG1 No. 526A. Entry for 3 October 1795. “Read the Banish’d Man till Bed time.” This novel was published in 2 volumes in Dublin for P. Byrne and others in 1794. The second edition was published in 4 volumes by Cadell and Davies in 1795. Both Byrne’s and Cadell and Davies’ publications were regularly exported to the American colonies. Anna Kearny’s copy may have come north on a Packet ship or a merchant sloop.

47. PANS. MG1 No. 526A. Entry for 1 July 1795.


49. While the majority of the merchants noted in this study can be classified as general merchants, there were specialists, ranging from ironmongers to hat merchants, who would advertise school books. See for example, the advertisement for Webster’s spelling books “by the dozen or single” inserted by Northrop and DeWitt at the Montreal Hat Warehouse; *Montreal Gazette* (September 26, 1808): 3.

Sutherland, David Alexander. "Halifax merchants and the pursuit of development, 1783-1850." Canadian Historical Review, 19878, 59 (1), 1-17.

51. Evidence of wholesale distribution by the Kidstons, in the form of newspaper information about price reductions for bulk purchasing, has not been located.

52. William Laurence read several Nova Scotia country merchants' ledgers on my behalf, the contents of which confirmed my belief, from other sources, that merchants in hamlets and villages tended to stock no more than rudimentary school books and Bibles. The ledgers include: PANS. MG 3 vol. 236. Business papers. Horton Landing, King's County. Account Book, 1793-1794; PANS. mf. 10953. James Patterson. Account and Day-book, 1802-1803; PANS. mf. 13512. Windsor Account Book, 1778-[1782?].

53. An example of such a music teacher is Mr. Duff at No. 11 St. Peter's Street in Montreal, who offered "a large and excellent selection of New Music for sale." Montreal Herald (October 7, 1820): 2.


57. The word "writer" is a distinctive Scottish term referring to a lawyer, notary, solicitor or attorney; Robinson, Mairi, ed. The concise Scots dictionary, 1985.


59. Itinerant trading of books, while challenging to research, has received some notable attention in Britain; see especially, Harris, Michael. "A few shillings for small books: the experiences of a flying stationer in the 18th century." In: Robin Myers, and Michael Harris, eds. Spreading the word: the distribution networks of print, 1550-1850, 1990, pp. 83-108.


62. Osborne, Brian S. "Trading on a frontier: the function of peddlers, markets and fairs in nineteenth-century Ontario." In: Donald H. Akenson, ed. Canadian papers in
63. Ibid., p. 79. A source not yet tapped by Canadian book historians is the collection of licenses required of peddlers after the statute (for the Canadas) 47 Geo.III, c. 9 (1807). This legislation continued with only minor modifications until 1852 when the licensing authority was transferred to local municipalities; Ibid., p. 80, note 9. Osborne lists those factors recorded in the licensing records (pp. 62-63) and these include types of itinerant trading, as well as trading areas and names of traders.

64. Beavan, ““All new works of interest received on publication.”” Typescript, pp. 3-4.


66. Examples include several of the merchant entries in the DCB.


68. When DCB is available in electronic format, such searches will be facilitated.


70. Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser (June 18, 1799): 3, in which Morrison advertised a “large collection of books” but with no title details.

71. Akins, Thomas Beamish. History of Halifax city, 1895 reprinted 1973, p. 139. Akins does not, however, provide a contemporary source for his comment.

72. For example by 1818, the bookseller and circulating librarian, George Dawson, was advertising a list of 280 titles for sale or loan in York; Upper Canada Gazette (February 26, 1818): 1.

73. If Brown and Gilmore or Samuel Neilson ever published catalogues of books, none has survived, and newspaper evidence has been relied upon for indications of their stock. John Neilson’s business is represented by advertisements and surviving catalogues from 1800 and 1811, which have been analysed in Chapter 3.

74. For Durward, see Quebec Gazette (August 31, 1780): 2; and for Brown, see Quebec Gazette (September 25, 1788): supplement, p. 2.

75. SRO. GD.1/151. James Dunlop Letters, 1773-1815. Dunlop did well in Montreal and “[by] 1802 his headquarters on Rue Saint-Paul [the main business thoroughfare] were among the largest mercantile premises in the colony.” His brothers were not his only Scottish agents; he dealt primarily with Allen, Kerr and Company of Greenock, who were leading suppliers to the Canadas. MacMillan, David S. and A.J.H. Richardson. “Dunlop, James” DCB, vol. 5, pp. 284-287; and “James Dunlop” in Borthwick, J. Douglas. History and biographical gazetteer of Montreal to the year 1892, 1892, p. 508.
76. SRO. GD.1/151. James Dunlop to Alexander Dunlop, 16 December 1798. “Should this get to hand in time you will further add to my [order] ½ doz more Dilworth’s Spelling Books, 4 doz Common Prayer Books at 15/-, 4 doz Common Bibles, no Psalms.” Dunlop was continuing the same business dealings with his brother which he had established when he first emigrated. He went first to Gray’s Creek, Virginia, and ordered single and multiple copies of a variety of titles in 1774; James Dunlop to Alexander Dunlop, 1 May 1774.

77. The SBTI does not list an Alexander Dunlop.

78. SRO. GD.1/151. James Dunlop to Alexander Dunlop, 25 October 1798. “...perhaps you had better apply to London for the Music but the more early it comes out it will be the more acceptable.”


81. I am very grateful to John Feather for bringing this issue to my attention during the early stages of my research.

82. See for example Dundee Perth and Cupar Advertiser (January 9, 1807): 1.

83. Maxted, The London book trades, 1775-1800. Maxted’s meticulous checklist does not describe either Wynne or Scholey as wholesalers or as having owned a warehouse; yet evidence in the Neilson Collection would certainly suggest that they were wholesaling stationery and also, probably, books. NAC. MG 24.

84. Peter Wynne is included in Brown, Philip A.H. London publishers and printers, c.1800-1870, 1982. However, there no evidence of his name appearing in imprints, and he and his various partners offer an example of a book wholesaling enterprise which, apparently, was not involved in printing or publishing. Wynne is referred to regularly in the journals of John Neilson; NAC. MG 24.


86. Raven, Judging new wealth, p. 21.

87. This weight, using McDougall’s calculation method, represents approximately 89,000 volumes; McDougall, Warren. "Copyright litigation in the Court of Session, 1738-1749, and the rise of the Scottish book trade." Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, 1988, 5 (5), 15. Whether such a number of books could have been absorbed by the relatively small population of Nova Scotia in this thirty year
period, when a proportion of that population could not read at all, or if they could read could not afford to purchase books, requires further investigation. It is possible that some of the thousands of volumes sent to Nova Scotia were being transhipped to ports in the American colonies or in the West Indies.

88. The customs data are held, in varying formats, at PRO. CUST 14/1-23; and SRO. E. 504. Collations of some of these figures are given in Barber, Giles. "Books from the old world and for the new: the British international trade in books in the eighteenth century." *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 1976, (151), 185-224. The London figures include New Brunswick within the Nova Scotia total of course. The annual summary accounts from which they are drawn, did not detail which port the books were being sent to, simply which colony.

89. Figures extracted from PRO. CUST 14/1-23, “British and Foreign Goods and Merchandize Imported to and Exported from Scotland.” Data is included only for those years for which Canadian destinations are included. The term ‘Canada’ refers to shipments to the port of Quebec City. Of interest is book shipments in reverse—in some years, books were imported to Scotland from North America, e.g., 1792, 1793, 1800 and 1811.


91. Extensive further research will be required to check each advertisement against the individual quarterly account volumes which may include data not collocated in the summary statements. SRO. E504/13 Glasgow; E504/15 Greenock; E504/22 Leith; E504/28 Port Glasgow.


93. A factor which requires much further investigation, and which is not a part of the present study, is whether the Canadian Maritime ports may have been used for purposes of smuggling books to the American colonies. The duty on books to the American colonies fluctuated during this period, but was on occasion as high as 13.5%—perhaps making efforts at smuggling worthwhile. See Raven, James. "Establishing and maintaining credit lines overseas: the case of the export book trade from London in the eighteenth century, mechanisms and personnel." In: Laurence Fontaine and Paul Servais, eds. *Des personnes aux institutions réseaux et culture du crédit du XVIe au XXe siècle en Europe*, 1997, p. 155. Raven is referring to shipments at the turn of the century from Patrick Byrne of Dublin to Matthew Carey of Philadelphia.

94. James Beith imported these books from Glasgow on the Brig Charlotte; *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (June 17, 1802): 3.

95. The issue is complex. Some commodities which were sometimes advertised under stationery were subject to duty, such as playing cards. There was therefore a need to list these separately in Customs Accounts. Other entries, however, state only
“stationary” or “stationary ware” (the latter being the older term).

96. It is “evident that much work yet remains to be done...to establish the exact basis of these statistics.” Barber, Giles. "Book imports and exports in the eighteenth century." In: Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds. Sale and distribution of books from 1700, 1982, p. 99. Barber’s wise caution has been echoed by other scholars and Warren McDougall is also investigating the “books shipped as stationery” angle through his work on Charles Elliott.

97. Rediker, Marcus. Between the devil and the deep blue sea: merchant seamen, pirates, and the Anglo-American maritime world, 1700-1750, 1987, p. 73, note 144. See also my reference to the potential for smuggling in the section on prices and duties below.


100. Glasgow University. Special Collections. Eph N/139. Advertising broadside for MacGoun’s Stationery Warehouse. Using SBTI, this firm has been linked to Archibald MacGoun Junior who was at the stated address from 1797 to 1800.

101. The “Juvenile Library” was described in a printed catalogue which was advertised in the Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser (January 9, 1807): 1.


103. Raven, James. “The export of books to colonial North America,” p. 34.

104. Ibid., pp. 34-36.

105. Books available in numbers were clearly identified as such in advertisements. See, for example, the advertisement for Cooke’s edition of “British Drama, or a Collection of Plays” at 1s per number; Kelso Mail, or Roxburgh, Berwickshire and Northumberland Gazette (May 26, 1806): 1.

106. Very little evidence has been found of books in numbers in Canadian advertisements.

107. Cooke’s wide selection of books in numbers were advertised, for example, in the Kelso Mail and Roxburgh, Berwickshire and Northumberland Gazette (October 18, 1804): 1.

108. Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser (June 23, 1789): 3. Kidston had imported this title from London and his price for all four parts was 7s 6d.

109. See for example the advertisement inserted by Jedediah Slason, the treasurer of the local branch of the SPCK in the New Brunswick Royal Gazette (November 16, 1819): 3.
110. Advertisements sometimes stated which months' magazines had arrived. For example, Robert Fletcher offered "Magazines" for January and February, 1770, in the *Nova Scotia Chronicle* (May 15-22, 1770): 167.

111. For example, James Kidston advertised the *Lady's Magazine* "for 1798, half bound" in the *Halifax Journal* (May 2, 1799): 2.

112. *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* (March 15, 1800): 3. Ryan's price was "a quarter dollar per number."

113. ESTC t162395 includes the information that the work was published in numbers in New York prior to the London edition of 1800.

114. NSTC #E884. *Encyclopaedia Perthensis or universal dictionary of knowledge.* 23 volumes issued in parts, 1794?-1806.


118. Practical works were advertised by general merchants such as Richard and James Kidston and by printers such as Robert Fletcher. This was not just true of Halifax, not surprisingly a similar pattern has been found in Saint John.

119. Steady or best sellers can be deduced from the frequency of editions published, as evidenced in sources such as ESTC, NSTC, and for fiction, Raven, James. *British fiction, 1750-1770: a chronological check-list of prose fiction printed in Britain and Ireland,* 1987.


123. See for example, NLS. MS 790. Archibald Constable & Co. Letter-book, 1817-1820. Constable to James Smith, Leith, 15 October 1818; regarding books to be shipped to Corfu.


130. Fleming’s work indicates a total of 206 items (including broadsheets, but excluding periodicals) printed in Nova Scotia from 1801 to 1820. Although there will have been other items, no references to which have survived, this is nevertheless a clear indication of the relative state of local production. Fleming, AC, p. 56-139.

131. Brown and Gilmore were the government printers and they printed the *Ordinances made and passed by the Governor and Legislative Council of the Province of Quebec* in 1777. Their letter to Wynne simply asked him to sell them in London, it did not refer explicitly to an exchange; NAC. MG 24, B 1. Neilson Collection. Vol 57. Brown and Gilmore blotter book, 1775-1778.


134. Retail sale catalogues for Britain are accessible via several useful bibliographies. Munby, A.N.L., and Lenore Coral, compilers and editors. *British book sale catalogues, 1676-1800: a union list*, 1977, includes extant catalogues from Scottish booksellers, though these are primarily the better-known larger businesses of Alexander Kincaid, Archibald Constable, etc.

135. Buono, Yolande. "Imprimerie et diffusion de l'imprimé à Montréal, de 1776 à 1820," 1980, p. 137 and see her listing of book sales by auction, p. 203-216. Buono includes auctions of primarily French books, which are excluded from this study.


137. *Halifax Gazette* (August 17, 1754): 2. The source for Craft’s supply of books is not known, but it included both British and American publications, and was not restricted to school books as it included cookery books and magazines, etc.

138. There are numerous examples of this, such as the announcement that “Catalogues are now ready” in the advertisement of the auctioneers Nichols and Sanford for “about 250 volumes of valuable books” the property of a gentleman returning to England; *Montreal Herald* (July 26, 1817): 3.
139. This phrase, or something akin to it, appeared often in colonial newspapers. See, for example Thorne and Company's advertisements in the *Kingston Gazette* (October 21, 1817): 3; and (December 30, 1817): 3.


141. For examples, the auctioneer and broker, Thomas Cary in Quebec, advertised an auction of several hundred volumes in 1805 and offered catalogues of the titles; *Quebec Mercury* (January 5, 1805): 8; in 1811, the Montreal auctioneer Edward William Gray offered catalogues; *Montreal Herald* (December 14, 1811): 3; and in Kingston John Strange advertised catalogues, listing over three hundred volumes, “which may be had at the Subscriber's Auction Room the day before the Sale” *Kingston Chronicle* (September 1, 1820): 3.

142. Tremaine, xviii.

143. NAC. MG19 A2 Series III. Ermatinger Papers. Series III includes invoice books, account books, cash books and ledgers of the auctioneer Edward William Gray. The auction records list name of original owner, name and occupation of purchaser and price.


146. NLS. MS 791. Archibald Constable Letter-Book, 1820-1821. Constable to Archibald McQueen, Miramichi, 19 August 1820.


152. The letter gave, in great detail, the reasons why the Scottish bookseller felt forced to shorten the period of credit on the transatlantic shipments of Bibles; Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Lea & Febiger Papers. James and Andrew Duncan, Glasgow to Mathew Carey, Philadelphia. 1797. I am grateful to Warren McDougall for alerting me to this source.


155. ECL. Edinburgh Room. Creech Letter Book, 1798-1809. I am grateful to Rick Sher for alerting me to this source. See also SRO. RH4/26A Dalguise Muniments. Creech MSS. This latter collection includes mainly letters to other booksellers in Edinburgh and London, but Benjamin Franklin and others in the American colonies are also in evidence. What is wholly lacking is any correspondence with booksellers in Canada.

156. ECL. Creech Letter Book, 1798-1809. Creech to Tod, 28 December 1798. Some of the debts were not inconsiderable—Robert Campbell, bookseller in Philadelphia owed Creech £166 7s 1d.


158. Ibid., p. 154.


160. PANS. Halifax County Original Estate Papers, J1-J4 [microfilm]. John Kirby, Merchant, Inventory, 1780. Kirby is described as a chandler and shopkeeper by the Registrar for the Probate Court. The inventory of his store's stock on Buckingham Street in Halifax runs to 33 pages. His total estate was valued at over £11,000. There is evidence of supplies of Dilworth's spelling books, primers, Testaments, Common Prayer Books, etc.


162. A facsimile reprint of Jones's directory or useful pocket companion for the year 1789, 1973, v.


164. The source used for delineating which almanacs were likely to have been available in Halifax is collection in the library at PANS. This is an acceptable way to gauge the presence of almanacs, though some caution is required; the provenance is not always known and therefore some of the almanacs consulted may have arrived in Halifax considerably after their date of publication. The non-Canadian almanacs examined include: M'Feat, W. The new Glasgow almanack for 1806,1806 [1805?]; The Aberdeen almanack for the year 1795, [1794]; and, Hutchins, John Nathan. Hutchins improved, being an almanack and ephemeris...1782, [1781]. For the use of almanacs as primary business sources, see Donnelly, Judy. "January hath 31 days: early Canadian almanacs as primary research materials." Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1991, 29 (2), 7-31.

166. For example, Steel, David. *The ship-master's assistant and owner's manual: containing complete information, as well to merchants, masters of ships...* London: Printed for D. Steel, 1788. ESTC t066545.

167. Robert Fletcher, the printer, advertised this book which he had received from London; *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* (September 1, 1772): 3. For a listing of contemporary directories covering Scotland, see Torrance, D. Richard, comp. *Scottish trades and professions: a selected bibliography including a summary of Scottish directories*, 1991, p. 2.

168. This was written specifically for London booksellers wishing to deal with British provincial booksellers and published in 1785; Pollard, Graham, ed. *The earliest directory of the book trade by John Pendred, 1785*, 1955.

169. For example, population figures were printed in the *London Magazine* in May 1755. Regardless of their accuracy, they were the figures which businessmen in London and elsewhere would rely on as a source of information about the colonies. On this occasion, Halifax and Lunenberge were credited with 5,000 inhabitants, “exclusive of the Military Forces, in the Pay of the Government, and Negroes.”

170. The types of queries to which contemporary booksellers required answers are essentially the same as those posed by John Feather for the provincial trade in England; Feather, *The provincial book trade*. p. 44. Feather's explanations and answers form a very useful foundation from which to assess the situation for overseas booksellers.

