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Gavin Hamilton, John Enlour and Patrick Neill: a study
of publishing in Edinburgh in the 19th century.

by

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Introduction and Summary

Eighteenth-century Scottish bibliography is a vast subject still awaiting exploration. There are, however, some landmarks to look for and guides to employ. I am thinking particularly, in the context of my own interests, of the writings of Philip Gaskell, and a work that should open up new sources, Robert H. Carnie's awaited dictionary of the Scottish book trade. The National Library of Scotland is in the early stages of compiling a catalogue of its eighteenth-century Scottish books which, no matter what form it takes, will provide scholars with a major tool. The description of books has been and doubtless will continue to be a controversial topic, but those students who have much to identify can take encouragement, I believe, from David Foxon's Thoughts on the History and Future of Bibliographical Description.

In this work I map some particular and some general areas of Scottish publishing history by examining the partnership of Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour, and the association they formed with the printer Patrick Neil. I study the partners in their own right as booksellers, publishers and printers, but I am concerned also with the larger bibliographical background.

Hamilton and Balfour were strong-willed individuals who brought the force of their personal and private interests to bear
on their professional lives; Hamilton, especially, in the
period under consideration, saw little difference between
his duty as a Scottish gentleman and his activities as a Scottish
publisher. He and Balfour were far-sighted and adventurous,
and deserve to be thought of as central figures in the story of
the Edinburgh book trade.

The parts of my study can be summarized as follows:
1. **Biographical.** Character and family background of John
   Balfour. Gavin Hamilton: his family and upbringing; the start
   of his career; marriage into the Balfour family; involvement in
   the Edinburgh Evening Courant libel case of 1732; his actions
   as a Bailie during the Porteous Riot of 1736 and the 1745 Rebellion;
   his association with Lord Milton, and his political influence;
   his social and philanthropic interests.

2. **Influences of the Continental book trade.** Letters from
   the Dutch book pirate Thomas Johnson to Professor Charles Mackie
   of Edinburgh University. The smuggling of pirated English reprints
   into Scotland, and the importation of legitimate books from Dutch
   presses. Johnson's cultivated Scottish readers, and his agents
   in the Edinburgh book trade. Gavin Hamilton's journeys to the
   Continent from 1729; his trade sources, and his imports.

3. **The early years of Hamilton and Balfour.** The nature of
   the eighteenth-century Edinburgh bookshop. The bookseller's
   relationship with authors and men of culture. John Balfour and
other apprentices. An annotated list of Hamilton publications in the years 1731-5. The publishing interests of Hamilton and Balfour in the 1740s.

4. Copyright in mid-century Scotland. i. The prosecution brought by Andrew Millar in the Court of Session, 1738-39. The prosecution by Millar and other London booksellers, 1743-49; the strategy, and limited admissions, of Henry Home and other lawyers; the English appeal to the House of Lords; the meaning of the Scottish victory in terms of the dissemination of culture north of the border.

ii. Copyright deposits at Stationers' Hall: Hamilton as agent for Edinburgh University; the registration of copyright books by his own firm.

5. Hamilton, Balfour and Neill. i. The ambitions of Hamilton and Balfour.

   ii. The beginning of the Scottish reprint trade, 1740s and 1750s.

   iii. Hamilton and Balfour and French books: their own French publications; Balfour's imports from France, and his foreign agents and British customers.

   iv. The American trade: the export of books to David Hall of Philadelphia and other American agents.

   v. Edinburgh and London. The publishing scope of Hamilton and Balfour; their interest in legal books and in the classics; appointment as Edinburgh University Printers; the literary
men who were published by the firm. The methods of getting a book published in Edinburgh. Expansion to England and the relationship with the Trade there; various kinds of co-operation in publishing, and the problem this raises for the modern bibliographer. Hamilton's attempts to publish Hume and Robertson, and his struggles with Andrew Millar. The legal battle between Balfour and Donaldson, and the ending of the Hamilton, Balfour and Neill partnership.

6. The publications of Hamilton, Balfour and Neill. i. Patrick Neill and the printing house; the partners' contract; locations of the business; a list of workers in printing house and bookshop; the inventory of type and the other equipment, including presses; patterns of printing; the production of paper at Bogsmill, with an illustration of a Hamilton and Balfour watermark.

ii. A list of publications, 1750-62, with collation formulae, and notes on paper, printing, publishing, price, author-bookseller relationship, etc.
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<thead>
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<th>Abbreviations</th>
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<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
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<td>CM</td>
<td>Caledonian Mercury</td>
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<td>EEC</td>
<td>Edinburgh Evening Courant</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPL</td>
<td>Edinburgh Public Library</td>
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<td>EUL</td>
<td>Edinburgh University Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>New College, Edinburgh University</td>
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<td>NLS</td>
<td>National Library of Scotland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Short Memoir</td>
<td><em>[Elizabeth Hamilton.]</em> Short Memoir of Gavin Hamilton, Publisher and Bookseller in Edinburgh, in the Eighteenth Century,* Aberdeen (printed for private circulation), 1840.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Signet Library, Edinburgh</td>
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<td>SM</td>
<td>Scots Magazine</td>
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<td>SRO</td>
<td>Scottish Record Office, Register House, Edinburgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thistle</td>
<td><em>The Thistle,</em> Edinburgh, 1734-36</td>
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Editorial notes

In transcribing MSS I have followed the original spelling and punctuation, but have lowered superscribed letters.

Editorial interpolations or corrections are placed within angled brackets in the first part of this work, and in square brackets in the latter part.

My final "List of manuscripts and printed sources" contains entries for works mentioned in the text, with some exceptions. I do not repeat there lists of papers in the copyright cases—Session papers, Decisions, and so on—since these are given fully in chronological order in Chapter IV. Neither do I repeat lists in one or two other instances; instead, I give the page reference of the original citation.
Chapter I

Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour

Out at the Bogsmill paper mill near Colinton was a small patch of land bearing the marks of Gavin Hamilton and his brother-in-law John Balfour. When Hamilton leased the mill his amicability and reputation as a florist induced the owner, George Inglis, to give the piece of ground as a garden. All was peace and peonies. In later years Balfour bought the lease and pressed ahead enthusiastically with an expansion of the paper mill on top of the flower plot, neglecting to obtain clear permission from Inglis, a man who liked flower plots. What began as a simple misunderstanding proceeded through rising passions and knocked down walls to the Sheriff Court and then to the Court of Session, where Balfour was ordered to desist.¹

Hamilton's friends could not understand why he took Balfour as his bookselling partner and they blamed his wife, wrongly, for promoting the idea. Helen Hamilton had really opposed it since she well knew her husband and her brother had totally different temperaments (Short Memoir, p.7). Gavin himself selected Balfour as an apprentice obviously because he recognized that for all the disposition to bump into people, the younger man had many good

¹ SRO: Bill Chamber process no. 43809, "Petition for George Inglis (Nov. 19, 1777)," and "Answers for John Balfour Bookseller in Edinburgh to the Petition of George Inglis of Redhall (Nov. 29, 1777)." W. M. Morison, The Decisions of the Court of Session (Edinburgh, 1811), 35-36, Tack / Appendix, part 1, 34-35.
qualities, including an astute business sense. He could also be extremely likeable.

John Balfour was born in South Leith Parish on the first day of December, 1715, and baptised on the fourth. The surname was pronounced by some as "Balfour". John was the fifth son of Louisa Hamilton — who was Gavin's cousin — and James Balfour of Pilrig. James Balfour bought the lands of Pilrig in South Leith, bordering Edinburgh, and had interests in a glass works, shipbuilding yard, and soap works. John's eldest brother, also named James Balfour, trained as an advocate; he became Sheriff-Substitute of Edinburgh, Treasurer of the Faculty of Advocates, and Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University, a position he held for ten years before exchanging it for the Professorship of Public Law, which he filled for another fifteen. This James married Cecilia, daughter of Sir John Elphinston of Logie and grand-daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, first Lord Minto. Brother George Balfour became a Writer to the Signet, brother Henry a major in the British Army. John's sisters married well, and his brothers-in-law were to include Dr. Robert Whytt, Professor of the Institutes of Medicine at Edinburgh University, the surgeon Dr. James Russell, Rev. William Leechman, Principal of Glasgow University, and Rev. Patrick Wodrow, son of Wodrow the historian. The Balfours were a talented and well-

1. New Register House, Edinburgh: South Leith baptismal register 1711-1756. The date is Old Style since in Scotland, as in England, this calendar was used until 1752. Before 1752 the two countries did differ in legal dating; the official year started on Jan. 1 in Scotland, March 25 in England.

2. It was spelt this way, too, by Hew Dalrymple when he referred to the bookseller in a letter of 1774. SRO: GD 110/1056/7.
respected family whose influence and connexions spread far beyond their centre, Pilrig House. One of their nineteenth-century descendants was Robert Louis Stevenson.1

Some of the milestones of John Balfour's youth are recorded in the memoranda and accounts kept by his father. The Laird of Pilrig saw it his duty to look after the spiritual welfare of John and the other children and servants, and examined them regularly on the Shorter Catechism and Thomas Vincent's Explicatory Catechism. He told them they ought to be thankful to God, who had put it in his heart to be at pains with them (The Balfours of Pilrig, pp. 69-71). When John's school dues were paid, or when he received a pen-knife or a pair of shoes, the cost was noted in the family accounts.2 John received a good education and in 1728 went from school to the University, matriculating in Adam Watt's Humanity (i.e. Latin) Class in 1729 and 1730.3 Among others signing the register of this class in 1730 was a "William Strachan"; this may well be the printer William Strahan, who was the same age as John and who was to be a life-long friend. In 1730 the Laird paid for writing classes for John, and bought him a Greek Testament, and in the following two years arranged for private classes in mathematics. John probably started his apprenticeship with Hamilton in 1733, although the course of this was interrupted by what appears to have been a long illness; his father paid for physic for him in April, 1736, and for bleeding and drugs five months later. Following the death of his father the next

1. See The Balfours of Pilrig.
2. SRO: GD 69/284, Balfour of Pilrig household and estate accounts.
3. EUL: MS. College Matriculation Roll, I, 73, 76.
year, John inherited 5,500 Scottish marks, worth about £305 sterling, which was a handsome enough settlement on a younger son. In 1747, John set up his own household when he married Catharine, daughter of Ludovick Cant of Thurston.

Balfour was a convivial man, fond of the ceremonial gesture. When the Society of Trained Bands was reconstituted in Edinburgh following the 1745 Rebellion, he turned up on the first evening to take the oath as Captain of a company. The Trained Bands' police duties had just about disappeared, but the Captains held excellent dinners, smashed their glasses after drinking certain patriotic toasts, and paraded the streets in full fig; each company was distinguished by a colour, which enabled the new Captain to sign himself splendidly as "John Balfour of the Purple." He never lost his vivid touch: as an old man in the 1780s he auctioned books in Writer's Court where, according to Archibald Constable, he used to place at his right hand a well-filled punch bowl, with a large spoon and glasses, with which he occasionally regaled himself and his best customers. All his life Balfour expressed his emotions, for better or worse. In letters to persons he admired he revealed an engaging warmth and open-heartedness; the other side of his

1. SRO: GD 69/184, John Balfour's holograph acknowledgement of payment, October 20, 1741. A Scottish mark was worth 1/1\text{d}. sterling, an English mark 13/4\text{d}.


3. William Skinner, The Society of Trained Bands of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1889), pp.64-86; his signature is reproduced following p.120.

4. Thomas Constable, Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents (Edinburgh, 1873), I, 537.
jolliness was his quick temper, and even his friends felt his pique, however momentarily. "Dear Jeck," said an old companion, writing to soothe him, "I know you are of a disposition, not to let the sun go down upon your anger."  

If Balfour did not like a man he stayed angry a long time. In the prime of his career he so vigorously prosecuted Alexander Donaldson, over a relatively minor printing account, that he gave the impression he was slightly unhinged.

The verve and pugnacity of Balfour proved useful when employed on behalf of family and firm. In 1754, for example, the Hamiltons and the Balfours desired several pieces of Town Council patronage, so John was lobbed into the action like a grenade (he was elected a Merchant Councillor), while Gavin marshalled the political forces outside. The strategy worked — the Town Council appointed Robert Hamilton Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University, Hamilton and Balfour Printers to the University and the City, and James Balfour Professor of Moral Philosophy — although John's inimitable style was not to the liking of everyone. "John Balfour," a civic politician complained later, "sometimes had an opportunity to give us a vote [without] hurting his beloved schemes, but his zeal had eat up his understanding."  

Gavin Hamilton was from another mould. His daughter Elizabeth says of him — in the Short Memoir she published seventy-three years after his death, when she was ninety — that he was "much beloved

1. Maryland Historical Society: Dulany Papers, Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis, Maryland, to John Balfour, November 6, 1743.

2. NLS: Saltoun Correspondence. Bailie James Rohead makes the comment at the end of a letter from Lord Provost George Drummond to Lord Milton, September 28, 1754.
for his gentlemanly conduct, and suavity of manners" (p.3). He was undoubtedly equable, and pacific, and smooth. Elisabeth adds that his conversation was "enlivened by a peculiar vein of humour", but does not repeat any witty remarks about Balfour, more's the pity. The Hamilton brand of humour was trenchant, judging from an anecdote the daughter tells about the printer Archibald Hamilton (no relation), who fled Edinburgh after the Porteous Riot and made a name for himself in London. Gavin said that Archibald had acted very wisely, "for it was much better to go to London, and make a fortune, than stay at home, and be hanged" (Short Memoir, p.5). Gavin was nearly twelve years Balfour's senior, and such were his interests and air of authority that he gave the impression of being even older. His was the hand that steered the partnership for more than twenty years.

Hamilton was born on February 11, 1704, the third son of Rev. William Hamilton and Mary Robertson, and was baptised a week later in Cramond Church, near Edinburgh, in the presence of such witnesses as Sir John Inglis of Cramond and the village schoolmaster. Those who gathered at the old kirk probably pronounced the Christian name the way it was written into the baptismal register, "Gawin". 1 Gavin was a traditional family forename, the most recent bearer having been the child's grandfather, Gavin Hamilton of Airdrie, a Covenanter and member of the Committee of War for Lanarkshire in 1649, who had mortgaged and subsequently lost most of the family lands

Rev. William Hamilton was a distinguished and personable man who had literary interests. At the time of Gavin's birth he was the minister at Cramond, but he became Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University in 1709 and occupied the chair until being appointed Principal in 1732, the year of his death. He was five times Moderator of the General Assembly and a leading figure in the management of Church of Scotland affairs, while his influence as professor was such that Dr. Henry R. Sefton concludes he should be regarded as the father of Scottish Moderatism. Ramsay of Ochtertyre, speaking of Professor Hamilton, says there was "a sincerity, a kindness, and a vein of liberality in all he did and said, that gained him the hearts of his students, and made them enter with warmth into his views and sentiments." His style is shown in an incident involving the poet James Thomson, who, as a student under him, had to paraphrase a psalm as an exercise and submit it for criticism in class. Professor Hamilton praised it, then, smiling, said if Thomson were to be of use in a religious career, he must rein his imagination and express himself in a manner more intelligible to an ordinary congregation. The advice

deflected Thomson from the ministry, but his respect for the professor and the Hamilton family was unimpaired, and he kept up a friendship with Gavin later in life. Gavin was in a position to be on friendly terms with a whole generation of students, since from 1709 onwards the family lived in a house within the University grounds, which was provided free to augment his father's salary of 2,000 Scottish marks, about £110 sterling. Sixteen Hamilton children were born over the years, and as though this were not enough to ensure the liveliness of the home, Professor Hamilton also boarded sons of the well-to-do, among them children of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik and Lord Leven.¹

The sons in the Hamilton family grew up to be gentlemen of talent whose prospects in life were enhanced by the prestige and influence of the father. Two of Gavin's brothers entered the ministry. Robert Hamilton, who was appointed to the Chair of Divinity in 1754, and who was Moderator of the General Assembly in that year and in 1760, was an upright person with his share of Hamilton forthrightness. Once at a meeting of the Presbytery, the ministers were solemnly debating whether to baptise a child whose father's Christian principles were suspect; Robert quietly left the room, had a word with the parent, and then baptised the child himself, thus ending the discussion.² Dr. Gilbert Hamilton spent his

career at Cramond Church and served as Moderator in 1768. He has been described as an affable, easy, plain man, with a lively sense of humour, and a taste for literature; he obtained, through marriage, considerable property in West Lothian. Two brothers became physicians. Dr. John Hamilton, the eldest son in the family, emigrated to Calvert County, Maryland, and was followed in the winter of 1738-39 by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, who settled in Annapolis. Alexander was an urbane character whose observations on the passing scene have earned him a place in the literary history of Colonial America. Members of the Hamilton family in Scotland corresponded with him over the years, and his replies occasionally included news of current events. In 1755 he wrote to Gavin to describe the defeat of General Braddock, incidentally praising a man he believed would be taken notice of, a Major George Washington. Gavin, who sometimes sent his brothers greetings and letters of introduction by way of merchants and British officers, had a knowledge of Colonial life and conditions that must have proved useful when he and Balfour exported books to America in the 1750s.

Yet another brother, William, became a cloth merchant in Edinburgh but died at an early age on August 31, 1722; his testament, drawn up and registered by Gavin, showed assets of £7,797 Scots,


2. NLS: MS. 6506, pp. 1-17 (a copy); copies of two letters from John Hamilton to Gavin are on pp. 18-22.

The Dulany Papers, Maryland Historical Society, include a letter book belonging to Alexander and also letters from the Hamilton family in Scotland. Typed copies of six of these letters are affixed to the EUL copy of Hamilton's Itinerarium (1744), ed. Albert Bushnell Hart (St. Louis, Mo., 1907).
equivalent to £650 sterling. The death meant that Gavin, aged eighteen, was the eldest Hamilton son in Edinburgh, so he dutifully took up the responsibility of running the business and collecting the outstanding debts. He was admitted a burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh on December 14, 1722, and the following April he took on his first apprentice, John Heriot, a child from Heriot's Hospital. For the next six or seven years Gavin dealt in cloth, and although this career may have held little interest for someone of his temperament, it did give him some insight into import and export procedures and into London trade. And the life was not all black cloth and gloom: when he was in London in 1724 one of his errands was to select a nightgown for a girl in the Balfour of Pilrig family.

In 1729, after careful preparations, Hamilton turned to book-selling. Some of the necessary capital was obtained by a long-term loan of £100 sterling, which he and his father signed for in February of this year. In the same month a Gavin Hamilton matriculated in Adam Watt's Humanity Class at the University; if this is he — and the signature looks like his — he was a mature student of twenty-five. The General Assembly refers to him as a bookseller when appointing him, in May, as collector in Scotland for

1. SRO: CC/8/8/88 (Edinburgh Testaments). A Scots pound was 1/12th a pound sterling.
3. SRO: GD 69/284, Balfour of Pilrig household and estate accounts.
5. EUL: MS. College Matriculation Roll, I, 73.
the Reformed German Protestant Congregation at Copenhagen. If he had not been to the Continent already, he was certainly planning to go, and in October he was in Amsterdam buying books for the Advocates' Library. The shop of "Mr. Gawin Hamilton" was advertised in the Caledonian Mercury of November 24, and in 1730 he was engaged by the University to expedite the delivery of copyright deposits from Stationers' Hall. From this period onwards Hamilton was much in the public eye as a bookseller.

With his bookshop established, Hamilton married Helen Balfour on March 24, 1732. The celebrations were held at Pilrig, where the Laird provided a marriage dinner complete with cucumbers and capers, and a plentiful supply of red wine, as well as a practical wedding gift, a chest of drawers made of walnut. Balfour was a generous father within his means: Helen had a dowry of 2,500 Scottish marks, about £138 sterling, and the marriage contract, signed on the wedding day, provided another 3,000 marks within five years. Young John Balfour would have been bounding jovially among the guests, of course, and it may be that Hamilton, in mellow mood, decided then to train him in the business. It is quite possible, too, that the one jarring note of the day set Hamilton on his political career: this was the announcement by the Laird (who had particular reason to feel embarrassed) that the Edinburgh Bailies had just issued a warrant ordering Gavin to appear before them forthwith on a charge of libel.

1. NLS: MS. 3431, f.30 (Lee Papers).


3. SRO: GD 69/183, acknowledgement by Hamilton and his wife of final payment, February 17, 1737.
In those tumultuous times the magistrates of Edinburgh, who were part of the self-elected Town Council, were not disposed to tolerate criticism of their motives or their legal authority. So they did more than raise their eyebrows when an anonymous letter appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on March 23, accusing them of acting brutally and outside their jurisdiction in putting down a riot at the West Kirk earlier in the month. They raised the constables and sent them out to summon the three men whose names appeared on the newspaper's colophon, the booksellers James MacEuen and James Davidson and the printer Robert Fleming, as well as a fourth who was said to have sold the issue, Gavin Hamilton. The charge was of vending and publishing scandalous and defamatory libels calculated to inflame the minds of His Majesty's lieges and to incite them to sedition and disaffection. It was no light matter, especially since the judges were the aggrieved Bailies themselves. Only two of the defendants were found to stand trial at once, MacEuen and Davidson. They put up what fight they could, citing Liberty of the Press and disclaiming responsibility on the grounds they were merely publishing a paid letter from the authors, who were none other than James Balfour of Pilrig, and James Donaldson, a merchant. The two booksellers made the interesting contention that warrants from authors were always held sufficient to exculpate printers, and they produced a letter from Balfour of Pilrig, who exclaimed: "I am at a loss to think what they can say

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1. The minutes of this Bailie Court case are in Edinburgh City Archives: *Moses' Bundle 172, no. 6769*. The title on the cover is "Act and Decree of Charles Crokat John fferguson and the proc[urato]r fiscales Against Mr James MacEuen &c 24 March 1732."
to a printer of news for putting a paragraph in their paper where those who desired it to be put in do own the same. Do the magistrates of Edinr. think they will be able to fright people out of their senses and hinder them to say, speak or write what they think to be truth... I don't fear their power. I'll act according to law and then give them a Defiance" (minutes of the case, p.6). The Bailies were not impressed by this and ruled that MacEuen and Davidson had published and sold the offending number of the Edinburgh Evening Courant and had known of the criticism before it appeared; they fined them £10 sterling each and ordered them to print a retraction mentioning the bad advice of Balfour and his co-author. MacEuen paid up with extreme reluctance. Davidson refused and was clapped in jail; four days later, however, when the Court of Session refused to suspend the sentence, he paid the fine and was released (CM, March 27, 28, 1732). Fleming and Hamilton appeared before the Bailies on March 29. Fleming said candidly he had doubts about the nature of the letter when he saw the copy but had printed it, so the Bailies fined him £10, too. Hamilton said he had nothing to do with the matter. He had no share in the profits of the newspaper, never sold it, and had only seen the number in question in some coffee-house or shop. With three culprits and Balfour's defiant confession in the bag, the Bailies saw no reason to disbelieve or to pursue the case further, and acquitted him. If they knew of Balfour's authorship all along, Hamilton may have been charged because he was a bookseller connected with the family, or simply to flush the Laird
The Hamiltons and Balfours had much in their favour but were clearly not, in March, 1732, members of the municipal establishment. Gavin decided to put that right and later in the year obtained a place in the city government as a Merchant Councillor, so beginning a career that gave him considerable standing and power locally and brought him to the favourable attention of Archibald Campbell, third Duke of Argyll, and Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton. He was elected or appointed to the Town Council frequently until 1746, usually as one of the four Bailies, who were magistrates, justices of the peace, and deputy sheriffs and coroners. The prestige of the position was such that Gavin was referred to as "Bailie Hamilton" for the rest of his days. The Bailies heard civil and criminal, but not capital, cases at a court held three times a week in the north end of Parliament House. They were in touch with all the small and great events of city life, and to ensure instant recognition in High Street or close, they wore a distinctive badge of office, a black velvet coat. Such visible leadership was often hazardous. With nice

1. Following this incident Fleming took over the publishing of the Edinburgh Evening Courant from MacEuen. MacEuen appealed his conviction in the Court of Session, claiming that custom allowed news writers to publish historical accounts that reflected not only honour but also reproach. The court rejected this appeal by saying libels of scandal were prohibited in any form, and the published letter was coloured by rancour and was not in the spirit of a cool news writer. Henry Home, Lord Kames, The Decisions of the Court of Session ... in Form of a Dictionary (Edinburgh, 1741), I, 233.

understatement, Elizabeth Hamilton mentions one feature of the job, keeping control during periods of famine: "In the year 1740, Mr. G. Hamilton was again in the magistracy, and ran the risk of his life, in quelling a meal-mob, at a village on the Water of Leith, where the public granaries belonging to the city were situated" (Short Memoir, p.5). The magistrates also ran the risk of incurring the displeasure of the British Government, as in two notorious events that occurred during Hamilton's terms of office, the Porteous Riot, and the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh.

In 1736 Bailie Hamilton and Bailie Thomas Crockett stood on the scaffold to supervise the hanging of the smuggler Andrew Wilson. After watching him drop, they went to a nearby tavern, as was customary, to wait half an hour before giving the order to cut him down; before the time was up, there was a commotion in the street, and as they poked their heads out an upstairs window, a bullet zinged by them. Stones had been thrown at the executioner, and, without obtaining orders from the two Bailies, the City Guard under the command of Captain Porteous had fired on the crowd, killing or wounding a number of persons. The Captain was charged with murder and sentenced to death. A subsequent reprieve so went against popular feeling that a mob took over the city on the night of September 7, battered and burned down the door of the Tolbooth, and hanged him from a dyer's pole. The magistrates were helpless during this riot, although there is a story in the Hamilton family that Gavin acted bravely. Elizabeth says that as the mob gathered, one of Hamilton's sisters feared for his safety and sent for him: "He supposing it something of public import, made his way through the crowd, and went to her house; it was a flat pretty high up; as soon
as she got him within the house, she locked the door, and said she was not to let him out again, — to which he replied sternly, 'Madam, I must be on duty to night, and if you will not let me out at the door, I will jump the window,' — so she was obliged to let him out again, and he resumed his station at the prison-door. While he was standing near it, a Lochaber-axe was lifted up to strike him on the head, when some of his friends within the prison, adroitly opened the door, pulled him in, and shut it again. It was done in a moment" (Short Memoir, pp.4-5). The escape into the prison is improbable, but one can well believe Hamilton was nearly brained by an axe. He appears to have been among the small group of town officials who made a brief attempt to restore order before being driven off violently. In the quiet of the next morning he went down to the Grassmarket to see that Porteous's body was cut down from the pole.

Suspected of negligence or complicity, Lord Provost Wilson and the Bailies were called to London to testify before a House of Lords committee in March, 1737. Hamilton's evidence concerned the execution of Wilson and the shooting that followed. The crowd were looking up to the tavern window, waiting for Crockat or Hamilton to point a white rod, the signal to cut down the body; as was often the case, relatives and friends were going to try to revive the man. "He was cut down upon a Mistake," Hamilton said, "we pulled down the sash, meaning that he should not be cut down, but the Executioner and Officers attending upon the Scaffold took it as a signal, and he was cut down upon it; upon which I moved that some officers might be sent over to the place of Execution, that we might be satisfied the man was dead; but the Company took notice that he had hung so long, that he was past all recovery, he had hung about 24 minutes. . . . I
heard it reported, that they endeavoured to bleed him at Leith and likewise endeavoured to pour a Dram of Brandy down his throat."

Hamilton was asked whether Porteous's gun showed signs of being fired. "I did examine it, and it appeared to me to be clean, I tryed the Ram Rod and found it loaded." Hamilton and the other magistrates feared that personal fines would be imposed upon them; instead, Parliament passed a punitive bill stripping the Lord Provost of office and fineing Edinburgh £2,000 for the benefit of Porteous's widow. The debates leading up to this, in which Duncan Forbes of Culloden shone, aroused such intense feeling in Edinburgh that upon their return to the city in June, Hamilton and other magistrates were treated like heroes by the inhabitants; a procession formed behind them, bells were rung and bonfires lit.

Hamilton's actions during the 1745 Rebellion increased his reputation as one of the leading citizens of Edinburgh. He was First Bailie under Lord Provost Stewart, whose seeming vacillation in preparing the defence of the city raised the suspicion that he was a Jacobite. Hamilton was the next senior man and a staunch Whig, so it was to him that many people turned. On one occasion a group of prominent inhabitants petitioned to serve as volunteer soldiers, and Stewart not relishing the idea, arrangements were made at the house of the Solicitor-General, Robert Dundas of Arniston, for Hamilton to

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1. William Roughhead, ed., Trial of Captain Porteous (Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1909), p.284; see also pp.36-37, 81-82, 236-37, 265, 276-83 for the part he played in the attempts to keep the peace.

raise the matter at a meeting of the Town Council.\(^1\) As the Jacobite army moved towards Edinburgh he put his fingers in so many pies the exasperated Lord Provost is said to have cried: "Bailie Hamilton — Bailie Hamilton, I'm fair seeck of Bailie Hamilton."\(^2\) Later, at Stewart's trial for neglect of duty, Hamilton said he had complained that the repair of the old city wall was going too slowly, and had suggested also that the Trained Bands he dropped from the defence because he believed "there were too many disaffected to the government amongst them."\(^3\) Stewart alleged that Hamilton's interference had hindered work on the wall — the bookseller had altered the orders of the overseer and caused, by mistake, a ditch to be built on the wrong side.\(^4\)

Upon reaching Colinton on September 16, the Young Pretender sent a letter to the Lord Provost and council demanding the capitulation of Edinburgh. After the consternation subsided somewhat, Hamilton and three other city officials travelled the two miles to the camp in a ploy to gain time. Their instructions, Hamilton said, were "to call only for such of the gentlemen in the rebel army as they were acquainted with; and to propose to them, if they would send some of their number into the city, to tell what they proposed to have done."\(^5\) In the event they met Charles Edward


\(^2\) Quoted in *The Balfours of Pilrig*, pp.105-106.

\(^3\) "Trial of Stewart," col. 987.

\(^4\) "Trial of Stewart," col. 935.

\(^5\) "Trial of Stewart," col. 989.
Stuart himself, who, according to contemporary accounts, asked Hamilton what had become of the town's firearms. "Hamilton answered that the town's arms were in the gaard and magasin, but the volunteer arms in the Castle. He showed displeasure, but Hamilton answered that the volunteer arms belonged to the Castle." There could have been little doubt at the threat in Charles's reply: "If any of the Town's Arms be missing I know what to do."  

The Highlanders entered Edinburgh next morning. Helen Balfour decided Pilrig House would be a safer place for the family, and with her nursery maid and small children walked down Leith Walk, while the Castle fired cannon over their heads at a party of rebels (Short Memoir, p.6). Hamilton left the city and stayed with relatives at Innerwick, on the east coast near Dunbar, passing on what information he could to the Government. Writing from Innerwick on September 25 he gave Lord Milton, the Lord Justice-Clerk, bits and pieces of news, including his servant's report on the Battle of Prestonpans:

My Servant Came here this morning from Edinburgh, but brings little news of importance. The Rebels talk of Staying at Edinr for a month & when he came away they were preparing to send a party to Glasgow for the contribution formerly Demanded. The highland Commanders are no longer able to keep their men in good discipline they Rob and Steal Gentlemen on the high way & Strip them of their money. The Shoemakers and other trades people of Edinr are kept hard at work preparing what was demanded of the Town. Yesterday there was a proclamation from the Cross requiring all the Volunteers to return to their respective business with a promise of not being molested. A former proclamation


had forbid publick rejoicings for the Victory. My Servant bore arms in the battle and was so situated that he saw as distinctly what passed as any on hand could be supposed to do, and he represents the loss on the Side of the highlanders as pretty Considerable whatever they give out to the Contrary. two of the fires from the Artillery did very great execution. I suppose your Lo: is in the way of better intelligence than we have here. Yesterday a party of highlanders rob'd the Newcastle wagon near Leswade., . .

When he returned to Edinburgh, Hamilton was kept busy in the service of the Crown. One of his assignments was to help billet soldiers, and in this the civilians found him a useful ally, since he felt he ought to make sure the authorities paid the bills. This was no easy task, judging from a letter he sent to Lord Milton later:

My Lord

Having received the inclosed to day, I use the freedom to transmit it to your Lordship. it relates to two rooms that were taken for some of the officers during the Rebellion by your Lordships orders to me, & which you was to pay. possibly your Lordship will remember that when I was last with you Settling some accompts that were Incured during the Rebellion you mentioned this accomptt as the only one that I was concerned in that was left unpaid, and said you would give orders about it. Since that time I have often tryed by Sending down my Shop Servant to Mr Brisbane to gett it Ended desiring him to mention it to your Lordship being perswaded you wanted but a remembrance but that way proving fruitless, and his answers not very mannerly (which Im sure you would not have countenanced him in) I gave over troubling him. I hope upon this mentioning of the thing now, your Lordship will give orders to discharge this small debt the people have long wanted the money and are really poor.

Hamilton was also Treasurer of the Royal Infirmary and at the centre

1. NLS: Saltoun Correspondence, Hamilton to Lord Milton, September 25, 1745.

2. NLS: Saltoun Correspondence, Hamilton to Lord Milton, January 18, 1748.
of the rush to prepare to receive injured soldiers. In the emergency he had easy access to the Lord Justice-Clerk and expected his requests to be attended to, even at night:

My Lord

Walter Hog Merchtt here, is employd by Dr. Maxwell, Physician to the Hospital of the Army to go over to Fyfe to buy blanketts for the Grand Hospitall now erecting in case of an accident, they have been dissapointed of some of the Hospitall Stores from Newcastle. Mr Hog begs your Lo: Pass for Crossing to Dumferling by the Ferry and to return with his goods by that passage or burntIsland or Kinghorn as he Shal find it, and in case of Necessity to press a boat or yawl. I wish we had gott this commission sooner but till this night the Dr. did not think his Stores so Short and your Lo: will perceive now that no time can be lost which is the reason I trouble you so unseasonably. My servt will bring the pass with him as soon as Mr Wordie makes it out/. I am

My Lord
Your Lo: most obedient Humble Servtt
Gavin Hamilton

Edinr Janry 31 1746
P.S there is no Blankettts to be had in Edinr

Four days later, as Cumberland's army followed the rebels northwards, Hamilton dashed off a hasty note to Lord Milton, this time in his capacity as a bookseller:

My Lord

I am dispatching per express some Maps for the use of his Royal Highness, in answer to an Express from the army for that purpose. & beg your Lo: pass on the back of the letter/. his name is John Chalmers and he goes imediatly

I am

My Lord
Your Lo: most obedient Servtt
Gavin Hamilton

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1. NLS: Saltoun Correspondence
10 at Night  
4th Febr  
also your Lo pass on the back of the parcel

Not all the business transacted between the bookseller and the Lord Justice-Clerk was strictly official. Each acted out of humanity to help the mentally ill James, second Earl of Rosebery, who was captured in the Rebellion and put in the squalid Canongate Jail. The Earl's complaints of hardship and abuse persuaded Lord Milton to put him in confinement in the Royal Infirmary, where Hamilton looked to his needs:

\[Edinr 25 June 1745\]

My Lord

Every thing relating to Lord Rosberrie now in the Infirmary is regulated and Settled so well that he himself is Content, but your Lo: will see by the inclosed Complaint that we are like to meet with trouble from the Swarm of Sharpers that used to pick his pockett & cheat him out of his money even in Prison. I hope your Lo: will check their impudence and grant warrant for incarcerating the fellow complained of who is a low mean creature & I hope will deter others from looking near us.

I Shall call at Mr Brisbane for the warrant. . . .

Gavin Hamilton

Hamilton was a self-assured person, and in his correspondence with the Lord Justice-Clerk he is respectful, but not overly inclined to bend the knee.

The work Hamilton did for the Government brought out the practical streak in Helen Balfour, as it would in most wives, but evidently Gavin would have none of it. Their daughter puts it this

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1. NLS: Saltoun Correspondence.
2. NLS: Saltoun Correspondence.
way: "Mrs. Hamilton urged him to ask something for his family, in reward for his arduous and faithful services; but from his modesty, and honourable independent spirit, this he never did; nor did he ever receive any reward from his country. Though he would not ask any thing for himself, he had it in his power, from his public character, to do essential service to his friends, in assisting them to obtain public offices in Edinr" (Short Memoir, p.6). Elizabeth added "in Edinr" in ink because, she explains elsewhere, "I was not to make believe that He had Influence with Government. But I rather think that his Influence Extended to Other Towns in Scotland. At least I know that he helped Mrs. Irvine's Father to an Office in Glasgow, which his Family were very grateful for. In Edinr. the late Mr. Alexr. Duncan, Miss Bell Duncan's Brother, owed his first step in advance (when he was an Unprovided Young Man) to his obtaining the Town Clerkship for him" (The Balfours of Pilrig, p.255).

Hamilton clearly did acquire considerable influence and was adept at using it, although the ways of patronage were not as charming and gentle as his daughter implies. In 1744 and 1745 he took part in the machination that led to the election of his nephew, William Cleghorn, to the Chair of Moral Philosophy at the University. The defeated candidate, David Hume, called the victorious party a pack of scoundrels. Cleghorn, as he lay dying in 1754, was urged by the family to resign so that the position could be secured for James Balfour of Pilrig, "who commanded a majority of the Patrons by the

Influence of the Brother in Law Baillie Hamilton. "

Adam Ferguson wanted the post but had no chance against the Hamilton and Balfour interests.

The last time Hamilton served as a Baillie was in the summer of 1746, when the Court of Session authorized him and other former magistrates to carry out civic duties until the next election. After this he spent his spare hours on various schemes of improvement. He was still Treasurer of the Royal Infirmary, and in 1746 had the happy idea of raising money for charity and entertaining the beau monde at the same time. He and James Stirling, Treasurer of the Charity Workhouse, decided to revive the dancing Assembly, on the principle that "so good a design for the improvement and entertainment of the nobility and gentry of both sexes and such a considerable fund of charity for the poor should not be lost." They rented a hall for a year at their own risk and formed a board of directors with Sir Gilbert Elliot, second Baronet Minto, Hew Dalrymple, Lord Drummore, and the advocates John Hamilton and John Belsches. The Countesses of Leven, Glencairn, and Hopetoun, and Ladies Minto and Milton, were appointed to maintain due decorum on the dance floor. The highly popular Assembly attracted figures such as Henry Home, William Hamilton of Bangour, and Oliver Goldsmith.

The societies Hamilton favoured were concerned with improving

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2. David Falconer, The Decisions of the Court of Session. From the Month of November 1744 (Edinburgh, 1746), I, 151, 154, 166.
the literacy and welfare of children, and with improving the quality of Scottish manufactures. He joined the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in 1737 and was ten times a director in the years up to 1759. Hamilton also appears to have been a manager of the Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture, which sought to raise standards in Scotland by awarding medals and premiums (Short Memoir, p.4). The aims of the Edinburgh Society were close to his heart, and his own firm, which entered the competitions frequently, won a gold medal for its edition of Terence in 1758 and won a number of medals for the quality of the printing and commercial paper it manufactured at Bogsmill.

Hamilton was always ready to dip into his own pocket for the sake of improvement, as when, in 1743, he advanced £22 sterling for the stone for the Observatory that Professor Colin Maclaurin proposed to build at the University. He was an enthusiastic and generous supporter of the improvement schemes that started in Edinburgh in the 1750s (and culminated in the development of the New Town), and was appointed as one of the thirty-three Commissioners empowered to erect public buildings and to widen and extend streets. In 1753

1. SRO: GD 95/1/4, SSPCK General Minutes, vol. 4, p.59 and annual lists of officers. John Balfour was also a director.

2. Edinburgh City Archives: Moses' Bundle 202, no. 7287, "Unto the Right Honourable the Lord Provost Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh the Petition of Gavin Hamilton (October 26, 1743)."

3. He is named as a member of the group of judges, lawyers and merchants who were to carry out the improvements in Sir Gilbert Elliot, Proposals for Carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1752), p.44, and as a Commissioner in An Act for Erecting Several Public Buildings in the City of Edinburgh (1753), p.6.
these Commissioners began to build the Exchange on the north side of the High Street. Hamilton, who had his bookshop on the site and was one of the two chief proprietors of the land, sold his property for the price he had paid, and was accordingly thanked for his "generous publick spiritedness" and given first refusal on a shop or warehouse in the new building. ¹ He was at this time spending a considerable amount of his own money on other building projects. One of his pet ideas was the proposal, discussed before the Commissioners were appointed, to give the Old Town access to the west by means of a street running from the foot of the West Bow to the Luckenbooths. He illustrated this by building a model of the Old Town, complete with moveable houses, which he showed at the Infirmary in 1753 and 1754. ² A tenement building on the route came up for sale before the city had funds to buy it, so Hamilton, after consulting Lord Provost George Drummond, decided to purchase it himself and re-sell it at cost when the time was ripe. On totting up his assets, he was dismayed to find that as he had "already gone the Length of laying out above a Thousand pounds in behalf of the Public," he could venture no further. A friend, Sir James Hume, bought the tenement on the understanding the publisher would take it off his hands if required. Unfortunately, Sir James died soon afterwards, and Hamilton was obliged to buy the building. Things became worse: the plan for the new street was abandoned, and he

² Richard Gough, British Topography (London, 1780), II, 674; Short Memoir, p.4 n.
was left with an old building he did not want.1

Hamilton was never wealthy and his resources were strained because he was using his share of profits from publishing for other investments. He liked to put his money into businesses that were socially pleasant and had a connexion with the book trade. In 1752 he agreed to pay £270 sterling for one of the Town's favourite coffee-houses, John's, which stood on the north-east side of Parliament Close, just across the road from his bookshop.2 It was a congenial rendezvous for lawyers, ministers, men about town, a place to hear the recent gossip, buy the latest pamphlet, give literary opinions, seal bargains or hatch schemes. Probably all the authors who published through Hamilton and Balfour sat themselves down at John's Coffee-house at one time or another. Business was also combined with pleasure in another venture, the Bogsmill paper mill near Colinton, which Hamilton took over in 1755 and expanded during the next eleven years. From 1761 he and his family lived there in the summer at Millbank, a house overlooking the river, where he was able to indulge his talent for gardening and landscaping. According to his daughter, who was a teen-ager then, he beautified the area so much, "it was visited by the nobility and gentry, as a place well worth the seeing. The place was situated on the Water of Leith, and possessed of a great natural beauty; the low parts, on

1. Hamilton explained his problem in a petition he made for the transfer of the feu charter of the land. Edinburgh City Archives: McLeod's Bundle 105, no. 97, "Unto the Right Honourable the Lord Provost Magistrates and Town Council of the City of Edinburgh the Petition of Gavin Hamilton Bookseller there (March 1, 1757)."

2. SRO: Register of Deeds (Dal.), vol. 171, fol. 350v-352r, articles and minutes of the roup and sale, March 23, 1752.
the side of the brook, being very romantic, and the high parts commanding a most beautiful and extensive prospect. A gentleman, who had been much on the Continent, was heard to say, that in one field, the view had been only surpassed, in his experience, by one very fine view in Italy. When these natural advantages were improved and adorned, by a person of so much taste as Mr. G. Hamilton was, the result may be imagined" (Short Memoir, p.7). She does not exaggerate the greenness of Gavin's fingers. The gentry used to consult him about gardening, and he went to some trouble to give them sound advice.¹

Hamilton was a sociable man, who, in this great age of clubs, had membership in what appears to be a quiet clique and in a large, patriotic political set. His brother Dr. Alexander Hamilton evoked the former when, feeling home-sick in America, he wrote to Gavin: "Pray be so good as Remember me to all the members of the whin-bush Club, especially to the Right honourable, the Lord Provost, and other magistrates and officers of that ancient and honourable society. Inform them that every friday, I fancy myself with them, drinking two penny ale and smoking tobacco. I long to see those merry days again."² Good Whig that he was, Gavin took part in the table-thumping and singing of the Old Revolution Club; if the notation against his name, number 22, is anything to go by, he joined when it was formed, at the same time as brother Robert

¹. For example, when George Clerk of the Penicuik family asked him to recommend a gardener, he responded with a three-page letter weighing up the merit of two likely candidates. SRO: in GD 18/5741, Hamilton to Clerk, September 4, 1749.

Hamilton and Lord Provost Drummond. It is a measure of the pleasantness of his company, as well as his respectability that the political manager of Scotland, Archibald Campbell, third Duke of Argyll, sought him out while in Edinburgh. The publisher described these visits to his daughter Louisa, in the course of a letter that shows him, for a change, with wig off and feet up, conversing with someone he cares for:

Edinburgh, 22 Aug. 1755.

... I have been taken up very much, for two or three days, with the Duke of Argyle, who comes up to the shop every day at 12, and sitts 2 hours, and yesterday he satt till three, writing letters, whereby I lost my part of a Solan goose, which was provided to entertain some friends. We had a good deal of gash conversation together; for example, on Wednesday afternoon, the Duke, looking out at the shop window, saw a man standing on the Cock stool, for Perjury. "Mr. Hamilton," says he, "is not that fellow there one of my countrymen?" "No," said I, "he is not one of your countrymen, he is a Lochyall man." "Well, well," said the Duke, "that is Argyleshshire, that is in my country; there are many there more than that fellow who deserve to be hanged." And so we proceeded to other conversation. I truly think you have not written a single line since you went to Tarbolton, but that you mention the Sacrament, somewhere or another, within some miles of you, where your whole family is under engagement. Tell Mr. Wodrow to putt down the Fast day, and then it will come more easy for the clergy, and your Aunt may come by that means to save the half of her tarts, puddings and pyes! Far be it from me to speak or write disrespectfully of that sacred ordinance, which I think it is every good Christian's duty to go about in a serious manner, as frequently as they can find opportunity, but let me say — and I say it honestly — that the way they go about it in Scotland, among the Presbyterian bodies — for in that persuasion I will live and die — I say,

1. EUL: Dc.8.37, "List of Members of the Revolution Club at Edinburgh," p.39. John Balfour was also a member.

2. loquacious.

3. Patrick Wodrow, minister at Tarbolton, who had just married Elizabeth Balfour.
the way we go about it, setting half a shire loose from their businesses, by preaching days on preaching days, as one had never heard a preaching before, and were never to hear another, convening mobs that resemble more country fairs and mercats, ending in eating and drinking, may sometimes in drunkenness and debauchery, the whole manner of conducting it is offensive, and it is the thing — the only thing among us (who I think excell all the other Christian sects), that wants reformation. A boatman, crossing the ferry, once asked Ralph Erskine to make a Sacrament. "What do you mean, sir," says he, "why should I make a Sacrament?" "Why," said the fellow, "because one of your sacraments is worth all the fairs in Fife." This the old fellow took as a compliment.1

At the time of writing this letter, Hamilton was at the peak of his career as a bookseller and publisher. Seven years later, he ended his partnership with Balfour and the printer Patrick Neill and concentrated on running the paper mill. In the summer of 1766, while on a visit to a married daughter in Ayrshire, he suffered a paralytic stroke, and following a number of other attacks died at his home in Edinburgh on January 1, 1767, aged sixty-two. He ended his life with little money, the chief part of his estate being the paper mill. He left a double portion of his property to his eldest son, John, who was a merchant in London, with the remainder equally divided among his four other children. His younger son, the mathematician Dr. Robert Hamilton, managed the mill on behalf of the family for a few years, before selling it to John Balfour (Short Memoir, pp.7-8).

Gavin Hamilton's private concerns and public career as a Scottish bookseller had a unifying purpose. He saw this very clearly, and stated what it was often enough, in his actions, in his books, and even in a glass-framed picture that he nailed to a wall

1. The Balfours of Pilrig, pp.131-133, where the spelling and punctuation have been modernized.
of his home. The picture was coloured red and silver and was deliberately showy: it was his coat of arms as a cadet of the Hamiltons of Preston, quartered with the arms of the Balfours of Pilrig. There were two felicitous features, a man waving a sword, and the motto "pro patria", for my country. 1

Chapter II

Books from Holland

After receiving a consignment of books via Rotterdam from his friend the pirate in the autumn of 1719, Professor Charles Mackie of Edinburgh University must have waited with considerable interest while his cousin, the bookseller John Mackie, riffled through the printed sheets inside the bale. "The English books," Thomas Johnson of The Hague had explained beforehand, "are put between the leaves of the Latin & French ones in such a way as they'll not be easily seen at ye Custom house, but you must get your Cousin to separate them, to whom I send books also in your parcel."¹ The cousin accordingly fished out Matthew Prior's Poems on Several Occasions, and volume four of Alexander Pope's translation of The Iliad. The Pope was a bargain to please the Scottish reader's eye: Lintot of London was charging subscribers a guinea a quarto volume, while his other issues were none too cheap, and here was a Johnson piracy for a fraction of the price.²

Books and Holland were synonymous at this time. The Scots admired the standard of the Dutch printers, and in 1713, in the Publisher's Preface to James Watson's The History of the Art of Printing, it had been suggested that more Dutch workmen and presses


². Johnson charged Professor Mackie six guilders six stuivers, about 12/6d. sterling, for a seven-volume set of The Iliad and other poems on January 21, 1721.
be brought over to improve the quality of native work. The Dutch also supplied Scotland with books, through exports, at auctions at The Hague and elsewhere, and through the friendly contact their booksellers made with Scottish travellers. The letter and the box of books Professor Mackie received in 1719 were the first fruits of just such a friendship formed during foreign study. 1 He met, as did many another Scottish student, the bookseller and publisher Thomas Johnson, who was active at The Hague from the early years of the century until 1728, and then at Rotterdam until his death in 1735. Johnson counted among his legitimate productions works in Latin and French and the periodical Journal Littéraire but became notorious for his unauthorized reprinting of English literature. Among these reprints was a large selection of English plays, including Shakespeare. 2 From 1719 until 1733, Johnson sent Professor Mackie books and maps and maintained a correspondence (there are thirteen letters from him in the Mackie papers at Edinburgh University) that was a compound of friendship, business, and accounts of publishing and literary endeavours on the Continent.

Johnson, who was possibly a Scot himself, 3 had a number of educated and well-born Scottish acquaintances. In his letters he


3. He refers to the "young Ladies" in a letter of October 13, 1728.
expresses particular regard for Alexander Leslie, who had studied abroad in 1715-18 under Mackie and who succeeded as Earl of Leven and Melville; Leslie stood as Godfather to one of the bookseller's sons, probably Alexander, who also took up bookselling in Holland. The publisher was familiar with Edinburgh as a place and had Professor Mackie transact various kinds of business for him there:

"I beg also you'll be so kind as to pay for me three pounds sterling to Mrs Macquie a Widdow in Blackfryars wynd, & tell her I shall write to her very soon [hi]ch shall be under your cover with your books," he wrote (October, 1719), and "I must beg the favour of you any day you pass in the Parliamt Closs to call at Mr. Maclellan's of Barclay & give my most humble service & tell him that you [will] pay him four pounds sterl. for me" (January 21, 1721).

Johnson kept his Edinburgh friends well informed of work progressing through his own and other European presses, writing on one occasion — to take an excerpt that is typical of the content of the correspondence — of the scholar Pieter Burmann, the House of Wetstein at Amsterdam, and three Leyden publishers, Langerak, Pieter van der Aa, and Janszoon van der Aa:

"Wetstein's Edit. of Cicero they keep up to a higher price here than they sell it in other countries, & they have like rogues broke their promise to me, so I could not yet send it you or Alexander Melville of Balgarvy. Besides I do not find it has any reputation here; every one that has examined any thing of it finding many faults & imperfections in it: the Editor is a good laborious man, but of no genius or spirit. Burmans Ovid is not yet finished, nor will it be yet for some time; a quarrel betwixt him & the booksellers has retarded it much. Langerack's Buchanan is near or quite finished; he says he has every thing that he should have to make it compleat. Van der Aa has finished his great Thesaurus Historiarum &c Italiæ in 45 vols. folio, but it finds few or no buyers in this Country, & is collected with too
little Judgment to be valued in other Countries, especially seeing they are printing at Milan & in Sicily much better Collections of the same nature. The Jansoons vander Aa have not yet finished their Lucretius in 4°. Nor is my Terentius yet done, there are 40 sheets of the Index printed but there wants yet perhaps 10 or 12 sheets in all, & the Author has been almost dead, which has retarded the work. The printing presses were never so busy as at present in Holland. Several great works are doing at Amsterdam & here. One of 'em is a Great Historical Dictionary in Dutch, we are printing one here, and they have set up another against ours which they are printing at Amsterdam in 8 vols. in folio, as well as ours. Our Œuvres de Bayle are going on very well. You'll see by those you have received they are very well printed. 'Tis likely we may have 5 vols. in place of 4" (The Hague, July 31, 1725).

Two of these works were of particular interest to Professor Mackie. He would have been dampened by the news that Langerak had nearly finished reprinting, with a preface by Burmann, the Thomas Ruddiman edition of the Opera Omnia of George Buchanan. The book was expected to have a wide distribution: the subscription proposals of the previous year named booksellers in Holland, Germany, France, England, Ireland, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium, as well as seven at Edinburgh. Mackie was in the group of Edinburgh scholars known as the Associated Critics who were hemming and hawing over plans to print their own edition, which, they said, would correct the errors and political bias of Ruddiman's. They did not produce it. The publication of the Œuvres of Bayle was one of Johnson's favourite enterprises. He had sent Professor Mackie the proposals three years before but was uncertain of the scholarly climate in Scotland:

"I send you here some copies of our Project for printing Bayles works in folio, which is very well liked here & I believe will be every where else, there being full as many or more curious things in his

1. There is a copy of the proposals in NLS: 1.8(40).
other works as in his dictionary: & all that have
the dictionary of what ever Edition will want these
works; I don't know if you have very many in
Scotland acquainted with Bayle's writings, Some I
know there are, but I shall be better able to judge
by the number of Subscribers. If you can procure
Subscriptions by recommending it to your friends,
on fifteen Subscriptions you may have one for your
self gratis, but if you can doe this let it not be
known to your Booksellers, because they like to make
those little advantages themselves. . . . I had a
letter from Mr. Wm. Anderson some time ago desiring
to buy some books for him in an auction but it came
too late, & I hope to find most of those books
cheaper than they were sold there: books seldom go
cheap at a very great auction. When you or he or
any friends want books you should send lists of them
beforehand that one might pick 'em up upon occasion
at a reasonable price. I design to write to Mr.
Anderson very soon & send him some part of what he
desires with a Ship for Glasgow. If you have
occasion to send him 6 of the inclosed projects with
my service you'll oblige me. there may be some in
Glasgow may desire to Subscribe" (The Hague, May,
1722).

Professor Mackie rounded up eleven subscriptions and was responsible
for forwarding the money.

Most of the books Johnson sent Mackie were acceptable. One
that was not was a four-volume folio, Antoine Furetière's
Dictionnaire Universel, Le Haye, 1727, the virtues of which had been
extolled as it went through the press. When Alexander Boswell of
Auchinleck, who was studying in Holland, told the publisher his
Edinburgh friend was not pleased with the book, Johnson was
surprised, not to say stunned:

"Mr Boswel tells me you want to dispose of the Diction.
de Furetiere yt I sent you, not having occasion for it
your self; w/hich I wonder at, for I do not know of
any work of so universal use for a man of Letters as
that, in which is collected not only what is most
curious in all the best french writers, by way of
phrases for a full illustration of that Language, but
also all that is curious in all arts & Sciences, in
order to explain all the parts of them on occasion of
explaining the terms: So yt never such a treasure of
learning was collected before in any language. I'm
persuaded if you were used to consult it sometimes
you would not part with it, & I leave it to you at
a low price, as you'll see by the Note here annexed;
if you let it goe to another it should be 5 or 6
guilds. more" (Rotterdam, October 19, 1728).

Professor Mackie sold the book to the Advocates' Library, along with
another four-volume folio he had received from Johnson, Jean Le
Clerc's Histoire des Provinces-Unies des Pays Bas, but he declined
to make a profit. There was a warmer reception for the Dutch
publisher's version of Les Voyages des Cyrus, by the Chevalier
Ramsay. "I am printing," he told Professor Mackie, "The travels of
Cyrus in one little vol. which I think a mighty pretty book, & should
be valued in Scotland as being written by a Country man. Your young
Ladies cannot read a prettier book for their improvement, & if they
read the french which is very good it is proper for learning the
french language. I shall furnish the Country with both English &
french at an easy rate if it be wanted" (Rotterdam, October 18, 1728).
The response encouraged him, when he printed A New Cyropædia, or the
Travels of Cyrus, and a joint English-French edition, to make a
gesture towards local interest. The copies in the National Library
of Scotland bear the imprint: "Edinburgh, Printed for the Company
of Booksellers."

The Scots, interested in buying cheap, well-printed books, were
prepared to turn a blind eye to the Act that forbade the importation
of piracies. And Johnson always had some unauthorized reprint or
another in the press. He reprinted Pope's translation of The Iliad

1. NLS: MS. Faculty Records 118, "Register of the proceedings of
the Curators & Keeper of the Library in Relation to their Office

Hereafter cited as Advocates' Register.
as the various volumes were published in London, and on one occasion, when Professor Mackie was in London contemplating a trip to Holland, saw a way of getting the originals more quickly than usual. "If you come," he wrote, "pray bring me the 5th and 6th vols of Homer fol. stitch'd up but not boun'd & what other books I desired of Capt. Macleod as he'll tell you" (August 23, 1720). Johnson sent his friend two seven-volume sets of "Pope's Homer & Poems" at the beginning of the next year, plus six copies of volumes five and six of the Homer for other customers. He sent two copies of Swift's *Miscellaneous Works* along at the same time, with the familiar advice: "Yr bound books are most at the bottom of the box & the unbound above, the English books are in the middle. I hope you'll receive all safe & to your contentment" (January 21, 1721). In May, 1722, he announced "I have almost finished Mr Addison's Poems & Dialogues upon the usefulness of ancients &c in 2 little 8vo vols."; in 1725, the year after the first volume of Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Time* was published in London, Johnson sent Mackie his reprint in three volumes octavo.

The booksellers of Edinburgh obviously presented Johnson with greater opportunities to distribute his legitimate and clandestine books, and he used the professor not only to line up members of the trade, but also to keep an eye on them. In the first three years of the correspondence the booksellers Johnson refers to are John Mackie, the cousin, and George Stewart. After sending the first box of books to the two Mackies, Johnson told the professor to "Give my service to Mr. G. Stewart ye Bookseller, tell him he may have of Prior's & Swifts works & 4th vol. of Homer if he'll direct me by whom to send them, but I cannot venture 'em at my risque not knowing what master
to trust or to what port to send 'em safe" (The Hague, October 13, 1719). Professor Mackie was also used as a distributor of two straightforward publications, Alexander Cunningham's edition of Horace and Cunningham's Animadversiones on the work of Richard Bentley, which Johnson printed in 1721. The publisher sent Professor Mackie copies for presentation and for sale: "I have sent you a bundle of unbound books in which you'll find one of each, 1 Hor. & Animadvers. for yourself, 1 of each for Mr Duncan Forbes Advocate, 1 Horace Large paper for Mr. Fletcher of Salton, & one dito for the Marquis of Tweeddale, all those are presents for Mr. Cunningham. Besides those I have sent in the bundle 50 Horatius at 24 stiv. apiece & 30 Animadversions at 24 st. also (I sell 'em here at 3 gilds together) which I fancy will not be too many for Edinb. I leave to your disposal if you'll put 'em all in your Cousins hands, or if you'll divide them between him and G. Stewart" (The Hague, January 23, 1722). Johnson added a complaint: "Pray tell your [346] Cousin he forgets me too long, instead of 3 or 4 months, t'is now a full year since I sent him books, & have yet had no bill. Be so kind to tell also G. Stewart I long to hear from him about books I sent him in the end of May by his orders by M[ass]rs Wetstein. They desire me not to draw for they can better send me bills & so they make me wait their pleasure; but if they doe not remit immediatly I must draw on them for I want money extreamly." This brought a response from Stewart, who asked for more of the Cunningham works, and, one presumes, came to an arrangement over the debt he owed

1. There were 20 stuivers to the guilder, which was worth just under 2/- sterling at the current exchange rate.
through his dealings with Wetstein of Amsterdam. "In return to a letter from G. Stewart," Johnson told Professor Mackie a few months later, "I send him some more Animadvers. in Hor. Bentl. but cannot send so many as of the Horace because I did not print so many & have but very few remaining"; he added his hope that Stewart would procure a good number of subscriptions to Bayle's Oeuvres (The Hague, May, 1722).

Three years later the Dutch publisher was working through the Edinburgh bookseller David Randie who, it appears, also held the useful position of postmaster. Johnson dispatched books for Professor Mackie and Alexander Melville of Balgarvie — Mackie's bundle including subscription copies of the Bayle and Burnet's History of His Own Time — and explained the procedure: "I have sent you both books marked here below, & for your ease & getting them more easily past at the Custom house I put them all with some others in a bale directed to David Randie Postmaster in the Canongate who will deliver you all that are for you & Balgarvy on paying your share of charges" (The Hague, July 31, 1725). Gavin Hamilton was Johnson's agent for several years before the two of them quarrelled in 1733. Johnson, looking then for another distributor, considered using the bookseller Thomas Heriot, and told Professor Mackie: "I have almost finished a very neat edition of Shaftesbury's works in 3 pocket vols. which I shall sell for 6 shills. stitch'd. If your friend Mr Heriot I think, of whom you once wrote to me, will take a good number of them, he shall have them for 3 months alone in Scotland, & at a reasonable price that so he may sell them boun'd & lettered for 7sh. 6d & have good profit. & I may put more other things in his hands afterwards that
he may find his account in, if he deals well by me. If he
inclines to this he may write to me by first post & it may come in
time to send him any parcel by Dallas's ship that lies now here"
(Rotterdam, July 24, 1733). Johnson speaks as though he had a
number of outlets in Scotland. He seems to have confused Heriot
with another bookseller, Thomas Henderson, although in the event he
used neither but turned instead to William Hamilton (who was no
relation of Gavin's):

"Mr Henderson did not write to me for any copies of
Shaftsbury's Characteristics, & as things fell out
'tis well he did not, yet I am no less obliged to
you for your pains. Having occasion to send some
things to Wm Hamilton in Septr. I sent him 50
copies of that work. I have found him very fair
in his dealings & punctual in payment, but if he
has much Sale, or if such a book be well in his
hands I don't know, for I have not heard from him
since, & I should think 50 copies of such a book
might soon sell in Edinburgh. Please send him
the letter here annex'd, which I write thus to
save postage, & if you think fit you may employ
him to enter & take out the bundle directed to you
according to inclosed bill of Lading. You'll find
the account of what I have sent you here adjoin'd,
& I have sent to sd Wm Hamilton near as much bulk
of books in ye same pack so he may pay near half
of charges, which will save to both" (Rotterdam,
December 22, 1733).

In this letter, the final one, Johnson makes a classic
observation in his capacity as an international bookseller.
Scotland in his time had been an importer of books, a recipient of
European culture, and he had found nothing in the scholarship within
the country worth commenting on, although, of course, the work of
Ruddiman was admired abroad. Now he says: "I am glad that you
begin to publish somthing in Scotland that may make your ingenious
men known to the rest of the world, I wish that Spirit may continue
& find encouragement, & may extend to other arts and Sciences as well
as Medicine." He was referring to the Medical Essays and Observations, Revised and Published by a Society in Edinburgh, edited by Professor Alexander Monro, the first volume of which was published in Edinburgh in 1733. Copies of this volume were no doubt in the bundles he says he has safely passed on to the great medical teachers at Leyden, Hermann Boerhaave and Bernhard Albinus; one can imagine the pride with which the Edinburgh medical men proferred the work to their former masters. The Edinburgh Medical Essays, written not in Latin but self-consciously in English, grew to five volumes and went through a number of editions and translations. The book was one of the harbingers of the Scottish renaissance.

By this time Gavin Hamilton was settled in Edinburgh after gaining experience of the European book trade at first hand. He saw — as the Foulis brothers did nine years later — that the Continent was a kind of university for a publisher of ambition, so upon starting up as a bookseller in 1729, he went there to do business and learn. He would have been well armed with introductions, since his father, Professor Hamilton, was in correspondence with scholars in Europe, and Gavin also had at least one close acquaintance studying law at Leyden, young James Balfour of Pilrig. Gavin's appointment by the General Assembly as collector in Scotland for the Reformed German Protestant Congregation at


Copenhagen suggests he was roaming far afield, although he appears to have been interested primarily in the book markets of Holland. He made contact with Johnson, presumably while passing through the port of Rotterdam, and not only arranged to get books for himself but brought back books for customers of Johnson's in Scotland. Johnson informed Professor Mackie in June, 1731, that eleven subscription copies of the fourth volume of Bayle had been sent by way of Hamilton; six months later Johnson said he had sent Hamilton a bundle of books, including the Burmann edition of *Poetae Latini Minores* for a Mr. Calderwood, and remarked that the Edinburgh bookseller owed him money (Rotterdam, December 11, 1731). Johnson does not describe to the professor the books he was sending, but an edition of the period that would surely have reached the Edinburgh trade was *Sophonisba*, by James Thomson, which David Foxon notes was pirated by the Dutch publisher. ¹ (A few years later, Andrew Millar's claim that the Scots were selling pirated editions of the writings of Thomson, initiated the copyright prosecutions in the Court of Session.) Johnson was looking in 1733 for an Edinburgh bookseller to sell his edition of Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, and in reply to some kind of news from Mackie, showed that he had fallen out with his former agent: "G. Hamilton has given me too much reason to complain of him for not paying what he owes me; & therefor to be beforehand with me he thinks proper it seems to invent some ground of complaint agst me" (Rotterdam, July 24, 1733). It was not in character for Hamilton to lie about someone because he owed him

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money; nevertheless, the slur in the letter is indicative of bitterness between the two men.

While in Holland Hamilton bought a considerable amount of scholarly books on behalf of the Advocates' Library. The Library purchase register records that Hamilton bought at the auction of the library of Gosuinus Uilenbroek, held by Wetstein and Smith at Amsterdam in October, 1729, and made purchases from Pieter van der Aa at Leyden and from the scholar Alexander Cunningham at The Hague. Thomas Ruddiman, the Library Keeper, paid him £61.3s.3d. sterling in January, 1730 (Advocates' Register, pp.34-37).

Hamilton's biggest single purchase of books for the Library was made in September, 1730, at the Grote Zaal in The Hague, where J. Swart and Pieter de Hondt were auctioning the collection of Samuel Hulsius, or Van Hulst. He acquired one hundred and sixty-five folio, forty-nine quarto and eight octavo editions, many of them consisting of several volumes, and made a steady if encumbered bee-line back to Edinburgh. The account he submitted to Ruddiman included the information that the books were packed aboard ship in thirty-five dry-ware barrels:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Price of the books} & 1282.10 \\
\text{To Duty at 5 Doits pr Gilder} & 35.32 \\
\text{To Cash paid Wm Dundas Leyden for his} \\
\text{Charges by Order} & 1.16 \\
\text{To 3 Boxes & 1 Press} & 10. \\
\text{To Cords} & 1.10 \\
\text{To Transporting the Books from the Auction} \\
\text{house to my Room} & 6. \\
\text{To fee to the Servants at the Auction} & 2. \\
\text{To transporting the Books to the Scout} & 1.10 \\
\text{To Freight to Rotterdam & Carriage to my Room} & 5. \\
\text{Transport to the Ship} & 2. \\
\text{Duty at Rotterdam for Exportation} & 30. \\
\text{Brokers \[i.e. broker's\] fee} & 1.10 \\
\hline
\text{Gild} & 1379.92
\end{array}
\]
Lifted from Mr Andrews Mert. in Rotterdam
five hundred and ten Gilders 13 Stivers at
\[ \text{British}\, 23\frac{1}{4}\, \text{pennies} \text{ per Gild} \& \text{ drew on}
\]
Mr Thos Ruddiman for Value

£50

To the Remaining Eight hundred & Sixty eight
Gild. Fifteen Stivers & a half calculated at
\[ \text{British}\, 22\frac{1}{4}\, \text{pennies} \text{ the then Current}
\]
Exchange is in Sterling may

82. 7.

To Fraught [i.e. freight charges on the ship] at Leith being 35 Barrel

1.15.

To Shore Dues

1. 8

To Duty at Leith, 1500wt

10.10.

Waiters Fees

5.

Collectors Fee

1. 6

£145.00.02

To Cartage to Edinburgh

5.

To Carriage to the Library

1. 4

Buckling and other Charges

2.

(Advocates' Register, pp.57-58)

For his trouble Hamilton received a ten-per-cent commission of just
over £14.10s. He was, meanwhile, establishing a working relationship
with the Continental trade on his own account. The extent of
this involvement still has to be discovered, but it was not slight
judging from his indebtedness to the Amsterdam engraver Bernard
Picart: "Garin Hamelton te Edenburg" was named in 1736 as one of
the principle debtors to Picart's estate, the sum owed being 401
guilders 15 stuivers, equivalent to £40 sterling. Picart and
probably other European engravers supplied Hamilton with prints,
which he sold through his shop in Edinburgh.