171. For example, a copy of Bent's *London catalogue of books...with their sizes and prices*, 1791 is held in PANS and may well have circulated amongst Halifax residents and merchants.


173. There is evidence for this in the early nineteenth-century, and it is likely that in earlier decades the same situation held true. NLS. MS 789-791 and MS 668 Archibald Constable & Company. Letters to Constable; MS 5000 Oliver & Boyd Papers.

174. NLS. MSS 5000; MS 789-791 and MS 668.


176. For example, the copy held by PANS had been owned by one Thomas James.

177. In-print lists and booksellers' catalogues which were owned by readers in the Canadian Northwest are referred to in my “Beyond boundaries: books in the Canadian Northwest.” In: Bill Bell and Philip Bennett, eds. *Across boundaries: the culture and commerce of the book*, 1999 (forthcoming).

178. Charles Taylor of London proposed the new monthly *Records of literature* and he requested information about forthcoming provincial publications: “Authors, publishers and booksellers living in the country are particularly requested to send up notices of their works in preparation...” A copy of his advertisement appeared in the *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser* (March 27, 1807): 2. NSTC PER743 refers
simply to a prospectus, and as the Records do not appear in the British union catalogue of periodicals, the enterprise may never have got beyond the first three numbers which Taylor announced were available for a shilling each.

179. Remer, Printers and men of capital, pp. 60-61.


182. See, for example, the list of 243 titles advertised by Brown in 1788; Quebec Gazette (September 25, 1788): supplement, p. 2.

183. Not all of Neilson’s catalogues have survived, but see, for example, Alston, Sandra. “Canada’s first bookseller’s catalogue.” Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1992, 30 (1), 7-26 which describes his 1800 catalogue; and John Neilson. Catalogue of books imported from London and for sale at J. Neilson’s shop, No. 3, Mountain Street, Quebec, 1811. For one of Bossange’s lists of books, imported from France, see Horan, G. & B. et H. Bossange. Catalogue des livres qui de trouvent aux magazins de Messrs. G. & B. Horan à Québec et chez Mr. H. Bossange à Montréal, 1816.

184. Quebec Gazette (June 4, 1818): 2.


186. See, for example, Kelso Mail (December 20, 1804): 1; and Kelso Mail (October 18, 1804): 1. The printer of the Kelso paper was Constable’s printer, James Ballantyne and therefore particularly frequent references to Constable publications are understandable; though other Scottish papers carried identical advertisements.


188. Excluded from this section is any discussion of individual subscriptions, by those temporarily or permanently resident in Canada, for items with no local subscription advertisement. An example would be Governor Sinnott’s subscription when he was based at Niagara in 1784, for Smyth’s Tour in the United States of America. A few such examples can be traced using the Biography database [CD-ROM].


190. Examples of prospectuses for London publications, appearing in Canadian provincial papers, include Halifax Gazette (June 27, 1752) for Richard Rolt’s Memoir’s of...John Earl of Crawford...; and, Upper Canada Gazette (August 1, 1801): 3 for “Two views in aqua tinta...of the city of Montreal.” A useful study of subscription lists and their potential for research is Wallis, P.J. “Cross-regional connexions.” In: Peter Isaac, ed. Six centuries of the provincial book trade in Britain,
1990, pp. 87-100.


195. *Halifax Gazette* (June 27, 1752). Of interest is the lack of any mention of the new town's only member of the book trade, the printer John Bushell, in the notice.

196. By no means all subscription publications included lists of subscribers. Usefully for this study, Rolt's volume does and the list has been scanned using *Biography database* [CD-ROM].

197. Feather, *English book prospectuses*, p. 16 suggests that multiple copies ordered by booksellers were probably usually destined for specific customers. In addition, Feather explains that some of these booksellers would have been acting as agents for other booksellers, thus spreading the distributive network still further in the provincial areas.

198. *Biography database* [CD-ROM]. This resource is useful on a number of fronts, but extremely frustrating to use when the field being searched is the home town of the subscriber. There is no separate field for “town,” it is part of the string of the “address” field. Therefore Quebec [Street?] in Leeds is returned by a search for the town of Quebec in Canada.

199. The evidence for this is that two years later, when he was accepting subscriptions for volume 2 of the same work, he indicated that he had “just a few” of the first volume remaining; *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (July 7, 1807): 1. The first volume was advertised in the *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (May 16, 1805): 4. The advertisement was dated May 9th at Halifax and the original London advertisement was dated January 10th of that year.


202. The titles given are as they appear in the advertisements.

203. See, for example, Geddes' advertisement in the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* (June 6, 1786): 3.

204. Examples are “magazines” advertised generically by the printer William Brown in the *Quebec Gazette* (September 6, 1787): 4; and, the “New London Magazine” advertised by the merchant James Kidston in the *Halifax Journal* (June 16, 1796): 3.
205. *A catalogue of books in the library of the Legislature of Upper-Canada. Purchased in 1816, 1817; and, A catalogue of books in the subscription library at Dunse, 1789.*


208. Examples include advertisements of the “Farmer's Magazine” in the *Kelso Mail* (January 2, 1804): 1, and (February 20, 1804).


210. Glasgow University Library. Special Collections. Ephemera Collection. Eph N/107. “We, Subscribers, booksellers and station[er]s in Glasgow, have agreed to sell Bibles, school books, paper and paper books, &c. at the prices affixed in the following tables, and to conform to them in eve[ry] respect.”

211. The lack of price information in advertisements was certainly not limited to Canadian papers. Barnes explains that, in Britain, “Not all...advertisements included prices, but by 1829 it was the general rule...for a periodical like the Literary Gazette to specify them.” Barnes, James J. *Free trade in books: a study of the London book trade since 1800,* 1964, pp. 5-6.

212. Rick Sher. E-mail to author, 13 March 1996. Information supplied by James Green.

213. *The London catalogue of books, with their sizes and prices. Corrected to August 1811, 1811,* states that the books are sewed or in boards (with the exception of school books) and offers a separate price list for binding. A copy of this catalogue, along with others, is found in NLS. MS 5000/1390. Oliver & Boyd Papers.

214. An example is Isaac Forsyth's price list for 1812, which offers different bindings as well as both wholesale and retail prices. NLS. Acc 5000/1390. “I. Forsyth...List of Books and Stationary,” [1812?].

215. NLS. Mf.52 (18[1]). *Catalogue of the public library at Hawick, 1792.*


217. Forsyth. *A catalogue,* 1789; *Catalogue of the public library at Hawick, 1792.*


220. *Nova Scotia Chronicle* (June 20-27, 1769): 207. The volume was advertised by Robert Fletcher.

221. Fortunately for this study, the auctioneer’s clerk in Montreal entered his calculations of exchange as well as the livre value of the sale. NAC. MG 19. A2. Series III. Ermatinger Collection. Volume 144. Sales at Vendue.


224. For example, *Acadian Recorder* (June 3, 1815): 3.


226. Forsyth, *A list of books and stationary*, [1812?].

227. An example concerning the acceptability of payment in produce is *Upper Canada Gazette* (April 28, 1804): 4, which includes an advertisement by the printer John Bennett. Rags were requested in the *Kingston Gazette* (October 30, 1810): 3. Grain was requested by Mower & Kendall, printers of the *Kingston Gazette*, for their agent in York, Quetton St. George; *Kingston Gazette* (February 19, 1811): 3.


230. See, for example, the merchants Brymer and Belcher’s advertisement; *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* (March 9, 1790): 3.


233. The work was published in London, by Dodsley, and not in Quebec where it was written. See “Frances Brooke.” In: Janet Todd, ed. *A dictionary of British and American women writers, 1660-1800*, 1987, pp. 60-61; and, Raven. *British fiction, 1750-1770*, #1298.
Chapter 5
From a “hotbed of genius” to the “fine country” of Canada: the Scottish component in Canadian book availability

Historians of the book would be hard-pressed to find a more dramatic and significant instance of a national print culture than the one that emerged in eighteenth-century Scotland. [There was] an international network of Scottish and Scots-Irish printers and booksellers who fashioned the book history of the Scottish Enlightenment.

This chapter examines the validity of this statement regarding the early print culture of Canada. The business practices, described in Chapter 4, determined the nature and frequency of the book trade links between Scotland and Canada. The current chapter describes the effects of these relationships on certain aspects of Canadian print culture and synthesises the Scottish contribution in terms of the intellectual content of imported books and the nationality of those who disseminated them. Detailed analyses of two key factors are provided: the availability in selected Canadian and Scottish towns of a defined set of Scottish works; and, the relative contributions of different occupational groups of Scots, on both sides of the Atlantic, to book availability in Canada. Case studies are used to help illustrate key features in the latter section, especially to help clarify the different roles and influences of those on the supply side and those on the demand side of book provision. The conclusions drawn from this evidence indicate some notable differences with the situation in the American colonies and later in the United States.

First, the broader context of ‘national’ trade links should be recalled in order not to place an inappropriate emphasis on Scottish behaviour in this regard. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as discussed in Chapter 1, Scottish merchants had strong transoceanic trade links. This is often evidenced in the Port announcements in Canadian newspapers, such as the arrivals list from an issue of the Quebec Mercury in May 1805, a selection of which appears in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1
Port of Quebec Arrivals from Greenock, May 1805

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship and Master</th>
<th>Receiving Merchant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bark Betsey, Thomas Snowden</td>
<td>James Dunlop, Montreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship Canada, Alex. Harvey</td>
<td>Robert Hunter, Montreal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Brig Caledonia, David Wilson
Brig Margaret, Duncan Hardie
Ship Jane, Robert Wilson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Captain*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Messrs Auld and Lang, Montreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Ross</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In this case the Captain was shipping goods from Greenock on speculation, a feature of transatlantic trade which was more common in the eighteenth than the nineteenth centuries, due to fewer permanent merchant houses in the ports of arrival, but sufficient population to require seasonal supplies.

This brief table could be duplicated many times from similar lists for other ports in other months and it indicates that the merchants, to judge from their names, hailed from Scotland and so the shipper/receiver circle was composed of just such trade links referred to above. However, the same sorts of links or networks were equally in evidence for other countries, and are not out of the ordinary in general trade. For example, in the *Quebec Mercury* in November 1820, an Irish merchant Patrick Handy of the small town of St. Roch, advertised the arrival in the Prince of Austurius from Dublin, "a most excellent assortment of books of piety and arithmetic."3 The Scots, in qualitative terms, did not have a monopoly on close business ties—but in terms of quantity, the greater proportions of Scots in business in Canada, compared to many other groups, meant that their networks were perhaps the more noticeable.4

Agents of print culture in Canada, who are cited in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (DCB) are indicated in Table 4.1 in the previous chapter. The country of origin information provided in this table (in the "Birthplace" column), while accurate, is misleading as an indicator of the overall proportions of Scots engaged in book production and distribution in Canada. The information gleaned from the DCB suggests that 17% of the agents of print culture were Scottish.5 Data from the BOOKSCAN file indicates that at least 25% of those who distributed books were Scottish.6 Both of these figures indicate the relative importance of Scots in the print culture of Canada, compared with the English, as the countries of origin were considerably different in population—Scotland having only about 10% of the population of England.7 On the Canadian side, Scots formed a small proportion of the overall population in urban centres, which were the book distribution points. For example, the Nova Scotia census of 1767 indicates less than 5% of the population of Halifax was Scottish.8
Scottish-authored works in Canadian towns

Chapters 3 and 4 have shown that an array of books was regularly shipped from the Clyde ports and have indicated that categories such as school books were a crucial component of early book and stationery shipments to Canada. This chapter focuses on those books which are considered representative of the Scottish Enlightenment. Selected titles authored by Scots are used as a means to examine this element of the "Scottishness" of the books made available in Canadian towns. The titles in the "Scottish Enlightenment Database" (SED) have been collated by Richard Sher, based on contemporary lists published by William Creech, Tobias Smollett and Robert Alves, and supplemented by other Scottish works noted in primary sources and in ESTC. The list comprises two hundred and eighty-two titles, by one hundred Scottish-born authors, primarily in the fields of polite literature, history, travel, belles lettres, science and medicine. A couple of exceptions to the "polite literature" rule are the inclusion in the SED of the poetry of Robert Burns and Janet Little.

Of the 282 titles, 36 were published in Edinburgh, 107 were joint Edinburgh/London publications and 123 were published in London. Fifteen of the remaining sixteen titles were published elsewhere in Scotland, often jointly with London. In line with contemporary publishing trends, London publishers, especially the Strahans, Cadell, Davies and the Robinsons (all with close personal and business ties with Scotland) were crucial for the production and distribution of at least 81% of the titles in the SED. Many of the works listed had long publication histories and were still being reissued or published in new editions in the 1820s and after. Some had dozens of editions, such as William Buchan's Domestic Medicine, and were found in each Canadian town. Others had far fewer editions but were still being imported to Canada decades after their first appearance in London or Scotland. For example, Janet Little's Poems, first published in Ayr in 1792, was shipped to Halifax from London in June 1816.

Figure 5.1 indicates the subjects, by Dewey Classification, of all of the titles in the SED. This figure shows two different numbers for each class: those of the SED titles advertised for sale or loan in Canada by 1820 and, all of the SED titles by subject.
For science and technology the numbers of those not found outweigh those found in Canadian towns; while the opposite proportions are seen for literature, history and travel. This pattern ties in with the evidence presented in Chapter 3 (Figure 3.2) which indicates larger proportions of titles overall in the 800s and 900s than for the 500s and 600s. The SED includes many specialized works of medicine by noted Edinburgh physicians. The evidence indicates overwhelmingly that it was more general texts, such as guides to health, dispensatories and works of anatomy, surgery and midwifery, which were most frequently shipped from both London and Scotland to Canada. Guides to health such as Buchan’s were written for the lay reader, whereas specialist works, such as Francis Home’s *Clinical Experiments, Histories and Dissections* (Edinburgh: Creech; London: Murray, 1780), were clearly aimed at specialists, of whom there were very few (and none in an academic teaching environment) in Canada. Indeed, a lack of general availability of specialist works may be why one Nova Scotia physician offered to share his personal medical library with any young men who would apprentice with him.

Scottish Enlightenment Database titles in retail stores

Figure 5.2 analyses by subject the percentage of the SED titles appearing in the book stocks of all booksellers and merchants in Canada (i.e., not just Scots booksellers and merchants).
Canadian merchants' stocks included a larger percentage than booksellers' stocks of SED titles in each of the subject areas, with the exception of generalities (DDC 000) and the sciences (DDC 500). This finding is of interest because one might have predicted that specialist retailers would stock more of the "classic" titles than general merchants. A possible explanation is the merchants' sources of supply; the popular, oft-reprinted Scottish works in the SED, were likely to be part of the standard stock of the larger wholesalers who supplied general merchants. The specialist booksellers, with their greater range of sources, may have had (and did have in some instances) just as many SED titles in their stock, but they formed a smaller proportion of the whole.

Figure 5.3 illustrates the proportion of the SED titles in the stock of the Kidston family of Scots merchants, first, compared in 1789 with the stock of Isaac Forsyth in Elgin and, second, compared with the stock of specialist bookseller John Neilson in 1799/1800. This figure shows the percentage of SED titles in relation to all titles held in stock by these three men as well as a percentage of all SED titles. Not surprisingly, Forsyth in Scotland stocked a larger proportion of SED titles than either Kidston or Neilson. What is notable is the small percentage of SED titles in Neilson's stock, advertised in a separately printed catalogue in 1800. The Scottish-born, well-educated Neilson apparently offered only a small proportion of the titles from the SED list of relatively erudite titles. While he sometimes held Scottish works, the cosmopolitan Neilson showed no particular bent towards buying either books from Scotland or books by Scots,
Enlightenment texts or otherwise. His sales, between 1792 and 1812, consisted of 84.8% French books and 15.2% English books—but his purchasers were 41.2% French-Canadian and 56.8% English-speaking20 (see section on Neilson, below).

**Figure 5.3**

The Kidstons imported both from the Clyde and from London, whereas Neilson used London and American sources. Port of exit of Scottish-authored works is worth investigating and Figure 5.4 shows SED titles shipped as a) a percentage of all titles shipped from each location, and b) a percentage of all available SED titles.

**Figure 5.4**

This data seems to indicate that Neilson might well have imported a greater range of titles from his London suppliers, as the London shipments overall included the greatest proportion of SED titles—more than double the proportion shipped from the Clyde. This finding fits with the general impression, gleaned from newspapers, that the Clyde shipments more frequently comprised school books, Bibles, etc., which could be classed as "stationery."
Figure 5.4 also indicates that only a small proportion (4.6%) of SED titles were shipped to Canada from all three locations (Scotland, London and America) between 1752 and 1820. Nine titles discovered in this category to date are listed in Table 5.2 ordered by number of Canadian advertisements and catalogues in which they appeared, from thirteen to six. Several of the retailers imported each title more than once although James Kidston is alone, to judge by advertisement evidence, in importing some of these titles from more than one location.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Short Title</th>
<th>Retailers importing from Clyde</th>
<th>Retailers importing from London</th>
<th>Retailers importing from America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tobias Smollett</td>
<td>Peregrine Pickle</td>
<td>C. Campbell, St. John W. Kidston, Halifax</td>
<td>R. Fletcher, Halifax G. Eaton, Halifax</td>
<td>G. Tiffany, Niagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Robertson</td>
<td>History of Scotland</td>
<td>C. Campbell, St. John J. Kidston, Halifax</td>
<td>R. Kidston, Halifax G. Eaton, Halifax</td>
<td>Dun, West Niagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Blair</td>
<td>Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres</td>
<td>J. Kidston, Halifax</td>
<td>J. Neilson, Quebec G. Eaton, Halifax</td>
<td>G. Tiffany, Niagara Dun, West Niagara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is notable that this group of nine titles, while it forms only a small proportion of titles in the SED, comprise over 24% of the titles which were shipped to Canada from London, Scotland and America. Indeed, these nine are amongst the overall “bestsellers” located to date in the BOOKSCAN file, and they were published, in several editions, in Edinburgh, London and America. The newspaper data is not precise enough to show which edition was imported from which place. Some of the shipments from America were likely to be American editions, while others, apparently, could not have been. Scottish-authored works from the post-1800 period (and therefore excluded from the SED) have also been analysed in a similar manner, and again some shipments from America could (and probably were) American editions, whereas others were not. An example from the period just prior to the war of 1812, which disrupted the movements of book to Canada, is a shipment from New York advertised by Hugh Thomson in Kingston in the spring of that year. This list includes Jane Porter’s *Scottish Chief’s*, Scott’s *Marmion*, and *Dalzall, Thane of Lanark*. *Marmion* was published in both Boston and Philadelphia by...
1812, but the *Scottish Chiefs* was not, to judge from NSTC, and *Dalzell* has not yet been traced.²⁴

Figure 5.5 provides information for stocks of five Scottish merchants or booksellers in Canada and, for comparative purposes, the stock of Isaac Forsyth in Elgin. The data represents the sum of all shipments to each book seller. The Kidstons, who regularly imported from Glasgow and London, obtained a greater proportion of SED titles overall than any other Scottish seller in Canada in this period. Although the Kidstons only held about 12% of SED titles, no other Halifax merchant or bookseller stocked as high a proportion of the SED titles as did the Kidstons. Whether or not this had anything at all to do with their Scottish roots is discussed below.