Hamilton brought back from Holland a taste for rare editions that

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1. M. M. Kleerkooper and W. F. van Stockum Jr., De Boekhandel te
Amsterdam. Voornamelijk in de 17e Eeuw ('s-Gravenhage, 1914-16), I,
561. Noted also in David W. Davies, "The Geographic Extent of the
Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century," Het Boek, 31 (1952-54),
21.
found one expression in his long association as a bookseller for the Advocates' Library; he supplied the Library with twenty-two fifteenth-century books between 1730 and 1749. He did not forget Alexander Cunningham, from whom he bought books, and after acquiring the emendations published with considerable care the Cunningham edition of *Virgil* in 1743, as well as that scholar's edition of *Phaedrus* in 1757. He also took home an interest in importing books for disposal by auction. This was picked up by Balfour, and their auctions and sales of "curious and valuable books, in most languages and faculties", were frequent events in Edinburgh. Above all, however, the spirit of Dutch bookselling and publishing would have encouraged him when he formulated his own policies, which were, to raise the quality of Scottish printing, to publish the work of native men of letters, to produce fine editions at the Edinburgh University press, to reprint English literature legitimately (and cheaply), and to export more newly printed books from Scotland than he imported.

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1. They are described by Anne Vernon in "Eighteenth-Century Accessions of Incunables to the Advocates' Library," *The Bibliotheca*, 4, no. 6 (1965), 238-40.
CHAPTER III
The Early Years of Hamilton and Balfour

The eighteenth-century bookshop, smelling of freshly inked paper and new leather, was a pleasant place to browse, and visitors were liable to come away with more than just the latest publication. Besides maps, music, stationery, paintings, engravings and drawings, Hamilton and Balfour sold more unusual things when the opportunity occurred, as after the Battle of Culloden, when they advertised engraved miniatures of the Duke of Cumberland for watch cases, four pence for the plain, eight pence for second-best and a shilling for best coloured. At other times the shop had an assortment of flutes, reflecting telescopes for astronomy, and a byproduct of the firm's trade with the Americans, coarse Muscovado sugar, which was sold in minimum quantities of a hundredweight, six pence the pound.

The Hamilton and Balfour shop attracted dignitaries—the third Duke of Argyll sat chatting inside and observing Edinburgh go by the window—and men of letters by the ream. Among those directing their correspondence to the shop was the poet Mark Akenside, who sent letters to Professor David Foddyce of Marischal College in care of Gavin Hamilton in 1743.¹ Since money was always available there, it was not unusual for the bookseller to be used as a banker. In 1738 James Thomson asked his friend Hamilton to advance money to his sisters in Edinburgh; Thomson was about to have Agamemnon printed, and he promised to see that enough copies were sent up from London.² This kind of mutual favour lay at the

heart of the bookselling and publishing of the period. Friendly
relations with authors and customers were prerequisites for success,
and Hamilton and Balfour did so well partly because each partner had
good connexions and a wide circle of friends. Two instances of the
personal factor at work are typical of their whole business.

Musing in their shop one day in the 1750s, the poet John Home
was struck by one of their recent French reprints, *Le Siècle de
Louis XIV* by Voltaire, and he remarked to Balfour that it was just
the thing to interest a friend, Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick.
The next day, Balfour dispatched a copy of the book to Sir Hew and
promised, if it were agreeable, to send new books as they were
published. ¹ Balfour sent him an unsolicited copy of Robert
Wallace's *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind* in the following
year. ² Sir Hew was not one to pay bills quickly, but he was a
Dalrymple and a useful man to know. Four years later Balfour wrote
to him about another matter, and added: "I have used the freedom to
send you on the other side a note of two Articles, for which you
stand in our books, as trifles of that kind are apt to be forgot.
They are two books, printed by us, a Copy of each of which, was sent
to you upon their publication. I would have taken Notice of this to
you, when you was in the Shop last Week, had their not been

1. SRO: GD 110/1025/1, Balfour to Sir Hew Dalrymple, August 28,
1752.

2. SRO: GD 110/1025/2, Balfour to Dalrymple, February 24, 1753.

This was one of the firm's ways of selling books — the
recipients were free to return them if unwanted. Twenty years
earlier Hamilton had written to a customer in the north: a
"Gentleman that called on your account Did Desire me to Send you a
list of pamphletts or Bookes that were published Since you was in
town." Hamilton did this but went one step farther: "I have
ventured to send you some pamphletts after you have perused them
you may return what does not please your tast." ³

SRO: RH 9/18/1/124, Hamilton to Mr. Gordon of Carnoustie, May 16,
1732.
Sir Hew's visit to the shop was, one presumes, purely social.

The real point of the letter lay in the first paragraph:

"Sir," said Balfour, "Several of the most Considerable Lawyers, having been advising us to print My Lord President Dalrymples Decisions, we were very willing to do so, and accordingly have got a Manuscript from Lord Kaims for this purpose. But we dont choose to engage in it, till we have consulted his nearest relations, & know that it is not disagreeable to them. I have already spoke to Sir David, & Mr David Dalrymple, they not only give their consent, but are very desirous that it should be done, and so soon as I hear from you, that you have no objection, we will immediately begin the Work."

There was good will on all sides. Sir Hew added his consent, and in 1758 Hamilton and Balfour published Dalrymple's Decisions of the Court of Session.

The sun of approval, however, did not shine on all in Edinburgh. It was a loss to the bookseller William Drummond when the personal favour of Professor Alexander Monro was withdrawn, a misfortune that was compounded by bankruptcy. Professor Monro had the right to choose the printer for two important works, his own The Anatomy of the Human Bones, and the Medical Essays that were published by a society in Edinburgh. The professor selected his friend William Monro at first, but when this bookseller gave up his stock in trade, the books were printed through Drummond. After Drummond began printing the fourth edition of the Anatomy in 1746, Professor Monro took it from him for some reason and gave it to Hamilton and

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1. SRO: GD 110/1025/3, Balfour to Dalrymple, July 10, 1757.
Balfour, who agreed to the professor's request that they give the profit to Mrs. Drummond; profits from the subsequent editions would go to them. Hamilton and Balfour also heard that Drummond would not be used to print the Medical Essays again, so they applied for the privilege of printing the third (and later the fourth) edition. The Edinburgh medical fraternity, including Monro, Charles Alston, Robert Whytt, and William Porterfield, were glad to give permission. Perhaps the approval was not unrelated to the connexions of the partners — Hamilton was Treasurer of the Royal Infirmary, and Balfour was Dr. Whytt's brother-in-law — but the favour gained, the two of them established a sound reputation as medical publishers, and the same authors came to them time and again. In the next few years they published, for example, six editions of works by Alston, and seven of works by Whytt.

Hamilton settled down in a bookshop on the north side of the High Street, opposite the entrance to Parliament Close, where he sold, among all the other things, a variety of engravings picked up or imported from European engravers. He bought from Picart of Amsterdam and possibly also, judging by the titles of prints he sent to a customer in 1731, from Nicolas-Henri Tardieu and Pierre Imbert Drevet of Paris. The prints — selected for Mr. Gordon of Carnousie — were of French artists' work, Nicolas Poussin and

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1. The firm's role in the publication of the two books is described in A Vindication of Hamilton & Balfour Booksellers in Edinburgh, from the Charge brought against them in A Memorial concerning the property of the Edinburgh Medical Essays (Edinburgh, 1756). Copies in SL and BM. A copy of Mrs. Drummond's Memorial Concerning the Property of the Edinburgh Medical Essays [Edinburgh, 1756], in which she complains of unfair treatment, is in SL.
Antoine Coypel primarily, Charles Lebrun, Picart, and one of the Boulongnes, although the walls of the northern mansion were also graced by engravings of a Titian and of Antonio Correggio's Madonna and Child, and by two Carracci landscapes. 1

From the beginning Hamilton needed more space, and he took a room in Writer's Court in which to auction books and pictures, as well as two rooms at the College. 2 He was helped by a number of apprentices and servants, including Robert Brown, who, described as a servitor to the bookseller, wrote out and witnessed Hamilton's side of a contract with Edinburgh University Library on November 12, 1730. 3 John Balfour was taken on about the year 1733, and was well enough advanced to be placed in charge of the shop when Hamilton was called to London to testify at the Porteous inquiry in 1737. John was hard put to keep the business going, as he explained frankly when he asked Rev. James Anderson, school master at Hawick, to pay something towards an outstanding account. "I was never so harrassed for Money in my Life," wrote Balfour, aged twenty-one. "You cannot imagine how much Mr Hamiltons tedious & expensive stay at London has

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1. SRO: RH 9/18/1/18(5)a-b, Hamilton's holograph account for prints and pamphlets sent to Gordon of Carnousie.

2. He was paying £1 a year rent for each of the College rooms in 1733. Sir Alexander Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its first Three Hundred Years (London, 1884), i, 191-92.

3. EUL: Do.1.4/1, agreement to bring books deposited at Stationers' Hall to the library.

I do not know whether the apprentice William Oswald made the transition from cloth trade to book shop with Hamilton. He took out indentures with Hamilton in 1727 (Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1701-1755), and witnessed the bond when Gavin and Professor Hamilton borrowed money, presumably to finance the book business, in February, 1729 (SRO: GD 69/164).
cost him. I wish it may not still go harder with him. The Bill has past the house of Lords, & its thought will pass the Commons with Additions very much to the prejudice of ye Magistrates. They talk of a fine upon their private persons as well as upon the Town in General. I really do not know what hand to turn to, for Cash, in order to answer his Draughts & I would reckon it, (as I'm sure he will) a singular act of Friendship, if you would assist just now. I have bills to the extent of £100 Ster: & upwards to answer against the 10th of June, & upon my word I have not made up five pounds of it yet; Whatever you send in, more or less, (for every thing helps) I shall send you my Receipt for it..." [1] The gloom soon lifted: Parliament did not fine the magistrates individually, and Edinburgh reimbursed Hamilton for his London expenses as soon as he returned home. Balfour was taken on as partner in 1739. Meanwhile, John Yair, who became a bookseller in Edinburgh himself, was taken on as an apprentice in 1735, [2] and David Wilson was at the shop by July 19, 1738. [3] This is doubtless the same David Wilson who became a bookseller in London, and a Hamilton and Balfour agent there. Wilson stayed with Hamilton for ten years at least, and got on so well with his master that he was permitted to produce a few books independently; while in Edinburgh he published, by subscription, the Select Works of Archbishop Robert Leighton in 1746, and the Expository Works of Leighton two years later.

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1. EUL: La.II.511/1, Balfour to James Anderson, May 17, 1737
2. Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1701-1755.
3. Both Yair and Wilson witnessed a protested bill on this date. SRO: Register of Deeds, Mackenzie 162/2.
Hamilton's career as a publisher began in 1731, as far as I can determine. He did not have his own printer until Patrick Neill began production in 1750, and in his early years either took copy to two or three of the Edinburgh printers, or obtained an interest in the publications of other men, some of whom had a wealth of experience. I have found some fifty books and pamphlets associated with Hamilton's name during his first five years as a publisher, which I have set out below in the form of a short-title list. Although the total certainly falls short of his actual production in the period — he would have published a lot more ephemeral items — there is enough to show how he learned his business in Edinburgh. The works he was connected with, being mirrors of the time and place, have much to do with Scottish sermonizing, or are reprints of London political and topical pamphlets, but they also indicate the beginning of his interest in printing the classics, older Scottish authors, works on economic, agricultural and other kinds of improvement, and the way in which he was prepared to co-operate with his London counterparts in some cases.

In this short-title list, dates given in the imprints in Roman numerals have been changed to Arabic, and the format statement is followed by the library locations, and by notes on the time of publication, the publishing background, or on members of the book trade:

1731

ARISTOTLE

Aristotelis de Poetica liber. . . Cum versione Latina
Theodori Goulstoni. Edinburgi: apud Tho. & Wal.
Ruđimannos; sumptibus Joan. Patoni & Galvini Hamiltoni
bibliopolarum Edinb. 1731.

8vo
Notes. Hamilton had a great deal to do professionally with Thomas Ruddiman; he sold Ruddiman's publications, shared the imprint of a number of Ruddiman books, had many of his own books printed at that press, and dealt with the Advocates' Library through the scholar. He came to emulate Ruddiman the publisher and University Printer, but seems not to have been over-awed by Ruddiman the man. Some years later, after he had won his spurs, there is just a glint of very dry amusement in the reply he gave when he and Ruddiman were asked by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik to publish a dissertation in Latin on Roman remains. Ruddiman was enthusiastic, Hamilton less so. "I have just now received the Dissertation from Mr Ruddiman together with a Letter which is inclosed," Gavin wrote to his friend Sir John. "I supose youl find him so full on the matter that it is needless for me to repeat what past betwixt us in Private conversations. Mr Ruddiman seems fond that it be published & it will be a great disappointment to him if it is suppressed. your further commands in this matter in so far as it can be usfull is expected by ...

Gavin Hamilton."

CADIERE, Mary Catharine

The case of Mrs. Mary Catharine Cadier, against the Jesuit father John Baptist Girard. In a memorial presented to the Parliament of Aix. Wherein that Jesuit is accused of

1. SR0: GD 18/5108/3, Hamilton to Clerk of Penicuik, April 23, 1747. There are two letters from Ruddiman to Clerk on the subject in GD 18/5108/1-2. Ruddiman suggested an edition size of 200, and the work was printed as Dissertatio de Monumentis quibusdam Romanis, in boreali Magrae Britanniae parte detectis anno MDCCXXXI, Edinburgh, T. and W. Ruddiman, 1750.
seducing her, by the abominable doctrines of Quietism.

. . . The tenth edition corrected. Edinburgh, printed and sold by Allan Ramsay and Gavin Hamilton, at their shops a little above the Cross. MDCCXXX (Price 1 sh.) (1731)

8vo

NLS: 1.924(4)

Publication. Despite the date in the imprint, the publication was announced for November 30, 1731 (EEC, November 29). The price was 1/- (title page).


Hamilton continued to have some dealings with Allan Ramsay — for example, they both held a sale of pictures belonging to the painter William Nosman in February, 1740 (C/R, February 12) — but appears to have associated more often with other Edinburgh booksellers.

DUNCAN, Rev. Robert, of Tillicoultry

An exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. . . .


8vo

EUL: C.R.15.6.14

Publication. April 15, 1731, price bound 5/-, published by subscription (EEC).

Notes. Robert Fleming, who took over the ownership of the Evening Courant after he, James MacEuen, James Davidson and Hamilton had their brush with the Bailies in 1732, was a prolific printer and
produced a considerable amount of work for Hamilton before mid-century. He was a publisher in his own right, and could also turn to editing, as in the second volume of A System of Heraldry by Alexander Nisbet, 1742.

FRANCKLIN, Richard

The tryal of Richard Francklin, for a misdemeanour, in publishing a false, scandalous, and seditious extract of a private letter from the Hague, inserted in the Country Journal; or, the Craftsman, of Saturday, January 2, 1731. Try'd at the sittings of the Court of King's-Bench, Westminster, on Friday, December 3, 1731. . . .

Edinburgh, printed by Gavin Hamilton and Company, and sold at the said Gavin Hamilton's shop, opposite to the Parliament Closs. 1731.

8vo

NLS: L.C.2810(1)

Publication. December 13, 1731 (EC), which is only ten days after the trial date mentioned in the title.


The "printed by" of the imprint must mean "published by", since Hamilton did not have his own printer.

HAMILTON, Gavin

Catalogue of "A large and valuable collection of books, in most languages and sciences", the books to be sold by auction at Hamilton's shop beginning November 15, 1731.

Notes. Not seen; advertised in CM, October 19. This was his first
auction apparently, and was not a success. After two weeks most of
the books were still on the shelves, and Hamilton had to announce
that he would be at his shop every morning for a further three weeks
to sell them off at very easy prices (RSC, November 30).

WISHART, William, the younger
Charity the end of the Commandment; or, universal love
the design of Christianity. A sermon preach'd at the
Old-Jewry, April 19. 1731. . . . Edinburgh: printed
for Gavin Hamilton bookseller, opposite to the Parliament
Close. 1731.
8vo
EUL: C.R.16.3.20/1; KY.32/57/1

CLAUSE, Jean
Self-examination, in order to a due preparation for the
worthy receiving of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
Written originally in French by Monsieur Claude. . . .
Edinburgh, printed by Gavin Hamilton and Company, and
sold at his shop. 1732.
12mo
NLS: L.34.c; Jolly.2038

CRAIG, Rev. James, of Edinburgh
He that winneth souls is wise. A sermon preach'd at
the opening of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale,
November 6th, 1716. . . Edinburgh, printed by Robert Fleming and Company, and sold by Gavin Hamilton and several other booksellers. 1732.

8vo

NLS: 1.679/A

GIBSON, Rev. Archibald, of St. Ninians

I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. A sermon preached before His Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the High Church of Edinburgh, on the 7th of May 1732. . . .

Edinburgh, printed by Gavin Hamilton and Company, and sold at his shop. 1732.

8vo

NLS: 1.679/9

Publication. By June 13, price 4d (EBC).

HAMILTON, Gavin

Catalogue for "A curious collection of valuable books" that were to be sold by Hamilton in an auction on January 31, 1732, at James MacEuen's auction house in Writer's Court.

Notes. Not seen. The catalogues were to be dispersed two to three weeks before the auction (EBC, January 6).

HAMILTON, William, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University

The truth and excellency of the Christian religion. A sermon preached in the High Church of Edinburgh, Monday,

VARIANT title page: The usual SSPCK ornament, a hand holding a Bible within a square, is replaced by a more ornate illustration. Hamilton was the bookseller's father and he became Principal of the University this year, a double reason for Gavin to put out a more splendid issue.

8vo

NLS: 5.2351(20). SRO: GD 95/13/5 (variant title)

Publication. Noticed on February 17 and on May 11, price 6d (EEC and CM).

KNOX, John

The historie of the reformation of religioun within the Realm of Scotland. . . . Together with The life of John Knox the author, and several curious pieces wrote by him; particularly that most rare and scarce one, intitled, The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women, with a large Index and Glossary. Taken from the original manuscript in the University Library of Glasgow, and compared with other ancient copies. Edinburgh: printed by Robert Fleming and Company, and sold at the shops of J. MacEuen, J. Davidson, W. Brown, J. Paton, and G. Hamilton, and several other booksellers. 1732.
Publication. The consortium of booksellers published subscription proposals on January 12, 1731, and by August 12 half the sheets were printed and on display at their shops (CH). The book was published by May 16, 1732: "Price to Subscribers 12s. 6d in Sheets, which is precisely at One penny per Sheet . . . there being 150 Sheets in the whole . . . Price bound in Calf and lettr'd, to those who have not subscribed, 17s." (EBC)

Notes. This is considered to be the first accurate edition of the History. The editor, apparently Rev. Matthew Crawford, noted on p. lxxi that Gavin Hamilton owned a MS of it; this is the "Laing MS", with notes in Knox's hand, which is now in BUL (W. C. Dickinson, John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1949, I, xciv-xcv).¹

The publisher and newspaper proprietor James MacEuen, with whom Hamilton was associating, was a man experienced in the ways of book distribution: in the 1720s he had operated bookshops in Glasgow and London as well as at Edinburgh.²

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¹ Hamilton developed his interest in old Scottish manuscripts, and a number of valuable ones passed through his hands. His reputation as a buyer caused a curious incident: a descendant of the Nisbet family sold him the MS of the unique New Testament in Scots by Murdoch Nisbet, dated c. 1520; the young man had no right to and Sir Alexander Boswell, trustee of the volume, saw it in the shop in 1745 and bought it back (T. G. Law, The New Testament in Scots, Scottish Text Society, 1901-05, I, xiii). In the following year at their auction house Hamilton and Balfour sold rare MSS relating to the history of the Church of Scotland (CH, Dec. 9, 1746).

² MacEuen refers to the London shop in a letter to Robert Wodrow, in Analecta Scotica, 2nd series (Edinburgh, 1837), p.200; according to the imprint of The Gentle Shepherd, Edinburgh, 1725, it was opposite St. Clement's Church.
LOGAN, Rev. George, of Edinburgh

A modest and humble inquiry concerning the right and power of electing and calling ministers to vacant churches.

... Edinburgh, printed by Gavin Hamilton, and sold by him and several other booksellers in town. 1732.

8vo

NLS: 1.666(6). EUL: C.R.5.13.17/2

Publication. May 11, price 1/- (CH).

SOME reflections on a late pamphlet, called, The state of the moral world considered. Edinburgh, printed by Gavin Hamilton and Company, and sold at his shop opposite to the Parliament-Close, north-side of the street. 1732.

8vo

EUL: C.R.9.6.17/2

1733

CAMPBELL, Archibald, Professor of Church History at St Andrews

An enquiry into the original of moral virtue wherein it is shewn, (against the author of The fable of the bees, &c.) that virtue is founded in the nature of things, is unalterable, and eternal, and the great means of private and publack happiness. With some reflections on a late book, intitled, An enquiry into the original of our ideas of beauty and virtue. ... Edinburgh, printed for Gavin Hamilton, by R. Fleming, and Company. 1733.

8vo

EUL: C.R.15.6.13
Notes. This is the first publication of the work under Campbell's name. Alexander Innes, who had been entrusted with the manuscript when Campbell was in London in 1726, falsely published it as his own in 1728, thereby gaining a reputation and a good living. Campbell confronted him, and made him tremble, but agreed not to expose the trick publicly; instead, it was advertised that for certain reasons the book had appeared under the name of Innes. Dictionary of National Biography.

CAMPBELL, Archibald, Professor of Church History at St Andrews
Oratio de vanitate luminis naturae. . . . Edinburgi; in aedibus R. Fleming & Societatis, prostant venales apud G. Hamilton bibliopolam. 1733.
8vo

BUL: G.R.9.6.14/1

CICERO
M. Tullii Ciceronis orationum selectarum liber. . . .
8vo

Glasgow University Library
Notes. Stalker had worked in Edinburgh as a bookseller, and had travelled to London and Holland in 1729 to buy books for his firm in Glasgow, so he and Hamilton had experiences in common. R. A. Gillespie, "A List of Books Printed in Glasgow 1701-1775, with Notes on the Printers and Booksellers," Library Association Thesis
(Glasgow, 1967), part 2, p.126.

[CRAMFORD, Matthew, Professor of Church History at Edinburgh University]

An account of the legal establishment of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to this day: the substance of which was delivered in a speech in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, March 17, 1731. . . . Edinburgh, printed for Gavin Hamilton, and sold at his shop opposite to the Parliament-closet. 1733.

8vo

NLS: 5.2983(26)

HALYBURTON, Thomas, Professor of Divinity at St Andrews
Memoirs of the life of the reverend, learned and pious Mr. Thomas Halyburton, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews. . . . The third edition. With a large recommendatory epistle by I. Watts. To which is subjoined, two sermons on the death of a friend, never before printed. . . . Edinburgh, Printed for Gavin Hamilton, and sold by him, and by Andrew Stalker at Glasgow, 1733.

8vo

NLS: NF.1325.b.14

Publication. By March 13, price bound 2/- (GB). 

[LINDSEAY, Patrick, Lord Provost of Edinburgh]

The interest of Scotland considered, with regard to its police in employing of the poor, its agriculture, its
trade, its manufactures, and fisheries... Edinburgh,
printed by R. Fleming and Company, and sold by Gavin
Hamilton at his shop opposite to the Parliament-close.
1733.
8vo

EUL: E.B.33(4107)Lin

Publication. November 1, 1733 (CM).

Notes. Hamilton, the publisher of the work, advertised on
December 18, 1733, that the first edition was sold out. He said
he would print another one soon, and asked anyone skilled in the
subject matter to send remarks to him or to David Flint, the
secretary of the Trustees for Improving Fisheries and Manufactures
in Scotland (ESC). He was selling the revised second edition, for
4/- bound, on April 1, 1736 (CM). The title of the EUL copy states
it was printed at London for T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1736, but it
is reasonable to suspect there was an issue with his name in the
imprint; even if there were not, he would have had a publishing
interest.

[NDNESAY, Patrick, Lord Provost of Edinburgh]

Reasons for improving the fisheries and linen manufacture
of Scotland. 1733?

Notes. Not seen. It was advertised in The interest of Scotland
considered, Edinburgh, 1733, as sold by Gavin Hamilton, price 4d.
See below for the 1735 edition of Reasons, which Hamilton shared with
Peele of London.
LOGAN, Rev. George, of Edinburgh

A continuation of The modest and humble inquiry concerning the right and power of electing and calling ministers to vacant churches. . . . Edinburgh, printed by Gavin Hamilton, and sold by him and several other booksellers in town. 1733.

8vo

NLS: 1961.77(4)

LOGAN, Rev. George, of Edinburgh

The humble and modest inquiry, concerning the right and power of electing and calling ministers, to vacant churches, finished. . . . Edinburgh, printed for Gavin Hamilton, and sold by him and several other booksellers. 1733.

8vo

NLS: 3.2407(5)

LOGAN, Rev. George, of Edinburgh

The publack testimony of above 1600 Christian people against the overture of the Assembly 1731, made more publack, and set in its due light. Being a confutation of their arguments adduced for the divine right of popular elections. . . . Edinburgh; printed for Gavin Hamilton, and sold by him and several other booksellers. 1733.

8vo

NLS: 5.2338(20)

8vo

NLS: L.C.342(1); [Ap72.20(2); Ry.1.2.139(2); 1.644

Notes. An answer to George Anderson's sermon, The use and abuse of diversions, Edinburgh: printed by R. Fleming and Company, and sold at Mr. James McEuen's shop, 1733. Anderson replied with A reinforcement of the reasons proving that the stage is an unchristian diversion, Edinburgh: printed by R. Fleming, for J. McEuen, and sold at his shop; and at London by J. Pemberton, 1733.

1734

ANTI-TINDALIAN


8vo

NLS: 2.633(8)

B., A.


8vo
A CRY from the country, directed to the very reverend, the Moderator of the ensuing General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. By a handful of poor country-men, but mourners for Zion, and in great perplexity.

Edinburgh printed, and sold at Gavin Hamilton's shop, opposite to the Parliament Close. 1734.

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DONALDSON, Rev. Thomas, of Liffe
Unity among brethren explain'd and recommended. A sermon preached before the provincial synod of Angus and Mearns, at Dundee, October 15, 1734.

Edinburgh, printed, and sold by G. Hamilton, and other booksellers. 1734.

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GARTSHORE, Rev. George, of Kirkcudbright
The wisdom of the Apostle Paul's preaching, both as to the matter and manner of it, vindicated. A sermon preached at Wigton before the synod of Galloway, October 16th, 1733.

Edinburgh: printed by Gavin Hamilton and Company, and sold at his shop. 1734.

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GOWDIE, John, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University
A sermon preached at the opening of the General Assembly of
the Church of Scotland, in the High Church of Edinburgh, on
the 2d of May 1734, before His Majesty's High
Commissioner. . . . Edinburgh, printed by Gavin Hamilton and
Company, and sold at his shop. 1734.
8vo

NLS: 5.792(18)

HAMILTON, Gavin
Catalogue of "A curious collection of paintings, craion'd
heads, keil [i.e. red] and black chalk ditto" that were to
be auctioned by Gavin Hamilton, at the auction house in
Writer's Court, at precisely 4 p.m. on February 20, 1734.

Notes. Not seen. The collection was displayed at Hamilton's shop,
where catalogues were given gratis (Thistle, February 20).

HAMILTON, Gavin
Catalogue of "A curious and very valuable collection of
books in several languages and sciences, being the
libraries of two learned gentlemen lately deceased", the
books to be auctioned by Hamilton at Writer's Court on
November 11 and on the following days of the month.

Notes. Not seen. The catalogues were to be had from Hamilton, the
other Edinburgh booksellers, Stalker in Glasgow, William Mein in
Dumfries, and Alexander Mitchel in Perth (Thistle, October 23,
1734).
HERVEY, John, Baron Hervey

The conduct of the Opposition, and the tendency of modern patriotism, (more particularly in a late scheme to establish a military government in this country) review'd and examin'd. . . . Edinburgh: printed by R. Fleming and Company, and sold at Gavin Hamilton's shop. 1734.

NLS: L.C.2705(3); Blk.459

Publication. By April 24 (Thistle).


KEITH, Robert, Bishop

The history of the affairs of the church and state in Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation in the reign of King James V. to the retreat of Queen Mary into England, anno 1568. Taken from the publick records, and other authentick vouchers. Volume I. Edinburgh, printed by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans, for George Stewart and Alexander Symmer undertakers, and sold by them and Gavin Hamilton booksellers. 1734.

VARIANT: Part of the black type of the title page and the dedication to Lady Jane Douglas has been masked, then completed in manuscript in red block letters; the copy of the variant I have examined is finely bound, and was probably a presentation copy.
Folio. 1 map (R. Cooper sculp)

NLS: Bdg.1.8 (variant); R.287.o (without map)

Publication. By July 31. Subscribers who had paid their first moiety were to have the book in sheets for a further 16/6d, or bound for 19/-, the book being 60 sheets larger than first proposed (Thistle).

The OCCASIONAL patriot, written in plain Scotch, by way of notes upon two papers lately publish'd, the one intitul'd, Broad Scotch, &c. The other, An enquiry into some things that concern Scotland, &c. By an uncertain person, who is most certainly not an enemy to his country. Being a serious and jocular dispute between two keen party-men. Edinburgh, printed by R. Fleming, and sold by Gavin Hamilton at his shop. 1734.

8vo

NLS: l.933(8); Ry.l.5.174 (imperfect)

[FULTENNEY, William, Earl of Bath]

An enquiry into the conduct of our domestick affairs, from the year 1721. to the present time. In which the case of our National Debts, the Sinking Fund, and all extraordinary grants of money, are particularly considered. Being a sequel to Politicks on both sides. Edinburgh, printed by W. Cheyne, at the foot of Craig's Closs. Sold by A. Symmer, G. Hamilton, J. Traill, and other book-sellers. 1734.

8vo
Notes. Reprinted from the London pamphlet, printed by H. Haines, at Mr. Franklin's, 1734.

William Cheyne, who was printing for Hamilton and others, was fond of reprinting London publications. The political pamphlets he was interested in appear to have been considered fair game by the Edinburgh trade, but Cheyne was also interested in literature, and he openly put his name to his Edinburgh reprint of James Thomson's Antient and Modern Liberty Compared: Being the First Part of Liberty, a Poem, 1735. That he was not afraid to stand up and be counted, on some occasions at least, is confirmed by his proprietorship of the anti-Walpole newspaper, the Thistle, which appeared in Edinburgh from 1734 until 1736. When the Government rigged the selection of the Sixteen Scottish Peers in the election of 1734, the Thistle duly reported the protests of twenty-six nobles, and by mistake included the name of the Earl of Caithness. The Earl complained to the Bailies, who fined Cheyne £5 sterling for spreading false reports, plus ten shillings costs.¹

The vigilance of the Bailies could always be relied upon. In the year after this they searched the Edinburgh printing houses upon hearing of the reprinting of an obscene pamphlet entitled An Essay upon Improving and Adding to the Strength of Great Britain and Ireland, by Fornication; Justifying the same from Scripture and Reason. By a Young Clergyman. When they found it they broke up the formes, seized the printed sheets, and warned the unnamed

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¹ Edinburgh City Archives, McLeod's Bundle D/107/2 no. 45. The offending number of the Thistle was published on June 5, 1734.
printer against trying to publish it in future. (CM, April 15, 1735).

The SUFFRAGES of the people: or, an essay, wherein the people's right to elect their Elders is clearly proved from Acts XIV.23. The exceptions against a Latin pamphlet on the same subject fully removed, and the passages of Clemens Romanus fully vindicated. . . . It is also proved that the author of the Enquiry and Continuation, is obliged to maintain such positions, as are flatly contrary to his own translation of our text in the Acts. . . . Edinburgh, printed for Gavin Hamilton, by R. Fleming and Company. 1734.

SCOT, Nathaniel
A letter to Sir John de Graham Kt. upon the subject of instructions or recommendations to Members of Parliament. Humbly submitted to the electors of such members within that part of Britain called Scotland. Edinburgh, printed by W. Cheyne, and sold by Al. Symmer, G. Hamilton, and J. Trail, booksellers. 1734.

Publication. After July 3, the date the editor of the Thistle began using the pseudonym "Sir John de Graham, Knight."
SUBMISSION to the censures of suspension and deposition, exemplify'd in the case of the very reverend Mr. Will. Colvill sometime one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and afterwards Principal of the College there, from authentick and unquestionable vouchers. . . . Edinburgh: printed for Gavin Hamilton, and sold at his shop. 1734.

8vo

NLS: 5.2983(25)

1735

(COCKBURN, Patrick)

The lawfulness and duty of praying for our present King and governor, vindicated; in answer to a pamphlet intitled, The duty of praying for our superiors considered, in remarks on Mr. Cockburn's printed sermon. With some papers relating to oaths. Edinburgh, printed by W. Cheyne. Sold by G. Hamilton in Edinburgh, and R. Farquhar in Aberdeen, booksellers. 1735.

8vo

EUL: LL.116.6.44; C^28.45. NLS: 5.2669(717)

Publication. By May 27, 1735 (OM).

COOPER, Rev. David, M.D., of Auchinleck

The great design of the Gospel explained and applied: in a sermon . . . preached before the Presbytery of Air, March 5th, 1735. . . . Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddimans, and sold at G. Hamilton's shop; and also at Glasgow and Air. (Price sixpence.) (1735)

8vo
Publication. August 21, price 6d (CM).

DUDGEON, J.
A letter to a Scots clergyman, lately ordained, concerning his behaviour in the judicatures of the Church. By a lover of truth, liberty and charity, and an enemy to violent measures on all hands. . . . Edinburgh, printed by T. and W. Ruddimans, for G. Hamilton. 1735.

8vo

NLS: 5.2338(9)
Publication. Announced for November 6 (CM, November 4).

GARDEN, James
Discursus Academicus de theologia comparativa.
Comparative theology. . . . Translated from the printed Latin copy . . . by the author. The third edition.

Notes. Not seen. It is catalogued at NLS as a 16mo in the Newbattle Collection, which has been withdrawn from the library.

Hamilton was often to publish or sell books in association with Alexander Kincaid.

GOWDIE, John, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University
The propagation of the Gospel, and the blessed effects thereof: a sermon preached in the High Church of Edinburgh, Monday, January 6. 1735, upon occasion of the
anniversary meeting of the Society in Scotland for
Propagating Christian Knowledge... Edinburgh, printed
by T. and W. Ruddimans, for G. Hamilton and A. Kincaid
booksellers, and sold at their shops. 1735.
8vo
NLS: 5.2353(6)

HAMILTON, Gavin
Catalogue of "A collection of very valuable, rare and
curious books, in most faculties and languages", to be
sold by auction by Gavin Hamilton at the auction house
in Writer's Court on February 10, 1735, and on the
following days of the month.
Notes. Not seen. Hamilton was to distribute the catalogues at
his shop three weeks before the auction (Thistle, January 8).

HAMILTON, Gavin
Catalogue of "A parcel of curious and valuable books" to
be sold at the auction house in Writer's Court on
November 17, 1735.
Notes. Not seen. The catalogues were to be available at Hamilton's
shop on November 2 (CM, October 28).

LINDESAy, Patrick, Lord Provost of Edinburgh
Reasons for encouraging the linnen manufacture of Scotland,
and other parts of Great-Britain. Humbly submitted to
Parliament. By the author of The interest of Scotland
consider'd, &c. Printed for J. Peele in London; and
sold by Gavin Hamilton, at his shop opposite to the Parliament-Close in Edinburgh. 1735. [on half-
title: Price one shilling]

VARIANT TITLE: imprint changed to — London: printed for J. Peele, at Locke's Head in Amen-Corner, Pater-
Noster-Row. 1735.

8vo

NLS: Ry.1.5.181; 1.693(6); 1.889(3) (variant); 1.962(2) (variant)

Notes. This is an instance of the way the Scottish and London trades were prepared to co-operate in the publishing of books. Hamilton's previous connexion with the author's work, and the trouble taken to issue two title pages, suggests he had a financial interest.

The participation of a Scots publisher is not always apparent in the title page. In 1740 William Strahan printed "An Irregular Dissertation, Occasioned by the Reading of Father Du Halde's Description of China. Which may be read at any time, except in the present year 1740. London: printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane." This, at least, is the imprint in the British Museum copy. According to the entry in a Strahan ledger, Gavin Hamilton was charged for the printing of all of the 500 copies duodecimo; only 150 were sent to Scotland, so Hamilton appears to have arranged for the bulk of the edition to be distributed in London (BM: Add. Mss. 48800, f.41). Another entry on the same page shows how a book could be printed in London for publication by Scottish booksellers north of the border. Strahan charged Hamilton, in March, 1747, for printing 500 copies duodecimo of a work by William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, which appeared with the title and imprint "Leges Marchiarum, or Border-laws . . . London: printed for
Mess. Hamilton and Balfour, booksellers in Edinburgh" (ΕUL and NLS).

It was common practice for London booksellers to share the imprints of Scottish books. Andrew Millar, for example, is named in a number of Foulis books along with Hamilton and Balfour. Often the outside booksellers had no financial interest in the publishing, but were agents for the distribution. Such was the case with The Anatomy of the Human Bones, 4th edition, the imprint of which reads: "Edinburgh, printed for Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour. Sold by them and other booksellers there; by Messieurs Innys and Manby, Rivington, Knapton, Longman, Astley, Hitch, Millar, Davidson, Oswald, and Hodges, at London. J. Smith, Dublin: Bryson and Aikenhead, Newcastle upon Tyne, and J. Wetstein at Amsterdam, 1746."

Professor Monro owned the literary property, and Hamilton and Balfour were giving the profits of this edition to Mrs. William Drummond, the wife of the bankrupt Edinburgh bookseller. The extent of the distribution, incidentally, was probably one of the reasons Hamilton and Balfour said it would "take some years to ascertain these profits" (A Vindication of Hamilton & Balfour, p.7n.). Certain members of the Scottish trade also appeared in the imprint of London books, as in the first edition, 1748, of Colin Maclaurin's "An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries, London printed for the author's children: and sold by A. Millar, and J. Nourse, over against Catharine Street in the Strand; G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, and A. Kincaid at Edinburgh; J. Barry at Glasgow, and J. Smith at Dublin." The publication aroused considerable interest in Scotland, and Andrew Millar, who had 1,500 copies printed by Strahan (BM: Add. Mss. 48800, f.79), needed the co-operation of leading booksellers in the distribution.
MELVILLE, Sir James, of Halhill

The memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Halhill: containing an impartial account of the most remarkable affairs of state during the sixteenth century, not mentioned by other historians. . . . Published from the original manuscript, by George Scott, Gent. The second edition corrected. Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddimans. Sold by G. Hamilton, A. Martin, and other booksellers in town. 1735.
8vo

NLS: Hall.191.d

Publication. By November 11. Subscribers were able to collect their copies, bound in calf, at the Ruddiman printing house in Parliament Close (CM).

8vo

NLS: Ry.1.5.180

Publication. By December 25, 1734, price 10d (Thistle).

It is in the 1740s that Gavin Hamilton begins to look like a publisher of significance. As a bookseller he had accumulated considerable experience, and as a Scots gentleman he was becoming
involved increasingly with the improvement of his country. Not to be underestimated was the hot blood and energy, as well as the astuteness, of John Balfour, which added a zest to Hamilton's enterprises. With the assistance of the younger man he formulated a clear idea of the kind of literature the firm should publish. In the first year of the partnership, 1739, Hamilton and Balfour headed a group of booksellers who brought together and reissued with a general title page Sir Robert Sibbald's treatises relating to Scotland, which James Watson and Andrew Symson had printed between 1707 and 1711, and over the next few years published a number of Scottish authors, or works of Scottish interest. They were not yet publishing much contemporary literature, although a sign of things to come was their edition of Contemplation: or, the Triumph of Love, by William Hamilton of Bangour, 1747. They first exhibited their fascination with periodicals with The British Magazine, or, the London and Edinburgh Intelligencer, which Thomas Lumisden of Edinburgh began to publish in 1747, and which they sold. Hamilton and Balfour started to make an effort to become leading medical publishers in the city with their edition of a standard text in Latin, the Aphorisms of Boerhaave, 1744, an ambition that was guaranteed success when they won the approval of Professor Monro and the Edinburgh medical fraternity two years later. Their printing of Dr. David Gregory's A Treatise of Practical Geometry, 1745, which Professor Colin Maclaurin revised for them, also enhanced their

1. A Collection of Several Treatises in Folio, Concerning Scotland, as it was of Old, and also in Later Times, Edinburgh: sold separately, or bound together, by Hamilton and Balfour in Company, John Paton, Alexander Symmer, and Alexander Kincaid, booksellers in Edinburgh, and John Barry, bookseller in Glasgow, 1739. (NLS)
reputation as academic publishers. Another sign that Hamilton and Balfour were booksellers to be reckoned with was their interest in the quality of Scottish printing. They led the way in the improvement of standards with the publication of their *Virgil* in 1743, in octavo and duodecimo, an edition that Philip Gaskell says is "perhaps the first consciously adventurous work of the great age of the Scottish press."\(^1\) They had by this time set up a working relationship with the leading Glasgow printers, the Foulis Press, and Robert Urie.\(^2\)

The cutting edge of Hamilton and Balfour was further honed during a great event of the 1740s. This was the copyright litigation brought in the Court of Session by booksellers of London, a confrontation that made the Scottish booksellers and printers feel a national unity of purpose, if only briefly, and which altered the face of publishing within Scotland.

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Chapter IV

Copyright in Mid-Century Scotland

The copyright litigation in the Court of Sessions, 1738-49

As the legal decisions swung first way and then the other at the copyright hearings in Edinburgh, Gavin Hamilton and his cohorts must have spent many an hour cloistered in the taverns, plotting nationalistic strategy with Henry Home and other lawyers, or simply sitting around a bottle in conversation that crackled with their conflicting reaction to the affair, resentment and hilarity. They did not like being taken to court, but were enjoying the result. Constant topics of their discussions were the behaviour of one man, Andrew Millar of London, and the meaning and intent of the legislation, which had come into effect back in 1710, called An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies, during the Times therein mentioned.

This Act of 8 Anne, which was designed to prevent book piracy, said that if a book were in print before 1710, the proprietor could have the publishing monopoly for twenty-one years; new books published after 1710 could be reprinted exclusively for fourteen years, with the rights reverting to the author, if he were still alive, for another fourteen. It was to be illegal for anyone to print, reprint import or to sell books without the consent of the literary proprietor, or to sell books knowing them to be piracies, the penalty being the damasking of every sheet found in a transgressor’s custody, plus the forfeiture of a penny a sheet, half of which was to go to the Crown, half to the pursuer. (Books
printed in Greek, Latin, "or any other Foreign Language Printed beyond the Seas" were not protected by the Act.) Legal action, which was conditional on titles being entered in the Register of the Company of Stationers in London, had to be initiated within three months of an offence; if the piracy took place in Scotland — and here was a clause that was to gladden the hearts of the Scots — the case had to be heard by the Court of Session.

The ramifications of all this were not fully worked out until the have-nots and the have-nots of the book trades argued their respective positions in court cases in Scotland and later in England. Literary proprietors such as Andrew Millar were then to maintain that their rights lay in common law and were perpetual, and that the Act and its various minor penalties provided only additional protection. The Scottish have-nots, who were thirsting after the right to reprint popular books, were to reply that the Act put a statutory limitation on monopolies, and that anyone was free to publish from fourteen to twenty-eight years after the registration in Stationers' Hall.

Millar was the first man to put the Act to the test in Scotland when he instigated two successive prosecutions in the Court of Session, accusing booksellers of Edinburgh and Glasgow of pirating his literary property. It appeared to him that the time was ripe. Booksellers in Scotland were importing pirated reprints from Holland and Ireland, while the printing presses of Edinburgh and Glasgow were turning out literature surreptitiously — and who could tell where such impudence would end if not nipped in the
The initial prosecution concerned the piracy of the poems and plays of James Thomson. Cheap foreign reprints of Thomson’s work would certainly have found their way into the shops of certain booksellers in Edinburgh and Glasgow. There had also been a noticeable Edinburgh piracy, the William Cheyne reprint of the first part of Liberty in 1735. This had evidently galvanized Millar into action at the time through a local agent, Allan Ramsay: the Edinburgh public was told that Ramsay was selling the first three parts of the poem, “And any who have bought the First Part in the small bad Edition may return it on purchasing the right Copy, and the price paid for it shall be allowed.” Reports of other incursions may have reached Millar in London. Nevertheless, he seems to have had little evidence of actual transgressions — and to have been more interested in fishing out a few culprits and warning

1. David Foxon gives food for thought on the scale of the local clandestine printing when he says his study of woodcut ornaments “has revealed that some fifty octavo editions of important poems with London imprints are in fact Edinburgh piracies, apparently published by Allan Ramsay.” *Thoughts on the History and Future of Bibliographical Description* (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1970), p.21.

Another kind of encroachment was the reprinting of topical London pamphlets. However, this was often done so openly, with the reprinter’s name on the title page, that I wonder if it was considered to be much of a crime.

2. *CM*, April 10, 1735.

A London newspaper, the *Daily Post-Boy*, carried a report that the worthy magistrates of Edinburgh had seized the pirated edition of Liberty and put the offender in jail (quoted in Grant, *James Thomson*, p.147); but since copyright laws were not the province of city officials, the story may well have been wishful thinking on someone’s part.
off the Scots trade in general — when he began the case in December, 1738. He instructed his lawyer to issue summonses against not just a modest two or three but against twenty-nine Scots. Mr. Millar's Christmas box was duly delivered, and on January 11, 1739, these names were called in Parliament House in Edinburgh: Andrew Stalker, John Barry, James Brown, James Duncan, John Duncan, William Duncan, Alexander Millar, Alexander Hutchieson, all booksellers in Glasgow, and Margaret Purves, relict of James McClean, bookseller; John Paton, Alexander Symmer, Gavin Hamilton, Alexander Kincaid, James Davidson, John Traill, William Sands, Alexander Brymer, Gideon Crawford, Alexander Dunning, William Millar, Janet Brown, relict of William Brown, William Hamilton, Allan Ramsay, Andrew Martin, John Aitken, Gavin Drummond, William Munro, William Drummond, and Samuel Clerk, all booksellers in Edinburgh. ¹

Gavin Hamilton and the others, for all their differing temperaments and interests, and relative states of innocence and guilt, were welded into a common cause when they stepped forward one by one to answer that roll call.

Andrew Millar alleged that each of them had published or sold one hundred pirated copies, more or less, of Summer, Autumn, Winter, Britannia, A Poem Sacred to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton, A Hymn on the Succession of the Seasons, and an Essay on Descriptive Poetry, the property of which he had acquired from John Millan in an agreement of June 16, 1738; Sophonisba, and Spring, for which he had paid Thomson £137,10s.; Liberty, for which he had paid Thomson

£250 in an agreement of December 16, 1734; A Poem to the Memory of
the Right Honourable Lord Talbot, and Agamemnon, for which he had paid the poet £105 on April 22, 1738. There was no doubt the literary property belonged to the London bookseller. His lawyer, William Grant, produced the receipts and agreements, and a certificate from Nathaniel Coal, clerk at Stationers' Hall, showing the titles were entered in the Register.

Millar demanded through his lawyer that the defenders be made to account for the profits they had gained from the pirated works, deliver up any of the books still in their shops, pay him £100 sterling each for expenses and damages, and refrain from injuring him in such a way again. The defenders, however, were not required to testify, and their lawyers, James Balfour of Pilrig and Henry Home, said they had not printed, imported or sold any of the books without Millar's permission; furthermore, the Act provided only the penalties of a fine of a penny a sheet and damasking, not the kind of damages or profits the prosecution wanted. Millar had no reason to expect to win, and dropped the case, perhaps satisfied with the belief that he had let the Scottish booksellers feel the weight of his hand.

Following this episode Millar's informers sent him reports of certain other piracies in Scotland. The spies may not have been too intelligent, but their news did encourage him to bring a new case before the Court of Session that lasted from 1743 until 1749. Although he complained of specific encroachments, it became obvious that he hoped to have the principle of perpetual monopoly upheld, or at least to make sure the Scots were afraid of reprinting his own and other literary property in future.
He appears not to have known, not at the start anyway, that time and tide were against him. Scotland in these years was on the threshold of its economic and cultural revival, and men in the arts, science and crafts were seeking ways to assert themselves and improve their country. Booksellers and printers in Glasgow and Edinburgh were aware of an awakening of their own skills; they were especially proud of their type-found ing and fine printing, which were beginning to be admired abroad, and were eager to branch out in other areas of publishing. It was precisely to stop them branching out in his direction that Millar began the prosecution, but in this he underestimated the mood of the country and the character and resolution of its booksellers.

Our two heroes, for instance, were born to play a part in this copyright case. Bailie Gavin Hamilton, having put down mobs and supervised public executions, was not a man to be frightened by an English writ, or easily diverted from his duty; and he saw it as his responsibility as a gentleman to promote the interests of Scotland. The ebullient Mr. Balfour had a talent and taste both for litigation and confrontation with rivals on an extremely personal basis — positive virtues on this occasion — as well as the acumen to see, more quickly than most booksellers, where commercial opportunities lay. The printed papers in the case suggest the two brothers-in-law were leaders in the defence, along with Stalker of Glasgow and Kincaid of Edinburgh, and something of the Hamilton and Balfour style can be seen in the arguments put forward by their lawyers. The Scots booksellers chose to say Millar's prosecution was a piece of national persecution, an attempt by rich Londoners to subjugate poor Scots. This was
expressed in court in various ways, and was put more directly in the Edinburgh newspapers during a small trade war that paralleled the legal proceedings.

The sheer number of booksellers Millar had managed to involve certainly gave the case an air of national confrontation. He was joined in the prosecution by sixteen other London booksellers: Daniel Midwinter, William Innys, John Knapton, Paul Knapton, Samuel Birt, Daniel Brown, Thomas Longman, Richard Hett, Charles Hitch, John Shuckburgh, Mary Senex, John Rivington, Francis Gosling, Isaac Clarke, John Pemberton, and Aaron Ward. They issued summonses against twenty booksellers of Edinburgh and four of Glasgow: Alexander Kincaid, Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour, John Paton, William Drummond, John Traill, William Sands, Gideon Crawfurd, Lauchlan Hunter, Janet Brown (relict of William Brown), Alexander Symers the younger, Andrew Symers, Alexander Brymer, William Hamilton, William Millar, Alexander Dunning, John Yare, Andrew Beveridge, Gavin Drummond, and John Aitken, all of Edinburgh; John Barry, Andrew Stalker, Alexander Carlisle, and Robert Foulis, of Glasgow.\(^1\) Despite the wealth of names, it was clear to the defenders that Millar was the instigator.

1. I arrive at the names of the original contestants by conflating the lists in two printed accounts relating to the subsequent appeal in the House of Lords: Journals of the House of Lords, 27 (1745-52), 489. A. Hume Campbell and C. Yorke, Millar and Others, Appellants, Kincaid, and Others, Respondents. The Case of the Respondents. To be Heard at the Bar of the House of Peers, on the 7/Day of February/1750/1. Copy in BM: 816.m.12(54).

The latter source is hereafter cited as The Case of the Respondents, 1750/1.
The case was brought not only under the Act of Anne but also under the recent Act of 12 George II, which made it illegal for anyone to import from overseas reprints of books published in Britain in the previous twenty years. The penalties for importing or selling such piracies were the forfeiture of the sheets for damasking, a fine of £5, and a fine of double the value of every book, one half of which was to go to the King, half to whoever sued for it. The defendants were accused of being involved in the piracy of seven books, Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, 2nd edition, 3 volumes; Burnet's *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, 4th edition; John Armstrong, *The Economy of Love*, 3rd edition; John Locke, *Works*, 4th edition, 3 volumes; Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 2nd edition, 2 volumes; James Foster, *Sermons on Several Important Subjects*, 2 volumes; and Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*. Millar claimed the property of them all except the *Cyclopaedia*, in which he had 1/64th share worth £100. The prosecution, however, was limited for the time being first to two books and then to three, the *Cyclopaedia*, *The Economy of Love*, and *Joseph Andrews*. 1

The pursuers asked that the defendants be required to give sworn evidence about their connexion with these works, but were advised by the Court that they could not apply for such convenient testimony unless they waived the penalties provided by the Acts. So their counsel did so and asked for damages, under common law, on every surreptitious copy printed in Scotland or abroad, as well as forfeiture of unsold copies to the custody of the plaintiffs. The

relationship of common law to the copyright statutes was to be the subject of much wig scratching, and it took several years for the Court of Session to come to a firm decision about the position in Scotland. The defenders were adamant that the Acts did not allow damages, only penalties and destruction of the sheets. The London position was that in this matter the law was the same in Scotland as in England, and as the penalties were an ineffective remedy it was the common practice, in England, to sue in the Court of Chancery for damages. They produced evidence of a Chancery hearing involving the executors of John Gay against James Watson and others, over the printing of Polly, an Opera, as well as a Chancery injunction in the case of Tonson v. Walker, which prevented Walker reprinting Paradise Lost under a penalty of £1,000.

The Court of Session leaned towards the Scots, and delivered its First Interlocuter on July 4, 1746, saying the Acts did not provide damages. Although the ruling was based on an interpretation of the law, the Court was cognizant of the continual accusations against the London booksellers. Lord Elchies commented in his manuscript notes on the case: "The Defenders in their whole Papers, especially in the Appendix & Additional Information complain that this proceeds from malice and Envy to disparage & suppress printing in Scotland, since it begins to flourish in their Towns, that ... they raised a like process before which they dropt & raised this one tho they be innocent & produce the Injunction about Paradise Lost to
frighten them from printing or importing any books at all.\(^1\)

Court of Session Interlocutories were not necessarily final judgments, and the London booksellers petitioned for a rehearing. The lawyer Alexander Lockhart produced a signed opinion from Solicitor-General William Murray to the effect that literary proprietors in England, waiving the penalties of the Acts, could go to a court of equity, obtain injunctions against piracies and require suspects to give an account of their profits under oath; in these cases it was irrelevant whether a book was entered at Stationers' Hall. Lockhart told the Lords of Session it would be extremely hard if such actions were not found competent in Scotland, and he asked them to rule there was entitlement to damages, to make the Scots booksellers testify and pay for the costs of the suit, and to issue an injunction to prevent these

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The First and subsequent Interlocutories are described and discussed in the following: The Case of the Respondents, 1750/1.
Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, Decisions of the Court of Session from the Year 1733 to the Year 1754, ed. W. M. Morison (Edinburgh, 1813), I, Appendix 2, "Literary property," and II, 250-51, "Elchies Notes." David Falconer, The Decisions of the Court of Session from the Month of December 1744 (Edinburgh, 1745 ff), pp.195-96, 344-46. James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Decisions of the Court of Session, from the Year 1736 to the Year 1752 (Edinburgh, 1775), pp.96-99. Henry Home, Lord Kames, Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session, from the Year 1730 to the Year 1752 (Edinburgh, 1766), pp.154-61. These reports are summarized in W. M. Morison, The Decisions of the Court of Session, from its institution until the separation of the court into two divisions in the year 1808 (Edinburgh, 1811), XIX-XI, 8295-8307, and XXV-XXVI, 11143-45.
piracies in future.¹

In answering this, Henry Home looked to the legal issues, and questioned the regularity of the entry of the three books in Stationers' Hall. "The Respondents cannot conclude without observing to your Lordships," Home said, "that this Process has no other Foundation but Jealousy, without being supported by a single Fact known to the Pursuers. . . . It is possible there may have been Incroachments upon the Pursuers trade; and so every suspected Bookseller must be directly put on oath, whether there be any well grounded Suspicion against him or not. This is a sort of Inquisition which merits no Countenance. . . . Suppose an Action of damages should be sustained, it would answer no Manner of Purpose, but to vex the Defenders, and to subject them to the Pursuers Caprice, by obliging them to give their Oaths, at every turn when the Trade of the Pursuers run low."²

However, the judges were impressed by the account of the legal practices in England. They handed down a Second Interlocutor on December 24, 1746, saying the plaintiffs could indeed have an action for damages, to the extent of the profits made by the Scots on books illegally reprinted in Britain after entry at Stationers' Hall, and that the defendants should account for such profits under oath. The judges had some doubt over the interpretation of the Act of 12

¹ Alex. Lockhart, July 15, 1746, Unto the Right Honourable the Lords of Council and Session, the Petition of the Booksellers of London; against the Booksellers of Edinburgh and Glasgow. (SL: Session Papers, vol. 6 no. 41.)

George II, on the importation of books reprinted abroad, but after hearing arguments gave their Third Interlocutor on January 13, 1747, to the effect that the London booksellers could sue for damages here also, provided the case were taken up within two years of an offence; the defendants, again, were to testify.

Gavin Hamilton and his associates had no desire to give evidence. The defence lawyer James Graham asked the Lords of Session to alter the Second Interlocutor, offering a number of reasons in justification, some of them on specific points of law, others more general and emotive. Graham observed there was nothing more public than the printing and importing of a book, and all the Londoners had to do to get the penalties was to produce witnesses; where, then, was the difficulty? He had a shot at undermining the legality of the monopoly on Chambers' Cyclopaedia, with the suggestion that as the book was first published in 1727, and the author died before the first fourteen-year term of protection was over, the copyright ought not to have been extended. Graham also insisted that the Court limit its judgments to those books entered in Stationers' Hall before publication. The motivation of the Londoners was analysed for the benefit of their Lordships:

"It is well known, through all Britain, that it has been the Intention of the Booksellers of London, for a long Time past, to ingross the Printing of the whole Island, so as to make all the other Towns and Places of this Kingdom the Retailers only of their Books. And in this they have succeeded pretty well with respect to all the Towns in England, except the two University Towns of Oxford and Cambridge; which having extraordinary Privileges, they could not get their Paw stretched over them. They were little solicitous about Scotland; they did not dream of any Rivalship from the poor Pedlars in Printing that were there, until of late that they have been greatly alarmed."
"Having therefore received such Alarm, it is well known, that their raising this and former Processes, against the Scots Booksellers, is not so much with a View to recover Damages, on account of the Publication of the Books libelled, which they know, though they could be recovered, not to be worth their Pains; but their main Intention is to fright and deter, with the Expense of Law-suits, every bookseller and Printer in Scotland, from printing any book originally printed in London. And this they make no scruple to own and acknowledge publicly. And indeed the Booksellers of London are a strong Body; as having the sole Market of retailing almost all the Wit and Learning of Britain; whereby they also have a heavy and full purse. . . .

"The Act of 8 Anne distinctly explains and settles what Books may be safely printed and sold by any British Subject; which was a great Benefit to all the Printers and Booksellers in Britain, except those of London; who wanted to keep Matters in the dark, and thereby grasp at the Monopoly of the whole business. . . .

"Therefore, as is apprehended, they fell upon this Pretence, to bring the Matter quite to an Uncertainty, and to leave all Things loose and open, viz. that though Penalties could not be sued for, but within the Time limited by the Statute; yet that, upon an equitable Consideration, an Action for Damages always lay. And, under this Colour, they endeavour to work the other Booksellers and Printers with perpetual Law-suits, until they had deterred them from any sort of Interference. But, for a long Time, they never thought of such a poor Corner as that of Scotland:

"Until that of late they Found, that the Art of both Printing and of Type-making was in Scotland, and especially at Glasgow, brought to as high a Pitch and Perfection as the Londoners could pretend to; and that, as to Type-making, they far exceeded them, and all the World beside, by having invented a more quick and exact Method; whereby they had justly met with the general Approbation and Encouragement."

1. James Graham, January 15, 1747, Unto the Right Honourable the Lords of Council and Session, the Petition of Gavin Hamilton & John Balfour, and others, Booksellers in Edinburgh, Andrew Stalker and others, Booksellers in Glasgow, Defenders against Andrew Millar and others, Booksellers in London, Pursuers, pp.3-5. (SL: Session Papers, vol. 29 no. 103 (2/).) In this and in other transcriptions in the text below I do not underline the place and personal names that are liberally italicized in the printed session papers.
To support the contention that the Londoners were trying to stifle the aspiration of the Scots, Graham reminded his listeners of the opposition the Glasgow edition of the *Spectator* ran into before being published in 1745. Jacob Tonson of London and his agents tried to stop the printing by threatening prosecution; when this bluster failed, the London proprietor sent up a cheaper edition in an effort to spoil the sale.

The London booksellers were content to answer specific points. They agreed that the *Cyclopaedia* was published in 1727, and the author died before 1740, but they said the work was altered substantially in later editions, and it was the fourth edition that was entered at Stationers' Hall. As for the business of the *Spectator*, Mr. Tonson was not one of the pursuers, but if he were present he would have something to say on his own behalf. These and other answers, however, did not match the force of the defenders' moral and legal points, and the advantages in the case swung back towards the Scots.

Hamilton and Balfour and the others pressed home the attack with relish — they were obviously enjoying themselves — and provided arguments and anecdotes that Henry Home and another defence

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1. William Grant, February 27, 1747. Answers for Daniel Midwinter, William Innes, John Knapton, Andrew Millar, and others, all of London, Booksellers, and their Attorney or Factor, Pursuers; to the Petition of Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour, and others, Booksellers in Edinburgh, Andrew Stalker and others, Booksellers in Glasgow, Defenders. (SL: *Session Papers*, vol. 6 no. 41.)
The lawyer, John Grant, incorporated in a *Memorial* to the Court.¹ The first person singular adopted in this document refers presumably to Home, the senior counsel. He wanted, among other things, to point to the economic benefits that would accrue to Britain if a reprint trade were established in Scotland, and to ridicule the man who was standing in the way of this desirable goal. He said the amount of books exported from Britain was inconsiderable compared with the books imported. This might be reversed if printing were encouraged throughout the kingdom, since labour was cheaper outside London; the "vast" quantity of books being printed in Glasgow and exported to America was an indication of what could be done (p.1). The Scottish defenders, Home said, thought it peculiar that the Londoners were tyrannizing those who reprinted works published before the Act of Anne, when in fact before 1710 the London trade reprinted any book they fancied that was first printed by the Edinburgh trade, and *vice versa*:

"And probably there would have been no Complaint yet, if it were not for a Countryman of our own, of great Industry, and greater Ambition. He prints a great deal; but does not sufficiently consider it impossible he can print all. The other London Booksellers take all on his Word, and have no further Concern in this Process, than as he stirs them up. This is a Fact that Mr. Millar himself will hardly deny. And, although the Design of this Process is evidently to enslave all the Booksellers and Printers in England and Scotland, to gratify a few of the London Booksellers, perhaps a Dozen or half a Dozen People of over-grown Fortunes; yet, at the Bottom, it is not for the Interest of those very

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¹ Henry Home and John Grant, June 29, 1747, Memorial and Condescendence for Messieurs Hamilton and Balfour and others, Booksellers in Edinburgh, and Andrew Stalker and others, Booksellers in Glasgow. ([Sl: Session Papers, vol. 6 no. 41; there is another copy in vol. 29 no. 103 (3/)].) The page numbers are hereafter cited in the text.
People themselves; For though the increase of Printing in Scotland may occasion the often getting Returns in Books instead of Bills or Money; yet these Goods will fetch them the Money, with additional Profits from other Quarters: and the Scots Booksellers, by the Profits of their own Editions, will be enabled to furnish themselves vastly more extensively with London Books, and will be enabled to export what is beyond their own Consumpt beyond the Seas. But, while they remain only Retailers of Books printed at London, they must remain generally poor." (pp.4-5)

Home cunningly got around to the three books actually cited in this prosecution by bemoaning the practices of London publishers. He said the Londoners printed many worthless books that lost their reputation before coming to the provincial bookseller's shop; if a book did do well in London, another edition with additions was rushed out and advertised in the newspapers, before the first one reached the country agent. Because of this, a number of booksellers were in such debt to the London men that they dare not assert independence:

"People in Circumstances of this kind, as was insinuated by some of the Pursuers, gave Rise to this very Process by rash and wrong Informations. Thus eleven, or some such number of a Latin Book printed at Glasgow, were rashly taken for eleven Bundles of Irish Books by one of Mr. Millar's Informers. Thus the Adventures of Joseph Andrews were printed at London, and sent to Edinburgh by Mr. /James/ Hodges, one of the Pursuers, or Contributors to the Expenses of the Process; who now pursues the Retailers for selling a Book sent down and pirated by himself. A Copy of this Book was sent to Mr. Millar from Scotland, who found out the Pirater, and I suppose received Satisfaction without Help of the Chancery. Is it not surprising, that Mr. Millar, knowing this Fact, should plague his Countrymen about it, since Mr. Hodges, who is the only Person to blame, must probably have accompacted with him for the whole Impressions? And allowing that some Copies have been disposed of in Scotland, the Memorialists are positive, that no Copy ever appeared in Glasgow but his own. And as to the Economy of Love, it
is believed there is scarce any body in the Process that would not be ashamed ever to have had it in their Shops: For the Memorialists neither had it, nor would be concerned in printing or diffusing it for all the Money the Pursuers have made by their Patents. As to Chambers Dictionary, however high the Booksellers may value the Property of it to one another, the Memorialists have heard Friends of the Author's complain of their using him hardly. The Numbers of Editions which so large a Book has undergone, and the large Impressions which were printed of it, show, that they have got abundance of Profits to reward their Charges. And it is highly improbable they could be much wronged, if at all, in Scotland, considering how few English Books of so high a Price are demanded in Scotland: For all the English Books together, that ever the Memorialists sold in such great Articles, are few. (pp.5-6)

It is noteworthy that only one piracy, that of The Economy of Love, is denied. Gavin Hamilton, a man of strict moral habits, may not have included it in his bedside reading, although the claim that nearly all the booksellers in the process would be ashamed to have it on their shelves is amusing. The final remark on Chambers' Cyclopaedia — there was not much of a market in Scotland for the legitimate but expensive version — almost amounts to an admission that an imported piracy was sold. The selling of the Hodge piracy of Joseph Andrews, the existence of which is of interest in itself, was cancelled in Home's view by the hypocrisy of the Londoners, and, indeed, their pretence provided him with some useful ammunition.

"Mr. Millar," Home said, "knows a certain Bookseller, who lives in Irvine, that imports more Irish Books yearly than all Scotland besides. But there is no Printing in Irvine to disturb his Peace; and therefore he is not called as a Defender in this Process. And the Defenders, if necessary, are able to prove that Mr. Millar and the rest of the Pursuers are in the constant Use of importing Irish Books themselves." (p.8)
Home told the Lords of Session the Londoners were trying to establish two far-reaching legal points. First, that there was no need to record a book in Stationers' Hall, if one were seeking an action for damages, or damages to the extent of profit. Second, that an author, and his heirs and assignees, had a perpetual right to his book: "Which is absurd . . . and will give Millar and his Accomplices at London a Monopoly of all the Printing in Britain for ever to the utter Destruction of the Printing in both England and Scotland; tho' it is humbly submitted to your Lordships, whether he and his Tools under him ought to be intitled to such Privileges in prejudice of the honest, careful, and correct Printers of this Country?" (p. 13) The lawyer expanded on the theme of Millar as evil genius: "Millar, having justly lost all his Customers in this Kingdom many years ago, has been, through Revenge, constantly working the Destruction of Printing, by bringing a former Process, which he thought proper to drop; and afterwards insisting in this new vexatious Process, wherein he knows his whole Allegations are most calumnious." (p.13)

If Home was referring to booksellers when he said Millar had lost customers in Scotland, then he was misinformed. Hamilton and Balfour among others did business with Millar before, during and after the second prosecution, despite all the harsh words. Yet Home's complaints, while over-stretched, helped to shift the opinion of the judges. Lord Elchies had remarked on the accusations against the London booksellers, and Lord Kilkerrran, when he wrote his report on the case, began with the observation that the London men brought the process because they were jealous of the progress
of the art of printing in Scotland.\(^1\)

The Court of Session decided, finally, that the London booksellers could not get what they wanted in Scotland. A Fourth Interlocutor was given on December 2, 1747, saying no action was valid under the Act of Anne unless brought within three months of an offence, and only if a book were entered at Stationers' Hall; furthermore, the Act did not provide damages. The Court buttoned up the latter point with a Fifth Interlocutor in 1748 which said a plaintiff was only entitled to the penalties given in the Act. This kind of statutory limitation was not to the liking of booksellers who felt entitled to a perpetual monopoly, and the London counsel made unsuccessful attempts, until 1749, to have the ruling changed.\(^2\)

The only recourse open to the London booksellers was an appeal to the House of Lords. But the Lords found on February 11, 1751, that their action before the Court of Session was improper and inconsistent because they had demanded at the same time a discovery and account of the books, and the penalties of the Act of Anne, which they were judged not to have waived absolutely; it was also an error to have had several persons, in one suit, claiming

\(^1\) James Fergusson of Kilkerran, *Decisions of the Court of Session*, p.98.