**Figure 5.5**

![SED Titles in Canada and Elgin As % of stock of Scots sellers](chart.png)

Neilson's 1800 stock has been discussed above. The inclusion of his 1811 and 1817 catalogues in Figure 5.5 increases the proportion of SED titles which he held, from 2.5% to 7%. However the proportion is still only just over half of that stocked by the Kidstons. Forsyth's stock for sale or loan in Elgin includes slightly less than a quarter of SED titles and these constitute less than 6% of his stock. Significantly, Forsyth's stock differs from all of the Canadian stocks in that it includes many Scottish titles which are not included in the SED.²⁵

The bookseller Dun in West Niagara, who imported from American sources, apparently had a stock with a higher proportion of SED titles than any other seller.²⁶ This confirms the relative importance of the American/Great Lakes shipping route for books, discussed in Chapter 4, and indicates that Scottish titles (arguably often in American
editions) were a strong component of those shipments on occasion.

SED titles by consignment

Some of the SED titles in the BOOKSCAN file were shipped to Canada on consignment. This indicates a confidence, on the part of the wholesaler/sender, that the books in question would sell. Eighteen of the SED titles in the file (11.2%) were shipped at least once under this arrangement, from New York or Glasgow. None were apparently shipped on consignment from London. Seven of the “bestsellers” in Table 5.2 included at least one consignment shipment. In the main, however, consignment shipments were apparently rare from Scotland.

SED titles held in libraries

The proportion of titles in a sample of private subscription libraries in both Scotland and Canada has been examined using the SED. Figure 5.6 includes four libraries in different Canadian towns, and two Scottish libraries. Duns and Hawick library stocks, not surprisingly, indicate a larger proportion of SED titles than any of the Canadian libraries in the study. Once again it is interesting to note that the Niagara book stock, which was very probably supplied from American towns, shows a slightly greater proportion of SED titles than the Halifax library. However, it is not presently known whether any part of the stock of the latter library came from American towns.

Figure 5.6
Scottish titles in a Canadian institutional library

There is other evidence for the arrival in Canada of Scottish titles, both from the SED and otherwise, although the means of their arrival is not known. Such books include those which are now held in various Canadian repositories, but for which there is often no provenance information. One library with strong Scottish holdings, coupled with provenance records, is the library at Queen’s University in Kingston and this collection is used here as an example of works very probably owned in Canada prior to 1820 (and prior to the establishment of Queen’s University in 1841). The library’s Scottish imprints include Greek, Latin and French grammars, reprints of John Willison’s works, Simson’s geometry, and many other items printed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, etc., which were not of Scottish authorship. Amongst Scottish authored works are the poetry of James Hogg, MacPherson’s *Ossian* and the works of Walter Scott as well as lesser-known items such as *A Year in Canada, and Other Poems* by Ann Cuthbert Knight (Edinburgh: Doig and Stirling, 1816). Besides the large publishers whose works are at Queen’s, such as Kincaid, Donaldson, Uriel, Bell and Bradfute, Constable and Blackwood, there are others such as Doig and Stirling who were wholesale booksellers and stationers on Parliament Stairs in Edinburgh. More detailed information about the provenance of the volumes at Queen’s (along with those from other Canadian universities) might reveal which titles were purchased in Canada. However at this point in our understanding, if even a small proportion of these volumes arrived in Canada through trade distribution they expand our knowledge of what was available. For example, Chapters 3 and 4 have described our limited sources of information concerning the movement of pamphlets and chapbooks—and the Queen’s collection adds detail to the limited picture by providing titles such as *Here Following Begynnythe a Full Lamentable Cronycle of the Dethe and False Murdure of James Stewarde, Kyng of [Scotland]...* published by Wylie in Glasgow in 1818.

Some of the volumes at Queen’s, such as items published by provincial printers, are more likely to have arrived through personal connections, such as those described in some of the case studies below. Provincial editions in Scotland tended to have local markets and were therefore less likely to be shipped from wholesalers to the colonies. Examples from Queen’s include an edition of Guthrie’s *New Geographical, Historical
and Commercial Grammar published by Buchanan and Morison in Montrose in 1799 and James Durham’s Complete Commentary Upon the Book of Revelation published by Renny in Falkirk in 1799.33

Published Scottish songs and music in Canada

The SED listing excludes songs and melodies many of which were distinctively Scottish. Music and songs had wide appeal and such items were shipped and advertised in Canada but a comprehensive picture is difficult to draw as they were often advertised simply as “Music” or “Songs” or “Song Books” with no further information. Occasionally a Scottish flavour was added to this generic information. For example, Hund and Seebold, the piano-forte makers on St. John Street in Quebec advertised “Favorite Scottish Airs and Melodies” with names in Gaelic and English, in 1820.34 A popular work within Britain was The Scots Musical Museum which included six hundred Scots songs and was the first such Scottish collection to have Burns as a major contributor.35 This work does not appear by name in any of the advertisements analysed in this project, but it would be unwise to conclude that it was not available in Canada, especially as the collection was published in a cheap, pocket edition which might have moved through stationers.36

Leabhraichin Gaelic37

There was no Gaelic publishing in the early days of printing in Canada, even in towns near major Highland settlements. In the Carolinas, by contrast, there was a press which produced a Gaelic religious work as early as the 1780s, “printed at the Raft Swamp, Lafayetteville” about which press very little is known.38 The social standing of Gaels in Canada was arguably lower than it was for Gaels in the Carolinas, where they appear to have been better off economically and may have been more literate.39 Use of Gaelic in different parts of Canada varied between bilingualism and unilingualism. For example, in 1829 the Rev. Matthew Miller said that while “a surprisingly high proportion” of the Scottish immigrants to Upper and Lower Canada used Gaelic, many could understand English.40 On the other hand, parts of Nova Scotia, notably Cape Breton, and regions of New Brunswick such as Black River, were unilingually Gaelic.41 It is perhaps
significant that one of the recent detailed studies of Gaels in Canada apparently makes no mention of print culture. However, not all Gaels were necessarily poor and illiterate. Alexander Macdonnell (born in Scotland in 1762) was a member of Governor John Graves Simcoe’s initial party in York and he spoke Gaelic, French and “Indian.”

Although the migrations of Gaels to the towns studied was not large, the advertisement and library evidence for works in Gaelic, which would serve such an audience, merits examination. Searching the BOOKSCAN file’s Language field for works in Gaelic produces thirty-five titles (0.65% of the entire file). This is a tiny proportion of the whole, even if multiple copies of each title were available. The production of works in Gaelic was not very large in this period. In addition, prior to 1820, Gaelic publishing was dominated by religious works. The small quantity of original Gaelic prose published consisted mainly of translations of common titles such as Boston’s Fourfold State and Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress amongst others. Works of self-improvement and items in the pure and applied sciences were lacking. This evidence indicates the differences between the Highland and Lowland cultures.

Bibles and Testaments were the most common publications in Gaelic, as they were in English. Archibald McColl in Halifax advertised Gaelic Bibles and Testaments for sale, along with the same items in English. He had imported these from Glasgow in the ship Nancy, and they would almost certainly have been published in Scotland, either by one of the Glasgow or Edinburgh Gaelic printers or through the auspices of one of the religious societies.

There is very little evidence for the trade movement of Gaelic works to the six towns studied. Where they are mentioned in advertisements, they are always listed in English, a possible implication that such advertisements were aimed at middlemen and not at those who were unilingual Gaelic speakers. Similar catalogue and newspaper evidence has been found by MacDonald for the distinctively Scottish settlement at Pictou, Nova Scotia, in the mid-1830s.

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The above picture of the availability of selected Scottish works in Canada is similar to that described by Andrew Hook for the American colonies. He emphasized that in the colonial period “the groundwork for Scottish cultural influence upon America
He also noted the relatively limited availability of a group of Scottish works in the early 1780s in the American colonies. The Canadian colonies followed a similar pattern in the period up to 1820.

**Scots involvement in book availability—supply and demand**

Since at least the mid-eighteenth century, networks of Scots in London and the American colonies moved tens of thousands of pounds worth of books to Philadelphia and other colonial towns. These links often involved a Scottish printer in America, who would sell books as an adjunct to their primary business function. Of the towns in this study, only Quebec had printers prior to 1820 who were Scottish by birth and, as this section will show, neither the businesses of Brown and Gilmore, nor those of Samuel or John Neilson favoured direct Scottish business links or Scottish publications. Nevertheless there were Scots in several Canadian communities who played a key role in importing books, Scottish and otherwise.

**Scots on the supply side (Scotland)**

Chapter 4 has indicated both the reactive nature of the Scottish publishers' relationships with booksellers, librarians and readers in Canada as well as the relative importance of possibly proactive wholesale stationers in the supply of certain classes of books to Canadian towns. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Canadas were new colonies for English-speaking settlement, and offered fresh trading opportunities for those in Britain. It would be easy to assume that these colonies would be an obvious choice as a destination for British books. However the evidence suggests that Canadian towns were far from being considered a market segment worthy of much investment by Scottish booksellers. In the 1750s this is not at all surprising as the population of Nova Scotia was only a few thousand compared to 250,000 for Pennsylvania and over one and a half million overall in the United States. Two decades later the population of Canada was still only 4% that of the combined population of the American colonies. As late as 1819, T. Fairbairn’s Halifax advertisement hints at the perception of a limited Maritime print culture by purveyors of it in Scotland. A perceived lack of local resident booksellers and the concomitant apparent need for temporary bookselling operations such as Fairbairn’s
may have been the impetus behind his arrival in Canada. Fairbairn’s advertisement is therefore useful for drawing attention to potential Scottish-Canadian book trade links, even though the potential, within the trade itself, was largely unfulfilled in the period of this study. His example encourages an appreciation of what was achieved by many Scots involved in book distribution in Canada—Scots who were often outwith the trade.

Archibald Constable, one of the major Scottish publishers of the early nineteenth century, offers a useful example of the supply side of the book trade. The firm’s letterbooks provide vital information concerning this publisher’s attitude to exporting in the second decade of the nineteenth century. While Constable sent books to the American colonies when asked to do so by other booksellers, he never engaged in direct proactive transatlantic trade himself in the period prior to 1820. This finding is supported by Sher’s contention that, for the Scottish Enlightenment, “the instrumental members of the book trade did not always reside within Scotland itself” only in Constable’s case, the London partner, Longman, was not himself a Scot. Canadian orders for books were placed by managers of libraries in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and this information begs the question of why booksellers were not ordering, if libraries could and did. Why, in particular, did John Neilson, not order directly from such a well-established Scottish publishing firm? The answer is related to the importance of London partners and associates for Scottish publishers and booksellers, as explained in Chapter 4. Searching the BOOKSCAN file for items in Neilson’s store, which were published by Constable, shows that he certainly stocked several of the latter’s titles. Examples include The Encyclopedia Britannica, The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal, Scott’s Lay of the Last Minstrel and Sir Tristram, A Romance, by Thomas of Ercildoune, edited by Scott. This information coupled with that gleaned from the Neilson papers, that his book buying trips were to London and America and not to Scotland, leads to the conclusion that they were purchased via Constable’s London partner, the firm of Longman. In addition, by 1808, the Quebec Library had acquired Scott’s Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border and this too had probably been purchased through the London partner. George Dawson, a bookseller in Canada, apparently did deal directly with Constable. However, Dawson is atypical in that he purchased his stock prior to leaving Edinburgh to set up in business in York in 1818.
Scots on the demand side (Canada)

The case studies which follow indicate the heterogeneous nature of the Scottish dimension in Canadian book provision on the demand side of the equation. The Scottish sellers in Canada illustrated here did not fit a single model, although they all contributed greatly to the general book availability of the towns and regions in which they operated. Their input ranges, throughout the seventy years, from the apparent intellectual interest of the merchant Kidstons in some Scottish works to the physical arrival in Canada of a representative of an Edinburgh wholesale bookseller, Fairbairn. Only John Neilson has been extensively researched by others, and very few secondary sources make even passing mention of any of the others. Unsung they may now be, but as distribution agents they were once instrumental in the print culture of Canada.

Alexander Morrison

Alexander Morrison was from Glasgow, and may have been born in 1746. His early life and career are unknown, but by 1786, he was in Halifax and his earliest known advertisement, from that year, describes him as a binder and a paper cutter. Thirteen years later, he was advertising "A large collection of Books and a general assortment of paper and other stationary..." The only surviving newspaper advertisement for Morrison which offers title information is for "One set of the English Encyclopedia" to be sold for "first cost and charges" in the spring of 1808. Around this time, the portrait painter Robert Field established his studio in Morrison's shop, and it is probable that the government officials, military officers, merchants and assorted members of the Halifax 'gentility' whom Field painted, were at least occasional visitors to Morrison's bookshop. Scant though these references are, they are nevertheless important because they provide evidence of Halifax's earliest Scottish member of the book trade, and they prove that his business satisfied a sufficient local need to keep it active over more than two decades.

His route to Halifax is not known and he probably married after arriving in Halifax, as his wife was the daughter of a Halifax mariner. Initially, Morrison's business was at the corner of the Parade, but he moved in 1799 to a potentially better site for
business—the corner of Granville and Duke Streets. There are hints in such sources as early histories of the city and province that his role as book-binder, stationer and bookseller provided a comfortable living. As well as binding account books and journals for merchants, by the early nineteenth century he was binding the locally printed Statutes for the Legislative Assembly. By the time of his death in January 1814 he was able to provide not only for his wife, but to leave annuities for his widowed sister in Glasgow besides bequeathing moneys to his six nephews and nieces in Scotland. His obituary referred to him in conventional, unexciting though clearly respectful terms as "a sincere Christian, steady friend and an honest man." He was active in the civic life of Halifax, and he was a subscriber to the short-lived literary periodical *The Nova Scotia Magazine*, published by John Howe. He became a member of Halifax's North British Society in 1791 and he has been described as the "only bookseller" in Halifax, when he resigned in 1811 in favour of his successor George Eaton. However, he was by no means the only "seller of books" in Halifax; and he was not even the only "bookseller"—one of Halifax's earliest historians puts him in a more realistic context when he says that, in 1806, an item was "offered for sale at the book stores of Messrs. Morrison, Bennet, Edmund Ward und [sic] William Minns."

Did Morrison use his family contacts in Glasgow to arrange for shipments of books and stationery? His brother-in-law was John McCallum, and the linking of the names "Morison and M'Allum" was present in Glasgow at least in the 1770s. The Scottish customs accounts do not indicate a shipment of books from Scotland to Halifax in 1799, but in 1789, a £40 value was placed on book exports leaving Scottish ports for Nova Scotia. It is possible that this refers to a shipment to Morrison. Such a valuation would refer to a collection of approximately 540 volumes, this number could have been termed "a large collection" which was a phrase used by Morrison in his advertisements. Morrison may have received his book stocks from London, or he may have received books from the Clyde shipped as stationery rather than as books in the Customs accounts, as has been discussed in Chapter 4. With no extant records from Morrison's business it is not possible to know whether his Scottish roots informed his sources of supply over a period of nearly twenty years. Whatever his sources, his business is worth noting as it was an integral part of the print culture of early Halifax.
The Kidston Family

Although the Kidstons lack an entry in the *DCB*, Kidston Road in Halifax offers one testament to the early importance of this family of Scottish merchants. A sketch of their genealogy appears in one of the standard early Nova Scotia histories while more recent, and better researched, genealogical indexes offer evidence of the births, Christenings and marriages of several members of the family.

The first of the family to arrive in Halifax was Richard who was born, possibly in 1736, in Logie which was a centre of the Scottish timber industry. He died in Halifax in 1816, having contributed steadily for nearly three decades to the economic life of the still struggling colony. Richard’s first book list (available from surviving newspapers) appeared in 1789 and indicates that his stock had come from London. On that occasion he advertised 249 titles (analysed in the first section of this chapter) which included the histories of William Robertson, the sermons of Hugh Blair and the popular family medical handbook by the Edinburgh physician, William Buchan. Seven years later, Richard’s son, James imported books from both London and Glasgow, an indication that he (or his British agents) used whichever book suppliers were geographically close at hand when he had a major shipment of general goods being loaded for him. The 1796 book shipment from London, on the Enterprize, included 41 distinct titles or genres (e.g., children’s books), including several novels, music books and Burns’s *Poems*; whereas only Bibles, Testaments, Spelling books and primers had been loaded for him on the Neptune at Glasgow.

Newspapers offer evidence of seven book shipments, to the Kidstons, of widely ranging sizes in an eleven year period (1789-1799); two from London, three from Glasgow and the remaining two possibly from Glasgow. The Kidstons were possibly importing some books every spring they were in business, but it has not been possible to pinpoint which year they ceased book imports. The evidence suggests that they were importing a greater variety of titles than any other Halifax merchant in the 1790s. Indeed the only other firms or individuals, in the Maritimes, for whom there is evidence of imports covering such a wide array of subjects, in the period 1752 to 1800, were those within the book trade: the Rivingtons and the printer Robert Fletcher. The Kidston’s Scottish background may have had some bearing on their apparently distinctive interest
in importing books. For example, in 1799 James Kidston advertised a book stock which, to judge from the Scottish authors named, would have warmed the hearts of educated, expatriot Scots and on this occasion, the shipment probably came from Glasgow (see Figure 5.7).  

For their general business, the Kidston's dealt with a variety of merchant houses in Scotland and England, but the newspaper evidence does not pinpoint from which British booksellers they purchased supplies. They possibly purchased their stocks from wholesaling booksellers in London or Glasgow. Sometimes in the same year more than one of the Kidstons would import books from the same location; in other years a single member of the family would import from more than one location. Even if the books were shipped from the same port, there is no evidence to prove that they came from the same supplier. The Kidstons may have had some control over the selection of their book stock as they did not usually import consignments. It is possible that they received suggestions for titles and orders from customers, as did the merchant James Dunlap of Montreal (see Chapter 4). The Kidstons may have had book trade links in Scotland—their connections through marriage include names such as Ure, Laurie and Glen and the Scottish Book Trade Index includes such names.  

The Kidstons numbered amongst their customers some of their fellow members of the North British Society which was in many regards "a Scottish mercantile brotherhood." Five of the Kidston men were members of the Halifax branch of this society between 1782 and 1815, when Richard Kidston Junior became President. Some of the members met regularly "to read and discuss papers on learned subjects" and would almost certainly have bought books locally as well as placing private orders by letter, and purchasing books whilst on business trips to Britain or America. The intellectual chaplain to the Society, Andrew Brown, lived in Halifax from 1787 to 1795 and may have appreciated having a local supplier of historical works, as he was writing a history of North America himself.
Example of a Book Advertisement by James Kidston

Halifax Journal (May 9, 1799)

...-

He has likewise received the following Collection of BOOKS:

- • Odon's Natural History, 5 vols.
- • house for Taxes
- • Flaxman's Chipper
- • Coleright's Special Works
- • Musaeus's Poems
- • Burns's Poems
- • Settle's Welsh of Wales, 2 vols.
- • Johnson's Dictionary
- • Calais, lost book
- • Restored to the Arts, 2 vols.
- • Allwright's Introduction to the History of Great Britain
- • Sperling's Letters
- • Alken's Letters
- • Roderick's History of Scotland
- • 'Dundie & Co.'
- • 'Burns's Poems in Young Men'
- • Bede's Natural History... 17 vols.
- • Private life, with Newnham's Notes, 3 vols.
- • Cuthbert's Strata, abridged
- • Somes's Childhood of England, 2 vols.
- • Ready Adventurer
- • David's Works
- • Brown's Life of the Text
- • Lytton's English, 3 vols.
- • Rood's Life of the Text
- • Symon's Sixth Edition
- • Burns's Dictionary
- • Rambler's Speculations, 5 vols.
- • Smollett's Life
- • Cooper's World, 2 vols.
- • Schiller's Outlaw
- • Quainton's Mystery
- • Sinclair, 2 vols.
- • Parnassus America
- • Lady's Magazine, 1795, half bound
- • Darwin's Evolution of the Species
- • Universal Grammar
- • Quainton's Grammar
- • Rood's Grammar
- • The Rambler, a Trip, 6 vols.
- • Quainton's Life

- • Kathline's Grammar, free for
  - Brown's, Defining the Bible, 2 vols.
  - Universal Grammar
  - Quainton's Grammar
  - Rood's Grammar
  - The Rambler, a Trip

- • Lowel's Calendar, 2 vols.
- • White's, 2 vols.
- • Ready Adventurer
- • With the Revival and Translation
- • Rudolph's Rudiments
- • Quainton's Grammar
- • Vaux's French School
- • Sebill's Latin
- • Eddy's Grammar
- • Quainton's Facility
- • Works, or new London Spelling
- • Watt's Business
- • Quainton's Rules of the Poet and printer
- • Dr. no. philologica

- • School Books
  - Milton's Collection
  - White's, Theologian's Adjust
  - Ready Adventurer
  - With the Revival and Translation
  - Rudolph's Rudiments

- • Arnauld's Grammar
  - Vaux's French School
  - Sebill's Latin
  - Eddy's Grammar
  - Quainton's Facility
  - Works, or new London Spelling
  - Watt's Business
  - Quainton's Rules of the Poet and printer
  - Dr. no. philologica

- • Common Zibber, with poems
  - Dr. no. philologica

- • Common prayer books
  - Scots's, Scottish
  - Cordery's, Latin and English
  - resurrectio
- • Pocket Spelling, 2 vols.
  - Dr. no. philologica

- • Loves's, 2 vols.
- • Universal Spelling book
- • Introduction to Latin Grammar
- • Love's Grammar.
Halifax is three thousand miles from Britain but, whether because of some inherent Scottish trait or no, the Kidstons clearly provided the Maritime town’s residents with a reasonably wide array of books, from some of the relatively intellectually challenging works of the Scottish Enlightenment to selections of new novels. Their general merchant business was by far the most important in the Maritimes, in terms of the subject range of books stocked. Their business may be compared with that of Quetton St. George who made regular trips from Upper Canada to New York, returning with books amongst his other goods, which he appears to have selected himself.\textsuperscript{107} The Kidstons certainly made various business trips, but evidence indicates that such visits were always to Britain, not to America. However, some pricing evidence suggests that, on at least one occasion, the Kidstons received Scottish titles from an American supplier.\textsuperscript{108}

The Kidstons are important because they apparently saw themselves as having a cultural role as well as an economic role in the growing settlements of the Maritimes, particularly in Halifax itself. This may have been due to their Scottish background, although not all profitable Scottish merchants in Canada saw such a role for themselves. James Dunlop, who had the potential advantage of having a brother in the book trade in Glasgow (see Chapter 4), did not take on such a role in Montreal, even though he had direct links with Leith as well as Glasgow.\textsuperscript{109}

\textbf{John Neilson}

"[Edinburgh] is a pleasantly situated town; not so fine as we are given to understand. It is far below either London or Paris. The University looks something like a Brewery..."\textsuperscript{110}

These words by Canada’s best-known early printer, written to his son in 1816, encapsulate a view of his homeland apparently reflected in his business practices, which involved close book trade ties in London and Paris and none whatsoever in Scotland. Neilson is included in this study for three reasons: his unparalleled importance in the Canadas, the feasibility of examining his business networks in some detail, and as a comparison with the other Scots involved in book distribution in Canada.\textsuperscript{111}

Of all of the men recorded in this study, only William Brown and his eventual successors, Samuel and John Neilson, were Scottish by birth and printers by training. William Brown learned his craft in William Dunlop’s shop in Philadelphia in the late
In 1763, Brown and his new partner Thomas Gilmore made an adventurous journey via Albany, Lake Champlain and Montreal to Quebec where, in the rue Saint-Louis, they established a newspaper the *Quebec Gazette/La Gazette de Québec* with a press and type shipped from London.

Shortly after the appearance of the newspaper, Brown and Gilmore opened a bookshop which has been claimed "sauf erreur, le premier établissement du genre au Canada" although the firm's blotter books indicate sales mainly of grammars, spelling books, etc., in the early years. Gilmore died in 1773, but Brown carried on and expanded his business, until by the late 1780s, his English booklists in the *Quebec Gazette* were lengthy and included many subjects. Brown himself died in 1789 and his business passed to his nephew Samuel Neilson who had joined his uncle some years before. In 1791, Samuel's younger brother John Neilson joined him as apprentice and took over the firm in 1793 after Samuel's short-lived but highly successful tenure was cut short by his death of tuberculosis. John, being only sixteen, remained for a time under the guardianship of Alexander Spark a Presbyterian minister and newspaper editor, who had edited the innovative but short-lived *Quebec Magazine/Le Magasin de Québec* for Samuel. John possibly felt constrained by business or political pressures because he ran away as a seventeen year old, to New York, saying he wanted to go back to Scotland from there, apparently for health reasons, though Spark persuaded him otherwise. Neilson's place of residence remained Quebec and its environs for the rest of his life, but his correspondence indicates that he travelled widely and regularly, to America and Britain especially.

John Neilson's contribution to Lower Canadian print culture was large and long-lasting and is reflected in the research of several scholars, notably John Hare and Jean-Pierre Wallot. John Neilson printed English and French works (the latter were difficult to import) for a mainly Lower Canadian market, and also imported and sold works in both English and French, through his "highly profitable" bookshop. His 1800 catalogue is considered the first bookseller's catalogue published in Canada and he is known to have supplied other printers, booksellers and stationers in Lower and Upper Canada with stock which "he imported or went in person to get from...the United States or Great Britain." For example, John Bennett who had apprenticed with Neilson, advertised a
book list "Just Received and For Sale at the Printing Office" in York in October 1802, a proportion of which matches Neilson's known stock from his 1800 Catalogue. Bennett's list included both British (and some Scottish) items such as Edinburgh pocket Bibles, and American items such as the novel Arthur Mervyn.26

Neilson's correspondence offers insights into the regional networks within the trade in Lower Canada and beyond. Individuals in small towns and villages would order titles directly from Neilson, but would pay through their geographically closest bookseller. An example of this is the Reverend J.B. Boucher, who lived in LaPrairie. Early in 1812 he ordered some additional titles from Neilson, writing "which I pray you to send me...by the way of the post and I will deliver the money to Mr James Brown" [of Montreal].27

Neilson was contacted by the inveterate promoter of schools, the Scot John Strachan (see below), who asked him to print a range of school books for sale and distribution in Upper Canada, presumably because Neilson's printing business was considerably larger than that available locally to Strachan in York. He asked Neilson to print them "as low at least as they can be imported"28 but due to Strachan's subsequent request to his brother in Aberdeen to send the books, it seems that Neilson could not or would not meet the requirements.29

An indication of the importance of Neilson as a central figure in the distribution of print is the request from the printer Edmund Ward of Halifax. Ward wrote in 1818, "Not having a correspondent in Quebec I hope will be sufficient reason for troubling you" to distribute a recent statute relating to American fishing vessels.30 Neilson advertised the availability of these statutes in the Quebec Gazette for six weeks and sent twenty copies to James Brown in Montreal for distribution there.31 Prior to 1822, when he handed the reigns to his eldest son in order to concentrate more on his political life in the House of Assembly,32 Neilson was seen to be, and acted as, the hub of the wheel of book advertisement and distribution in Lower and Upper Canada. The Maritimes differed in that there was no central figure there who handled regional distribution.

The Neilson papers are invaluable because they confirm that one should make no assumptions concerning any inevitability of business links within the Scottish diaspora. Neilson had some such links, but they were only a small component in a broad cosmopolitan business network in Canada, America and England. Neilson was a Scot
who sent his son to Glasgow for his education and who visited Gatehouse of Fleet and Glasgow regularly. He showed sufficient interest in Scottish concerns to become involved in the settlement of Scots and Irish emigrants in Lower Canada, and his preference for Scottish or American, rather than Canadian apprentices, has been documented and is evidenced in his correspondence with his nephew Robert Palmer, for example. His Scottish background and respect for education, reflected in his political and business connections, were indicated in his letters such as one to his son:

you see in [Scotland] they far surpass us in a thousand things that are advantageous to mankind. It is partly the effect of superior general knowledge.

He was involved as a member of the committee “to encourage and promote education in rural parishes” and “took an interest in education for the working classes, particularly with regard to agriculture”, this latter interest bringing him into contact with the Scottish agriculturalist in Halifax, John Young. Neilson also speculated that there might be sufficient local demand for the already popular poetry of Robert Burns, by proposing a local edition in August 1789, although this was never published.

Neilson therefore had distinctive Scottish characteristics and his opinions and standards were, at least in some regards, shaped by his Scottishness. Certainly many of his letters (though, significantly, not a majority overall) are with Scottish correspondents in various locations. However, regardless of his friends and relatives in Scotland, his book trade network was almost wholly connected with London and America. He apparently never used direct connections with Scottish booksellers. He may have used indirect connections on occasion, as his sizeable business network in North America included such correspondents as John Duncan, a Scot in New York, who offered on at least one occasion to fulfill any orders Neilson might have in Britain.

London wholesalers, such as William Cowan, Thomas Boosey and Peter Wynne, regularly supplied Neilson’s store with a wide array of British books. Peter Wynne had been a regular supplier of stationery and books to Quebec, since his own business was established, in the 1770s. On the American side, Neilson purchased materials from suppliers in Philadelphia, Albany, Shenectady, New York and Boston. He visited these suppliers in person, taking some books, reviews and magazines back with him and having others shipped to him either “by stage” or by ship to Halifax and then onward to Quebec
via the St. Lawrence. American booksellers such as Bradford and Read viewed him as a reliable client, keeping him informed of local political developments, sending him various titles on speculation, and stating "We offer you anything on liberal terms and will transact any business for you with pleasure."47

Within Canada, Neilson's cosmopolitan business contacts included Scots. His closest contacts were those who worked, however briefly, in his printing shop. One was James Brown, born in 1776 in Glasgow, who worked in the late 1790s as a bookbinder for Neilson in Quebec before opening his own bindery and bookstore in Montreal where he sold imported works as well as items printed by Neilson and shipped to him up the St. Lawrence.49 Brown in turn became important to Neilson as the former became first an agent, then a shareholder and finally sole owner of the paper mill established in 1804 at St. Andrews (Argenteuil, Lower Canada).50 In September 1806, Neilson secured a discount on paper from Brown's mill, and Brown secured a five per cent commission on paper sold by Neilson.51 In addition to this working relationship, Brown obviously felt that he could rely on Neilson's support in a time of business need. Early in 1807, Brown had decided to establish a newspaper in Montreal, but so had an American, Nahum Mower, and Brown was keen not to let a delayed shipment of printing equipment from Glasgow hold up his efforts.52 He therefore had Neilson print a bilingual handbill to announce his forthcoming paper.53

In published discussions of the early book trade of Canada, Neilson's business is given pride of place.54 The well-educated, bi-lingual, politically active John Neilson was a good businessman in terms of managing a printing and bookselling business over a number of decades.55 His accounts and letterbooks attest to a network of correspondents who were relatively focussed geographically, and this suggests that Neilson, while he must surely have been aware that he had the largest book and printing business in British North America, had no ambitions to create what might be termed a "national" network for book distribution. His newspaper was certainly found in the coffeehouses and printing shops in the Maritimes, but he did not place advertisements for books in Maritime newspapers, other than occasional notices for works from his own press.56 While he was a member of the Quebec Library, he did not show any inclination to operate a library himself, such as Dawson did in York, or his competitor Thomas Cary did in Lower Canada.58 He did
show a keen interest in the development of schools, and his own printing and bookselling included a large percentage of school books (see Chapter 3). In addition, he donated books as well as money to several school-masters who were primarily French-Canadian teachers, and Catholic, not Scots Presbyterians. Although he supplied various printers and booksellers in Upper and Lower Canada, he does not appear to have been ambitious to the extent that booksellers to the south were, such as Mathew Carey, who deliberately fostered a very wide geographic market. Nevertheless Neilson, who married a French-Canadian Catholic, forged connections between the anglophone and francophone communities through his business. In terms of contributions to early book distribution, Neilson was one of the earliest exemplars of the "Canadian" in the modern sense: bilingual, connected with people of various origins, optimistic about the country's future.

For the perspective taken in this study, his primary importance regarding Scottish connections was his practice of hiring apprentices and other staff from Scotland, who in turn moved on to other towns in Upper and Lower Canada, establishing their own businesses and so spreading the networks of Scots in the trade.

Developments by 1820—the examples of George Dawson and T. Fairbairn

Dawson and Fairbairn both had book trade connections in Edinburgh in the second decade of the nineteenth century, to judge from the advertisements they placed in Upper Canadian and Maritime newspapers. The business efforts of these two men are useful examples as they were apparent contemporaries in Edinburgh, but their interaction with the book trade in Canada was notably different. One chose to make a permanent move to establish a business there and the other chose to visit, carrying with him a selection of books from Edinburgh suppliers, hoping to establish a transatlantic connection with individuals.

Fairbairn's brief stay in Halifax may have been part of a longer itinerary to other towns, possibly including some in the United States, or may have been the first of annual visits by him. Fairbairn was atypically proactive in making the transatlantic crossing for the express purpose of widening his firm's market reach. He is the only Scottish example of such a business practice discovered in the course of this project and it echoes the
behaviour of James Rivington six decades earlier. Its very rarity makes Fairbairn’s example notable and further research may reveal whether the firm he represented found a market in Canadian towns which, by that time, each had several resident stationers and at least one specialist bookseller.

Dawson’s decision to move from Edinburgh to York can be viewed as akin to earlier Scots who had moved to American towns. Dawson joined other binders who had moved to York to fill a gap which had been filled by binders in other towns such as the Scot James Brown who advertised in the Upper-Canada Gazette from his business in Montreal. Unlike Morrison, Dawson established a circulating library, which may have been a way to ensure at least some early return on the books he had imported. His first known advertisement is from February 1818, and an analysis of it suggests that he brought some of the books with him from Edinburgh, but that others may well have been shipped to him from America, not from Scotland. The advertised books indicate that Dawson may have had contacts amongst American booksellers prior to his arrival in Upper Canada, unless he was supplied by Neilson, a possibility not yet confirmed from the Neilson Papers. In short, although very little is known of Dawson, he offered the most extensive book collection available at that time in York and may, like Fairbairn, have had direct business ties in Edinburgh.