\(^2\) Relevant papers include: William Grant, December 9, 1747, *Unto the Right Honourable the Lords of Council and Session, the Petition of Daniel Midwinter, William Innes, Aaron Ward, and others, all of London, booksellers, and William Elliot, Writer in Edinburgh, their Attorney or Factor, Pursuers*;

distinct and independent rights in different books. The appeal was therefore turned down. On the other hand, a new suit could be brought, and no decision had been made by the Lords on the great principle involved, the status of common-law rights to books.¹

The solicitor for the Scots wrote from London that Lord Chancellor Hardwicke doubted the Act of Anne gave authors a right to property they did not have before 1710, and whatever the situation in England, it would be very material to ascertain what the common law of Scotland was before the Statute. Upon hearing this opinion, the counsel for the London booksellers advised them it was not in their interest to press for a decision.²

What all this meant was that the Scots had won a major victory. They were left free, in the main, to reprint and distribute within Scotland books on which the copyright had expired or which in their opinion did not apply — although they did run into obstacles when they tried to export such reprints to England. From mid-century until 1774, when the House of Lords ruled against perpetual monopoly, the strategy of the London booksellers was to let well enough alone north of the border and to take action only in English courts. One or two literary proprietors did venture into Scotland in the intervening period. William Warburton, claiming the copyright of the Works of Alexander Pope, objected when Robert Foulis was printing

¹ J. Craigie and J. S. Stewart, Reports of Cases Decided in the House of Lords upon Appeal from Scotland, from the Commencement of the Reign of George the Second (Edinburgh, 1829), I, i, 488-92.

Pope's Letters in 1754, but upon Foulis's writing to Attorney General William Murray, Warburton was advised to come to a financial settlement. And the London bookseller John Hinton prosecuted Alexander Donaldson and John Wood of Edinburgh, and the Kilmarnock bookseller James Muorse, for reprinting Stackhouse's History of the Bible; Hinton claimed not under the Act of Anne but under common law, saying he had a conveyance from Stackhouse. Once again, however, the Court of Session ruled (in 1773) that a proprietor of a book had no perpetual right to it, and Hinton lost the case.

The Scottish booksellers had said they were arguing for the right to reprint books not only because of the importance to native printing, and the possibility of an economic advantage to Britain, but


2. Copies of the printed Informations for Hinton and for Donaldson and the others may be found in SL, Session Papers, vol. 347 no. 1a.

There were a number of other copyright prosecutions brought in Scotland in the last thirty years of the century which, while breaking no new ground, are interesting tales in their own right. In 1787, for example, Thomas Payne and Thomas Cadell sued William Anderson and John Robertson for pirating Fanny Burney's Cecilia, which the Londoners had neglected to register at Stationers' Hall. Anderson and Robertson had counterfeited almost an exact copy, with a similar title page and paper and type. They had made such a deliberate attempt to deceive the public that they were held liable.

Accounts of this and of some other Scottish copyright cases are in Morison's Decisions of the Court of Session, XIX-XX, under "Literary Property," and M. P. Brown, Supplement to the Dictionary of Decisions of the Court of Session (Edinburgh, 1826), V, 508-10. The Signet Library's MS catalogue (see also a typed version of this at SRO), provides some guide to the printed material on copyright in its collection of Session Papers. The SRO (West Register House) may also be found to have the MSS of particular Court of Session cases.
also for an obvious reason. Henry Home referred to it in 1747, during the course of the second prosecution in Edinburgh, by observing that Philip Millar's *Gardener's Dictionary* was beyond the reach of humble planters of cabbages when published in two volumes folio. But if, Home said, "a printer shall undertake an impression of this book on a very small type and very coarse paper, which will be purchased only by common gardeners, Philip Millar and his assigns will not lose a shilling by this edition; yet, by this low priced book, knowledge in gardening is spread much to the benefit of the public."¹ This was a point made by all those who argued against perpetual monopoly. It was taken up twenty years further on, in England, when the indefatigable Andrew Millar was prosecuting Taylor of Berwick-on-Tweed for reprinting *The Seasons*. The defence was to say then that Taylor "Lives at Berwick; He goes about to Fairs & Marketts with a Cart, & there disposes of Thompson's Seasons, &c, by which means a taste for reading is Propagated in the Country, where, Perhaps, without his Activity, that Benefit would not be so Extensive."²

Gavin Hamilton was to have his triumphs and failures over the next few years and was to find that not all his hopes for the Scottish book trade could be realized. Yet what he and Balfour and their associates did remains undiminished. They broke literary monopoly north of the border and by reprinting books, and selling them at cheaper rates, they contributed to the cultural improvement


Copyright deposits at Stationers' Hall

Authors and booksellers wishing the protection of the Act of 8 Anne were required to enter the title in a Register of the Stationers' Company, and to deposit nine copies of the book with the Company warehouse keeper. The keeper was then supposed to distribute them, on demand, to nine libraries, including those of the four Scottish universities and the Faculty of Advocates. Gavin Hamilton had knowledge of both sides of this procedure. For a brief time he arranged for the transfer of deposited books from London to Edinburgh University, and later in his partnership with Balfour registered some of his own books at Stationers' Hall.

Edinburgh University appointed two local booksellers to make the demands from Stationers' Hall, George Stewart in 1722, and Hamilton in 1730, the period when these two worthies were, by coincidence, in communication with the Dutch book pirate Thomas Johnson. Hamilton was possibly asked by his father, the professor, to take up the task as a favour. The commission drawn up by Library Keeper Robert Henderson empowered Gavin or his correspondent in London to have the books sent from Stationers' Hall to Edinburgh; Hamilton was to deliver them "whole and entyre in covers and bundles" — there was to be no binding done without special permission — and he was to be in attendance with an inventory at the opening of the boxes. He was to be paid nothing at all for doing this, although he was to be reimbursed for the gratuity paid
to the Stationers' warehouse keeper and for the cost of transportation. To seal the agreement Hamilton signed an "obligation", which his servitor Robert Brown had drawn up on stamped paper.\(^1\) The commission required Hamilton to get books from Michaelmas, 1718. This does not necessarily mean that Stewart had been an unsuccessful agent for the University, but rather that the parties were simply copying out the words used in previous agreements.\(^2\)

Hamilton carried out the duties for two years at least. A minute taken during a University meeting of March 21, 1732, says "The Faculty allert Gavin Hamilton Bookseller to take out the books that belong to the University in Stationers Hall, and to pay the complement exacted by the Clerks."\(^3\) Hamilton was probably occupying his quarters within the University by this time, so alerting him should not have been difficult. Shortly afterwards, however, he appears to have ceased collecting the books.

The University members now had to take steps on their own behalf. There was some difficulty at first: it is recorded in the College Minutes that Principal William Smith had a word, in 1734,

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1. "Commission Mr Robert Henderson Bibliothecare to Gaiw Hamilton Bookseller in Edr 12 Novr 1730," and "Obligation Gavin Hamilton to Mr Robert Henderson 12 November 1730." (EUL: Dc.1.4/1.) They are inserted loose in a bound volume of MS notes relating to the University.

2. A suggestion that Stewart was unsuccessful is made in S. M. Simpson, "An Early Copyright List in Edinburgh University Library," The Bibliotheca, vol. 4 no. 5 (1965), 202-204. However, Stewart was employed in the same capacity by the Faculty of Advocates, and seems to have had no problem there: a record of his charges to the Faculty for the carriage of books in half-yearly periods between 1724 and 1728 is in Advocates' Register, p.24. Stewart's Obligation to the University is in EUL: DA, Library Papers.

3. EUL: Dc.1.4/1, f.107v.
with the Lord Advocate and the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, so
that when in London they might use their best endeavours to ensure
that books already published, and those published thereafter, would
be delivered punctually to the University or whoever the University
appointed to receive them.¹ This cleared up the problem. A
consignment of books arrived by November 6, 1734, and two members of
the staff were instructed to consider which books were worthy to
be bound and put in the Library. No further complaint is recorded
until November, 1737, when several masters said there was a
"Deficiency of Severall Books due from Stationers Hall" (College
Minutes, p.63); the new Principal, William Wishart, promised to
write to a friend to recover them. The books appear to have
arrived regularly, since it is noted that a guinea from Library
funds was paid to the Stationers' warehouse keeper in 1742, and in
1744 a crown and 7/6d were paid to Claud Johnston, merchant in
London, for his care in sending the books to Edinburgh. One wonders
what took the University so long to employ a member of the London
trade directly; they finally did this in 1745 when Wishart was
authorized to write a letter of Attorney to William Strahan to
"collate the books got from Stationers hall before they are sent
down" (College Minutes, p.102). Two other Scottish universities
had already turned to London agents for the copyright deposits: St
Andrews employed Thomas Ruddiman at first, later John Paton, then
one of its own officials, but by 1743 was using Andrew Millar;²

in the text.
². Philip Ardagh, "St Andrews University Library and the Copyright
55), 181–211.
Glasgow University began employing Strahan in 1744. Strahan remained the agent for Edinburgh University for many years.

One might ask whether the disagreements between the London and Scottish booksellers over copyright matters had any kind of connexion with Hamilton's failure, or inability, to collect books for the University. The evidence to hand does not suggest there was. His father died in 1732, and this may have prompted him to withdraw his unpaid services.

The other side of the coin was the registration, by bookseller or literary proprietor, of a book in Stationers' Hall. Whatever the attitude of London booksellers towards entry — one contention is they were deeply resentful of the Act and registered trivia in the main — Hamilton and Balfour felt it was a good way to protect valuable property. This is plain from the titles of their books, and of books associated with them, entered in the Registers of Copies between 1745 and 1762:


2. Strahan twice refers to the copyright deposits in letters to University officials. On December 31, 1754, he wrote to Professor George Stuart, the Librarian, enclosing receipts and explaining the method of paying the warehouse keeper and himself. (EUL: DA, Library Papers.) He again comments on the payments and the deliveries in the course of a letter to Principal William Robertson, December 6, 1776. (NLS: MS.3942, ff.299-300.)


4. In compiling the list that follows I have consulted copies of the Stationers' Hall MSS "A Register of the Copies of Books, beginning the 10th April 1710," and "A Register of the Copies of Books beginning the 29th of September 1746." More precise references for the books entered from 1750 onwards are given in my list of Hamilton, Balfour and Neill publications.
David Gregory, *A Treatise of Practical Geometry*, Edinburgh: printed by W. and T. Ruddimans, for Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour, 1745. The whole share of the property was entered under the name of John Balfour. It proved to be a popular textbook and went through five editions by 1763, nine by 1780.

Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, *Pharmacopoeia Pauperum, in usum Nosocomii Regii Edinburgensis*. This was entered in 1746 on behalf of the Infirmary, which authorized the Ruddimans to print an edition that year, and Hamilton and Balfour to print editions in 1752 and 1758.

Edinburgh Philosophical Society, *Medical Essays and Observations*, 3rd edition, five volumes in six, Edinburgh: printed by W. and T. Ruddimans, for Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour, booksellers, 1747. The 4th edition was published in 1752. The Edinburgh bookseller William Monro, and then William Drummond, had been entering the volumes under their own names, beginning in 1733. Hamilton and Balfour took over the printing and entered it for themselves on March 5, 1747/48. None of these booksellers owned the literary property, as it was pointed out to Drummond's wife when she complained about the Hamilton and Balfour editions. The partners explained that as Professor Alexander Monro undertook, on behalf of the Philosophical Society, "the labour of preparing the Essays for the press, he had liberty to name the Printers; and as he had connections of friendship with Mr. William Monro, he naturally appointed him to print the first edition of the first and second volumes. After the publication of these volumes, Mr. William Monro gave up his stock in trade to Mr. Drummond; but his name still remained in the trade, as if the copartnery had subsisted. Professor Monro continued to give the succeeding volumes of the
Essays to be printed by Monro and Drummond; but he never gave the
property of the Essays, either to the one or the other: All that he
gave was the right and privilege of printing an edition of the
Essays. The purpose of entering the book at Stationers' Hall, was
to prevent the edition from being counterfeited, but not to
establish a property in the book, either to Mr. William Monro or
Mr. Drummond." (A Vindication of Hamilton & Balfour, pp.6-8.)

Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Reflexions on the Sources of
Incredulity with Regard to Religion, Edinburgh: printed by Sands,
Murray, and Cochran, for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1750. The
patriotic Forbes, who had died recently, was a very popular figure.
The property was entered for Hamilton and Balfour, who published
four editions this year. A "third edition", printed by Strahan for
David Wilson, appeared in London in 1750, no doubt through arrange-
ment since they were friends and agents of the Edinburgh partners.

Andrew Wilson, M.D., The Creation the Ground-Work of
Revelation, and Revelation the Language of Nature, Edinburgh:
printed in the year MDCCCL. The whole share was entered for
Hamilton and Balfour in 1750; this was the author's first
philosophical work, and it may be that they paid him some copy
money.

Charles Howe, Devout Meditations; or, a Collection of Thoughts
upon Religious and Philosophical Subjects, Edinburgh, printed by
Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill, 1751. The book was entered for
Hamilton and Balfour, who printed three more editions by 1762.

Robert Whytt, M.D., An Essay on the Vital and Other
Involuntary Motions of Animals, Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton,
Balfour and Neill. The whole share of the property was entered for
Hdton, with this 1763 Balfour and Neill, Whytt gained a reputation in Europe with this work; Balfour published a second edition on his own in 1763.

Charles Alston, M.D., Index Medicamentorum, Simplicium Triplex, Edinburgi: typis W. Sands, A. Murray, & J. Cochran, veneunt autem apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, 1752. The book was entered for Hamilton and Balfour, as was Alston's A Dissertation on Quick-Lime and Lime Water, Edinburgh: printed by W. Sands, A. Murray, and J. Cochran, sold by G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1752. Alston was Professor of Medicine and Botany at the University, and his controversy with Whytt over the properties of lime water meant that the two booksellers were on to a good thing. The second edition of A Dissertation on Quick-Lime was printed in 1754, his Second Dissertation in 1755, and his Third Dissertation in 1757; all were published by Hamilton and Balfour.

Robert Wallace, A Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in Antient and Modern Times, Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1753. The whole share of the property was entered for Hamilton and Balfour, who would have paid copy money to the author.

Thomas Blackwell, Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, vol. 1, Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, 1753. Blackwell acted as his own publisher and had the book printed by the firm. The partners usually let a month or two slip by before entering their own books, but Blackwell was quick off the mark, depositing nine copies, and having the whole share registered in his name, on April 26, 1753, seven days after publication was announced in Edinburgh. Although his expenses were high — more than £100 for the printing and paper of volume 1 — the author stood to gain a
considerable income from the book. The second volume was published in 1756.

Samuel Hart, Herminius and Espasia: a Tragedy. As it was acted at the Theatre in Edinburgh, Edinburgh: printed for the Author; and sold by G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1754. The whole share was entered for Hart.

Edinburgh Philosophical Society, Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary. Read before a Society in Edinburgh, and Published by them, Vol. 1, Edinburgh: printed by G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, Printers to the University, 1754. Professor Monro and David Hume edited this work, which was given to the world as a showpiece of Edinburgh learning. The whole share was entered for Hamilton and Balfour, but the conditions attached to the Medical Essays probably also applied in this case — the firm being allowed to print the work, and take the profits, at the pleasure of the contributors. Hamilton and Balfour, as University Printers, printed the second volume in 1756, John Balfour the third in 1771.

David Hume, The History of Great Britain, vol. 1, Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill, 1754. Hume retained the copyright but signed a contract with Hamilton and Balfour to permit them to publish the first edition in exchange for £400 copy money. Risking so much, Hamilton was very anxious to protect the literary property: he himself signed the Register on behalf of Hume on November 11, a day before the book appeared in Edinburgh and possibly a week or more before publication in London.
William Wilkie, The Epigoniad, Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill, 1757. The whole share was entered for the three partners, but they seem to have been satisfied once they were rid of the first edition of 750 copies. With the encouragement of David Hume, the second edition was printed in London in 1759 for Andrew Millar and Kincaid and Bell at Edinburgh. Millar was still one of Hamilton and Balfour's London agents, so it must be presumed that they had either come to an arrangement or had lost interest in the Scottish Homer.

John Gray, The Art of Land-Measuring Explained, Glasgow, 1757, and Robert Maxwell, The Practical Husbandman, Edinburgh, 1757. These are further examples of authors who kept and registered the copyright of their books; the first book was printed by Foulis, the second by Wright of Edinburgh, and Hamilton and Balfour shared the imprints with other members of the trade.

William Leechman, The Wisdom of God in the Gospel Revelation, Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, 1758. The whole share was entered for the three partners. It was popular enough to be reprinted abroad, by William Bradford of Philadelphia in 1759.

George Wallace, A System of the Principles of the Law of Scotland, Part 1, Edinburgh: printed for A. Millar, D. Wilson and T. Durham in the Strand, London; and G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, Edinburgh, 1760. Balfour signed a contract with Wallace to print the folio in exchange for £40 copy money, to be paid once the firm broke even on the printing costs. Hamilton and Balfour also agreed to enter nine copies in the author's name at Stationers' Hall at their own expense. Carriage of nine copies, and entry at
Stationers' Hall, cost the firm thirteen shillings and eight pence, which was not a large sum in relation to the publishing expenses, £201.

James Macpherson, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, 1760. The whole share was entered for the two booksellers, who put out a second edition. This was the start of the Ossian craze.

Arthur Masson, *An English Spelling Book, for the Use of Schools*, 3rd edition, Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill for the Author, 1761. The book was entered for Masson, who was a teacher of languages in Edinburgh. It was a lucrative property, well worth protecting: when Patrick Neill produced another edition for the author in 1765, he printed 6,000 copies plus 2,000 copies of the first part of the book.

Robert Riccaltoun, *An Inquiry into the Spirit and Tendency of Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, Edinburgh, printed for Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, 1762; the edition was also issued with variant imprints, "London, printed for E. Dilly in the Poultry", and "Glasgow, printed for John Orr in the Salt-market". The Stationers' Hall entry says the whole share is for "Patrick & Neal", which is clearly a mistake for "Patrick Neill". The Edinburgh partnership was starting to break up, and Neill was branching out on his own.

These copyright entries represent only a small number of the books printed during the Hamilton, Balfour and Neill partnership. However, many of their publications were outside the scope of the Act, being reprints, or books printed in foreign or classical languages. It was also quite common for books they printed to be published by the authors, who would enter or not depending on
personal inclination, or their assessment of the risk of piracy.
With the victory in the Court of Session behind them, Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour were in a state of elation. Something of their buoyancy, and widening outlook, is caught in the contemporaneous correspondence of persons who were close to them. "Gavin pushes a Brisk Trade," wrote Rev. Gilbert Hamilton of Cramond to brother Alexander of Annapolis in 1749. "He had a plea to defend before the Court of Session against the Booksellers of London who pursued him for reprinting English Books which they alleged were their property & having gained it he is pushing this new Scotts trade with vigour & success & hopes in a little time to export more books than he imports."¹ When Balfour went on a jaunt to London in 1751, to meet the polite and to explore the trade, Principal William Wishart of Edinburgh University introduced him to John Ward of Gresham College in a letter that took account of the firm's literary ambitions. Wishart said "my freind Mr Balfour . . . is partner wt Mr Hamilton here, both in ye business of Bookselling & Printing. As they are very worthy industrious Gentlemen; & will, I hope, come to be very useful & ornamentall in ye Republick of Letteprs; it will be a good thing, & very obliging to me, to give Him any advice & assistance You can in His way."²

¹. Maryland Historical Society: Dulany Papers, letter from Gilbert to Alexander Hamilton, July 19, 1749.

². BM: Add. Mss. 6211, f.181, Wishart to Ward, July 3, 1751. The Principal had Balfour take along a doctor of laws degree for Ward.
Exporting books, and being useful to literature, were just two facets of the marvellous plan Hamilton and Balfour held in their hands in the middle of the century. Their careers and personal interests had coalesced with the spirit of improvement in Scotland, and, ablaze with ideas and belief in themselves, they were determined to promote publishing and bookselling in their country to the limits of the possible. As a practical step towards this end they took on a printing partner, Patrick Neill. Neill, who was a native of Haddington, had begun his apprenticeship with Murray and Cochran of Edinburgh in 1739 as a boy and was still only twenty-four. The agreement for the printing partnership (Hamilton and Balfour retained a separate identity as booksellers) was signed in late 1749 and became effective in 1750. The association was supposed to last for ten years, but in the event the three men stayed together, more or less on speaking terms, until 1762. It was to be a good run.

The beginning of the Scottish reprint trade

Hamilton and Balfour and other Scottish booksellers were reprinting certain well known works, with their names defiantly on the imprints and at prices below those normally charged by Londoners, even before the Court of Session reached its final conclusions on literary property. The London proprietors were understandably alarmed at the trend and tried to stop it by sending their own editions into Scotland at even cheaper prices. The Scots were masters of their own territory, however, and for a few crucial
years were prepared to combine to protect one another's interests. They had no hesitation either in wielding a powerful weapon, Scottish patriotism.

The patriots were called upon when Robert Urie was printing the Spectator for Stalker and Barry of Glasgow in 1744-45. The Tomson firm of London hoped to ruin the book's prospects by selling the locals an edition that was sixpence cheaper, which provoked the Sects to insert this advertisement in the newspapers:

"The Publishers of the Spectator at Glasgow, Return Thanks to the Publick, for the favourable Reception they have already met with from Persons of all Ranks, and desire that such Gentlemen as have taken out Proposals and Receipts to procure Subscriptions, will return a List of the Names and Designations of the Encouragers of this Work, that they may be printed in their proper Place, the Book being soon to be published.

Subscriptions are taken in by all the Booksellers in Edinburgh, excepting One.

"As there is an Advertisement published, offering the London Edition of the Book at Half a Guinea in Sheets, to be sold by the Booksellers of Edinburgh; they cannot help taking Notice, that the Person who gave in that Advertisement ought likewise to have given in his Name, for they are authorized by most of the considerable Booksellers in Edinburgh, to inform the Publick, that they will not promote the Sale either of the London or any Foreign Edition of the Spectator, so long as they can be provided with One printed in this Country.

"They must likewise take Notice, that before their Proposals were published, that Book was charged higher from London to Booksellers, than it is now offered at in common Sale, tho' it is at present sold as high in London as formerly; the Reason of this Conduct is to endeavour to ruin the Sale of the Glasgow Edition, by underselling, but as the Glasgow Copy is printed on a finer Paper, and it is hop'd more correctly, they expect it will be cheaper at 11s. than the London copy at 10s. 6d.

"The more Opposition they meet with in an
Undertaking of this kind from the London Booksellers or their Agents here, the more Encouragement they expect to find from all who wish to see Printing succeed in this Country."

(CM, December 3, 1744)

This forthright declaration was warmly supported, and when the Glasgow edition was published in 1745, it contained a long list of Scottish subscribers. The edition was dedicated to one of them, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, who was described as "patron of arts, and encourager of every undertaking, tending to the good of his country." Forbes was also Lord President of the College of Justice, the top man in the Court of Session.

The sly impudence of the Scots led them in 1745 to reprint Bishop Burnet's *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, one of the books Millar and the other Londoners had cited in the concurrent copyright prosecution. The Edinburgh edition, called the sixth, was published by a consortium of booksellers, including Hamilton and Balfour. It was a handsome octavo of 40 1/2 sheets and it had an engraving by Strange, who was, the publishers did not fail to point out, a fellow countryman. They advertised the price as 7/- bound, or only 6/6d to anyone subscribing before August 1, 1745, and said this was but half the price of the London version (CM, July 18, 1745). The London booksellers retaliated in the following year with an edition, which they called

the fifth, consisting of just under 37 sheets, and an engraving by Ravenet. This was sold in Edinburgh for 5/- bound (CM, March 30, 1746), a reduction that the Scots pondered then put to good use in the copyright case. Reprinting Burnet's Thirty-nine Articles in Edinburgh, Henry Home told the Court of Session judges, had put it in the power of every curate who could afford 5/- to have a copy — of Mr. Millar's own printing — whereas before he could not have had it for less than 12/-. Is there, cried Home, any person of so little religion and humanity that would discourage this? Is there, he continued, a man that feels the least thirst of knowledge in his breast, that would not rejoice in seeing the means of acquiring it more universally easy to mankind?¹

Having complimented Millar for contributing to the culture of curates, the Scots were less amused when he proceeded to do so again. This time the assault was on a much more substantial financial undertaking, The Works of the Most Reverend Dr John Tillotson, which Hamilton and Balfour and other Scots published in ten volumes duodecimo in 1748-9.³ The proposals for the Scottish edition said it would be a guinea in sheets to subscribers, and 4/- higher after subscriptions closed (ERG, May 17, 1748). The London booksellers responded immediately by putting a twelve volume, small


². Henry Home and John Grant, Memorial and Condescendence for Messieurs Hamilton and Balfour and others (June 29, 1747), p.8.

octavo edition in the press, which they advertised at 1½/- in sheets. Hamilton and Balfour and their associates, who could not hope to compete with this kind of price cutting, placed an advertisement in the newspapers calling for the support of the Scottish public. They set out their side of the dispute, and showed once again how aware they were that the book trade in Scotland was at a turning point in its history:

"The Publishers of the Edinburgh Edition beg leave to observe, that for some Years past, there has been a strong Spirit in Edinburgh and Glasgow, for the Improvement of printing in this Country, in which they have succeeded beyond expectation, as is manifest by the many beautiful Editions of Greek and Latin Classicks, and other Books in different Languages which they have given; from whence also there is a Prospect, that the Publick will, in a short Time, be served with elegant, accurate and cheap Editions, of all those Books, that can be taken off by Scots Sale, and where private Property does not interriff. But this it seems has given the Alarm to some Booksellers of London, who being in the Possession of a Monopoly, and of fixing the Prices of their Goods at Pleasure, cannot bear the Thoughts of a Rival in their Trade; one of the Engines made use of to bear down the Scots Booksellers and crush them in the Infancy of their Trade, was to harass them with Processes at Law, upon vain and groundless Pretexts, as if they had incroached upon the Privileges given to Authors and their Printers, by a British Statute in Queen Ann's Time; but being relieved from these vexatious and groundless Pursuits, by the Justice of the Court of Session, the next Contrivance fallen upon is to take up the Ground, that they have already occupied, and to put them out of the Profits of any projected Edition, by advertising a new Edition of the same Book at a cheaper Rate; accordingly the Booksellers who carried the former Processes are the same Men, who have the other Day advertised in the News, a New Edition of Archbishop

1. NEC, July 14, 1748

Tillotson's Works at the price of 15s. Whether a fair Edition can be given at this Price, or, whether they are willing to sink some Money, in order to distress their Brother Booksellers in Scotland, Time must try: But one thing is certain, that the London Booksellers could never be prevailed upon to favour the Publick with a neat and cheap Edition of that excellent Book, till the Edition now publishing at Edinburgh was considerably advanced, having been first advertised about the Beginning May last, and will appear to be perhaps one of the cheapest Books, that has been published in Britain, considering the Size and Goodness of the Paper and Type. This is addressed to the Public, because the Public has a substantial Interest in it. Every one must be sensible of the bad Effects of Monopolies, especially those procured by the Force of Money, and the Publishers of the Edinburgh Edition trust that their Country-men will take their Part, in preferring an Edition, which was alienally* intended for them, and which, at the same Time, will be serving the Public, for, without the Assistance of their Country-men, the Scots Publishers will not be able to stand their Ground against a Sett of Booksellers, who have got a weighty Purse, by being the sole Printers and Publishers in Great Britain till of late Years."

(EXC, July 26, 1748)

Hamilton and Balfour and the others found the public encouragement they were seeking, and the London proprietors, seeing no point in continuing to cut their own prices so savagely in Scotland, retreated to the more congenial territory of England, to brood on other schemes. The problem facing the Londoners was that the Scots had the edge in reprinting books more cheaply, (although cheapness is a relative term, since in the hand press period there was a limit to how inexpensively a book could be produced and sold economically, as the Scottish concern over Tillotson's Works implies). The book-sellers of Edinburgh and Glasgow had no intention of paying for the

1. solely.
right to reprint older literature — while the members of the London bookselling establishment continued to buy shares in such books — and printing wages were somewhat (if perhaps not much) lower in Scotland than in London. The Scottish booksellers were also prepared to make a smaller profit on an edition.

In their advertisement Hamilton and Balfour chose to not mention their hopes for exporting books. They held out the prospect of supplying Scottish readers with reprints, and, along with other native booksellers, they made sure this promise was fulfilled. The Plays of Shakespeare are a good example of work that was now reprinted openly. Cheap copies were available from Thomas Johnson of Holland earlier in the century, but publication with a Scottish imprint had been rare. Now that the copyright position was cleared up in Scotland, as far as the locals were concerned, the country was infused with Shakespeare: The Foulis Press began printing the dramatic Works in parts in 1752, and in 1753 Hamilton and Balfour joined the Edinburgh booksellers who published an edition in eight volumes duodecimo, the retail price of which was £1.15/-. Single plays were also published by such as Yair of Edinburgh, who was selling Much Ado About Nothing for 6d in 1753, and James Knox of Glasgow, who printed Hamlet in 1755. The reprinting was so extensive that Hamilton and Balfour advertised, when they published their Select Collection of English Plays in 1755, that Shakespeare was not represented, "as the Works of this Author are presumed to be in every Body's Hands."

The Hamilton and Balfour Select Collection included plays by
Rowe, Steele, Congreve, Aaron Hill, George Farquhar, Benjamin Hoadly, Ambrose Philips, Cibber and Vanbrugh, Addison, Otway, George Villiers, James Thomson, Mason, Gay, and Allan Ramsay. The edition consisted of twenty-four plays, designed to be gathered in six volumes, 12/- the set bound and lettered, or 15/- on a fine writing paper bound and lettered. Some of the surviving copies show that Hamilton and Balfour also issued individual authors singly on coarse paper, and these would have been sold at less than 6d apiece.

Many other books were reprinted in Scotland during this period. Some popular works, such as the Spectator, were published time and again. In the space of just a few years following the success of the Glasgow edition of 1745, the Spectator was printed at Glasgow in 1750 (Stalker and Uri), Edinburgh in 1753; Edinburgh in 1756 (Fleming for Kincaid and Donaldson); Glasgow in 1757 (William Duncan, junior); Edinburgh in 1760 (Hamilton, Balfour and Neill); and Edinburgh in 1761 (John Wood).

As the reprints were being produced, the principal booksellers of Edinburgh ended their solidarity and scrambled to print rival editions of the same work. This development was inevitable perhaps, but Hamilton and Balfour did not like it, especially when it appeared

1. It will take more studies of individual publishers, and the publication of catalogues of 18th century Scottish holdings in libraries, to establish the full extent of the reprinting. Meanwhile, much useful work has been done on Glasgow. For titles of books reprinted there see Gaskell, Foulis Press, Gillespie, "A List of Books Printed in Glasgow 1701-1775," and Hugh McLean, "Robert Uri, Printer in Glasgow," Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society, 3 (1913-14), 89-108.

2. The Kincaid and Donaldson papers in EUL (La.II.508) contain a note from Robert Fleming, junior, April 17, 1756, acknowledging receipt of £50 as part payment for printing the Spectator.
to them that others were deliberately trying to spoil their sales. The partners were highly indignant when rivals popped up unexpectedly while they were engaged in 1752 in printing Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time in six volumes duodecimo. After announcing proudly that it would be the first edition since the expensive London folio, and that the price was 1/6d or 2/- a volume in sheets (depending on the quality of the paper), they found that four Edinburgh booksellers — Kincaid, Donaldson, Crawfurd and Fleming — were advertising a small octavo edition, and that Millar of London was advertising a more expensive octavo which was said to have explanatory notes. Never at a loss for words to explain their position, Hamilton and Balfour sprang to the newspapers to warn the public, and when their own edition was finished in 1753, they inserted in it an advertisement that began this way:

"As we judged it very probable, that many in this city and country who cannot well afford the price of the London folio edition of Bishop Burnet's history, might, however, be very desirous of purchasing so valuable and entertaining a book, upon easier terms; we gave early notice of the design, which, by the publication of this edition, is now executed; copies whereof, upon the common paper, may, agreeable to our proposals, be had by all that desire them, at the moderate price of nine shillings each.

"Soon after we had declared our intention, (but not sooner than it must have been well understood by every Printer and Bookseller here) that we were fairly engaged, and actually had incurred a very considerable expense, so that we could not stop and give up the design without undergoing the entire loss of all that we had by that time expended, nor prosecute it without danger of sustaining all the damage that the friendly offices, after mentioned, might, in course and in process of time, subject us to. In this chosen juncture appeared, in the Edinburgh Courant of October 24th 1752, an advertisement, kindly inviting purchasers to buy up, without loss of time, a parcel of copies, of
an edition printed in Holland, that is to say, contraband, or such as could not be lawfully imported, nor even offered to sale, and vended in Britain.

"This same friendly advertisement was drawn up with abundance of laudable art, and in terms calculated for leading the whole tribe of readers, that know little about editions of books, into a belief, that the said smuggled parcel was part of a British edition remaining unsold. This fallacy we then thought it our duty to detect, and accordingly did so; and we now again repeat the caution, as endeavours are still using to vend these contraband goods, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Some time after the 24th of October, a new edition, in four volumes 8vo, was advertised in the London papers, and proposed to be published by A. Millar, bookseller in the Strand, at the price of one pound per copy; a specious and tempting promise was added of explanatory notes, as from Mr. Justice Burnet, who is well known to have deceas'd about this very time.

"Altho' in this London advertisement, and the edition following upon it, we can easily discern the same spirit of opposition (which, on several occasions, has exerted itself at home with abundance of subtlety and activity) to our design of cultivating, improving and extending the art of printing in this country; we are, however, resolved to pursue it, hoping that we shall have, as hitherto, the countenance and favour of the publick . . . "

Hamilton and Balfour took the trouble to investigate Millar's explanatory notes. "We take upon us to affirm," they said, "that they illustrate nothing," and to prove the point, the partners reprinted them with reference to the page numbers of the Edinburgh edition. They also displayed copies of the London and Dutch editions at their shop, so that readers could compare these with

1. "Advertisement by the Publishers," Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, Edinburgh, 1753. I have not underlined the dates and the personal and place names italicised in the text.
their own version.