Developments by 1820—indirect and direct connections

Chapters 3 and 4 have shown that Scottish books, and Scottish agents, moved to Canadian towns via various routes, principally London and America. Canadian connections with book trade members in Scotland itself were therefore often indirect, such as Neilson’s stock of books published by Constable (see above). Direct connections on the other hand, are found amongst smaller players, or amongst those outwith the trade. For example, Mr Dun, bookseller in West Niagara, sold an array of Scottish works beyond those discussed above from the SED listing. Dun advertised, with extensive puffs, two titles in September 1797, analysis of which show his business links with a Scottish printer, John M’Donald in Albany. Connections such as that between Dun and M’Donald might have been due to these players’ reliance on personal contacts, rather than on wholesaling business links.
Another example of a direct contact is that between Dunlap of Montreal and his bookselling brother in Glasgow, described in Chapter 4. Dunlap’s bookselling endeavours were on a very small scale as a part of his general store, and he had Scottish counterparts in other Canadian towns. For example the saddlers Sinclare and M’Lean, in Halifax, advertised that they had “Just received...a valuable collection of books, which have been purposely selected in Edinburgh...a few of the most recent publications which have obtained celebrity amongst the literary circles of that city...”

Other Scottish colonial merchants took advantage of Scottish book information which came their way. The highly successful Hugh Johnston's main mercantile interests involved lumber and fish, but he was able to acquire current information, presumably from contacts in Scotland, about new Scottish publications which might have relevance and therefore a market in a newly settled colony. In the autumn of 1796, at his wharf on the west side of Water Street in Saint John, Johnston’s staff unloaded "several hundred" copies of *Agriculture, or the Present State of Husbandry in Great Britain*, a new specialist work on agriculture written by James Donaldson of Dundee. The books arrived on the Ship Lucy from Glasgow and Johnston claimed that the book was "worthy the attention of every farmer, particularly those in this infant country." James Beith's company imported “a large collection of books” on the Brig Charlotte from Glasgow, which arrived in Halifax in June 1802. His history books, ready reckoners, dictionaries and song books might have been published in any part of Britain, but the “Children’s Toy Books” he referred to in his advertisement could very easily have come from the local Glasgow publishing house of James Lumsden and Son which specialized in tiny chapbooks and children’s books. Books shipped from Glasgow, while they may not have been published locally, would have been likely to have been purchased locally.

In addition to merchants there were also examples of teachers with Scottish connections ordering books from Scotland. One was John Strachan who, in arranging book supplies for the provincial schools he had worked tirelessly to promote, contacted his brother James Strachan, bookseller and bookbinder in Aberdeen. John wrote to him from York, Upper Canada early in 1817, requesting six parcels of specific titles to be made up for schools in York, Kingston, Cornwall, Long Point and Sandwich. Copies of six titles were requested for the students and five for the teachers, and a total of over
£400 was spent. John Strachan's insistence on the provision of school books from his native country was not only due to a family connection and should be viewed in light of his clear wish to avoid use of American works with their abhorrent political biases. Very unusually it seems, for an Aberdeen bookseller, James Strachan visited Upper Canada. This private familial visit contrasts with that of Fairbairn from Edinburgh, whose visit was for business purposes.  

A further example, of direct connections between Scotland and Canada, was William Millar of Quebec who had connections with Edward Lesslie of Dundee. In 1810, Millar advertised religious works and school books "just received" along with "E. Lesslie's much approved of Genuine Black Ink Powder, wholesale or retail." Lesslie was unusual as a Scottish provincial supplier to a Canadian retailer, but he had personal interests in Canada as he eventually moved to Canada himself and set up business in York. Edward Lesslie's main claim to fame in Canadian history is that it was in his book and drug company in York that William Lyon MacKenzie, "journalist, politician, and rebel", first worked in Upper Canada, having had book trade connections with the Lesslies at home in Scotland. Lesslie's son John arrived in Canada in 1820, and the family settled into business in various towns in Upper Canada including Dundas and Kingston.

Philanthropy versus commerce

While publishers in Scotland may have been slow to develop Canada as a market, there were others in the old country who had the intellectual and moral welfare of new Canadians at heart and who promoted, within Scotland, the collection of books for emigrants. Robert Lamond, for example, sent a letter to the Glasgow Chronicle in 1820 in which he explained that donations of books for emigrants travelling under the auspices of five different emigration societies would be received by Chalmers and Rollins, the booksellers on Wilson Street in Glasgow. Such philanthropic activities on behalf of 'emigrants' or 'settlers' (as opposed to the more financially secure 'colonists') became the norm in the nineteenth century. The books provided tended to be of a morally uplifting and educational nature, although in his plea Lamond referred broadly to "the science and intelligence of old Scotia." Such small collections of books did not (and were not intended to) compete with the array of books which might be available eventually for sale.
or loan in the town or region of destination. Indeed, many of the emigrants would not have been able to purchase books or pay for membership in a circulating library.

Another well-established society, which catered largely to the emigrant rather than the colonist group was the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS). Founded in 1804, this Society rapidly established agents in each Canadian province, beginning in Nova Scotia in 1807, and notices appeared regularly in Canadian newspapers. Such notices announced the arrival of new shipments of Bibles and Testaments which were made available at low cost, or free to the very poor. Unlike the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which sponsored the distribution of many religious items, the BFBS only published the Bible, in part or complete. In Canada, Scots residents were amongst those notable for their involvement in such distributive societies. William Millar, “next door to the Post-Office” and Colin Campbell “at the head of the steps leading to Champlain Street” are examples of Scots who were subscription receivers in Quebec for the BFBS.

Conclusions

This chapter describes the Scottishness of the books in early Canada, as well as the Scottishness of those who disseminated books. Some patterns emerge concerning the Scottish contribution which contrast with the contemporary situation in the American colonies. Between 1750 and 1820 Canada’s population was sparse and very scattered compared with that of the American colonies. Direct business links existed between booksellers who migrated from Scotland to the American towns and their associates in Edinburgh and London. Canada’s early book provision is in marked contrast due to the lack of such major links. The example of Fairbairn’s visit to Halifax is distinctive for its uniqueness in this period. Immigration of book trade personnel, such as George Dawson from Edinburgh and Edward Lesslie from Dundee, only occurred at the close of this period. Book shipments from Scotland to Canadian towns in this period were piecemeal, usually reactive (with the probable and notable exception of books sent as stationery shipments), and much fewer than shipments from London.

In contrast to the supply side, this chapter has shown that there were many Scots involved, on the demand side, in varying aspects of book distribution well before Canada
was viewed by the trade in Scotland as a market worthy of systematic development through personal migration and trade. Several figures imported directly from Scotland, although the key figure within the Canadian trade, John Neilson, did not. The demand side (which more often imported from London than from Scotland) included Scottish merchants, stationers, bookbinders, booksellers and circulating librarians who, in spite of the generally small scale and localized nature of their businesses, contributed to the distributive networks of print in early Canada and formed the vanguard of that “army of Scots and Ulstermen” who were so instrumental in the development of the nineteenth-century Canadian book trade.199


4. Book trade links between Ireland and America have been documented; Cole, Richard Cargill. *Irish booksellers and English writers, 1740-1800*, 1986, especially Appendix 2 in which Cole lists 101 book trade members from Ireland who were active in American towns between 1750 and 1820. Some might argue with his claim that Robert Bell and Samuel Neilson were Irish rather than Scottish. See, for example, Sher, "Scottish print culture in the American Enlightenment" which classes Bell as a Scot.

5. The total figure is 52 and those from Scotland number 9.

6. The Scottishness of sellers of books in the BOOKSCAN file was measured by a) known place of origin where discovered, and b) surname. Of the current total of 161 names in the file, 40 are judged as Scottish.


9. See Chapter 2 for further discussion of the definition of Scottish works.


11. Sher, Richard B. "Books published by 100 Scottish authors, 1751-1800." [unpublished typescript]. The database is intended by Sher to be a comprehensive though by no means exhaustive list of Scottish Enlightenment publications, broadly defined, from the period 1750-1800. I am very grateful to Dr Sher for providing this list from his work in progress. Fifty authors on the list are drawn from three
contemporary sources. (1) Smollett, Tobias. *The expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771); copy seen Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, reprinted 1992, Volume III, p. 233, Letter from Matthew Bramble to Dr Lewis, Edinburgh, August 8th [1770?]. In this letter Smollett refers to Edinburgh as "a hot-bed of genius" and lists eight authors of contemporary note. (2) Creech, William. *Letters addressed to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. respecting the mode of living, arts, commerce, literature, manners, etc. of Edinburgh, in 1763, and since that period* (1793). (3) Alves, Robert. *Sketches of a history of literature* (1794) in which Alves refers to the Scots "genius in learning." Sher admits that this group of 50 is perhaps as subjective as any other. It is appropriate for this study as it is grounded in contemporary opinion, as well as reflecting works which are considered central to the Enlightenment in 20th century opinion. Sher added a further 50 Scottish authors, some of whom were not as well known in the 18th century as the others, but whose works were clearly available, if only in a single edition with no reprints.

13. All of the figures used in this discussion are drawn from the version of the SED supplied to me by Sher on April 10th, 1997. As the SED is a live file, some amendments have been made since then, but the overall picture drawn from the file is unlikely to change significantly.

14. This analysis of place of publication is based on first editions in the SED.

15. George Eaton, the Halifax bookseller and stationer, included Little's work in his listing of 180 titles in the *Acadian Recorder* (June 8, 1816): 3.

16. Examples include Culpepper's *Dispensatory*, advertised by Robert Fletcher, *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* (May 7, 1771): 3; *Edinburgh dispensatory* advertised by N. Palmer, *Kingston Gazette* (September 8, 1818): 3; Hamilton's *Midwifery* advertised by Jacob Mott, *Saint John Gazette and General Advertiser* (June 14, 1799): 3; and, Bell's *Surgery* advertised by William Brown, *Quebec Gazette* (September 25, 1788): supplement, p. 2. The most frequently advertised general guides to health were those by William Buchan, which was most often sold by booksellers or merchants, and by S. Solomon, which was most often sold by druggists and apothecaries.

17. Dr Bayard of Horton informed prospective students that "They will have the advantage of a Select Medical Library..." in the *Acadian Recorder* (March 22, 1817): 3. Unlike Halifax and the relatively small towns in Canada, there were close medical links between Philadelphia and the UK; see Packard, Francis R. "How London and Edinburgh influenced medicine in Philadelphia in the eighteenth century." *Annals of Medical History* New Series, 4 (3),1932, 219-244.

18. Isaac Forsyth was an educated man and he was deeply involved in civic affairs. Although his business records have not been traced (they were preserved by his firm's legal successors into the 1980s), a sketch of his circulating library and shop appears in Mackintosh, Herbert B. *Elgin past and present: a historical guide*, 1914, pp. 221. This source refers only to his public life, not to his business. I am grateful to David Iredale, Archivist of the Moray District Record Office, for information concerning
Forsyth’s records.


21. ESTC and NSTC have been used to check for probable editions shipped in selected years. For example, an analysis of Gideon Tiffany’s 1796 book list indicates that some of the titles sent to him from New York were possible American reprints of Scottish works, such as Burns’s Poems; Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle (November 2, 1796): 1. There were New York and Philadelphia editions of Burns’s poetry from 1788.

22. For example, Heron’s Scotland Delineated which appeared in the Niagara book list in 1796 (and in a new Elgin book list that same year) had apparently no American edition. Therefore the co-publishers of Neill, Bell and Bradfute and Creech in Edinburgh, and the Robinsons in London were the primary distributors to both Scottish and Canadian retailers, and an American intermediary handled the shipment to Canada. Heron’s work was published in 1791; ESTC t083697.


25. A brief research note is in progress which examines Forsyth’s 1789, 1796 and 1812 lists in light of the SED titles. Any list would have to have limits in order to keep it workable, and the SED, as Sher makes clear, is limited primarily to certain subjects. Sermons, songs and music are, with a few notable exceptions, excluded. However these classes were produced in abundance in all regions of Scotland in this period and Forsyth’s list reflects this as well as other factors of local production.

26. Firm conclusions about Dun’s stock are not yet possible, due to the paucity of information on his business. Extant advertisements include Upper Canada Gazette and American Oracle (November 25, 1797): 1-2, which listed 186 titles.

27. Information about consignments is contained in the Route field in the BOOKSCAN file.

28. The Niagara Library received donations from a number of local gentlemen, but the records of the library do not show any SED titles amongst these donations. The catalogue of the Niagara Library is transcribed in Carnochan, Janet. Niagara library, 1800 to 1820, n.d.
29. Not all Canadian holdings are recorded in ESTC, and so it cannot be relied upon for evidence of Scottish works in Canadian repositories. For example, searching the CD-ROM for works published in Scotland between 1749 and 1800, held anywhere in Canada, produces only 236 records in total, although some of these refer to titles held in more than one repository.

30. Queen's College, named for Queen Victoria, was established by the Presbyterian Church of Canada in association with the Church of Scotland; *The Canadian encyclopedia*, 1988, Volume 3. I am indebted to Pamela Thayer, Head of Special Collections at the Joseph S. Stauffer Library, Queen's University, for her considerable efforts on my behalf in supplying a printout of that library's Scottish holdings, including provenance information where known from the catalogue; Pamela Thayer to author, June 12, 1995. This was particularly helpful because not all of Queen's early imprints are included in ESTC.

31. SBTI. Silvester Doig and Andrew Stirling were in business singly or together from 1790 to at least 1818.

32. Whether this was John Wylie of the "classical booksellers new and old" listed in the SBTI, is not known, although John Wylie was in business from 1815 to at least 1828.

33. Books printed and published in any Scottish port might indeed have been shipped across the Atlantic, as almost certainly happened with items from Greenock. Therefore, strictly speaking a Montrose publication could have been shipped to Kingston. A Falkirk imprint, however, as Falkirk is not a port, is even less likely to have made its way to Canada via a trade shipment. Nothing is known of Renny (or Rennie) from the SBTI.

34. *Quebec Mercury* (September 1, 1820), supplement p. 7.


37. Leabhraich is Gaelic for bookseller. The phrase "Leabhraichin Gaelic" was used in Scotland as a header for lists of Gaelic books, for example by John Young, bookseller in Inverness. The titles were typically given in English and not in Gaelic—an interesting indicator of the intended audience for the lists. NLS. Acc 5000. Oliver & Boyd Papers. Young's list was from about 1812 (dated from internal evidence).

38. There is no reference to this publication in ESTC. I am very grateful to Ronald Black of the Celtic Department at Edinburgh University for his insights concerning the print culture of transplanted Gaels in North America; Ronald Black. Personal communication with author, September 9, 1996.
39. Ibid.


41. Ibid., p. 100.

42. McLean, Marianne. The people of Glengarry: highlanders in transition, 1745-1820, 1991. The clannishness of these settlers is illustrated by the refusal of the later arrivals to settle near York, due to shortage of land in Glengarry. They apparently would not agree to go "so far out of the world" (250 miles to the west of Glengarry) although McLean does not provide a source for this quote; pp. 190-191. I am grateful to Dr McLean for discussing her work with me; Marianne McLean. Personal communication with author, May 1997.


45. Several bibliographies of Gaelic works have been used for this study, especially Ferguson, Mary and Ann Matheson. Scottish Gaelic union catalogue: a list of books printed in Scottish Gaelic from 1567 to 1973, 1984 (SGUC). The only drawbacks to this meticulously compiled bibliography are the lack of indexes and the inclusion only of items traced. Publishers’ records would perhaps reveal more titles printed.


47. An early work, in a classified arrangement, is Reid, John. Bibliotheca Scotia-Celtica, or an account of all the books which have been printed in the Gaelic language with bibliographical and biographical notices, 1832. The categories are: Scriptures, Church Books, Grammars, Lexicons, Poetry, Translations, Miscellaneous Literature (school books, proverbs, collections, religious tracts, etc.).

48. See SGUC. This Catalogue illustrates clearly the very high proportion of Bibles, Testaments and other religious works, compared to every other category, which was published in Gaelic prior to 1820.


50. The phrase "almost certainly" is used deliberately, as Gaelic Bibles for the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) were printed in London (1807, SGUC # 79) considerably before they had an Edinburgh edition (1826, SGUC # 83). See SGUC p.
7. However, Testaments and selections (such as Proverbs) were published in Scotland first. See, for example SGUC # 148-149; 271-272; 275-280. For the BFBS see also Howsam, Leslie. *Cheap Bibles: nineteenth-century publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1991.

51. There were several such societies, although the BFBS had only one title in its 'catalogue.' The Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge was an active promoter of Gaelic religious works and some of its Gaelic editions of the Bible were reprinted by the BFBS. An example of such a reprint is the 1813 Gaelic New Testament *Tiomnadh nuadh ar tighearna agus ar Slanuighe Iosa Criosd*, printed in Edinburgh for the BFBS. A copy of this edition is held in Special Collection at Queen's University, Kingston, although the provenance is unknown (see section below on Scottish books at Queen's).


54. Ibid., p. 43.

55. Ibid., p. 42.


57. David Hall is the best known, due to his surviving correspondence and the secondary literature arising from it; American Philosophical Society (APS). David Hall Letter Books, 1750-1771. For an indication of the number of Scottish printers in America, see Thomas, Isaiah. *The History of printing in America with a biography of printers*, 1874.