The new rivalry brought about even cheaper books. When Hamilton and Balfour (along with Lauchlan Hunter of Edinburgh and Stalker of Glasgow) published the first Scottish edition of Jonathan Swift's *Works* in 1752, in nine volumes duodecimo, they boasted that the price of 18/- in sheets, or £1.2s.6d bound, made the edition the cheapest ever sold. Yet five years later they were selling a new eight-volume edition of the *Works* for only 12/- in sheets because they were anxious to compete with an edition just published by Kincaid and Donaldson and others. One of the projects undertaken in the latter years of the Hamilton, Balfour and Neill partnership was an edition of Alexander Pope's *Works* in six volumes octavo. It was published under the imprint of John Balfour, and dated 1764. Balfour drew attention to the elegance of the book — twenty-four copper-plate engravings had been commissioned, and scabbards had been used to give more space between the lines — and said the sets printed on writing foolscap paper were only 15/- in boards. Readers could buy a volume a month if they wished. The publishers, said Balfour, "flatter themselves that the public will esteem this edition, upon comparison, by far, the cheapest of any that has hitherto been published, or any that is now projected to be published, so far as specimens and proposals have hitherto appeared" (CM, October 29, 1763). Alexander Donaldson replied that he had a four-volume edition in duodecimo in the press, the subscription price of which was 8/- in boards, or 10/- bound. "If," said Donaldson, "the publishers of the other edition, can persuade the world, that fifteen shillings is less than eight shillings, then that point must be yielded" (CM, December 7, 1763). Donaldson
invited gentlemen to compare the quality of the two editions by examining copies in his shop. Balfour, who usually tried to strike a balance between cheapness and good printing, may have been content to let buyers go there to judge for themselves.

Donaldson by this time was making his presence felt in Scotland and England. He represents the second wave of Scots who were concerned with cheap books and copyright litigation. In the 1750s Donaldson was associated with the bookseller Alexander Kincaid in publishing reprints as well as new books, yet it is not really until 1760, the year he took John Reid on as his printing partner, that he revealed his particular genius. Unlike Hamilton and Balfour, who were home based and had wide publishing interests, Donaldson began to concentrate on producing reprints, which he sold not only in Scotland but, spectacularly, at his shop in London.

It is rather surprising to find that the London bookselling establishment did not try to stem the flow of Scottish and Irish reprints to England until as late as 1759. One ploy took the form of an arranged court action, in which the Tonson firm prosecuted Benjamin Collins of Salisbury for selling, in that year, copies of the Spectator printed in Scotland; it was said that old Jacob Tonson bought the rights forever from Addison and Steele in 1712. However, the English judges heard that plaintiff and defendant were in collusion, and refused to proceed with the case.¹

When Donaldson went to London he uncovered a far more drastic scheme. He said the London trade entered into a combination and

conspiracy in 1759 to suppress the sale of all books originally printed in England and reprinted in Scotland and Ireland, regardless of the time of first publication. Greek and Latin books were excepted. Donaldson had acquired letters from John Whiston of Fleet Street to John Merrill of Cambridge, which said that London agents were to buy up the reprints; any English bookseller found handling them after May 1, 1759, was threatened with prosecution in the Court of Chancery. Whiston wrote that the "books will be mostly, I suppose, as follows: Spectators, Tatlers, Guardians, Shakespear, Prior, Gay's poems and fables, Swift's works, Temple's works, Prideaux's connection, Barrow's works, Rollin's ancient history, &c., Gil Blas, Whiston's Josephus, [Thomas] Burnet's theory of the earth, 2 vols, Young's works, Thomson's seasons, &c., Milton's poetical works, Parnell's poems, Hudibras, Waller's poems, Fable of the bees, 2 vols, Young's night-thoughts, Turkish spy, Travels of Cyrus." Donaldson also reprinted a letter, signed by John Wilkie of London, offering English booksellers the opportunity to exchange Scottish and Irish reprints for the genuine English editions. Many of the country dealers complied, Donaldson said, but others stood up against the threats, and the London trade tried to terrorize a few of them in Chancery. Donaldson himself was not a man to be frightened, and from his London bookshop fought Andrew Millar and others until the House of Lords ruled against perpetual copyright in 1774.

The Hamilton, Balfour and Neill partnership was three-quarters
over before the conspiracy began, and it is evident the firm's reprints were being distributed in England before 1759. In his letter Whiston warned the Cambridge bookseller against a number of them, Shakespeare's Works, 1753, Swift's Works, 1752-53 and 1757, Temple's Works, 1754, Prideaux's The Old and New Testament Connected, 1752, Barrow's Sermons, 1751, and Rollin's Ancient History, 1758. Not all the country booksellers complied with the demands, and the Edinburgh firm had good agents in London, so their reprints probably continued to reach readers in the south in some measure. Those of their books that were seized were not necessarily destroyed. The proprietors who bought up or exchanged Scottish and Irish reprints were not beyond issuing them again with their own title pages — indeed, one volume of the first Hamilton and Balfour edition of Swift's Works has been seen with the imprint of Tonson and Midwinter. I wonder how many other Scottish reprints of the period survive under such a guise.

Hamilton and Balfour and French books

Before mid-century Hamilton and Balfour occasionally published
minor French works in translation.\textsuperscript{1} By the summer of 1749, however, the partners felt their country ought to be provided with a major author from local presses in French, and so they issued subscription proposals for the first Scottish edition of Montesquieu's De l'Esprit des Lois. In characteristic vein they appealed to nationalism and financial sense, and hinted at future glory and present persecution, when they advertised that their edition would be more correct than those of London and Geneva, and possibly cheaper. "It is hoped," they said, "that all Lovers of Learning, and Well-wishers to their Country, will rather choose to encourage this first Attempt of reprinting a valuable foreign Book among ourselves, than any other Edition, especially as many open and secret Attempts have of late been made, and are still carrying on to destroy this infant Branch of Manufacture, in this part of the World."

David Hume was among the men of letters who were pleased with the project, and he wrote about it to Montesquieu, who decided to send his latest corrections to the Edinburgh publishers. These arrived late enough to cause some difficulties with the printing;

\textsuperscript{1} The firm's early editions included the Quietism pamphlet, The Case of Mrs. Mary Catharine Cadière, 1731, a translation of Jean Claude's Self-examination, 1732, and a work of French interest, An Irregular Dissertation, Occasioned by the Reading of Father du Halde's Description of China, 1740. (See above, pp.55-56, 56, 77). It is indicative of Hamilton's concern to obtain Continental supplies of French and other foreign-printed works that he was associated with the first publication by Robert Foulis, A Catalogue of Books Newly Imported from Abroad, 1740. In these early years Hamilton and Balfour also shared in Foulis Press editions of Ramsay's A Plan of Education, 1741 and 1742, and Bosseut's An Account of the Education of the Dauphine, 1743. (See Gaskell, Foulis Press, pp.65, 68, 80, 82). In May, 1749, Hamilton and Balfour published Marsay's Discourses on Subjects Relating to the Spiritual Life, a duodecimo which they sold for 3/- bound. (Copies in NLS).
nevertheless, Hamilton and Balfour were delighted, and after cancel-
ing some pages to accommodate the changes, they published their
edition in two volumes octavo, under the date 1750.¹ A few months
later they also published an inexpensive translation of the two
chapters on the British constitution, for those, they said, who
had neither time nor inclination to read the larger work, as well
as for those who were not sufficiently acquainted with the French
language.

After making their grand gesture as Scottish publishers, the
partners continued to take an interest in printing French books,
although in terms of their total publishing list the output was
not large. They rounded off their concern with Montesquieu by
publishing in 1751, again in the first Scottish edition,
Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur des Romains, et de
leur Décadence, an octavo that was uniformly printed and bound with
their edition of De l'Esprit des Lois. To satisfy bibliophiles
they also issued Considérations in a more expensive form, on writing
medium paper and finely bound and gilt. In the same year they
shared in the publication of Thoughts on Religion and Other Subjects;
by Monsieur Pascal, which was printed by Fleming for W. Gray,
junior, of Edinburgh.

In 1752 Hamilton and Balfour published Le Siècle de Louix XIV
by Voltaire — this was the edition that caught the attention of
John Home when he was passing the time of day in their shop. Three
years later they published the Thomas Lally translation of The

¹. My list of publications contains fuller notes on this and
other Hamilton and Balfour books mentioned in the text.
Principles of the Christian Faith by J. J. Duguet (making it much cheaper than the London edition, they said, in order to give it a wider circulation), as well as Lettres de Louis XIV. The latter book was taken notice of in the contemporary Edinburgh Review, an honour that was merited but not hard to come by, since the Edinburgh Review was printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. The firm published Self-examination by Jean Claude again in 1756, and in 1758 the ten-volume edition of Charles Rollin's Ancient History in association with Kincaid and Donaldson, and W. Gray. One of the first French books John Balfour published on his own account, after his partnership with Hamilton broke up, was an octavo, A Discourse on the Death of Marshall Keith. Read before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. Translated from the French original published by Monsieur Formey. Edinburgh: printed for John Balfour, 1764. (Copies in NLS).

The Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printing house printed a number of sheets of a French work for Alexander Donaldson: Memoirs of Maximilian de Bethune, Prime Minister of Henry the Great. Newly translated from the French edition of M. de L'Ecluse, Edinburgh, 1760. Donaldson published 1,000 copies of the book in five volumes duodecimo, and soon ran into trouble with the London proprietors. In the preliminaries of the edition the Scots Editor had announced that the great demand for Sully's Memoirs, and the high price of the London edition, had induced him to undertake a new translation and offer it to the public at the low price of 15/-.

Several London booksellers who had been selling an expensive version — Andrew Millar, W. Shropshire, and R. and J. Dodsley — protested that the edition was a piracy of their
translation by Charlotte Lennox, which, they said, the Scots Editor had endeavoured to mutilate in many places. They informed the Edinburgh public by way of the newspapers that in order to do themselves justice for so flagrant an injury they proposed to print a correct edition in six volumes duodecimo, which they would sell for 2/6d a volume sewed in blue paper. Little sleep was lost in Edinburgh. The Scots Editor replied that the charges were untrue; he asked the Londoners to show where his edition was mutilated, and to explain how they had acquired exclusive rights to the work. Donaldson also took steps to undercut the new cheap London edition by lowering the price of his own to 12/6d a set in boards, 15/- bound.¹

In deciding whether to print their own version of a French book, Hamilton and Balfour had to take account of other Scottish editions after mid-century, as well as the large number of editions that were readily available from outside sources. They regularly received (and advertised without identifying the place of origin) English-published French books from their agents in London, notably Wilson and Durham in the 1750s, and Becket and De Hondt in the 1760s. French books were also bought abroad, although perhaps not until after the end of the Seven Years War were they imported in great quantities. Balfour was on his own by that time, importing books of all kinds by the thousand for his sales and auctions. One gathers from his newspaper advertisements and catalogues that from 1764 onwards most modern French authors were represented on

¹. The rival positions were advertised in GM, May 28 and June 13, 1763.
his shelves. 1

If Balfour did not have a foreign book, he could soon obtain it from his Continental agents. "Any gentleman who wants any books, published in any part of Europe," he advertised, "by applying to John Balfour, shall have them imported very expeditiously" (CM, July 30, 1764). Gavin Hamilton had gone to Europe at the beginning of his career, and Balfour also travelled abroad, possibly in the 1760s. His knowledge of France and of French books is evident in his correspondence with two of his widely separated British customers, the Earl of Findlater and of Seafield, who dwelt at Cullen in Banffshire, and the antiquarian Richard Gough of London.

The letters from Balfour to the Earl of Seafield, written in 1768 and 1769, give a vivid picture of the personal and business interests and social connexions of the bookseller. 2 Balfour not only sent the Earl books and periodicals — by ship from Leith, or by wagon — but also performed favours such as paying Allan Ramsay for paintings and chasing up a tradesman who was making a seal. The Earl encouraged him to send news, and Balfour gladly obliged. In a letter of July 31, 1769, in which he enclosed a copy of the North Briton Extraordinary ("It is worth keeping, as it will be a distinguishing Characteristic of the unrestrained licentiousness of

1. The Hamilton and Balfour sales catalogue of 1764, published by Balfour, contained several thousand books recently imported from France and Holland, including "the largest Assortment of French Books that has been seen in this Country." The claim to have the greatest variety of French authors ever seen in Scotland was continued in Balfour's further catalogues of 1764, 1765, and 1767. (Copies in NLS).

2. SRO: ten letters in GD 248/982/1 (Seaforth MSS 1764-69). Hereafter cited in the text by date.
the present age"), Balfour gathered his breath and spoke of his recent health, said that Lord President Robert Dundas and Lord Alemore of the Court of Session were taking the waters at Buxton and had not written to him for a fortnight, explained why he was glad to have served on a jury that freed a soldier who bayoneted a butcher through the heart ("I never saw stronger proof of provocation, or of a more violent attack on Sogers when on Duty"), and told an anecdote concerning an old acquaintance:

"Lord Kaims is in good health, & high Spirits. I cannot restrain myself, from informing your Lordship of a very comical adventure that happened on Saturday se'evenight. That Evening there was the finest & most numerous Company at Comely Garden ever was known, the whole beau monde was there, Lord Kaims amongst the rest in high Spirits. He was on his knees to a fine young Lady, saying a thousand gallant things to her, when raising his foot unluckily slip'd, & to prevent his fall he catch'd hold of the Dutchess of Douglass, & brought her down with him, they tumbled for some time, to the great entertainment of the Spectators, when the Dutchess getting up, address'd her complaint to the Duke of Queensberry, My Lord, you see in what manner I have been us'd by one of your Judges, had that been occasion'd by that plump, fat, jolly, honest good natur'd man there (meaning Lord Ellick) I should have insisted for very moderate damages, but to be so tussled by that rickled mass of bones there, demands the highest redress. Every body was diverted with the oddity of the scene, & pleas'd with the good humour of the Dutchess, for it was well known that she is not very fond of Lord Ellick."

And so the letter went. It was in this context of shared social and cultural interests, and easy familiarity with the activities of the famous, that Balfour selected or dispatched French books for the Earl:

1. loose pile.
"I have packed up for the Kings College the 5th vol of the Plates of the Grand Encyclopedie, & wrote to Principal Chalmers that I had forwarded it at your Lordships desire.

"There has an unlucky circumstance lately happen to Monsr. de Voltaire, the greatest part of his money is in the hands of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who has lately faild, & his States refuse to pay his Debt, so that Monsr. de Voltaire has been oblidgd to retrench his expences, & it is said has dismissd his Niece & Cornelles Grand daughter. He has however sold his whole Works to a Bookseller at Geneva for a great price, & a splendid Edition of it, adornd with fine prints is publishing under his Eye in 18 or 20 Vols in Quarto, to which he has made very large additions & alterations, The Bookseller has got an obligation under his hand, incurring a very high penalty in case he ever makes any further alterations. Tho a very splendid Book, it will not come above 16sh. pr Vol:, I have subscribd six Setts, & your Lordship may have one if you chuse it."

(Balfour to the Earl of Findlater, July 13, 1768)

Balfour was referring to the Quarto edition published by Cramer of Geneva. He sent the first seven volumes to the Earl, along with other French books and a number of English works, a few months later.

Balfour was led to give some details of his trade with Paris in letters he exchanged with Richard Gough between 1771 and 1774. 1

When Gough was in Edinburgh in the summer of 1771 he brought a letter of introduction from W. Cuming, physician at Dorchester, who asked Balfour to do his usual good offices and introduce the antiquarian to


The volume includes a letter introducing Gough to Balfour, ten letters from Balfour to Gough, the antiquarian's draft letters and replies, and various other references to the bookseller.
men of letters. Balfour happened to be in London at the time, so Gough left a list of foreign books he wanted with the bookseller's clerk, John Drysdale. The missed meeting appears to have been the root cause of misunderstandings, involving wrong orders and uncollected shipments, that plagued their transactions.

"I have wrote to France for all the books for which you left a Commission, also for those mentiond in your letter," Balfour told Gough near the beginning of their correspondence. "I was only a little at a loss with respect to Memoires de L'Academie des Inscriptions et belles Lettres 50 Vols, presently printing at Paris, Monsr Panokouke purchased all the remaining Copies of that book printed in Holland in 12mo, and he is continuing at Paris, it is only what is printing at Paris that I have wrote for, If you shoud want the whole, I can easily get them afterwards, but I thought this the safest method. The expence of importing french books is very considerable, owing to a long land Carriage between Paris & Calais, which is as cheap as by the Seine as there are Dutys thro every Town they pass, & none by Land. Besides the Duty on importation is considerable; it commonly amounts to 15 or 16 pr Cent. I really do not know the price of french binding, as I bring home all my books in Sheets, for this reason that bound books cost double Duty" (January 12, 1772).

Balfour said he was in constant correspondence with Charles Joseph Panokoucke, the prominent Paris bookseller who was also associated with Voltaire (December 20, 1774). He may have met the publisher at the time he came to know one of the French men of letters, the Marquis de Saint-Simon. Saint-Simon casually sent some of his work to Balfour, who sold a copy to Gough under the
title "Preface de l'Hist: des Batailles de Prince Ferdinand."
The antiquarian queried the price of this. "As to the Introduction to Ferdinands battles," Balfour said, "my Clerk has chargd them by guess, for indeed I do not know the price myself, that Introduction is wrote by the Marquis de S'Simon, with whom I got acquainted abroad, he sent me half a Doz: Copies, without any letter or price, my Clerk has supposd it to be about 9sh: and has chargd them so, but in case you dont like it, You are welcome to return" (March 9, 1772). However, Gough was generally pleased with the price of the French books he bought through his Edinburgh agent, and this prompted Balfour to add, somewhat dryly: "With respect to prices, I will fairly acknowledge that I see no reason, why the London Booksellers, may not sell forreign books as cheap as I do."

The American trade

In the 1750s Hamilton and Balfour shipped two lots of books to the New York bookseller and printer James Parker, who had a business association with Benjamin Franklin. When it became obvious that Parker was not going to pay what he owed, Balfour asked Franklin to recommend a good lawyer who could apply pressure. This undesirable prospect caused Parker to write to the firm to explain his financial and bookselling problems and to say that a third of the Hamilton and Balfour books had not been sold yet. "I confess I had no Business to receive them," Parker said. "I am sorry I did: But that cannot be help'd now, I did what I thought best, and have been a great Sufferer by them: you will say, Why did I receive them?
139.

Why did not I let them lye, or ship them back again? I answer, Why did you send them? I did not request or desire them."¹

Benjamin Franklin possibly suggested, when he was in Edinburgh in 1759, that the partners send one of the consignments, nevertheless Parker's final query raised a valid point. Why take the risk of sending books to a stranger in America? Hamilton and Balfour had already burned their fingers by sending books to Franklin's own nephew, Benjamin Mecon, who was a publisher and bookseller at Antigua in the West Indies from 1752 until 1756 before moving to Boston. Young Benjamin went bankrupt with the books not paid for, and it was left to Franklin to arrange for the debt to be cleared. Selling books to America was not easy at the best of times. Besides bad debts, the partners had to contend with keen competition from booksellers and printers in Britain, as well as price cutting by someone like James Rivington, whose presence in New York was hindering the sale of the books sent to Parker.

However, the Americans preferred to import books, and there was money to be made by members of the trade who were able to establish outlets in the Colonies. Hamilton and Balfour found an excellent agent in David Hall of Philadelphia, who was a considerable bookseller in his own right as well as being Benjamin Franklin's printing partner. They knew this Scotsman from his early days in Edinburgh and through his association with their own close friend,

William Strahan. Hall, who was just a year older than Strahan and John Balfour, had begun his apprenticeship with Mosman and Brown of Edinburgh in 1729; when his time was served in the mid-1730s he followed or accompanied Strahan to London, worked with him for some time, then in 1744 emigrated to Philadelphia to take up with Franklin.1

Hall settled on Strahan as his principal British supplier — purchasing nearly £30,000 worth of books, stationery, printing equipment and other items from him between 1748 and 17722 — but was not averse to trying other booksellers and printers. He was interested in obtaining the cheaper books and Bibles the Scots could provide, and bought from two successive King's Printers in Scotland, Adrian Watkins and Alexander Kincaid. Hamilton and Balfour became his main Edinburgh suppliers after being directed to him by Strahan. They had originally given the London printer a list of publications at low prices and offered a further discount of ten to fifteen per cent if he would take them himself to send to Philadelphia, but he declined, saying Hall paid for books punctually and deserved any extra profit that was going. Hall was to find the


firm's books were indeed cheap, which prompted Strahan to observe that this was no wonder, since printing and binding were cheaper in Scotland, and the Scots did not have to pay copy money.¹

Balfour set about exploring the trade possibilities by sending an assortment of books to Philadelphia in 1750. His fair proposition was that Hall should either sell the books for him, or buy them outright for the trade price plus insurance costs, £37.11s.9d. It was Hall's practice to buy such consignments so he passed word on through Strahan that he accepted the books, but was a little unhappy at the selection. Hall told Strahan that the Edinburgh bookseller "has sent me Six Setts of Tillotson, which tho' much Cheaper and better bound than the London Edition, I question if I shall sell in Six Years; and so it will be with the Spectator, Nine Setts of which he has sent. In short, except it be for what Bibles he has sent, I don't expect to get my Money in less than the Time mentioned. Be so good as write him this, and let me have his Answer."² Balfour, who agreed that Hall should take the books himself, would have been struck by the lack of enthusiasm for the Spectator and Tillotson's Works, which were

1. Cochrane, Dr. Johnson's Printer, pp.78-79.


The letter books contain seventeen letters from Hall to Hamilton and Balfour, twelve from Hall to John Balfour and Company, 1751-66. Hall wrote his debits and credits with the firm in a MS. Account Book, 1748-67, which is also at the American Philosophical Society.

The letters from Hall are hereafter cited in the text by date.
valued so highly in Scotland.¹

When Hall paid for the books he instructed Hamilton and Balfour not to send any more consignments until requested, although in the next two years he did buy several thousand Bibles from Adrian Watkins. The partners resumed their trade in the latter half of 1757. Hall told them he wanted an assortment of titles with the exception of works of divinity, which moved very slowly in Philadelphia and surrounds. He clarified his requirements after receiving a third shipment:

Philadelphia 27th March 1759

Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour

Gentlemen

Inclosed I have sent you the first Copy of a Bill of Exchange for One Hundred Pounds Sterling; which, with the Five per Cent. Discount within the year, settles all Accounts betwixt you and me. I now point out to you, what Books you are not to send me for the future, without my particular Order for so doing. viz.
No more of Vertot's Knights of Malta
Modern Travels
Plutarch's Lives
Stanyan's Account of Switzerland
Decker on Trade
Tucker on Ditto
Temple's Account of the Netherlands
Edinburgh Entertainer
Pitscotti's History of Scotland
Hathorndin's Ditto
Medical Essays
Whytt's Physiological Essays
Ditto on Lime Water

¹. The export of the Tillotson contradicts the firm's claim that the edition was intended solely for Scottish readers. See above p.121.
History of Gustavus Adolphus
Melvill's Memoirs
Moliere's Plays
Tacitus
Haddington's Poems
Sir William Temple's Works
Jenks's Meditations
Home's Principia Medicina
Grainger de Febre Batava
History of Two Orphans
Jamieson on Virtue
Marsay's Spiritual Life
Alston on Lime Water
Protestant System of Divinity
Leechman's Sermon
Nye's Discourse on Religion
Burnet's History, nor Travels
Pharmacopoeia Edinburgensis
Supplement to Chambers
Whytt, nor Simpson, on Vital Motion
Cicero's Works, 20 Volumes
Templeman's Remarks


Robert Urrie of Glasgow printed Pitcoccie, 1749; Drummond of Hawthornden, 1749; Bayle, Gustavus Adolphus, 1757; Sir James Melville's Memoirs, 1751 (possibly the Gavin Hamilton edition of 1735 was sent); Moliere, 1751. The 20-volume Cicero was published by the Foulis Press, 1749. Vertot, The History of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, was printed at Edinburgh by H. Fleming for Kincaid and Donaldson, Yair and Fleming, and W. Gray, 1757. Some of the other books were London-printed.
As to the other Books in your Invoices, you may send me an Assortment of them as soon as you please; and any other good Copies, you may have by you, but send nothing that is bulky; and remember to let them all be lettered, and neatly bound. Unbound books, I told you before, will not do.

Confessions of Faith, Pilgrim's Progress (all the Parts), Gray's and Russell's Sermons, and some other Things of that Kind, which I leave to your own Judgment, may do. Prayer Books (all the different Sorts you print in Scotland) will likewise answer. I had a parcel of them sent me some time ago, which came much cheaper than those from London. In short I leave it to your selves to send me such a Cargo as, from the Hints given, you may think will turn out to our mutual advantage; and am

Gentln.
Yours &c
D. Hall

NB
An Assortment of Chapman Books, all in the comical, or wonderful strain, will also do.

It is probable that Hamilton and Balfour had sent a selection from the whole range of their Scottish stock. They would have continued to send the "good Copies" which Hall mentions, and which he asked for again in the following year: "let the Assortment be of the best Authors, and all new Books among them. . . . Remember Divinity is a most dull Article here. Send nothing relating to Scots Affairs, such as Pitsoottie, Hathornden, Guthrie, Fletcher, &c. No Plutarch's Lives, Knights of Malta, and such like" (Hall to Hamilton and Balfour, December 22, 1769). Some things just did not go down well in Philadelphia. On the other hand, Hall had a large stock on his shelves, and he was getting considerable

1. Andrew Gray of Glasgow, author of Great and Precious Promises, The Spiritual Warfare, etc.; Robert Russell of Wadhurst, author The Saint's Duty and Exercise, Seven Sermons, etc.
quantities of books (including some Hamilton and Balfour publications) from Strahan, as well as supplies from other sources, so his stipulation on what not to send does not fully indicate the taste of his readers. The latest medical texts and researches from Edinburgh, which Hall says he has enough of for the time being, would have been of some practical use to Americans, and the Leechman sermon was certainly admired, since his rival in Philadelphia, William Bradford, reprinted it in 1759.

The kind of popular religious literature Hall was always interested in importing from Scotland is illustrated by a list he sent John Balfour near the end of their close association. He wanted:

6 Henry on the Bible (no fine Copies)
12 Flavell's Works, in 1 Vol. Folio. otherwise send none; Cheapest Sort.
50 Large Confessions of Faith
50 Small Ditto
50 Fox on Time
50 Bunyan's Come and Welcome
25 Ditto's Sighs from Hell
50 Ditto's Solomons Temple
50 Grace abounding
25 Pilgrims Progress, 3 Parts
50 Allen's Alarm
12 Flavell's Husbandry Spiritualized
50 Vincent on Judgment
50 Vincent's Catechism
25 Henry on Prayer
50 Keach's Travels of True Godliness
50 Ditto of Ungodliness
25 Dyer's Believer's Golden Chain
12 Willison on the Assembly's Catechism
25 Afflicted Man's Companion
25 Baxter's Call to the Unconverted
25 Flavell on the Heart
25 Mason's Hymns
100 Russells seven Sermons

(Hall to Balfour, December 16, 1765)

The Americans were threatening to restrict imports because of the
imposition of the Stamp Act, and Hall emphasized to Balfour that this order was conditional on the Act being repealed by the British Government.

Hamilton and Balfour did not have the monopoly to print Bibles in Scotland, so to supply Hall with these they turned to the Belfast printers David and John Hay. They arranged for four lots of Irish-printed books to be sent from Ireland to America, for which they charged Hall nearly £200. The Philadelphian grumbled about the first consignment: "I had a Parcel of Quarto Bibles from Belfast lately, sent me by two Gentlemen of the Name of Hay, by order of Mr. Balfour, but no Invoice with them neither, so that I am obliged to sell them at an Uncertainty" (Hall to Strahan, June 28, 1761). Hall had problems with a later shipment. First of all, he said, it had been sent to New York, where it lay for two months, and the boxes were so flimsy that several of the books dropped out on the way to his shop. He had to pay also £1.14s.1d, "for their being seized at Carlingford, in Ireland, which I by no Means, have any Business with, as I had not ordered, nor knew any thing of the Books coming" (Hall to Hamilton and Balfour, March 3, 1763).

The final shipment from David Hay, sent in 1764 at Balfour's order, brought further complaints, partly because it contained seventeen folio Bibles which Hall said were not easy to sell. The Bibles had an adventurous passage. Hall told Balfour that "books from Ireland are seizable here, so that they were obliged to be landed, and Stored at New-Castle, 35 Miles from Town, and sent up slyly, which occasioned a Risk, and an extraordinary Expense, which they will not bear; Therefore shall be obliged to you, not to
order any more Books from that Quarter for me, as there are now always two of the King's Ships at least in our River" (Hall to Balfour, November 20, 1764). Although Hall cut off the supply of Irish books coming through Balfour, he opened it up again for himself in 1766 by ordering chapbooks and popular religious works from James Magee of Belfast.

James Rivington arrived in the Colonies from London and told the Americans the British booksellers were cheating them with high prices; Alexander Donaldson also wrote to Hall to try to solicit his custom. Hall made sure that Strahan and Balfour were aware of this competition and so would keep their prices down. It occasionally seemed to Balfour that the market was getting too crowded, as when he sold Hall twelve sets of his edition of Pope's Works in six volumes octavo and a hundred copies of Bailey's An Universal Etymological English Dictionary, 20th edition, which he published in 1764 in association with Kincaid and Bell, and Patrick Neill. The American became pessimistic about the books' prospects. "Tho' I have advertised Pope," he said, "there is not one of them yet sold, but as there is one Mr. Robertson from Glasgow, here at present, in his Way to Jamaica, who brought over a Cargo of Books with him, which he is now selling by Auction, at a considerable loss, I am afraid, and among them there is an edition of Pope in four volumes, which still comes cheaper than yours, that perhaps hinders the Sale of them. . . . P.S. Messieurs Kincaid and Bell have sent me a Parcel of Books, without any order of mine, among which are Fifty odd Bailey's Dictionaries, which with those sent by you, shall be a Long Time getting clear of." (Hall to
Balfour, December 20, 1764).  

David Hall and John Balfour managed to maintain a regard for one another during their transactions, no mean achievement considering the trading difficulties they faced. Hall fussed when he thought Balfour had not followed instructions, or when books were poorly packed. Balfour, too, had grounds for complaint when Hall's bills of exchange were not honoured in Britain. The first time this happened Balfour sent a respectful but blunt letter to Hall's partner, Benjamin Franklin, who was then in London. On the second occasion Balfour shot off a letter to Hall, whose feelings were so bruised that the business relationship was jeopardized. "What Part of my Conduct towards you, has ever deserved that peremptory Way of writing," Hall wondered (October 11, 1763). However, Balfour replied with expressions of friendship, and their trading continued. It was a profitable arrangement. Between 1750 and 1766, Balfour sent Hall around £1,000 worth of books in a dozen shipments, including those dispatched by the agents in Belfast.

1. Hall had begun his business association with Kincaid by writing a friendly letter on March 17, 1764, in which he ordered four thousand Bibles and Testaments; he reminded Kincaid that they had known one another in their youth in Edinburgh. The Bibles were duly sent, and Kincaid and Bell speculatively shipped the assortment of books referred to by Hall. He corresponded with the firm frequently during the next few years.

2. Balfour to Franklin, March 26, 1761, in The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (1966), IX, 295-96.

Edinburgh and London

Hamilton and Balfour spread their net wide as publishers and printers in Edinburgh. They produced literary pieces, medical and scientific books, classics, texts for scholars and school-children, and at the same time had a reputation for printing accounts of contemporary affairs of national interest. It was to them in 1752, for example, that William Robertson and others brought the Reasons of Dissent that set out the principles of the Moderate Party in the Church of Scotland.

One of the partners' scholarly schemes was the publication of older and modern Scots law. The first major project they planned was the Institutions of the Law of Scotland by Viscount Stair. As early as 1749 they advertised proposals for a definitive third edition and called on gentlemen who owned corrected earlier versions to communicate the alterations. The task was greater than expected, and perseverance was required to see it through; the first eighty-five pages were edited by the Advocate John Gordon, the bulk of the book by William Johnstone, and they were not able to publish it until 1759.

They had, meanwhile, published John Louthian's The Form of Process Before the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, second edition, 1752, John Erskine's The Principles of the Law of Scotland, first and second editions, 1754 and 1757, and were taking steps to fill the gaps in the printed historical records of the Court of Session. They advertised in 1752 that they had the manuscripts of Balmanno's "Practicks," the Earl of Haddington's "Practicks," and Sir Roger Hog of Harcarse's "Decisions of the Court of Session, 1681 to 1691," and asked gentlemen to forward names so they would know how many to
print. They found support for Hog of Harcarse, if not the others, and published his Decisions in 1757. In that year Lord Kames gave them the manuscript of Sir Hew Dalrymple's Decisions of the Court of Session, 1698 to 1718, which they published in 1758. In 1759 and 1761 they published the two volumes of The Decisions of the Lords of Council and Session, 1678 to 1712, which had been collected by Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, and in 1762 The Decisions of the English Judges, during the Usurpation, 1655 to 1661, which was taken from a manuscript in the Faculty of Advocates. They also printed the first volume of the Faculty's official collection of contemporary court rulings, Decisions of the Court of Session, 1752 to 1756. These were collected by Sir David Dalrymple and others, printed in parts from 1753, and published in the complete volume in 1760.

Hamilton and Balfour probably longed to succeed James Davidson and Thomas Ruddiman as Printers to Edinburgh University. Indeed, the ink was hardly dry on their contract of co-partnership with Neill when there was some shuffling in the corridors of patronage. Names are not mentioned, but one can guess the persons in mind when their old friend Principal William Wishart and the University professors decided, in January, 1750, to try to name new Printers. On hearing of this intention, the members of the Town Council announced they were sole patrons of the position, and the University had to drop the matter.¹

Undeterred, the partners set about earning the right to the

job, first of all by taking an interest in printing the theses for the degree of Doctor of Medicine. They printed several of the theses submitted in 1750, and the majority of those presented in the rest of the decade, including Joseph Black's famous dissertation of 1754, on the isolation of carbon dioxide. They also turned their attention to the fine printing of Latin and Greek books. In 1751 Gavin Hamilton was associated with the Thomas Ruddiman edition of Livy, and in the same year Neill produced a splendid edition of Florence Vosluse, De Animi Tranquillitate Dialogus. In 1754 the firm printed their little Anacreon, issuing part of the edition on silk.

By this time Ruddiman and Davidson had resigned as University Printers and Hamilton and Balfour were obvious successors. Too worldly wise to leave the selection entirely to justice, they set about squaring their application with the right persons. The extensiveness of this activity perhaps explains a strange oversight that brought them trouble a few years later. Balfour, apparently, bought off a potential rival, the printer Walter Ruddiman, who with brother Thomas published the Caledonian Mercury. It was agreed in writing that Hamilton and Balfour would not publish a competitive thrice weekly paper in Edinburgh for the space of the next seven years; in return, Walter gave a "most valuable consideration," presumably his acquiescence in their application. The promise was either ignored or not conveyed to Hamilton, with the result that when the partners started the ambitious Edinburgh Chronicle in 1759, the anger of Walter Ruddiman descended upon them. 1

1. The first blast was a front-page editorial in CM on March 10, 1759.
The bargain served its purpose at the time, and on May 15, 1754, with John Balfour sitting contentedly in his place as a Merchant Councillor, the Town Council opened its meeting by invoking the blessings of God, and duly appointed Hamilton and Balfour Printers to Edinburgh University, and Printers to the City of Edinburgh, for life, or for as long as the survivor continued in the business of printing. The case the partners presented shone through the report in the Town Council Minutes:

"Anent the petition given by Messrs. Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour, booksellers and printers in Edinburgh — setting furth that the petitioners, observing what benefit might arise to the good town and the country if handsome editions of books that make a figure in the world were printed in this Burgh, have been at considerable expense for obtaining everything proper for that purpose, and have published a variety of standard books in a manner that they were happy to find had met with commendation even in foreign countries where printing has been long in perfection; that the petitioners animated with these successes have of late turned their thoughts towards publishing good editions of the Greek and Latin classics, and were sensible that if the Council, as patrons of the University, would please bestow on them the office of Printers to the University, as it has been enjoyed by others, they would be enabled to print these classics better, and finish them at easier rates than they could otherwise do, and might save the importations thereof from foreign parts which would be of very great service to the country and keep much money at home. . . ."  

Two conditions laid down by the Town were that the firm should set up its printing house within the College, and supply the College library with a free copy of the classics they printed.

University Printers were able to reclaim the duty paid on the paper used in books printed in Latin, Greek, or the oriental or northern languages, an incentive that encouraged Hamilton, Balfour and Neill to print some fine and much admired editions of the classics: Virgil and Sallust, both dated 1755, Phaedrus, 1757, and Terence, 1758. The printing record for the Virgil shows that the range of reader went from hard-up scholar to book connoisseur: the 1,250 copies were printed on three qualities of paper to be sold at three prices.

A great deal of scholarly and literary work was printed by the firm within the College, and in a sense it was all the product of a University Press. The designation "Academiae Typographos" was used sparingly on imprints, however. One finds it on the classics, the medical theses from 1754 onwards, and on texts such as Heinneccius, 1756, Grotius, 1760, and Professor James Robertson's Hebrew grammar, 1758. Hamilton and Balfour refer to themselves also as Printers to the University in what was considered to be a significant undertaking written in English, the Edinburgh Philosophical Society's Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary, the first volume of which was published in 1754.

The partners, who took a great interest in publishing native literary work, opened the 1750s with a work by a man much respected in Scotland, the late Duncan Forbes of Culloden. His Reflections on the Sources of Incredulity with Regard to Religion found popularity in Edinburgh and London during the next few years. And they opened the decade of the 1760s with James Macpherson's Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of
Scotland, the first of the 'Ossian' books.

The poems, essays, sermons, histories, literary criticism and plays they and Neill printed or published in their twelve-year association were penned by an impressive list of authors, including Sir David Dalrymple, George Ridpath, Charles Howe, James Balfour of Pilrig, Thomas Blackwell, William Maitland, John Ogilvie, Robert Wallace, William Wishart, Thomas Blacklock, Henry Home (in *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*), David Erskine (Lord Dun), Samuel Hart, David Hume, David Plenderleath, Walter Anderson, the *Edinburgh Reviewers* (Alexander Wedderburn, Hugh Blair, William Robertson, John Jardine and Adam Smith), Robertson again with the first edition of his printed sermon, John Home, William Wilkie, Robert Dick, William Leechman, Samuel MacArthur, Archibald Campbell, James Boswell (believed to have contributed to the *Edinburgh Chronicle*), Daniel MaQueen, Alexander Carlyle, James Fordyce, and Adam Ferguson.

The technicalities of publishing were well-known to and adroitly used by authors of education. It was not difficult for a man to get a slight literary piece into print in Edinburgh, as is evident from a sixteen-page octavo written by James Beattie, *Verses Occasioned by the Death of the Revd. Mr. Charles Churchill* ... London: M.DCC.LXV. The anonymity and false imprint were no doubt deemed wise in view of Beattie's nationality and nasty tone. John Balfour had actually taken the manuscript along to Patrick Neill, who printed it and wrote out the following charge: "To poem on Churchill 1 sh[£] pica no. 250 paper furnished, £1." Presumably the printer supplied the half-ream of paper
required. The retail price of the poem was sixpence, and even if the trade price was half of this the cost of production would have been soon recovered by the author.

It was a more delicate art to have work published and make money out of it. An author desiring this end had two basic alternatives. The first was to publish the work himself: he could retain the ownership of his copy, commission the facilities of the printing house, then arrange for the distribution to subscribers and booksellers. He ran the financial risk but had the prospect or hope of a higher income. The other alternative was to give the proprietary rights to a bookseller. The bookseller would agree to publish an edition in an arranged quantity, or perhaps buy the entire copyright, and in return pay the author copy-money and possibly a number of copies of the book. A development of this procedure was the half-profit system, in which the bookseller or printer took the risk then split the profits with the author.


2. Sometimes a bookseller obligingly published a book on behalf of an author. A comment by John Balfour later in the century sheds light on this practice. He told the newly formed Booksellers' Society of Edinburgh that it was not right that a bookseller publishing for an author should get copies at the ordinary trade price; accordingly, the members of the Society decided in 1779 not to do so without an extra 7½ per cent discount. (NLS: MS. Dep. 191, "Letter Book of the Booksellers Society."

3. In 1776 William Strahan wrote to Adam Smith to say that he and Thomas Cadell agreed to the author's suggestion that they print the next edition of the Works at their expense and then divide the profits. Strahan thought it a very fair proposal. (Royal Society of Edinburgh: Hume MSS, VIII, 50.)
Occasionally the title page of a Hamilton and Balfour will say whether a book was printed for the author. Sometimes, too, one can tell who took the profit by the nature of the imprint.

"Edinburgh: printed for Hamilton and Balfour" nearly always seems to mean that the two booksellers had the financial interest, although not necessarily the ownership of the literary property. "Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill" is more ambiguous. It can mean that all three partners had the rights to the book, if only for that edition, or simply that they were acting as printers on behalf of another publisher.

From 1750 onwards the firm's books were a familiar sight in bookshops beyond Scotland. The Town Council was told in 1754 that Hamilton, Balfour and Neill publications were admired in foreign countries, and it is clear, too, that their editions were being distributed in England. There was growing co-operation between the Scottish and London book trades, a development that might seem surprising until one considers that the continuing copyright problems concerned the reprinting. New books from Scotland were not normally a cause of friction.

The London reviewers offered encouragement at times. The Monthly Review's notice of Forbes's Reflexions on the Sources of Incredulity, 1750, contained the information that the book was beautifully printed. An Essay on the Virtues of Lime-water in the Cure of the Stone by Robert Whytt came in for considerable praise: "It is no small indication of the author's good intention in the publication of it, that a piece, founded on such a number of well-judged and facile experiments, should be printed in such a cheap and portable size, so as to be purchasable by much the greater
number of nephritics: while it is wrote, on the whole, with such
certainty, as to be sufficiently intelligible by all readers of
moderate literature and apprehension. . . . Some late modern
productions, which contain not more than half as much print as
this, and have still a less proportion of its merit, have been
bump'd out (as the printers phrase it) to near double the price" (Monthly Review, 7 December, 1752, 412). The price of the
192-page duodecimo from Edinburgh was 2/- bound.

The books were dispersed through a number of London agents.
One finds, for example, that the Essays and Observations of 1754
were sold by Wilson and Durham, Andrew Millar, John Nourse, the
Knaptons, Hitch and Hawes, and R. and J. Dodsley (Public
Advertiser, May 20, 1754). Sometimes the transactions were paid
for by bills of exchange, at other times — as may be seen from a
ledger entry by yet another associate in London, William Strahan
— they were paid for in book exchanges:

Sent Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour

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<th>March 1755</th>
<th>£.</th>
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<td>26 Merry Fellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Adventurer</td>
<td>4 vol</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>5.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 Count Fathom</td>
<td>2 vol</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Hanway's Travels</td>
<td>2 vol</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 New Estimate of Human Life</td>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>12 Cato Major</td>
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9. 14. 6
For which I received in May

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<tr>
<td>6 Spectator 8 vol @ 9s.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Medical Essays @ 14s.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Shakespeare's Works 8 vol 16s.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Whyte on Lime Water 1/4</td>
<td></td>
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<td>10 Alston on Do. 9d</td>
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The reprints of Shakespeare and the Spectator were matters of controversy, of course. Strahan was not a bookseller nor yet a member of the London copyright owning establishment, but I suspect he was not the only Londoner of the 1750s to take the Scottish reprints when it suited.

Strahan was a solid friend to Hamilton and Balfour. It is likely that their old apprentice David Wilson, who was their principal bookseller in London in the 1750s, also dealt with them on a basis of friendship. He was well-known to polite society in Edinburgh. Some of the business relationships the firm formed in London were long lasting. John Nourse was one of the booksellers there with whom they were associated over a period of

1. BM: Add. Mss. 48803A, f.91r.

2. Scottish gentlemen looking for agreeable booksellers in both capitals associated him with Gavin Hamilton. Robert Adam, told in Rome in 1755 that Piranesi might dedicate an engraving to him, wrote to James Adam: "It will however cost me some Sous, in purchasing 30 or 100 Coppys of it, which I propose Sending to England & Scotland to be resold. I imagine, David Wilson, & Baille Hamilton may make something of it by adding a trifle of additional price to each Copy." (SRO: GD 13/4777,f.22r.)
many years.¹

The publishing and printing connections between Edinburgh and London grew more varied and complex as the century progressed. (See above pp. 65, 77-8, for some early instances of co-operation involving Gavin Hamilton.) Books were printed in London for publication in Scotland. One such was Algernon Sidney's Discourses Concerning Government, 1750, which was London-printed (I presume this from the presence of press-figures) and issued on behalf of Hamilton and Balfour with at least two title-pages. In the imprint of one version only their names appear, in the other they are joined by Daniel Baxter of Glasgow. Booksellers often shared the imprints of books they were merely stocking, but specially issued titles are a fair indication, I would think, of a publishing involvement.

Books were printed in Scotland for publication in London with a London imprint. Sometimes the edition was only partly for a London bookseller, as was the case with Robert Riccalctoun's An Inquiry into the Spirit and Tendency of Letters on Theron and Aspasio, which Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printed in 1762. There are three variant imprints at least — "Edinburgh. Printed for Hamilton, Balfour and Neill"; "Glasgow. Printed for John Orr"; and "London. Printed for E. Dilly."

¹ In 1748 Strahan noted that Nourse had sent Hamilton 25 copies of Anti-Lucretius. (BM: Add. Mss. 48800, 41.) Years later Balfour and Nourse were publishing jointly editions of Robert Simson's Euclid. See Balfour's remarks on this book, and on the cost of Scottish paper, in a letter to Nourse on December 11, 1772 (BUL: in La.II.586), and in a letter to the Londoner's successor, Francis Wingrave, May 29, 1788 (NLS: Ms.5319,f.32).
At other times books were printed in Edinburgh wholly for London employers, although this may not have occurred on a grand scale until after 1785, when the wages of Edinburgh compositors fell further behind the London rates. The Ledgers of Patrick and Adam Neill, 1764-73, give details of printing done for Edward and Charles Dilly, and it may be that Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printed for the Dilly firm and for other London men even earlier.

As time went on books were printed at either Edinburgh or London for joint publication in both countries. An early example of this type of sharing was the Whole Works of Dunoan Forbes, 1753, which was London-printed for Hamilton and Balfour in Edinburgh and Wilson and Durham in London. The practice raises some bibliographical problems, since the interest of one side or the other is not always apparent in the imprint. Adam Ferguson's "Sister Peg" pamphlet of 1761, and Noble's A Voyage to the East Indies of the following year appear to be wholly London books — according to the title-pages I have seen — but external evidence shows they were in fact partly financed by Patrick Neill.

It would be interesting to know Gavin Hamilton's thoughts on shared publication. In the early 1750s it did not fit into his plans to any great extent: he wanted to promote his country's book trade by publishing major native writers, and it was probably of some importance to him that he and Balfour do it alone. A golden opportunity, so it seemed to him, fell into the firm's hands when they signed a contract with David Hume to publish the first volume of The History of Great Britain.

 Hamilton explained his plans to Strahan in a cheerful and
rather excited letter of January 29, 1754. The firm intended to pay Hume £1,200 for the rights to print an edition of 2,000 copies in three volumes quarto; it worked out to £2.00 a volume. This was a staggering offer in Scottish or any other terms. Hamilton admitted that everyone who had heard it thought it bold, and some thought it rash, but he was content with the bargain. The printing and publishing costs he set out for Strahan were based on sound experience and were reasonable enough, as was his calculation of the trade price. Working on the basis that the retail price would be 15/- bound, he reckoned on selling a volume to booksellers for 10/- in sheets. Hamilton expected the copies sold to the London booksellers would produce a smaller return, 9/- in sheets. A vital element in the operation, not mentioned in the letter, was perhaps taken for granted by Strahan. To sell so many copies of a quarto as quickly as he expected, Hamilton would have to distribute a large part of the edition in London.

The offer was a matter of discussion in the book trade and in literary circles. Tobias Smollett, writing from Chelsea on March 1, 1754, told Alexander Carlyle: "I lately insulted Andrew Millar with the enterprising Spirit of our friend Gavin Hamilton, and he had nothing to say but that he knew the Bargain before I spoke. His manner of answering from the Purpose is a Figure in Dialogue which I have often used with great Success. I think it was Melvil who one Evening asked of Ebenezer Young if ever he had known an honester fellow than Bob Elliott, to which Interrogation the said Ebenezer replied with some precipitation, 'by God I was at

1. I give the letter in full in my entry for Hume, 1754.
That Millar was not responsive to Smollett's teasing suggests he was not pleased. No one, Gavin Hamilton least of all, would have expected him to be.

Hume insisted that Hamilton, Balfour and Neill have the right to print the first volume only, but there was clearly a prospect of more to come should they succeed. "The Bookseller gave me 400 pounds for allowing him to print one Edition of 2000 Copies," Hume told a friend, "and his hopes are so sanguine, that he speaks of beginning a second Edition of 3000, and of paying me 600 pounds more for it." Hamilton, meanwhile, was preparing for an expedition to London, and he asked the author to write one of the letters of introduction he felt would be useful. Hume told John Wilkes: "Mr. Hamilton is of Opinion, that your Countenance & Protection would be of Use to him in London. He is a very honest Man; and I dare recommend him to your good Offices" (Letters, I, 205-6).

It was announced in the Edinburgh newspapers that publication at Edinburgh and London would be on November 12. Hamilton registered the book at Stationers' Hall on November 11, but upwards of a week elapsed before the London newspapers said the books were to be had from him (he was staying at the Golden Head, near Pinchbeck's toy shop, facing the Haymarket), and from the Knaptons, the Longmans, Hitch and Hawes, Millar, the Dodsleys, the Rivingtons, Thomas Payne, and Wilson and Durham. Most of these booksellers had been selling new Hamilton and Balfour publications.

for the last few years.

The anxious author, watching developments from afar, remarked on the considerable sale of the book in Edinburgh — 450 copies in five weeks (Letters, I, 214). The news from London was bad. The sale there was so low as to be considered a failure, and it was not long before Hume put the blame on Hamilton. Gavin wrote from London saying the lack of success was due to "some Strokes of Irreligion" in the book "which had raised the Cry of the Clergy"; but Hume, on recounting this to Andrew Millar some time later, said "the Baillie's Complaint must have proceeded from his own Misconduct, that the Cause he assignd could never have produced that Effect, that it was rather likely to encrease the Sale, according to all past Experience" (Letters, I, 249-50).

Hamilton spurned an offer by Millar to buy up the edition at a low price. Millar fed stories back to Hume, who became so disenchanted with the Edinburgh publisher that he decided to drop him only five months after the publication date. The author wrote to Millar on April 12, 1755:

"I am entirely of your Opinion: Your Offer to Baillie Hamilton was very reasonable, & ought to have been receiv'd with Thankfulness, not Peevishness. He is a very honest Man, & far from being interested; But he is passionate & even wrong headed to a great Degree. He has made it sufficiently appear in his Conduct of this whole Affair. I think the London Booksellers have had a sufficient Triumph over him; when a Book, which was much expected & was calculated to be popular, has had so small a Sale in his hands. To make the Triumph more compleat, I wish you wou'd take what remains into your hands, & dispose of it in a few Months. I beg of you to think again seriously of that Matter. If you will return to your former Offer, I will engage to make it effectual, or if the Baillie refuses to
Hamilton's peevishness (and uncharacteristic passion) is not really so difficult to understand when considered in the context of his dashed hopes, the evident back-stabbing by Millar, and the derisory initial offer. It was all beyond the comprehension of the author. "It is easy for me to see," he told Strahan later, "that Mr Millar has certainly offered to take from Baillie Hamilton 900 copies at nine Shillings. He never would have offered seven at the beginning. It was a strange Infatuation in the Baillie to refuse it" (Letters, I, 235).

One card Hamilton surely held in the negotiations was his original contract with Hume; such agreements usually stipulated that the author could not have another edition printed until the first was sold, and it is plain that this kind of safeguard was necessary. Hamilton had counted on getting nine shillings in sheets in London at the beginning, but had since had some of the books bound. Hume said in his correspondence that the number of bound copies was considerable (it later became fixed in Hume's mind that the Bailie had been extravagant), and said that John Balfour was uneasy about it. Binding part of an edition was not unusual: what is more significant, perhaps, is the complaint by Balfour, since it is a hint that he was unhappy at the way Gavin was proceeding. At the end of the day Millar bought the remainder of the edition, bindings and all; and in later years Hume came to distrust him, too.
Hamilton, who perhaps had reason to believe he should do better next time, made an unsuccessful bid to publish the second volume of the History. Hume wrote on June 8, 1756, that "Baillie Hamilton offer'd me the same Terms for the second, as for the first Volume, and I try'd to bring Andrew Millar, who is my London Bookseller, to enter for a Share with him; But he insisted upon the Whole, or none of it. He gives me Terms equally profitable: Which is a good Proof to me, that I shall at last get the better, both of the Cry of Faction & the Combination of Booksellers."¹

Hume's belief that the London booksellers combined to stop the sale of the first volume was supported some years ago by Ernest C. Mossner and Harry Ransom, in an article entitled "Hume and the 'Conspiracy of the Booksellers': The Publication and Early Fortunes of the History of England."² In my opinion their evidence is less than convincing, in that they place too much reliance in the opinion of the anguished author, and more important, in that their view of the Scottish and English book trades is too simple.³ Nevertheless their central point is most


2. University of Texas Studies in English (1950), 162-82.

3. They telescope events that happened over a period of years, and are unaware of the co-operation in the new-book trade that was being built up by Hamilton, among others, before 1754. The writers believe (on grounds that are none too clear) that Andrew Millar and others formed a new "Conger" about 1750, whose well advertised intention it was to reduce the sale of books which they did not own. Finding it incredible that Hamilton did not know this, the authors make some doubtful assertions on procedures followed by practised members of the trade, and come to the silly conclusion that the Bailie knew little about publishing and bookselling.
interesting. It is that Hamilton was an interloper in London doomed to failure, and is based partly on the following quotation, which they take from Samuel Jackson Pratt's Supplement to the Life of David Hume, Esq. (London, 1777):

"Hamilton, upon his expectations from this book, took a shop, and settled in London. He applied to the London booksellers to take copies of the History from him, but none of them would deal with an interloper. Hamilton, sadly distressed, has recourse to his friend, Mr. Millar: Millar obliges him by taking fifty copies: but when gentlemen, in his well-frequented shop, asked for the book, "Pho (says Millar generously) it is incomplete, another volume is coming out soon. You are welcome to the use of this in the mean time." Thus did Millar circulate the fifty copies among some hundred readers without selling one. And by this ingenious device attained his favourite purpose, of getting Hamilton to sell him his right in the copy for a trifle, as being an insignificant performance."

("Hume and the 'Conspiracy of the Booksellers,'" 170-71)

There are obvious errors of fact in the anecdote. Yet it is quite conceivable that the so-called friend Andrew Millar was up to mischief, and it may also be that the other London booksellers (and stretching it even further, Hamilton's trusted agents Wilson and Durham) combined to stop the sale of the History, not so much because it was their usual procedure, but because this was an exceptional intrusion that called for an exceptional measure. A well-timed bolt from the blue.

I remain sceptical about the theory, partly because there is not enough evidence to show what really happened, and also because a conspiracy, such as the one that occurred in 1759 to keep out cheap reprints, was hardly necessary in this case. An expensive
quarto, brought in large numbers by an out-of-town publisher, may
not have been so easy to sell quickly, regardless of the subject, and
members of the London trade were perhaps not inclined to make a
special effort without a bigger share in the proceeds.

Whatever the cause of the failure in London, the effect was
clear enough. Scots authors felt they had to have a London
publisher if they wished to succeed in London on a large scale.
They also saw that a sure way to get a good price from Andrew
Millar was to say that Gavin Hamilton was showing an interest.
Hume mentions getting "equally profitable" terms from Millar for
the second volume of the History. After Hamilton and Balfour
published his Principles of Agriculture and Vegetation in 1757,
Dr. Francis Home did not fail to tell the Londoner they wished to
print another edition; Millar published it instead.

A striking offer made by Hamilton and Balfour to William
Robertson for his History of Scotland quickly became known. Hume
wrote to Millar on April 6, 1758: "Hamilton & Balfour have offer'd
him a very unusual Price; no less than 500 Pounds for one Edition
of 2000; but I own, that I should be better pleas'd to see him in
your hands. I only inform you of this Fact, that you may see how
high the general Expectations are of Mr Robertson's Performance.
It will have a quick Sale in this Country from the Character of
the Author; and in England from the Merit of the Work, as soon as
it is known" (Letters, I, 273).

Robertson, who was in London already, was well able to
promote himself and his manuscript, and the Edinburgh offer was
doubtless among the hints he had dropped in Millar's ear.
Writing from London a few days later, Robertson told Lord Milton:
"I have got very lucrative offers made me by the Scotch Booksellers, but as the London Booksellers have almost a monopoly of the trade in their hands I have been advised by every body here to deal with them at any rate. In order to try whether the commodity I had to dispose of suited the market in this place, I have put my papers into the hands of several literary people, & besides them, I have got some persons of rank, & who lead the fashion in a town, where fashion governs every thing, to read them. The Duke of Argyll, Lord Bute, Lord Bath, The Speaker, Mr Walpole, Mr Doddington & a good many more have taken this trouble, & I have received from them, as much praise as the vanity of an Author could wish for. I took care to let A. Millar hear of all this in a proper way, & t'other day I began & concluded my negociation with him. He has agreed to give me £600, which is more than any 1 Author except D. Hume ever got for Copy-Money."

Hamilton's failure to publish Hume and Robertson, which must have been a considerable disappointment to him, should be seen in the context of his successes in other fields of bookselling and publishing. Moreover, the rivalry with Millar, and the inability to master the London markets, brought it home to John Balfour and others of like mind that it was futile to try to be too independent in large publishing projects. It was better for all concerned to publish on a co-operative basis, and, of course, this had been going on for years in certain cases.

In 1769, after Millar died, Strahan brought his friend Balfour into a share of Charles V, the book for which Robertson was paid £3,500 copy money. Strahan and Cadell, Millar's successor, were very willing to have Balfour, Alexander Kincaid and William Creech join them in the ownership of other Scottish literary property. The names of all five appear, for example, in the imprint of 1

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1. NLS: Saltoun Correspondence, Robertson to Lord Milton, April 10, 1758.
William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*, 2nd edition, 1772. Balfour shared in Robertson's *History of America* and in other books, Creech in Blair's *Sermons* and others. Blair, indeed, remarked on the convenience of the arrangement, finding it easier to attend the press in Edinburgh than to work with proofs sent back and forth from London.

The Donaldson-Reid episode, and the ending of the partnership

With conflicting temperaments Hamilton and Balfour may never have got on well even at the best of times. The strain finally became intolerable shortly after the printer and press-corrector John Reid joined the firm as a fourth partner. Reid was a remarkable character who has left us some important commentary on printing-house procedures in Edinburgh; he also had a knack of causing trouble, and in his brief stay with Hamilton, Balfour and Neill acted as a catalyst in some ways. A valued worker (William Smellie) left upon his arrival, the troubles of the *Edinburgh Chronicle* increased, and John Balfour was drawn into legal combat with Alexander Donaldson.

In 1760 the new man acted on his own initiative to persuade Donaldson to give, and Balfour to accept, some printing work. (Donaldson at the time was without his own printer, and, as Balfour learned later, Reid was negotiating secretly for the position.) Donaldson said he did not want to give anything to the company at first, because he was averse to have any dealings with

1. NLS: MS.948, f.8, Blair to T. Cadell, 1793.
Balfour, whose troublesome temper he had experienced more than once.

Balfour was not so enthusiastic either, because Donaldson wanted ten-per-cent discount with twelve months' interest-free credit. Trade discounts were not usual in Edinburgh at this period: Hamilton and Balfour were to explain that before 1750 they never asked the printers of their books to give a farthing off the common rate. When they formed the partnership with Neill it was agreed that each of the three would get a discount for work brought in on his own account, but this was an internal matter. Although Balfour had not heard of anyone giving a discount with time to pay locally, Donaldson assured him, through the intermediary Reid, that Walter Ruddiman senior and others had done just that. It is evident that the Edinburgh printers usually charged a uniform rate. Balfour said he would not be the first to break prices in the city, but if Ruddiman had "broken the ice", he would also print as cheaply. The Donaldson work was accepted, and the charges came to £56.16s.2d., on which the discount was £5.13s.5d.

In September of 1761 Balfour learned that Ruddiman had not given the terms that Donaldson claimed. To say he was chagrined is not pitching it too high — he is said to have shouted that he had been most grossly cheated and imposed upon. Having a flair for the dramatic touch, he gathered Walter Ruddiman and Ebenezer and John Robertson, the other printers Donaldson had talked about, positioned them in John's Coffee-house, then sent for the man himself. Ruddiman repeated to Donaldson's face that there had been no such arrangement. With admirable coolness Donaldson replied that old
Walter was losing his memory, since they had agreed to the discount over a bottle of wine at Mary MacKenzie's tavern.

The next day Donaldson received a letter, signed by Balfour, Ruddiman and the Robertsons, saying they would give a discount if he would pay interest from the date the various work was completed, otherwise they would take joint action. This attempt at conciliation appears to have been drafted by Gavin Hamilton. Donaldson chose to come to an arrangement with all except Balfour; he sent his adversary a sarcastic note saying he thanked Mr. Balfour for the good offices and intentions in the affair of Messrs. Ruddiman and Robertson, and would remember the same on all occasions.

The relative triviality of the printing discount was forgotten as both booksellers battled in the Sheriff Court and in the Court of Session. Balfour was relentless in his accusations of fraud, and was convinced that Reid, now in partnership with Donaldson, had been party to it. According to Donaldson, the motive for the prosecution was Balfour's jealousy at the emergence of a new rival in the Scottish book trade. At the end of the day the Court merely ruled that Donaldson was
entitled to his discount but had to pay interest. ¹

Balfour's prosecution of Donaldson began in 1761, and in the following year, at the height of the storm, the Hamilton, Balfour and Neill partnership ended. Hamilton wrote to Strahan on August 26, 1762, to say that he had "parted business with Mr. Balfour."

¹. The proceedings are documented in 20 mss at SRO (West Register House): Currie Mack Misc. 1/20. The bundle includes some papers in the holograph of Balfour, and a letter in that of John Reid. I have put the various printing charges in my list of publications, under the year 1760.

Copies of three relevant printed papers are in SL, Session Papers, Vol. 90 (2):


Inner House, July 12, 1764, in the Cause Mess. Hamilton and Balfour, contra Alex. Donaldson.

Donaldson and Reid were in partnership from 1760 to 1765, then (to John Balfour's pleasure) they fell out and took to the law courts. The mss and printed material arising from the Reid-Donaldson disputes are of bibliographical significance, since among other things they contain details of their books and the work done by Reid as a printer and corrector.

The mss are at SRO (West Register House): CS 231/D1/36. They include Reid's account of the editorial changes he made in books. Relevant printed papers are: February 28, 1769, Unto the Right Honourable the Lords of Council and Session, the Petition of Alexander Donaldson Bookseller in Edinburgh. April 25, 1769, Answers for John Reid Printer in Edinburgh, Defender; to the Petition of Alexander Donaldson Bookseller there, Pursuer. July 20, 1769, Unto the Right Honourable the Lords of Council and Session, the Petition of John Reid Printer in Edinburgh. October 18, 1769, Answers for Alexander Donaldson, Bookseller in Edinburgh; to the Petition of John Reid, Printer there. (Copies in NLS: R.234.b.2.)

For an example of Reid's editorial work, see the notes in my list of publications under Shakespeare, 1753.
am not to concern myself any further in bookselling, but the paper mill is become my sole property. I have likewise gone out of the printing house; but whether Mr. Balfour will continue with Mr. Neill or not I cannot guess... It is agreed betwixt us that the matter be kept a secret for some time, and my name is to continue in trade."¹ The reason for the secrecy was to allow the partners to collect the debts owing to the company. The Hamilton, Balfour and Neill imprint was used until 1763 at least, and the Hamilton and Balfour shop was advertised until 1764, but I take 1762 to be the effective terminal date.

Hamilton turned to improving the paper mill at Bogsmill, although he continued to take an interest in events in Edinburgh.² He died on New Year’s Day, 1767. Balfour began a new, long career as bookseller, publisher, auctioneer, printer and paper-maker, and gained his share of friends and enemies along the way. He was active until the 1780s, and deserves a separate study. He did not relinquish the post of University Printer until 1794, and died in October of the following year in comfortable circumstances.

Patrick Neill went into a printing partnership with Robert Fleming father and son in 1764, but in 1767 gave up his active interest in favour of brother Adam Neill. Patrick died in 1789. The firm with which his name was associated, Neill and Company,


2. In 1765, still described as a bookseller, he served on the jury at a celebrated murder trial in the Court of Session. The Trial of Katharine Nairn and Patrick Ogilvie (Edinburgh, 1765), p.51.
CHAPTER VI

The Publications of Hamilton, Balfour and Neill

Introduction: Patrick Neill and the Printing House

Patrick Neill, busy running the practical side of the business, was not as much in the public eye as his two partners, but one can find something of his style in his handling of authors, in a letter he wrote concerning the Edinburgh Chronicle, and in the success of the printing house. Neill appears to have been temperamentally more akin to Hamilton, calm and polite, and evidently had the same kind of business shrewdness as Balfour, since he was able to afford to retire to the country while still in his forties.

In the contract he and Hamilton and Balfour signed on December 7, 1749, it was agreed the partnership should begin on Whitsunday, 1750, and last for ten years. The capital was £320, of which the two booksellers contributed three-fifths, Neill two-fifths, the profits to be shared proportionately. In addition Neill was to get £25 for managing the printing business in the first year, £30 in the second, and this salary was to rise to £36 if the capital were increased to £500.

Neill agreed to keep a ledger of printing accounts, to collect the debts, oversee the printing, and to make sure the printing house was kept stocked with material and equipment. No purchases of over £5 were to be made without the consent of Hamilton and Balfour. He was to have the management and charge of correcting the sheets, and to keep at his own expense a proper person to read when the sheets
were correcting. The firm was employing a full-time corrector a few years later, although it appears that Neill always did his share of this work, too.

Some information on the running of the printing house came to light during the firm's prosecution of Alexander Donaldson. The partners admitted they obtained a discount on printing charges when they put their own publications through the press, although they denied the abatement was the twenty-per-cent Donaldson thought it was. They also implied that the original working capital was rather tight, by saying that for the first few years Hamilton and Balfour had to advance the money before work could begin on their books.

The printing house was set up at first in the West Wing of the Royal Infirmary. Hamilton, who was the hospital's treasurer, used his influence to obtain a ward on the third floor, as well as a small room at the top of a stair for use as a printing room and warehouse; the rent, it appears, was £7.10s. annually, rising to £10.2 In 1754, when Hamilton and Balfour were appointed printers to the University, the printing side of the business was moved into the College, where the partners rented the Low Library and the printing house below for £18 a year.

At about the time they went into the University, Hamilton and Balfour gave up their shop opposite the Cross to make way for the building of the Royal Exchange, and opened a new shop a few yards


down the High Street, beside Old Post House Close. When the Exchange was completed, they also rented a room on an upper floor of the east wing to use as their auction house.

The men and boys who worked in the printing house and bookshop came and went over the years. I have been able to identify fifteen or sixteen of those who were in either branch of the business between 1750 and 1761:

John Johnston, nephew of Thomas Moffat, tanner in Moffat, was apprenticed to Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, printers, effective May 23, 1750. His indentures, which are preserved in the Edinburgh City Archives (McLeod's Bundle 113, no.12), state that he was to be instructed in the art and trade of composition and case work for 6½ years, at a pay of 3/- sterling a week. His masters did not require a prentice fee. For every day off without permission young John was obliged to serve two at the expiry of his training, and for every pennyworth of damage or loss he caused, he was to repay two pennies; if he heard anything that would cause his masters harm he was to report the same, and he was warned that his conviction as an accessory to tumult or insurrection would cause him to lose the benefit of apprenticeship.

David Sloas, son of John, gauger, was registered as an apprentice to Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, printers, on February 23, 1751 (Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1701-1755).

William Auld, son of the late John Auld, merchant in St Andrews, was registered as an apprentice to Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour, merchants, on January 15, 1752 (Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1701-1755). He was an apprentice printer.

William Smellie was bound as a printing apprentice for 6½ years
beginning October 1, 1752, when, according to Robert Kerr, he was about twelve years old. Smellie himself indicates he was slightly older than this: "At the age of less than fourteen years," he said, "I had neither father nor mother, but was bound an apprentice to Messrs Hamilton and Balfour, as a printer. Two years afterwards, instead of an apprentice at three shillings a-week, I was made corrector to the printing-house at ten shillings a-week. This circumstance enabled me to maintain myself and two sisters, till they both died of consumption. Messrs Hamilton and Balfour, whom I shall ever revere, perceived my natural avidity for knowledge; and, before my apprenticeship was finished, allowed me three hours a-day to attend the different Professors of the University" (Memoirs of Smellie, II, 175-6). This account would make Smellie the corrector around the end of 1754, when he was under the age of sixteen. He was an exceptional workman, and in 1758 composed and corrected the edition of Terence that won the firm an Edinburgh Society gold medal. In September, 1759, he left to join Murray and Cochran, to correct, to edit the Scots Magazine, and to help out with the composing work, at a wage of 16/- a week. A few years later he entered into a printing partnership with John Balfour.