58. For details of Scottish connections in Halifax, see my "'Advent'rous merchants and Atlantic waves': a preliminary study of the Scottish contribution to book availability in Halifax, 1752-1810." *The Bibliothec*, 1997, (22), 34-71. In Nova Scotia, the two earliest printers were John Bushell, from America with English roots; and Anthony Henry, who was German. All of the early printers printed either the official Gazette for the government, or other newspapers. They are all therefore included in Murphy, Lynn and Brenda Hicks, compiler and cataloguer. *Nova Scotia newspapers: a directory and union list, 1752-1988*, 1990. The best known Scottish printers in Nova Scotia were the Robertson brothers, James and Alexander, who came as Loyalists to Shelburne and printed a newspaper there for a few years before Alexander's death and James's removal of his press to Charlottetown where he acted as King's Printer for a few years before returning to Scotland. See McMurtrie, Douglas C. *The Royalist printers at Shelburne, Nova Scotia*, 1933; and, Pigot, F.L. "Robertson, James" *DCB*, vol. 5, pp. 716-717. The most detailed research to date on the Robertsons was carried


61. *Free Press* (July 20, 1819): 115. Although there is no reference to a T. Fairbairn in the SBTI the long-standing Fairbairn bookselling business which, by 1820 was known as Fairbairn and Anderson, of North Bridge-Street, is very probably the connection. T. Fairbairn offered, in this advertisement, to receive orders for titles to be shipped the following spring and it would seem, from this, that he had a book trade connection. *Free Press* (June 29, 1819): 102 provides the only evidence regarding a direct journey from Leith which would justify Fairbairn’s statement, in the July 20th edition, that he had “just arrived from Edinburgh”. The evidence is the arrival notice of the Ship Agincourt in 54 days from Leith, carrying 135 passengers.


64. *Quebec Gazette* (October 3, 1811): 2; and Neilson, John. *Catalogue of books*, 1811.


66. For example, Dawson advertised *The lay of the last minstrel* in his extensive list in the *Upper Canada Gazette* (February 26, 1818): 1.


68. *International genealogical index* [CD-ROM], 1993. My thanks to Kenneth G. Aitken for his searches of this tool on my behalf.
69. Alexander Morrison does not appear in the SBTL. I am grateful to Graham Hogg and John Morris, for their extensive searches on my behalf, in 1995, before I acquired an electronic copy of the Index.

70. *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* (December 5, 1786): 1. In the Poll Tax records for Halifax in 1792, Morrison is referred to as a bookbinder; PANS, RG 1, Vol. 444, #1, entry 350. I am grateful to Allan Dunlop of PANS for alerting me to this reference.


72. *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (April 19 1808): supplement. NSTC lists such a ten volume encyclopedia, published in London in 1802; NSTC E885. Morrison’s statement that he would sell it for “first cost and charges” implies that he had imported it for sale, rather than acquiring it second hand locally.

73. Paikowsky, Sandra. “Field, Robert” *DCB*, vol. 5, pp. 313-314. A Robert Field was advertising books, maps and charts, imported from London, in 1814, but there is no evidence to prove that these two men were one and the same. *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (June 29, 1814): 3 [microfilmed copies appear out of order and, as the first page of this issue missing, the date given may be incorrect].

74. I am grateful to Kenneth G. Aitken for his genealogical research expertise, which helped delineate Morrison’s family links in Scotland.


76. Fleming, AC, Entry NS37. Fleming states that Morison was paid £100 by the Assembly, to bind eighty sets for public use and to sew the remainder of the edition in blue paper covers for general sale.

77. Alexander Morrison’s Will is held in the Office of the Registrar Probate District of the County of Halifax, #M-163. I am grateful to Allan Dunlop of PANS, who alerted me to Morrison’s will. The will is extensive, but relates mainly to Morrison’s land holdings, and there is no estate inventory.

78. Recorded in *Reminiscences* (February 1, 1896) a scrapbook of clippings in the Legislative Library of Nova Scotia. I am grateful to Shirley Elliott for this information.

79. Morrison’s name appears on various lists of town officers and notables, for example, the list of signatories to the “Address to Lieutenant-Colonel Edwards...” *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (September 30, 1802): 3. His subscription to the literary periodical is listed in *The Nova Scotia Magazine* 1 (1789): v.


82. Akins, T.B. *History of Halifax city*, 1895, p. 139.

83. SBTI.

84. This Customs reference could not refer to Richard Kidston's stock which he imported in that year, as his shipment had come from London. See section in this chapter on the Kidston Family.


86. Further research is planned concerning Morrison, at PANS and through published, though rare, genealogies which are not available through Inter-Library loan. Tertiary sources which have provided some leads are: Smith, Leonard H. *Nova Scotia genealogy and local history: a trial bibliography*, 1984, especially p. 58; and, Varennes, Kathleen Mennie-de. *Bibliographie annotée d'ouvrages généalogiques au Canada/Annotated bibliography of genealogical works in Canada*, 1986, Vols 1 and 5.

87. This section, on the Kidstons, could not have been written with any confidence without the considerable aid of my colleague Kenneth G. Aitken.

88. Richard Kidston gained a grant of five acres (tiny, compared to many other grants) on the Halifax Peninsula in 1785; Gilroy, Marion. *Loyalists and land settlement in Nova Scotia*, 1937, p. 48.

89. Eaton, *The history of Kings County Nova Scotia*, pp. 720-722. This account is rather muddled and research for this thesis would indicate that some of the relationships Eaton refers to are incorrect. A far more reliable source for Kidston marriages is Punch, Terrence M. *Religious marriages in Halifax, 1768-1841 from primary sources*, 1991. An invaluable tool, not only for marriages but for births and Christenings, is the *International genealogical index* [CD-ROM].

90. Richard Kidston’s will of 1815 includes a bequest to his eldest son, William, who had returned to live in Scotland, of “my Gold watch and the sum of one thousand pounds of lawful money of Nova Scotia”; PANS. Halifax County Original Estate Papers, K1-K57 [microfilm]. Film #19410, Kidston Family Estate. 1813-1836. William Kidston is referred to, both as a Halifax merchant and, later, as a Glasgow merchant-banker, in Sutherland, David A. “Stairs, William Machin” *DCB*, vol. 9, pp. 738-740. From Glasgow, William retained business ties with firms in Halifax. The firms of William Kidston and Sons, and Richard Kidston, are both listed at 6 Queen Street, Glasgow, in the section on Merchants in *The commercial directory of Scotland...for 1820-21 and 1822*, 1820. There is evidence of William’s business in the
customs records; see for example SRO, E504/15/101 Greenock July 29th, 1813. On board the Jubilee (Captain John Morrison) British woollens were shipped to Halifax on behalf of William Kidston "merchant in Glasgow." However, no similar customs evidence has been located to date regarding book shipments.

91. *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* (June 23, 1789): 3. Richard Kidston (elder) migrated from Logie in Scotland to New York "in 1781[?]" and thereafter moved north with the Loyalists; PANS. MG 100 Vol. 172 #5-5d. Kidston Family - Genealogy. Letter from John Kidston to unknown recipient, January 1, 1824. It is not likely that the 1781 date is correct, as genealogical evidence suggests that Richard was still in Scotland after that date.

92. For detailed discussion of this particular shipment see my "Book distribution to the Scottish and Canadian provinces, 1750-1820: examples of methods and availability." In: Peter C.G. Isaac, and Barry McKay, eds. *The reach of print: making, selling and using books*, 1998, pp. 103-120.


94. The first Kidston advertisement appeared in Anthony Henry's *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* (June 23, 1789). Five of the advertisements appeared in the newspaper of John Howe, the King's Printer, the *Halifax Journal*: January 7, 1796; May 5, 1796; June 16, 1796; May 24, 1798; and May 2, 1799.

95. The auctioneer Charles Hill, auctioned "all [the] remaining stock in trade" of James Kidston on September 28, 1802 which included a list of 32 book titles; *Nova Scotia Royal Gazette* (September 9, 1802): 3. The latest advertisement located for any of the Kidstons is that inserted by William Kidston Junior in the *Acadian Recorder* (May 18, 1816): 3. However this is a brief notice only to state that he had "received by the late arrivals from England and Scotland, his spring supply..." There is no reference to books.


97. See, for example, *Nova Scotia Chronicle* (June 20-27, 1769).


99. Both James and William Kidston imported books in 1799 which were sent to them from Greenock on the Ship Hunter. Examples are James's shipment of 158 titles and William's shipment of 103 titles, 24 of which were common to both lists. William's list appears in the *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* (April 30, 1799): 2; James's in the *Halifax Journal* (May 2, 1799): 2 and in the *Weekly Chronicle* (May 4, 1799): 4.

100. For example, in 1798 James Kidston imported 38 titles from Greenock and 90 titles from London; *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* (April 17, 1798): 3, and

101. For example, information from the Scottish Church Records [CD-ROM], 1995, suggests links with the Laurie family of Stirling from 1789—however none of the Lauries in the SBTI, who were active in that period, hailed from Stirling.

102. PANS. Kidston Family - Genealogy. See also MacDonald, Annals North British Society, 1905.


104. PANS. Kidston Family - Genealogy. #5d. "Family Tree with Notes" lists the following family members of the North British Society: Richard Kidston, 1782; William Kidston, 1787; James Kidston, 1794; Richard Kidston, Jr., 1810, President in 1815; and William Kidston, Jr., 1810.

105. Ibid.


107. An example of an advertisement by Quetton St. George, in which he refers to his source being New York, is in the Upper Canada Gazette (September 15, 1804): 4.

108. A few weeks after receiving his large shipment on the Ceres from London, Richard Kidston inserted an advertisement for a further collection of 14 titles for which he supplied price information, but no information regarding the source. Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser (July 21, 1789): 1. Some of the prices, which are listed apparently in Halifax currency, seem remarkably low compared with contemporary prices in Britain and I am grateful to Rick Sher for his suggestion that these titles could only have been advertised at that price if they had been cheap American editions (or, as Dr Sher engagingly expressed it, they had "fallen off the back of a boat"); Rick Sher. E-mail to author, 16 January 1998.


110. NAC. MG 24, B 1, Volume 42, Letters received by Samuel Neilson the younger, 1792-1837. Letter from John Neilson, Edinburgh, November 18, 1816.

111. NAC. MG 24. Neilson Collection. This collection was drawn upon extensively by Marie Tremaine for her bibliography. Since Tremaine's research, some relatively detailed finding aids have been created which, while not separating the bookselling and printing aspects of the business, do permit the researcher to focus on certain ledgers and journals by date, and to focus on certain business letters by name or location; NAC. Manuscript Division. Finding Aid no. 119. Revised in 1981-1982 by David Walden et al. The NAC papers have been microfilmed in entirety, but they do not constitute all of the business records of the firm. Other papers (not microfilmed and therefore not available through Inter-Library Loan) are held in the Archives nationales.
du Québec. Hare and Wallot drew on both collections in their research, cited below.

112. Brown may have been the nephew of William Dunlop, printer and bookseller in Philadelphia. Gervais, Jean-Francis, collaborator, “Brown, William” DCB, vol. 4, p. 105.


115. For example, NAC. MG 24. B 1. Brown and Gilmore Blotter Book 1775-1778 includes such sales as: June 14, 1775 3 children’s books to “Henry’s little son” for 1/6; and, July 19, 1777 1 Boyer’s Dictionary 8vo for us 8d.

116. An example is the listing in the Quebec Gazette (September 25, 1788): 2 which included 243 titles.


122. The most complete listing of John Neilson’s publications will be found in Alston, Sandra and Patricia Fleming. Early Canadian printing: a supplement to Tremaine’s “A Bibliography of Canadian imprints, 1751-1800”, 1999 (forthcoming). A sample of the production from his press may be found through the online catalogue of the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions which lists 97 records for John Neilson, ranging from prospectuses for Bills to poetry and forms of prayer.


126. *Upper Canada Gazette* (October 23, 1802): 4. The American novel was by Charles Brockden Brown (1771-1810). Although NSTC does not indicate any edition for the turn of the century, the editions given are from Boston and Philadelphia, and it is very likely that the edition advertised by Bennett would have been from America; NSTC 2B51806.

127. NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 2, p. 231. Boucher to Neilson, 16 January 1812.

128. NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 3. John Strachan to Neilson, 16 April 1816.


132. Neilson was first elected, for Quebec City, in 1818, as a member of the Canadian Party; Chasse, "Neilson, John" *DCB*, vol. 7, p. 647.

133. There are numerous letters between John Neilson, his son, and his son’s Glasgow guardian William Chystal. For example, NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 3. William Chystal to Neilson, 24 May 1819.

134. Some of John’s travels can be tracked through his correspondence with his francophone wife, with whom he corresponded in French. For example, he sent letters to her (in Quebec) between 1810 and 1817 from Montreal, Boston, Three Rivers, Greenock, Glasgow, London, Gatehouse-of-Fleet and Liverpool. NAC. MG 24, B 1. Volume 40, Letters received by Mrs John Neilson, Sr., 1797-1862.

135. Chasse, "Neilson, John" *DCB*, vol. 7, p. 646.


137. NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 37. Robert Palmer to Neilson, Greenock, 24 October 1814, and Southwick, 31 December 1816.

138. NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 42. John Neilson to Samuel Neilson, 13 November, 1816.

140. NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 4. John Young to Neilson, 25 July 1822 concerning subscribers to the agricultural "Letters of Agricola."

141. Quebec Gazette (August 13, 1789): supplement, p. 1. Interestingly, there is no evidence that a separate handbill subscription notice was printed; Brisebois, Michel. The Printing of handbills in Quebec city, 1764-1800. A listing with critical introduction, 1995.

142. NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 3. John M. Duncan to Neilson, 12 February 1819. "I have resolved to leave America by the Albion for Liverpool...Should you find it agreeable to furnish us with an order I shall be happy to hear from you..."

143. Hare, "Le livre au Québec et la librairie Neilson," p. 95, note 12. Thomas Boosey was a French bookseller on Old Bond Street; Maxted, Ian. The London book trades, 1775-1800: a preliminary checklist of members, 1977, p. 24. Boosey established a music branch in 1816, but it was almost certainly as a supplier of French works that Neilson used him. Peter Wynne was a general bookseller and stationer on Wood Street and then on Paternoster Row who was in partnership for a time with Robert Scholey; Ibid., p. 255 and 200.

144. The earliest date for Wynne’s business, provided by Maxted, is 1772, and he was exporting to Quebec by at least 1775. Maxted, The London book trades, 1775-1800 and NAC. MG 24, B 1, Volume 57. William Brown Accounts, September 10, 1775.


146. NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 2, p. 227-229. Bradford and Read to Neilson, 11 January 1812. The Halifax route is referred to in a letter from the same Boston booksellers, in which they state "We regret that we cannot get the Geography and the Reviews conveyed: but 'tis so late in the season we are informed no more vessels will go to Quebec from Halifax." MG 24, B 1, volume 2, p. 262-263. Bradford and Read to Neilson, 7 December 1812.

147. NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 2, p. 262-263. Bradford and Read to Neilson, 7 December 1812.

148. There is no evidence in the SBTI that Brown had worked in Glasgow (or anywhere in Scotland) before moving to Canada in 1797.


151. Neilson’s discount was “not more than twelve and one half per cent discount from the price of similar articles to be sold wholesale on com[mission].” NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 2, Memorandum, Quebec, September 18, 1806.


153. NAC. MG 24, B 1, volume 2. James Brown to Neilson, 28 February 1807. “I did not wish to publish the prospectus before the arrival of our presses; but as there is an American who wishes to come in for a similar purpose...by printing it, you will do me a very great favor...”

154. A notable exception is Parker, who accords Neilson only four brief mentions in his detailed synthesis *The beginnings of the book trade in Canada*, pp. 14, 49, 98, 122.

155. Neilson in particular is noted for his meticulous book-keeping. “His account-books were detailed to an extent seldom seen. He even kept a note of time lost, in hours and minutes.” Chasse, “Neilson, John” *DCB*, vol. 7, p. 644. When John’s son Samuel’s estate was valued, the printing and bookselling stocks were appraised at over £2,700; *Ibid.*, p. 646.

156. Due to the parameters of this study, the BOOKSCAN file does not, at present, include information on the movement of books *within* the Canadian colonies, only the movement *into* the colonies.


158. “Cary got a return by renting his books for a few pennies in a subscription circulating library...In 1797 Cary commissioned Neilson to print 1,300 copies of a Catalogue of books to be loaned from one month to a year, and Cary soon advertised that he would mail books anywhere in the province as long as users paid the postage”; Parker, *The Beginnings of the book trade in Canada*, p. 14.


163. It is, however, interesting to note that neither T. Fairbairn, nor George Dawson, are listed in the SBTI or contemporary Edinburgh directories. They may have been apprentices rather than journeymen or Guild members, prior to their journeys to Canada. Fairbairn may have been the son of James Fairbairn; a Christening notice for a
Thomas Fairbairn of Saint Cuthbert's Edinburgh is listed in *Scottish church records* [CD-ROM], from November 14, 1780.

164. The brevity of his stay is evidenced in his advertisement: "...as his stay in Halifax will be for a short period only..." *Free Press* (July 20, 1819): 115.

165. I am grateful to Barry Cahill of PANS for his search for further evidence of Fairbairn (none located) and for his suggestion that Fairbairn may have moved on to other towns. Barry Cahill. E-mail to author, 6 February 1998.

166. *Halifax Gazette* (May 14, 1761). See also the discussion of Rivington in Chapter 4.

167. Scots bookbinders in America have been researched by Hannah French. See, for example, French, Hannah D. "The Amazing career of Andrew Barclay, Scottish bookbinder, of Boston." *Studies in Bibliography*, 1961, (14), 145-162. In this paper French refers to other Scottish bookbinders in pre-Revolutionary America; pp. 153-154. She also documents Barclay's removal, with other Loyalists to Shelburne Nova Scotia, although apparently he never practised as a binder there; pp. 158-159. See also French's "Scottish-American bookbindings: six examples from colonial North America." *Book Collector*, 6, 1957, 150-159. There is no equivalent to French's work for Scots binders in Canada, for any period. Nor has there been work for Canada similar to Alden, John. "Scottish Type in Eighteenth-Century America." *Studies in Bibliography*, 1950-1951, (3), 270-4.

168. Dawson was a rarity as a bookbinder amongst Scottish book trade members in York. Of the forty Scots listed by Hulse for the nineteenth century, only two were bookbinders by trade, Dawson and Peter McPhail. From Hulse's research, McPhail was the one with the more lasting business, being active from 1821-1831. Hulse, Elizabeth. *A dictionary of Toronto printers, publishers, booksellers and the allied trades, 1798-1900*, 1982.


170. *Upper-Canada Gazette* (February 26, 1818): 1. This is an earlier newspaper reference than the one provided for Dawson in Hulse, *A Dictionary of Toronto printers, publishers, booksellers and the allied trades*.

171. Several of the titles listed in Dawson's newspaper catalogue were available in America as well as British editions by 1817, when his collection must have been ordered. An example is Hector MacNeill's *The Scottish Adventurers, or the Way to Rise, an Historical Tale* which was published in both Edinburgh and New York in 1812; NSTC M547. However, other titles appear to have had only American editions prior to 1817. An example is the Carolina physician David Ramsay's *Carolina* which had been published in Charleston in two volumes in 1809; NSTC R147.
172. NAC's main finding aid *Archivia* [CD-ROM] has also been searched, but there are no references to Dawson.

173. The Scottish Dawson and Fairbairn are trade members who are similar to the merchant Kidstons in that they have no entries in the *DCB* and the only analysis of their contribution to early Canadian book availability is that provided by this study.

174. *Upper Canada Gazette* (September 27, 1797): 3. The titles were R. Walker's *Sermons*, which Dun explained were from a late minister of Edinburgh and Gilbert Burnet's *Life of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*. The only editions published in 1797, in ESTC, are those of John M'Donald, printer and bookseller, 18 State Street, Albany; ESTC w002970 and w019909. This was the first American edition of Walker's *Sermons*, 2 vols, 8vo, 1796-1797.


176. Hugh Johnston is one of the better-known Scottish merchants in the Maritimes; he arrived in Saint John in 1784, from Morayshire, "in a vessel owned by himself and laden with the merchandise with which he commenced business;" Bunting, William Franklin. *History of St. John's Lodge, F. and A.M. of Saint John, New Brunswick, together with sketches of all Masonic bodies in New Brunswick, from A.D. 1784 to A.D. 1894*, 1895, p. 221. See also Acheson, T.W. "Johnston, Hugh." *DCB*, vol. 6, pp. 354-356.

177. ESTC t096464. The four volume work was printed in Edinburgh for Adam Neill, 1795-1796.

178. *Saint John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* (November 4, 1796): 1. Johnston may have heard about this work from contacts in Scotland, or he may have seen the single sheet prospectus which was published, possibly in Edinburgh in 1795; ESTC t096483.


180. The business records of the Lumsden firm have apparently not survived. "...there is no hint that any serious attempt was made to invade the English market which was already well provided for by Newbery, Harris, Marshall and others..." Roscoe, S. and R.A. Brimmell. *James Lumsden & Son of Glasgow: their juvenile books and chapbooks*, 1981, xi. However, shipping their books from a local wharf may indeed have occurred. Lumsden items are in evidence in Canadian repositories, including the Osborne Collection of children's materials in Toronto. The only Canadian advertisement, located to date, which includes the Lumsden firm, is a subscription notice for a print of "The Jolly Beggars" from Burns's poem; *Weekly Chronicle* (November 12, 1819): 3.

181. For an overview of the Glasgow trade, especially figures to support the contention that bookselling rather than printing was paramount in the trade after the 1770s, see Gillespie, Roy A. "The Glasgow book trade to 1776." In: Kevin McCarra

182. James Strachan is listed in the SBTI as being in business on School Hill in Aberdeen from 1804 to 1830.


185. Lesslie has no entry in the *DCB*, but he is included in Rattray, W.J. *The Scot in British North America*, 1880, vol. 4, pp. 1145-1148.

186. *Quebec Mercury* (June 11, 1810): 191. Lesslie is listed in the SBTI as an ink maker as well as a bookseller and printer. Not all of Millar’s advertisements referred to Lesslie, but a Scottish connection often was apparent. For example in his advertisement in the *Quebec Mercury* (June 17, 1811): 187, he listed “Edinburgh Almanacks for the present year” along with school books, military memoirs and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

187. Hulse, *A Dictionary of Toronto printers, publishers, booksellers*, p. 146. Edward Lesslie also brought his sons to York where they became active in the business. Lesslie’s first bookseller’s catalogue in Canada (1823) is identified in Fleming, UC. Lesslie’s store is also referred to in H. Pearson Gundy, *Book publishing and publishers in Canada before 1900*, 1965. The SBTI gives Lesslie’s business dates in Dundee as 1792-1820. Hulse states that he was active in York from 1823, but it seems likely that he was in Canada before that date.


189. James Lesslie (1802-1885) for example, became a bookseller, stationer and druggist in Kingston after 1820. One of his trade notices advertising new stock and his willingness to take special orders is listed in Fleming, UC, entry #200.

190. Letter to the *Glasgow Chronicle* entitled “Emigration to Upper Canada” dated June 14, 1820, reprinted in Lamond, Robert. *A Narrative of the rise and progress of emigration from the counties of Lanark and Renfrew to the new settlements in Upper Canada*, 1821, pp. 13-14.

191. Bill Bell has demonstrated the involvement of several Scottish societies in book provision for emigrants to both Canada and New Zealand; Bell, Bill. “Print culture in exile: Scottish emigrant readers in the nineteenth century.” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, 1998, 36 (2), 87-106.


193. The standard text on this society is Howsam, *Cheap Bibles*. 
Halifax, Saint John and Quebec were seen as especially important, by the Society, as they were ports of entry for immigrants (p. 2-3).

An example is the advertisement inserted by Francis Dick in 1811; Quebec Mercury (October 28, 1811): 343. This advertisement offers English, Gaelic and French Bibles and/or Testaments “for Sale at low prices, or gratuitous distribution, according to the circumstances of the applicants.”

There were numerous small notices in the newspapers relating to the SPCK. An example for Quebec is the Quebec Mercury (November 20, 1818): supplement, p. 1, in which the Secretary J.L. Mills states that various books and tracts are available at the bookstore of Thomas Cary, “at the prices charged respectively to Subscribers and to the Public.”

The SPCK, for example, sent a shipment of fifty-one tracts and books to New Brunswick in 1819, which were advertised by the treasurer of the local branch, Jedediah Slason; New Brunswick Royal Gazette (November 16, 1819): 3. The list included nine of Sarah Trimmer’s abridgements and instructive tales as well as the still popular tracts by Josiah Woodward. This advertisement was relatively unusual in listing individual titles. It was much more common for brief advertisements to be placed such as that inserted by J.L. Mills, Quebec SPCK Secretary in the Quebec Mercury (November 20, 1818): supplement, p. 1, “The Bibles...and...Books and Tracts of this Society, are opened for sale...”

Millar and Campbell are referred to in the notice regarding the British and Foreign Bible Society which appeared in the Quebec Mercury (October 28, 1811): 343.

Chapter 6
Book Availability in Canada and the Scottish Contribution:
Summary of Findings and Suggested Future Directions

This dissertation offers considerable new information concerning the early Canadian book trade and uncovers details of Scottish-Canadian connections. The empirical research—a systematic and intensive reading of long runs of newspapers supplemented by the use of archival business records—the customized database, and the analyses resulting from its application are all new contributions to Canadian book history. This chapter synthesizes the research findings, evaluates the utility of the BOOKSCAN database, and suggests several avenues for future research, both topically and methodologically.

It might be assumed that the early book trade in scattered Canadian towns would bear a marked similarity to towns in the American colonies, because of the shared characteristics such as their primarily British origins and their Western Atlantic location. Similarities between the American and the Canadian colonies certainly existed and are referred to in this dissertation. However, local socio-economic idiosyncrasies resulted in some dissimilarities, not only between the northern and southern colonies, but among the different colonies of Canada. Of particular interest in this study is the role of Scots in the early transatlantic book trade, and the detailed investigation of this role throws light not only on Canadian book history but a comparative light on the contemporary situation in America.

Assumption or Fact?

The hypothesis which provided the framework for this enquiry was “that Scottish products and agents of the press were significant players in the development of a Canadian print culture” during the period 1750 to 1820. This hypothesis, and the research questions accruing from it, were designed to examine assumptions or myths about the status of Scots in the Canadian book trade. The project examines the assumptions by researching and analysing the Scottish contribution to certain defined aspects of the trade; the rich detail of the data gathered and analysed helps to determine whether the myths are a correct interpretation. Canadian English-language book availability, in general, has been research and analysed in order to place the Scottish input in a context where the myths
may be examined. This general picture is a new contribution to Canadian book trade studies for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and complements existing scholarship on early French-language book availability in Quebec. In addition, new material has been uncovered concerning interactions between the colonial American trade and book providers in Canada.

The assumptions about the importance of Scots centre on a perceived critical importance of the Scottish role in the production and distribution of reading materials to the North American colonies. Scottish migration to Canada was significant in this period, but Highland, Gaelic-speaking, largely illiterate migrants were numerically superior to Lowland, literate colonists. The former contributed much to the emerging identity of the Canadian colonies, but the contribution was not integrally related to print culture as was that of the Lowland teachers, merchants, and eventual book trade members who moved to the various towns. It might be assumed that Scottish publishers were proactive in seeking colonial markets, and that Scottish printers and booksellers in the colonies retained direct ties with Scottish producers. The data gathered for this dissertation, analysed by means of the BOOKSCAN database, indicates clearly the complexities of the contemporary trade situation and suggests that, for early Canada, a simplistic statement about the Scottish contribution to book availability is inappropriate. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 collectively present the complexities of the trade and the Scottish role within them.

The BOOKSCAN database

This is the first project designed specifically to detail book availability for sale or loan in several towns and also to examine one country’s contribution to the print culture of another region. For the early Canadian book trade, newspaper evidence is the most reliable, and the most consistently available resource for the towns studied. The BOOKSCAN database permits rich use of information gleaned from newspapers and supplements this with archival evidence when it is available. The inclusion of details about books for sale and those listed for loan in library catalogues results in a uniquely rich resource covering all aspects of availability. BOOKSCAN is the first bibliographic database customized to analyse distribution, beyond the brief distribution information often available in imprints. The database has proved invaluable for examining the types
of materials imported, the occupations of those who made books available and their routes of acquisition. Furthermore, business details, such as the prices at which titles were sold in different towns or countries, can also be compared, when such information is available, and the application of Dewey Classification numbers and subject headings permits analysis concerning intellectual content. The value of having all such information in a single resource is evidenced by the range of analyses performed for this dissertation. The database will be expanded with future research for other regions, including Newfoundland and the Northwest. The file is not yet publicly available, but searches have been carried out for other researchers on such topics as availability of specific authors' works, cookery books and law books. While the database stands alone as a tool for Canada, the potential applications for comparative work are numerous. The design and application of the BOOKSCAN database can form the basis for future research to analyse the validity of specific geographic or business models, as well as for comparative analyses of the Canadian situation with other colonial areas in the same period.

Intellectual content

In general, printed material representing all Dewey classes was shipped to Canadian towns, but some subjects were consistently more commonly offered in advertisements than others, particularly those subjects appropriate for use in schools. These include primarily dictionaries, spellers and grammars, literature (including miscellanies and chapbooks), history, geography and biography. The category of school books was (aside from Bibles and other religious works) the most common category of printed material imported to Canada. Chapter 3 offers details concerning school book shipments: by title, they form 6.5% of the BOOKSCAN file. Of those shipped from a known port, 62.4% entered Canada from London, 27.3% from the Clyde (Greenock or Port Glasgow), and 10.2% from American towns. Of all of the books shipped from the Clyde, school books are the most frequently exported (other than Bibles) and they form a category of particular interest for studies of the early trade to Canada because of their potential customs classification as stationery (see below under Methods of Supply).

The systematic comparative analysis of the titles advertised in different Canadian towns is new. Chapter 3 indicates that although the same subjects were often offered for
sale or loan, there was considerable variation in the individual titles offered, dependent on a variety of factors including the perceived local market and the English, Scottish or American source of supply. The study contributes further new information in its summation of materials by and for women which were advertised for sale or loan. These included several of the popular conduct books for women, as well as a broad range of novels both by named and anonymous authors.

The Scottish element in the intellectual content of the books shipped to Canada is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Using the data from BOOKSCAN, especially the publisher, port of exit and subject content information, the relative input of Scottish authors and publishers to the print culture of early Canada is examined. A defined set of works of the Scottish Enlightenment is used as a sample for comparison of availability both by location and by occupation of book providers. Fifty seven per cent of the titles from the Scottish Enlightenment Database (SED) were available in Canada, using the evidence of the BOOKSCAN file. They represent just under 3% of all titles in the file, and a proportion of the remaining 97% were of Scottish authorship or origin, but did not fall within the criteria for inclusion in the SED. The 3% figure is instructive for two reasons. First, it offers evidence of a relatively limited availability of Scottish works in general—a situation which was matched in the American colonies as shown by Andrew Hook. Secondly, within the small proportion of 3% lie some of the most popular titles in terms of availability for sale or loan: the novels of Smollet, poems of Burns, histories of Robertson, belles lettres and sermons of Blair, geographies of Guthrie, and the medical handbook of Buchan appeared in advertisements for all of the towns. Therefore, while the number of titles with Scottish authorship may have been small, this group of titles seems to have been imported to all the Canadian colonies more often than many other titles.

Methods of supply
There was no single cohesive book trade in Canada during this seventy year period; there were several regional trading areas, each with distinctive traits, although most traits were present to a greater or lesser degree in all regions depending upon the general stage of their economic development. Canada had no burgeoning national distributive system to
match that of Mathew Carey of Philadelphia in the 1790s, even by 1820. This was due in part to the economic separateness of the Canadian colonies which in turn was sustained by the lack of land transportation. The coming of the railways in the mid to late nineteenth century would eventually lead to national distributive networks for books, first from Montreal and then from Toronto.

The trading routes to the differing regions of Canada affected both the geographic sources and the frequency of the arrivals of book shipments. Niagara, Kingston and York could, due to the interior water routes used, receive books in any month of the year, often from American towns. Quebec and Montreal could receive books from American sources, but often their supplies came up the St. Lawrence, which precluded any shipments after winter freeze-up. Halifax and Saint John received books usually only once or twice a year, with the spring and autumn arrivals of transatlantic shipping, and the dominance of those with London, as opposed to Scottish-only, connections is indisputable, as shipments of books from London far outnumber those from the Clyde.

The fact that books were shipped as stationery is an important finding due to the apparent frequency and scale of such shipments evidenced not only by discrepancies between announcements of book arrivals and customs accounts but by the deliberate targeting of export merchants by wholesale stationers. The shipping of books as stationery is a significant issue in terms both of British exports and North American imports. Previous studies have not acknowledged sufficiently this aspect of the potentially misleading nature of summary accounts of book exports.

The business practices surrounding Canadian book availability include a high proportion of general merchants as book retailers. Their sources for books were often book and stationery wholesalers—following, logically, the types of source merchants used for other goods. As with tobacco merchants shipping books (Scottish and otherwise) to the southern American colonies, timber merchants performed the same role on occasion in Canada.

Book auctions were not common in Canadian towns, and this is a contrast not only with the contemporary Scottish scene but with the trade in the American colonies. Evidence of auctions which included books exists, but the books were not usually imported in order to be auctioned—the auctioned materials were most often the relatively
small residues of estates or the libraries of business and military men who were moving to other colonies. In Scotland in this period, auctions would often include old and rare materials, but the market for rare books in Canada was apparently very small.

On the Scottish side, a known contact was critical in the shipments of books from Scottish publishers to Canadian retailers. This supports the findings of Sher and McDougall who have examined Scottish connections with the American colonial trade, but the present study draws more attention to the crucial determining nature of such contacts. Without them, there was no interest on the part of Scottish publishers in sending books to Canadian towns. That Scottish printers in Canada were very rare prior to 1820 is significant in this regard. The best-known Scottish-born printer, John Neilson of Quebec city, behaved in ways wholly different from some of his American counterparts such as David Hall, Robert Simpson, Robert Bell and William Dobson. Neilson neither maintained close business links with Scots in Scotland, London or America, nor did he show particular interest in reprinting Scottish works for his local market. In short, Neilson offers a very interesting corrective to generalized assumptions about the trade practices of Scottish members of the trade. He displayed few of the expected business characteristics, in spite of his long-standing preference for hiring his printing apprentices from Scotland, and his preference for Scottish education evidenced by sending his son to school in Glasgow.

The Scottish input in the supply of books to and within Canada, during the period studied, has not been previously detailed. The input is discussed from both the supply side and the demand side and clear differences are illustrated for each. On neither side was there a cohesive business strategy which encouraged a Scottish-Canadian trade in books. Scottish publishers such as Bell and Bradfute and Archibald Constable are shown to have been almost wholly reactive in their business dealings with Canadian book importers. On the Canadian side, individual initiatives were crucial in the maintenance of Scottish links related to the book trade. Chapter 5 details a selection of such initiatives and the case studies all provide new information.

The Scottish element in both the product and the supply was multi-faceted. A proportion of contemporary Scottish-authored books appeared in Canadian advertisements; most of these apparently in English or American editions. Shipments of
books from Scotland to Canada were far less common than shipments from London, but a variety of individual links across the ocean between teachers, booksellers, binders, stationers and merchants on the Canadian side; and stationers and booksellers in various towns in Scotland, seems to have formed a resilient web of connections both within and outwith the book trade itself.

Concerning agents of the press, the hypothesis is supported in some regards such as the importance of book distribution by Scottish merchants in some of the towns. However it is not supported in others, such as the general dearth of Scots in the trade anywhere in Canada, and the non-Scottish leanings of the most important printer of the period, the Scot John Neilson (except regarding his hiring of apprentices from Scotland). However, the role of Scots was beginning to increase by 1820, with the activities of such members of the trade as Dawson in York and Fairbairn in Halifax. The hypothesis is not generally supported regarding the origins of book imports. Most shipments to Canada came from London. On the other hand, books authored by Scots were imported to all the selected towns more often than many other titles and this finding supports the hypothesis concerning the significance of Scottish products of the press.

The implications of not supporting the hypothesis challenge the traditional view that, due to large migrations of Scots to Canada, there was necessarily a pervasive Scottish effect throughout Canadian history. This view should be treated with caution, especially as the majority of the Scots who migrated in the early period were from the Highlands and Islands and tended to be poor, illiterate, Gaelic-speaking and often Roman Catholic—factors which mitigated against their gaining important status in emerging Canadian colonial society. In contrast, most of the Scots featured in this study were from a much smaller group of migrants who came from the Lowlands and in terms of their numbers they seem to have had a disproportionate effect on some elements of early Canadian life (as merchants, for example). For print culture history, this dissertation supplies details of the very beginnings of the nineteenth-century “army of Scots and Ulstermen” referred to by Parker, and supplies a hitherto unresearched historical context for their achievements.
Future directions—topics for research

This dissertation contributes new information to the scholarship of the colonial book trade. However, studies of the early trade in English-language books in Canada are still in their infancy and gaps in our understanding of the trade remain to be filled. These include research into the role of wholesalers in general, and especially wholesaling stationers. Further work is required to correlate customs accounts and advertisements in order to delineate the scale of books moving as stationery. A desideratum is a database of book and stationery import and export figures, gleaned from records in Britain and in the various colonies. For example, from the mid to late nineteenth centuries onward there are potentially very useful import records for Canada (which are unfortunately not matched for the earlier period). In addition to wholesaling stationers in Britain, investigations of wholesaling booksellers in the United States are also likely to be fruitful, especially the business of Mathew Carey in Philadelphia whose records have been extensively used but not, to date, from a Canadian perspective. Investigating imports of English-language books from American towns to Quebec, in particular, may prove fruitful.

A theme developed in this dissertation is the cultural analysis of book trade members and their business links with home countries. There is a need for much further research on this theme, for other colonial areas and for other time periods. Research into the Scottish influence and connections in North America, Australia and New Zealand is ongoing by McDougall, Sher, MacDonald and Bell. For Canada, systematic investigation of Canadian author/Scottish publisher interconnections for the nineteenth century is planned. The present study’s findings about the Scottish role will be complemented by research into the role of immigrant American book trade members, especially in nineteenth-century Ontario.

Further comparative work, of book availability, between towns within Canada and between Canada and Scotland will build on the foundation provided in this dissertation with such comparisons as Elgin and Halifax in 1789. The analysis offered, of subject availability in the context of subject production, could be replicated for other colonial regions. Of particular relevance for library history is the facility of the BOOKSCAN database to be used as a union catalogue of early Canadian and Scottish libraries. Data
entry of other catalogues from Scottish towns is planned and comparative analysis of these will complement the overviews of Scottish library holdings provided by John Crawford's seminal work. Although pre-1820 Canadian catalogues are extremely rare, there is rich ground for this type of comparative analysis for later nineteenth-century Canadian catalogues.

This study contributes much detail on the occupations of those who provided access to books in Canada. The crucial significance of general merchants as retailers will, it is hoped, earn them a place in planned directories of the Canadian trade. Merchants have hitherto been systematically excluded from serious consideration for their contribution to the Canadian trade, and yet, in terms of quantities of materials distributed and sold, they were arguably more important than the small number of printers. At the final retail level, there is need for research on country peddlers and urban street sellers of books—although the dearth of evidence from these itinerant sellers will be a challenge to researchers.

**Future directions—methodologies**

The field of book history generally is at a stage when it is relevant to reflect on the central questions we are trying to answer and the sources and methodologies which are available to aid us. Due to the increasing interest engendered by the various national projects for histories of the book, some of the currently relevant questions relate to comparisons across regions and to cultural influences on print culture in general. This chapter has outlined the dissertation's contribution to answering such questions and the present section suggests future avenues for development. This study's findings offer an example of comparative book history with the Canadian-Scottish parallels and contrasts.

One of the critical factors in the historical study of book production, distribution and reception concerns the places at which, and through which, these events occur. The "geography" of the book is equally as important as the history of the book, and this study reflects this, especially in the discussion in Chapter 4 of the differing waterways and trade routes which effectively determined many of the patterns of the early Canadian book trade.
It is now feasible (for some geographic areas and time periods) to study aspects of the trade in a quantitative manner across national boundaries and to address Ian Willison's call for some "technical aspect" to link the various national book history projects now underway as well as John Feather's earlier call for a "multinational collaborative history of the book." Detailed comparative work, including the critical aspect of place, is now possible due to a technology already in use in other historical disciplines. This technology, geographic information systems (GIS), offers much potential for book history. The application of GIS will support, and help address, the point made in a slightly different context by both Tanselle and Feather nearly two decades ago, that "the macro-history of the book, which is the raison d'être of the whole exercise, can be pursued only on the basis of a vast corpus of micro-history." This "vast corpus" is now in some measure available, but how should it be handled and how, more importantly, might it form the "macro-history" we seek? GIS will enable the correlation of data from a variety of book history databases (ranging from widely accessible databases such as the ESTC to privately created ones such as the BOOKSCAN file), for various analyses including spatial analysis. In addition, and crucially, GIS will permit the examination of book trade data within a quantifiable broader context—the socio-economic context referred to in the book history models of Darnton and of Adams and Barker. This context is quantified in such sources as census data, which are increasingly available in electronic format. There are multiple factors which require consideration when attempting to chart the transatlantic distribution of books and some technological means is required to quantify and analyse their collective effect on the international trade in books. For example, linking information obtained from centrally accessible electronic sites and mapping a range of patterns—migration from Scotland to the Canadian colonies, the literacy rates of the migrants' home counties in Scotland, the concentrations of such emigrants in various locations in Canada, the numbers and geographic origins of book imports to their local towns and villages—will help us to gain a greater understanding about the nature of the "Scottishness" of the export trade from Scotland to the Canadian colonies.

GIS technology, due to its reliance on information in database format, forces a degree of conformity of data. The present study offers an example of the real (though not
insurmountable) challenges to the broad application of GIS. Socio-economic data for the period studied is not yet available in electronic format—either for Britain or for Canada. Britain is further ahead, with considerable nineteenth-century census data available from the Great Britain Historical GIS Programme. However, that project is only now beginning the task of creating electronic resources for the eighteenth century. On the Canadian side, in comparison, much work lies ahead to create the basic files necessary for long-term comparative work in any period, although historical geographers have already provided some interesting models, for the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on such topics as the spread of specific industries. Planned collaborative work, as part of the History of the Book in Canada project, includes an electronic component. This will draw together socio-economic and print culture data for the period after standardized censuses began (in 1851), and will incorporate the materials used for The Printed Word plate in The Historical Atlas of Canada Volume 2. This plate (a segment of which is reproduced in Figure 6.1) includes data on newspaper production, their political viewpoint and circulation, and on collective libraries. Although most segments of the plate are for a snapshot of a single year, or a range of only a few years, the plate offers a very good example of what might be achieved for Canadian book history, through the application of GIS. The various constraints referred to here have precluded GIS being applied in the current study, but there is enormous scope for continued experimentation and innovation, both at the individual level, as with the BOOKSCAN database, and for long-term collaborative work. A greater comparative understanding will accrue from the application of new methodologies if the sources used are reliable and valid, and if the questions posed are both appropriate to the collective sources and imaginative in scope.

Conclusion

This project has uncovered considerable new information about the early Canadian book trade. Politically, economically and culturally, post-colonial Canada is not simply a mirror of Scotland, England or America, but its demographic history and geographic location has led it to reflect influences from all three countries (amongst others), including influences affecting book availability. The towns in colonial Canada have proved, through this study of book availability, well worth exploration for the light they shed on the
development of early Canadian print culture. The project offers particular insights into the role of Scottish books, publishers, booksellers and transatlantic merchants in the print culture of selected colonial towns. It describes and analyses that information by means of a unique database and it suggests several ways in which this research may be built upon in the future. Finally, this dissertation provides a framework for similar work in other towns and regions of Canada, and a foundation for broader transnational comparative studies.


4. Richard B. Sher, Mary Williamson and Philip Girard have requested, and received, custom reports from the BOOKSCAN file.


6. Stewart Spragg's advertisement of an auction of "Ten thousand volumes" in Montreal, quoted from a secondary source by Parker, has not been located by this author; Parker, George. The Beginnings of the book trade in Canada, 1985, p. 15.


8. See, for example, Canada. Customs Department. Trade and Navigation. Unrevised monthly statements of imports entered for consumption and exports of the Dominion of Canada, 1915. Plans are underway to create a database from the whole series for the History of the Book in Canada project.

9. An archival collection not seen for this project is that of Neilson’s business held at the Archives nationale du Québec. This collection apparently complements the much larger collection held at NAC (which has been used in this study).


17. The author has proposed the establishment of an international inventory of privately created book history databases which may have broad applications for the research community. Plans are underway to mount such an inventory at SHARP Web.


20. See http://www.qmw.ac.uk/gbhgis


22. The History of the Book in Canada Project is under the general editorship of Patricia Fleming and Yvan Lamonde. The author is English co-editor for Volume 2 of the projected three volume publication. The project’s web site is at http://www.hbic.library.utoronto.ca


24. Twenty years after Wal Kirsop’s statement, book historians can still claim that “it would be unfair to give the impression that routine has already taken the place of experimentation and that orthodoxy has suppressed innovation.” Kirsop, Wallace. “Literary history and book trade history: the lessons of L’Apparition du livre.” *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 1979, 16 (6), 490.
25. A pilot project is currently being evaluated. It may be accessed via http://www.rpl.regina.sk.ca/~fblack/gisbkhh.html. The interactive GIS portion is currently password-controlled.
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[Very few newspapers in Canada were paginated. Most newspaper were four pages. All advertisements referred to in this study are cited by page number, by counting the pages on the microform copies.]

NLC

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Acadian Recorder
Free Press
Halifax Gazette
Halifax Journal
Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser
Nova-Scotia Magazine
Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle
Nova Scotia Royal Gazette
Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser
Weekly Chronicle

Fredericton and Saint John:
Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser
New Brunswick Royal Gazette
Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser
Saint John Gazette and General Advertiser
Royal Saint John Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer
Saint John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser

Quebec
Quebec Mercury
Quebec Gazette

Montreal
Canadian Courant
Montreal Gazette
Montreal Herald

Kingston
Kingston Chronicle
Kingston Gazette

Niagara and York
Upper Canada Gazette
Upper Canadian Gazette and American Oracle

NLS
Air Advertiser or West Country Journal
Dumfries Weekly Journal
Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser, or Fife and Angus Shires Intelligencer
Dundee Weekly Advertiser
Inverness Journal and Northern Advertiser
Kelso Chronicle
Kelso Mail or Roxburgh, Berwickshire and Northumberland Gazette
Leith and Edinburgh Telegraph
Leith Telegraph and Commercial Advertiser
Montrose, Arbroath and Brechin Review and Forfar and Kincardine Shires Advertiser
Perth Courier

Primary Sources: Manuscript

APS
David Hall Letterbooks, 1750-1771

Bodleian

Edinburgh City Libraries

Glasgow University Library
Special Collections. Ephemera Collection.
Special Collections. Murray Collection.

McCord Museum, (McGill University)
McCord Family Papers

NAC
MG 19. A2. Series III. Ermatinger Collection
MG 24. B1. Neilson Collection

NLS
Acc. 5000. Oliver & Boyd Collection
Acc. 8500. Bell & Bradfute Catalogue, 1804
Acc. 10662. Bell & Bradfute Business Correspondence and Financial Papers, 1778-1941
Deposit 193. Bell & Bradfute Account and Letter Books
Deposit 317. Bell & Bradfute Papers
MS 14. Melville Papers
MS 668. Archibald Constable & Co. Letters to Constable

PANS
Halifax County Original Estate Papers
MG 1, vol. 3640, Marion Robertson Papers
MG 1 (includes diaries)
MG 100 (includes Kidston documents)
PRO
CUST 14/1-23. British and Foreign Goods and Merchandize
Imported to and Exported from Scotland

SRO
E.504 Customs Collectors Quarterly Accounts for Scottish
Ports
GD. 202/70/12. Campbell of Dunstaffage Muniments
GD.1/15/1. James Dunlop Letters, 1773-1815
RH4/26A Dalguise Muniments. Creech MSS.

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the Same, Made & Agreed in General Meetings of the Proprietors. Montreal:
Printed by E. Edwards, 1797.

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Palace, Where the Rules May Be Seen. Quebec: Printed at the New Printing
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Sutherland, David A. "Stairs, William Machin" DCB, vol. 9, 738-740.


Witt, Mario M. *A Bibliography of the Works Written and Published by David Steel and His Successors.* London: Greenwich Maritime Monographs, 1991.


## Appendix A

**Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC) Summary**

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<th>DDC by Hundred</th>
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## Appendix B
Providers of Books Named in Selected Canadian Newspapers, 1752-1820*

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* These book providers were, as far as is known, resident in the towns. This listing does not include visiting booksellers such as James Rivington or T. Fairbairn, or booksellers who advertised in Canadian papers from their business bases in London or American towns. In addition, this is not a full listing of all booksellers within the study period for Quebec and Montreal especially.
Appendix C

Titles categorized as "School Books" in catalogues and newspaper advertisements in Canada, 1752-1820

Ashe's Grammar.
Barrie's Child's Assistant.
Barrie's Collections.
Bellenger's Elements.
Bibles.
Bibles, Common no Psalms.
Bibles, Common with Psalms.
Bibles, Quarto, no Apocrypha, with Psalms.
Bibles, Quarto, with Apocrypha and Psalms.
Blair's Class Book, or 365 Lessons for the Year.
Boyer's Grammar.
Bradley's Questions to [Murray's Exercises?].
Brawn's Catechism.
British Primer.
Burn's Grammar.
Caesar.
Chambaud's Exercises.
Chambaud's French Grammar.
Chambaud's French Rudiments.
Chambaud's Tables.
Chambaud's Treasure and Vocabulary.
Children's Books.
Cicero.
Clarke's Corderii.
Cobbett's Maitre Anglois.
Common Prayer Books.
Cor[?]dery with Vocabulary and Translation.
Cordery Latin and English, no Vocabulary.
Dilworth Improved.
Dilworth's Arithmetic.
Dilworth's Assistant.
Dilworth's Schoolmaster's Assistant.
Dilworth's Spelling Books.
Du Fresnoy's Geography for Youth.
Dyche's Spelling Book.
Elements of General History.
Enfield's Speaker.
English Spelling Book.
Entick's Dictionary.
Entick's Spelling Dictionary.
Eton Latin Grammar.
Eutropius.
Fenning's Grammar.
Fenning's Spelling Books.
First Book for Children.
Fulton's Dictionary.
Fulton's Spellings.
Gay's Fables.
Geography for Children.
Goldsmith's Geography.
Goldsmith's History of England.
Goldsmith's History of Greece.
Goldsmith's History of Rome.
Grandmottet's Grammar.
Gray's Spellings.
Gros Spelling.
Hamel's Exercises.
Hamel's Grammar.
Hill's Greek Lexicon.
Hudson's Guide to French.
Infant Teacher.
Introduction to Lowth's Grammar.
Johnson's Dictionary.
Leech's Elements of Geography.
Lenoir's Spelling.
Lezivac's French Grammar.
Lezivac's Key.
London Primer.
Lowth's Grammar.
Mair's Book-keeping.
Mair's Introduction to Latin.
Mason's Collection.
Mason's Spellings.
Mavor's Nepos, or Lives of Illustrious Britons.
Mavor's Spellings.
Moore's Monitor.
Morrison's Arithmetic.
Morrison's Arithmetic, with an appendix on Artificer's Measuring, 4th ed..
Morrison's Arithmetical Queries.
Morrison's Book-Keeping.
Morrison's Key to the Accountant's Guide.
Murray's Abridgement of English Grammar.
Murray's Exercises.
Murray's First Book.
Murray's Grammar.
Murray's Introduction.
Murray's Introduction to Lecteur François.
Murray's Key.
Murray's Large Grammar.
Murray's Lecteur François.
Murray's Power.
Murray's Reader.
Murray's School Books.
Murray's Sequel.
Murray's Spellings.
Nepos.
Palairet's French Spelling.
Perrin's Elements.
Perrin's Elements of Conversation.
Perrin's Grammar.
Peyton's Elements of the English Grammar.
Phedrus.
Pocket Books.
Pocket Books, yellow leaves.
Porney's French Spelling-Book.
Porny's Syllabaire.
Port Royal Grammar.
Primers.
Reading Made Easy.
Ready Reckoner.
Restaut's Grammar.
Robinson's Spelling.
Ruddiman's Grammar.
Ruddiman's Rudiments.
Sallust, Latin.
The Scholar's Vade-Mecum, or a New

Dictionary, Latin and English.
School Books, English and American.
Scott's Beauties.
Scott's Collection.
Scott's Dictionary.
Scott's Elocution.
Scott's French Recueil.
Scott's French Rudiments.
Scott's Introduction to Reading and Spelling.
Scott's Lessons.
Scott's Spellings.
Sheehy's French Pronouncing Spelling Book.
Sheridan's Dictionary.
Siret's Elements.
Siret's Grammar.
Spelling Books.
Story's Grammar.
System of Arithmetic.
Table of French Verbs.
Testaments.
Testaments, no Psalms.
Testaments with Psalms.
Theory of French Verbs.
Turner's Geography.
Union Spelling.
Universal Spelling Book.
Virgil.
Virgil Delph.
Vyse's Arithmetic.
Vyse's Key.
Vyse's or New London Spelling.
Walkingame's Arithmetic.
Walkingham's Tutor's Assistant.
Watts's Complete Spelling Book.
Watts's Hymns.
Wonostrocht's Recueil.
The names in this table are enclosed in square brackets if the information is largely drawn from a bibliographic tool (usually ESTC or NSTC) rather than explicitly from advertisement evidence. This additional information has been included wherever possible. However, in cases where there was cause for doubt concerning the identity of the author (e.g., Miss Plumptre and Annabella Plumptre) separate entries remain, with no conflation.

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