William Tod was one of Smellie's fellow compositors at the firm, but was working in London as a journeyman by November, 1759. Kerr prints some of his correspondence in Memoirs of Smellie, I, 43 ff.

William Chisholm was the warehouse keeper. He was with the company by 1752: a note on p.325 of the proof sheets of William Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* — the book was published in February, 1753 — directs that certain copy should be taken to the printing house by Chisholm (EUL: Dh.6.75). When Chisholm gave evidence in the Reid-Donaldson disputes some years later he indicated he worked for Hamilton, Balfour and Neill until about 1760. In 1769 Chisholm was sixty-nine, married, and working as warehouse keeper for Colin MacFarquhar (February 28, 1769, *Unto the Right Honourable the Lords of Council and Session, the Petition of Alexander Donaldson*, Appendix, p.25).

James Muir was working as a compositor by 1752. A number of errors on p.488 of the Maitland proofs are marked off against the notation "J. Muir". He had been admitted to membership of the Society of Journeymen Printers of Edinburgh on September 27, 1751.

A certain "Ramsay" may have been employed as a corrector, or in some other capacity, in this period. A note on p.228 of the Maitland proofs directs: "Deliver this to Mr. Ramsay."

Thomas Denham, son of James, of Birkwood, was registered as an apprentice to Gavin Hamilton and Company, printers, on January 9, 1754 (*Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1701-1755*).

Ebenezer Lamb, described as servant to Messrs. John Balfour and Company, booksellers, witnessed a protested bill on April 2,

1. *Articles of Agreement by the Journeymen Printers of Edinburgh, for Raising a Fund for the Supply of their Indigent Members, Widows, and Children* (Edinburgh, 1758), p.18. (Copy in Edinburgh City Archives.)

Walter Balfour, servant to Messrs. John Balfour and Company, booksellers, witnessed the same protested bill as Lamb in 1754. Walter was still working in the bookshop on February 10, 1758, when he wrote out and signed a receipt for the Advocate George Wallace, for books bought at auction (EUL: La.II.694/7). He does not appear in the family tree in The Balfours of Pilrig, and I do not know what, if any, relationship he bore to John Balfour.

Richard Wilson, son of Alexander, Town Clerk of Lanark, was registered on December 15, 1756, as an apprentice to Hamilton, Balfour and Neill for six years. The partners did not enter their apprentices in the city records after this, but it is reasonable to assume they continued to start new boys during the next few years.

Charles Allan, described as book-keeper to John Balfour and Company, witnessed a protested bill on December 31, 1756 (SRO: Register of Deeds, Mackenzie 182/2). His background came to public notice when he was dismissed for theft two years later. The Scots Magazine for November, 1758, p.610, carried this report: "In the beginning of October the following article appeared in the Edinburgh news-papers. 'On Wednesday last, Sept. 27, the presbytery of Edinburgh having found, upon the clearest evidence, that Mr Charles Allan, some time preacher of the gospel, and late shopkeeper to Messrs Hamilton and Balfour booksellers in Edinburgh, had for a considerable time been in the practice of

purloining the company's books, which he had disposed of for his own use, did therefore, by an unanimous judgment, deprive the said Mr Allan of his licence to preach the gospel; and appointed this their deed to be published in the news-papers, to prevent (if possible) his imposing on the world, under the pretended character of a preacher of the gospel."

James Macpherson, the creator of Ossian, corrected the press for a few months in 1759. The contact was a useful one, since Hamilton and Balfour published his *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* the following year.

John Reid, who started as a corrector with Murray and Cochran in 1744 and subsequently learned the trade of printing, became partner to Hamilton, Balfour and Neill on August 14, 1759. The association was referred to a number of times in the two court cases he was involved in. He was to manage the *Edinburgh Chronicle* and help Neill with the overseeing of the printing house and with the correcting. In the following March Reid asked for his contract to be dissolved, but he stayed on for a few more months, and the Court of Session ruled (during the Balfour-Donaldson case) that his partnership remained in effect until October 1, 1760. Reid claimed he wanted out of his contract because all the work of overseeing and correcting fell on his shoulders, but the real reason may have been, as Donaldson himself said, that he could not raise the money stipulated in the agreement. It also seemed to Reid that Donaldson offered better

Adam Neill, Patrick's brother, may have been in the printing house during the Hamilton, Balfour and Neill period. The Neills were a close family. Adam took over from Henry in 1767 and was active in Neill and Company until his death in 1812. When I visited the firm before it ceased business I was shown part of the dictionary Adam used; it was minus the title-page, but appeared to be volume two of John Ash's *New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language*, London 1775 edition. Someone had scrawled on the end-papers: "15th January 1750, Mr. Neil and Company's Dictionary 1761," and several times apparently sarcastically, "Adam Neill his Beloved Dictionary." The book also bore the name of Patrick's own son James, who came into the business about 1782.

The printing house, then, started at least six apprentices between 1750 and 1756 — Johnston, Sloas, Auld, Smellie, Denham, and Richard Wilson. The journeymen compositors included Tod before 1759, Muir, Reid at the end of the decade, Patrick Neill of course, and possibly Adam Neill. The correctors included Neill at all times, possibly one Ramsay circa 1752, Smellie from late 1754 until September, 1759, Macpherson in early 1759, and Reid from August, 1759, until September, 1760. No doubt there were more men and boys. However, the number may not have exceeded eight or twelve at any one time, since the firm had just three presses to work, one of which was old and perhaps not in regular use.  

Patrick Neill was formerly with Murray and Cochran, and of course Hamilton and Balfour were not in the printing trade before 1750, so starting in that year Patrick had to assemble all the material necessary for the business. Fortunately, there is an exact record of this equipment, which he drew up in 1764 when he went into partnership with the Flemings. His inventory is at the beginning of the Ledger he kept between 1764 and 1767:

Printing Materials belonging to Mr. Patrick Neill late Printer in the College, Edinburgh, and now brought into the Company Accomp at Messieurs Flemings.

Sept. 1. 1764

1. When I visited Neill & Company in 1972 I was shown this Ledger and also a Ledger kept by Adam Neill from 1767 to 1773. Their bibliographical significance was obvious, and believing they would be kept in the custody of the firm, I drew attention to their contents locally and also took extensive notes. Later in the year Mr. Patrick Neill Fraser, the managing director, generously made them available for wider consultation by placing them on deposit at NLS (MS. Dep. 196).

The inventory of Neill's printing equipment is with a similar list of Fleming stock.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lib oz</td>
<td>£ s d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>794.</td>
<td>11.11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>738.4</td>
<td>10.15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>516.6</td>
<td>6.9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229.</td>
<td>2.17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213.</td>
<td>2.15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>614.</td>
<td>8.19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>444.</td>
<td>6.18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>435.</td>
<td>5.8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>630.</td>
<td>10.10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>530.</td>
<td>16.11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118.</td>
<td>1.17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130.</td>
<td>3.15.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150.</td>
<td>3.8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>1.1.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>348.</td>
<td>4.7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>1.13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>1.14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>3.12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123.</td>
<td>6.3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132.</td>
<td>3.6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88.</td>
<td>2.4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>0.10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164.</td>
<td>2.11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>0.10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>1.11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146.</td>
<td>1.16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144.</td>
<td>1.16.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The whereabouts of the type-founder John Baine, has been something of a mystery; he was thought to have spent many years in Ireland after leaving Alexander Wilson in 1749. See G. H. Bushnell, in A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775 (Oxford: Bibliographical Society reprint 1968), p.371.

Patrick was, as we see, buying from Baine during the partnership with Hamilton and Balfour, and in the Ledgers he and Adam give details of their business with him between December 31, 1764, and January 7, 1774, including their deliveries of old type-metal to him; this strongly suggests he was in Edinburgh during the latter years at least.
800 Scabbards used in Dr. Whyte's Book,
1 Printing Press made by Gray & Brunton 0.16. 0
1 Do. made by Bell and Hay 9. 0. 0
1 Do. made in Holland 8. 0. 0
3 Case Racks 3. 0. 0
2 Plank Racks 0. 6. 0
100 Good Cases @ 1/6 pr piece 7.10. 0
56 Old Do. at 1/- 2.16. 0
Large imposing Stone and Frame 1. 0. 0
1 Press Stone from the Black Rocks 0.12. 0
1 Do. plated with Iron 0. 6. 0
5 New Frames @ 7/- pr piece 1.15. 0
5 Old Frames @ 2/- 0.10. 0
4 Half Frames @ 1/6 0. 6. 0
140 Poles with Bearers @ 4d 2. 6. 8
A Book Press with an Iron Screw and Twang 2. 2. 0
A Water Trough lined with Lead 1. 5. 0
A Lee Trough 0.16. 0
12 Composing Sticks 1. 4. 0
A Rinsing Trough 0. 8. 0
A large Table with Drawers 1.16. 0
Another large Table 0. 4. 0
Ten small Tables @ 1/- pr piece 0.10. 0
... blank in Ms/ Letter and Press plank 1.10. 0
5 Iron press Candlesticks 0.10. 0
10 White Iron Do. for Case @ 2d 0. 1. 8
25 good Chasses, all pair'd 3. 0. 0
The whole page Furniture 1. 0. 0
Wood and Metal Letters 2 1. 0. 0
Two large Letter Presses 1. 0. 0

50 Lib wt. London Ink @ 1/- 2.10. 0
One large Set of Boxes 3. 0. 0
Wire Partitions and shelves 2. 0. 0
Two White Iron Water Pitchers 0.12. 0
A Candle Chest 0. 6. 0
Thirty Pellets 0.15. 0
Two Peels 0. 2. 0

£188.14.10½


2. i.e., cupboards or presses for storing type.
### Articles omitted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 more Chasses, at 2/-</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Letter-Planks, at 1/-</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Press-Planks at 1/-</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Galleys, at 1/-</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Type Boxes, at 6d</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 round-headed stools</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 more Half-frames, at 1/6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A new Ball Trough</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Ley Brush</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ley Jar and Urine Pig</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellows</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padel</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ax, all Iron</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongs</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Chimneys, at 2/6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire Shovel</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Baskets</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Hand Saw, with Back</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 pairs Snuffers, at 2d</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Savealls†</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Book Brushes</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Chair</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**£195.13. 6½**

The compositors and press-men at Hamilton, Balfour and Neill's were occupied with a variety of work. The publications I have been able to identify so far are perhaps just the tip of an iceberg. The men would have done jobbing work — toll tickets, posters, circular letters, and the like — and from 1754 the firm, as City Printers, would have been called on to produce all kinds of official documents, from Acts and Proclamations to minutiae such as invitation cards. Book-printing would also have been carried out on behalf of other printers and publishers, even down to printing a few signatures in a volume, as Alexander Donaldson

1. i.e., pans with spikes for burning up candle-ends.
requested in 1760. Since the firm did not give trade discounts in the 1750s I imagine such work usually came in times of hurry, to be paid for in kind, or when the partners were part of a consortium which was publishing a large edition. After 1764 Neill specialized in printing Petitions, Memorials, and so on for Court of Session cases, and it is likely that Hamilton, Balfour and Neill did at least a little of this kind of Session work.

Session work normally had to be done at once. Larger more literary work was printed concurrently: a number of books were in composition at the same time, and a few formes of each were run off as they were ready. For example, it took ten months at least for the 131\(\frac{1}{2}\) folio sheets of Waitland's *History of Edinburgh* (published in 1753) to be composed, corrected and printed in 762 copies. In the meantime a large amount of printing was completed and new work started.

The invariable imposition at Hamilton, Balfour and Neill was half-sheet for octavo and duodecimo. In the early 1750s, when it was still fashionable to have University medical theses in quarto, Neill's men imposed this format in half-sheets, too. Their method is referred to in my entries for two sets of Robert Wallace proofs, *A Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind*, 1753, an octavo, and the unpublished *Irenicum*, 1755, a duodecimo.

The paper used in Hamilton, Balfour and Neill publications is of interest, first of all, from a cultural and economic point of view. By varying the qualities of paper in a single edition publishers of the day were able to sell the book at different prices. A four-penny pamphlet might be sold for three-pence on poorer paper. Hamilton and Balfour often advertised two different
qualities of paper in their books, and I suspect there were other
variations in paper which they did not mention in the newspapers;
their shop was an hospitable place, and readers could see for
themselves.

To get good quality paper for certain publications Hamilton
and Balfour went to the length of importing from the James
Whatman Mill in Kent, either direct or through some agent. I
first recognized the JW countermark when examining copies of
medical theses printed by the firm in 1752, but possibly it is
also to be found in their earlier fine-paper theses. Hamilton
and Balfour continued to buy Whatman paper throughout the
partnership with Neill — using it, for example, in part of their
dition of Virgil, 1755 — and where I have observed it I have
made a note in the list of publications.

From the period 1755-56 Hamilton and Balfour were also in a
position to make some kinds of paper to meet their own needs.
In October of 1755 Hamilton acquired from the trustees of Nicol
Lithgow the lease of the Bogsmill paper mill, on the Water of
Leith near Colinton, two miles west of Edinburgh. In the same
year the lands of the whole area came into the hands of George
Inglis, who decided to give as fine terms as possible to his close
friend Gavin. Hamilton renounced the old lease and was given a
new one for fifty-seven years from Whitsunday, 1756, on the mill,
workers' cothouses, and six acres of land. From 1761 Hamilton also
rented a sixteen-acre park there and a house called Millbank, where
he and his family lived during the summer. He improved the mill
and it was said to have been capable of an extensive manufacture of
paper at the time of his death in 1767. His son, Dr. Robert
Hamilton, managed the business for a few years afterwards, but Balfour bought the lease in 1774 on the advice of William Strahan. 1

Bogsmill always had the capacity to produce fine quality as well as commercial paper. Bank-note paper was traditionally made there: Nicol Lithgow made it before Hamilton's time, and by 1777 John Balfour remarked how much the demand for the bank-paper had grown.

Being improvement minded, Gavin Hamilton frequently competed for the prizes offered by the Edinburgh Society. His paper company (it was in his name, but Balfour evidently had a share before 1762) won two silver medals for work done in 1757, for what was described as best printing paper, not under twenty reams, and deep-blue paper for lapping linen, not under six reams (SN, January, 1758, 44). Another silver medal was awarded for deep-blue paper made in 1758 (SN, April, 1759, 214). Edinburgh Society premiums for 1761 went to Gavin Hamilton and Company, paper-makers: a silver medal for the greatest quantity of best post paper, not under twenty reams, plus five guineas to be distributed among the most deserving of the workmen; a silver medal for the greatest quantity, not under forty reams, of brown cap paper, made on a royal frame, fittest for packing; another silver medal for the greatest quantity, not under twelve reams, of deep-blue paper for lapping fine linen (SM, April 12, 1762).

The premiums for 1762 were similar: a silver medal for the

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1. SRG: Bill Chamber process no. 43809. (I cite this source more fully in footnote 1, Chapter I.)
greatest quantity of best post paper, not under twenty reams, with five guineas for the workmen, and a silver medal for the greatest quantity of deep-blue paper, not under twelve reams. In addition, Hamilton’s company received a silver medal for making best writing post paper, or King’s Arms, in a quantity of not less than forty reams (CM, April 27, 1763).

One of the watermarks used by Hamilton and Balfour, a cypher, is to be found standing by itself in a demy-size printing paper that measures variously between 55.5 x 43.5 cm. and 55 x 42.5 cm. I began to notice the edges of the cypher in their octavos and duodecimos published around the year 1758; it appears frequently in their books from this year onwards, which suggests they were producing this printing paper in fairly large quantities. The folding and trimming of smaller formats would normally make it difficult to deduce what the whole cypher looks like, but by good fortune I found the mark in two uncut octavos, in Willison, _The Mother’s Catechism_, 1758, at Edinburgh University Library, and in an odd volume of Campbell, _The Authenticity of the Gospel—History Justified_, 1759, at the National Library of Scotland. The cypher is basically 'HB' with the initials of the partners' first names, 'J' and 'G', as in the following sketches:
the tops of
the letters
vary:

2.1 cm high

3.8 cm wide
The publications

My list of Hamilton, Balfour and Neill publications is provisional. It will be some time before a full bibliography can be attempted, and for the present purpose I have concentrated on gathering all the titles that I can identify readily.

I have examined very few copies of each book so far: my bibliographical descriptions are meant, therefore, to be a starting point, rather than a definitive statement. Nevertheless, they do provide some information about particular editions, and they present the reader with a means of identifying or comparing other copies.

The entries are laid out as follows:

General arrangement. Authors or titles are given alphabetically by year. Serials or volumes published over a period of years are entered under the year of the first volume.

Title-page. I usually give a full transcription. However, I abbreviate the titles of the theses, which were set out in a lengthy, standard form. Quotations are left out, as are the long lists of contents found on book catalogues and in certain well-known reprints. When a word before an ellipse is punctuated, I always refer to the final mark as a period, and thus show the omission as four spaced periods.
The original punctuation is followed otherwise. Capital letters are usually put into lower case; if a proper noun is in lower case in the text, I leave it that way.

**Imprint dates.** I indicate the form these took; usually they were in capitals run together or separated by commas, periods or spaces. In the rare instances where Neill used caps and small caps, I indicate these with upper and lower case, as, for example, Micol. Since I have not made a study of the type, my indication of spaces in the dates may sometimes be found to be subjective, perhaps.

**Collational formula.** In the context of my limited aims here, I follow the method of description codified by Fredson Bowers in *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (New York, 1962 re-issue).

The format statement is followed by the formula, a statement of the signing, the total number of leaves, and the number of plates if any (with the engraver's name if given). Where there is an odd number of leaves in a gathering, I state this as, for example: $A \cdot \chi^4 Z(3 \text{ leaves})$.

The first leaf is the title unless otherwise mentioned. Neill's men usually, but not always, kept signature A for the start of the text.
Press figures. I give them when they occur. In Hamilton and Balfour books they are always, I believe, a sign of London printing.

Paper size and watermarks. I confess I did not decide to include these until my list was nearly completed; I was able to recheck many of the copies, but not all of them, and consequently there are a number of blanks in this section.

The measurement is of the particular copy examined; if there is more than one copy on the same paper, the size relates of course to the least trimmed one.

In referring to watermarks of particular copies I use as a guide Gaskell's *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 68-71. I occasionally make reference to Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950), and to Thomas Balston, *James Whatman Father & Son* (London, 1957). The Hamilton and Balfour cypher, which I often note in the later years of their partnership, has been described above on p. 191. I do not usually note the countermarks, apart from the common 'IV', and the James Whatman marks.

Library holdings. I give the shelf locations that existed at the time I examined the copies. EUL, however, is in the process of rearranging its antiquarian books, and some of the location marks will be found to be changed.
Notes. I include here information of various kinds, on the printing, publishing, edition sizes, the relationship of bookseller and author, and so on.

Publication and price. Sometimes a book published in, say, the first part of February, will be found noted in the January lists of the Scots Magazine. This is because that periodical took a week or so to be produced, and the new Edinburgh publications were put in at the tail-end (during the 1750s at least). Where I have a notice of publication from a newspaper I normally use it in preference to SM.
Notes. The University medical theses, and the law theses submitted to the Faculty of Advocates, were printed on two papers, common and fine. It was not unusual for 200 copies of a law thesis to be printed; Walter Ruddiman produced that many for the advocate George Wallace in 1754, 164 of them on ordinary paper, 36 on fine (EUL: MS in La.II.694/2, with John Aitken's account for binding). There are several references to law theses in quantities of 200 in Patrick Neill's Ledger, 1764-67 (NLS: Ms. Dep. 196).

It may be the medical theses were printed in similar numbers. Some were presented, and it appears others were distributed commercially, judging from a letter to John Balfour: "I have for some time past expected the pleasure of hearing from you, & receiving the Theses of last Graduation together with the Law Theses &c," wrote Dr. W. Cumling, physician at Dorchester, on July 31, 1771 (NLS: Adv. Ms. 29.5.7, vol. I, f.1).
EDINBURGH ENTERTAINER.


12°: x 6 (A6) B-2F 2G 4 [§3 (including 2G3) signed], 180 leaves.

Cut 16.5 x 9.9 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NLS: Hall.191.g

Publication and price. September, 1750 (SM); noticed also on June 10, 1751, bound in calf and titled, 2s. 6d. (CM).

FERGUSSON, Rev. Adam, of Moulin.


8°: x1 A-D 4 E 2 [§2 (-E2) signed], 19 leaves.

Uncut 20.8 x 13.3 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: P.177/1 (uncut). NLS: 3.2830(1).

Publication and price. September, 1750, 6d. (SM)
[FORBES, Duncan, of Culloden.]


Foolscap 8°: x 2 A-F 4 [§2 signed], 62 leaves.

Cut 16 x 9.4 cm. Propertia, Arms of Amsterdam, Vryheyt lion.

NLS: L.164.b; ii.6/1.23. EUL: B.24/40.

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on February 6, 1749/50, the whole share for Hamilton and Balfour.¹

Publication and price. January 2, 1750, 2/- bound (CM).

[FORBES, Duncan, of Culloden.]


8°: x A-L 4 [§2 signed], 46 leaves.

Cut 19.75 x 12 cm.

NLS: 1.961(3)

Publication and price. March 5, 1750, 1/- [stitched] (CM).

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Hereafter cited in the text as Stationers' Register (1746-75).
FORBES, Duncan, of Culloden.


NLS: L.24.f

Notes. This edition was published at London in 1750, printed by W. Strahan for D. Wilson. The Londoners clearly had come to an arrangement with their friends in Edinburgh.

FORBES, Duncan, of Culloden.

Reflections on the sources of incredulity with regard to religion. By the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes of Culloden, late Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland.

Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. MDCCL.

Foolscaq S°: x1 A-P4 Q2 [$2(-Q2)signed], 63 leaves.

Cut 15.6 x 9.5 cm. Propatria.


FORBES, Duncan, of Culloden.

Some thoughts concerning religion, natural and revealed. With Reflections on the sources of incredulity with regard to religion. By the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes of Culloden, late Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland.

Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. MDCCL.
Publication and price. September, 1750, 3/- [bound] (SM).

1750

HAMilton and BALFOuR.

[Catalogue of a collection of books, in most languages and faculties, to be auctioned in Writer's Court on January 4, 1750.]

Notes. Not seen. The catalogues were to be had from Hamilton and Balfour at their shop (CM, December 19, 1749).

1750

LANGLANDS, Robert. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de hydrope-anasarca. . . .

Robertus Langlands, Sootus. Ad diem 5 Julii. . . .


4°: x² 2x1 A-E² [$1 signed] [x1 half-title], 13 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 23.4 x 16.4 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.2/9;*G.16.51/9.

1750

[LEWIS, Rev. Edward.]

Oxford honesty: a case of conscience put, whether one may take the oaths to K. George, and yet do all he can in favour of the Pretender? Third edition.

Publication and price. April, 1750. 6d. (SM)

1750

MONRO, Alexander, primus.


12°: a(5 leaves) A-2M⁶ 2N(5 leaves) [$3(-2N3) signed; E3 as 'E²'], 220 leaves.

Cut 17.x.9.9 cm. Fleur de lys IV.

EUL: E.B.61171 Mon. BM: 1485.k.14

Publication and price. September, 1750. 3/- (SM).

1750

MONTESQUIEU

De l'esprit des loix. Tome premier. [-Tome second.] . . .


1. I have supplied the accents in the title, both for the capitals which I have labeled "Edition" and for a lower-case word which the firm neglected to accent—"deuxes." The firm used "Edinbourg" more commonly than "Edinburgh" in inscriptions.
vol. 1—8°: a-c 4 d 2 A-K 4 L 4 (±L4) M-T 4 U 4 (±U3) X-2A 4
2B 4 (±2B3) 2C 4 (±2C1) 2D-3L 4 3M 2 [$2(-d2,3M2)signed], 244 leaves.

vol. 2—8°: a-b 4 c1 A-c 4 D 4 ($D4) E 4 F 4 ($F1) G-T 4 U 4 ($U2)
X-2A 4 2B 4 (±2B4) 2C-3P 4 [$2 signed], 253 leaves.

Cut 20.1 x 12.6 cm.

NLS: X.44.d. EUL: D.S.d.6.5 1-2

Notes. The subscription proposals were advertised on June 1, 1749: "As the Publishers of this Book are to spare neither Expence nor Pains, in having it elegantly printed, and carefully corrected from the Errors both of the Geneva and London Editions, and at as cheap, if not a cheaper Price than either: It is hoped that all Lovers of Learning, and Well-wishers to their Country, will rather amuse to encourage this first Attempt of reprinting a valuable foreign Book among ourselves, than any other Edition, especially as many open and secret Attempts have of late been made, and are still carrying on to destroy this infant Branch of Manufacture, in this part of the World" (CM).

David Hume apprised Montesquieu of the enterprise in a letter written on July 16, 1749; Montesquieu responded on September 7 with a promise to send over his corrections (John Hill Burton, *Life and Correspondence of David Hume* [Edinburgh, 1846], 1 457).

By the time these arrived, a large part of the book had gone through the press, so the publishers (as they explain in the Preface) cancelled a number of leaves that required substantial correction.
Other corrections were placed at the end of each volume.

Publication and price. November 21, 1749, 12/- bound or 10/- sewed (CM).

1750

MONTESQUIEU

Two chapters of a celebrated French work, intitled, De l'esprit des loix, translated into English. One, treating of the constitution of England; another, of the character and manners which result from this constitution. . . .

[quotation] Edinburgh: printed for Mess. Hamilton and Balfour, and sold by them and other booksellers in town. 1750. (Price four pence.)

8°: A-2⁴ [§2 signed], 16 leaves.

Uncut 22.2 x 13.3 cm. Fleur de lys.

NC: in Qh/15 (uncut). BM: 1489.r.65. NLS: Pt.1a.2(29) (photostat)

Notes. The Advertisement on the verso of the title-page reads:

"As many, who have neither time nor inclination to read so large a work as the treatise on the Spirit of Laws, nor are perhaps sufficiently acquainted with the French language, may yet have curiosity to see the opinion of so eminent a Frenchman concerning the British constitution, a translation of these two chapters has been attempted. And tho' 'tis impossible to equal the strength.
and conciseness of the original, it is hoped at least, that the sense of the author has in few places been mistaken."
VARIANT title-page. Set with different type; rules added; "In two volumes" deleted from title of volume II. Imprint reads: Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour.

M. DCC. L.

vol. 1—S°: A8(+A1) a8 B–2F8 2G(3 leaves) [§4(–2G3) signed], 243 leaves.

vol. 2—S°: A(3 leaves). (+A1) B–2F8 2F2 [§4(–2F2) signed], 221 leaves.


Cut 20.5 x 12.7 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NLS: NF.1195.e.9. EUL: E.B.3201 Sid (variant). BM: 1094.h.1 (variant).

Publication and price. May 21, 1750, bound in calf 10/=. (CM).

1750

STEEL, Rev. William, of Waygateshaw.

Memorial shewing the reasonableness and necessity of an immediate application to the King and Parliament for augmenting the small stipends in Scotland. By William Steel of Waygateshaw, minister at Dalserf. . . . [quotation]

Edinburgh: printed by W. Sands, A. Murray, and J. Cochran; for
G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. Sold by them, and by the
other booksellers of Edinburgh and Glasgow. M D C C L.
(Price six pence.)
8°: a² A-D⁴ E² [$2(-E2)$ signed], 20 leaves.
Cut 18.7 x 11.7 cm.

Publication and price. March, 1750, 6d. (SM)

1750

SYDENHAM, Thomas
Processus integri in morbis fere omnibus curandis, a Thoma
Sydenham, M.D. conscripti. Quibus accessit graphica
symptomatum delineatio, una cum quamplurimis observatu
dignis. Neonon de phthisi tractatulo. Edinburgi: apud
Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. M D C C L.

Pot 8°: $b² A-P⁴ Q² [Q²(-Q2) signed; D2 as 'D3'] [Q2 index],
68 leaves.
Cut 14.7 x 8.8 cm. Arms of England.

HUL: D.21.30/2. BM: 1486.n.3 (+leaf Q2)

Publication and price. September, 1750, 2/- (SM).
The Creation the ground-work of revelation, and revelation the language of nature. Or, a brief attempt to demonstrate, that the Hebrew language is founded upon natural ideas, and that the Hebrew writings transfer them to spiritual objects.

... [quotation] Edinburgh: printed in the year M D C C L.

8°: pi A-H^4 I(3 leaves) [§2(-12)signed], 36 leaves.
Uncut 22.1 x 13.7 cm. Fleur de lys.

NLS: 1.601(3) (uncut); Jolly.958(3).

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on June 26, 1750, the whole share for Hamilton and Balfour (Stationers' Register [1746-73], 83).

Publication and price. May 21, 1750, 1/- (CM).

1751

BARROW, Isaac.

The sermons of the learned Dr Isaac Barrow, late Master
of Trinity-College, in Cambridge, upon the Apostles Creed.
Published by Archbishop Tillotson. Volume V. [-VI.]
Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, J. Traill,
W. Miller, L. Hunter, J. Brown, J. Yair, and C. Wright.
M DCC LI.

vol. 1—12°: a-6 c 4 A-2K 6 [$3(-c3)signed], 214 leaves.
vol. 2—12°: 2 A-2L 6 2M1 [$3 signed], 207 leaves.
vol. 3—12°: 2 A-2M 6 [$3 signed], 212 leaves.
vol. 4—12°: 2 A-2L 6 2M 4 [$3(-2M3)signed], 210 leaves.
vol. 5—12°: 2 A-2K 6 2L 4 [$3(-2L3)signed], 204 leaves.
vol. 6—12°: 2 A-20 6 [$3 signed], 224 leaves.

Cut 16.1 x 10.4 cm.

NLS: Mico.III.6. EUL: D.S.g.11.5 1-6

Publication and price. The first four volumes on May 16, 1751,
the last two on November 7, the price of the set being 15/- in
boards, 18/- bound (CM).

1751

BROWN, Isaac. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Disquisitio medica inauguralis, de sonorum modulatorum vi
in corpora humana. ... Isaacus Brown, Anglus. Ad diem
3 Maii. ... Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill:
M, DCC, LI.

6°: 2 A-F 4 [$1 signed], 26 leaves.
1751

[CHALLERS (or Chambers), Rev. John, of Ely, and Rev. Harry SPENS, of Wemyss.]

An inquiry concerning a plan of a literary correspondence. . . .

[quotation] Edinburgh: printed in the year M,DCC,LI.

8°: π1 A-D⁴ E(3 leaves) [S2(-D2,E2) signed], 20 leaves.

Cut 20.1 x 12.6 cm.

NLS: N.G.1530.e.13(2); 3.2374(5).

Notes. The authors propose the formation of a Society devoted to discussing the writings of Plato.

Publication and price. June, 1751, 6d. (SM)

1751

A collection of all the papers published in relation to the scheme for augmenting the stipends of the established clergy in Scotland. In three parts. I. The transactions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, and their Committees, in order to promote the scheme. Taken from their records, &c. II. The resolutions of the landholders to oppose the scheme. III. All the pamphlets, &c. for or against the proposed Augmentation, &c. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. MDCC LX.
VARIANT. Some copies were issued in a less complete version.

Not seen.

In their advertisement on leaf $2_A^2$, the publishers described the production difficulties: "Some of the first copies of the preceding Collection of papers, having been sent to the country a week or two before the whole impression was cast off, we received the following Letter, when the Bookbinder was employed in stitching the sheets; which was put immediately to the press, and is subjoined to the Collection, as an Appendix to the whole."

Concerning the insertion in gathering $P$: "there is an interpoled sheet betwixt p. 118 and 119. This was occasioned by a pamphlet not occurring in due time, while the work was carrying on, which, by the date of its publication, fell to be inserted at that place. By this a repetition of [page numbering] from the 118 to the 129 was unavoidable."

ISSUE of the Appendix by itself. To supplement the incomplete copies, Hamilton, Balfour and Neill issued the Appendix with new preliminary matter and renumbered pages, as:
An impartial account of the rise, progress, and nature of the scheme for augmenting the livings of the Scots clergy. In a letter to the publisher of the printed collection of papers relative to that affair. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. MDCCLI.

4°: \[ A^4 (\Delta^3 + \chi^1) \] B^4 C^4 (-C^3) D^{-4} [§2 signed] \[ \chi^1 \] first page of text], 37 leaves.

Cut 24.8 x 18.8 cm. Fleur de lys.

NLS: 5.581(58)

Publication and price. February 28, 1751, 7/6d; the Appendix by itself, 2/- (GM).

Notes. The scheme to augment ministers' stipends was a controversial one and of national interest. Hamilton, Balfour and Neill were clearly under some pressure to publish and distribute their Collection before the Church of Scotland Commissioners submitted the scheme to Parliament. The House of Commons began considering the matter on March 7, 1751 (N. Morren, Annals of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland [Edinburgh, 1838-40], I, 196).

1751

CLAMPET, George. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
4°: π^2 A-C^2 [δ1 signed], 8 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 21.6 x 17.2 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: Att.74.7.2/12

1751

[DALRYMPLE, Sir David, Lord Hailes, ed.]
Sacred Poems: or, a collection of translations and
paraphrases, from the Holy Scriptures. By various authors.
... [quotation] Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour,
and Neill. M,DCC,LI.

Foolscap 8°: π^2 a^4 b^2 A-K^4 L^2 [δ1 signed], 50 leaves.


VARIANT on pot? A copy at EUL, a well-cut 14 x 8.3 cm,
is on Arms of England, mixed with a half-sheet of Propatria.

EUL: *A.8.27/1 (leaf A3 poorly inked, slit for cancelling)

Edition size. 50 copies, according to a notation in NLS copy
L.C.68. This might be so. However, it would mean than NLS
and EUL alone have ten-per-cent of the press run. Hamilton and
Balfour were still advertising copies for sale a year after the
publication.

Notes. *16th January 1794. This very elegant Collection of
Sacred Poems, appears to have been the first Book published by
my deceased Brother Sir David Dalrymple: That it was published by Him, I well know, having carried the Proof Sheets, between Edinburgh and New-Hailes. (Signed) Dalrymple." This remark, written into a copy of the book in the library of New Hailes, has been transcribed into NLS copy Cm.285.

1751

DOBIN, James. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

4°: x 2 A-B2 C2 [S1 signed], 8 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 21.6 x 17.2 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: Att.74.7.2/15

1751

GIFFORD, Gulielmus. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de peripneumonia notha.

4°: x1 A-D2 [S1 signed], 9 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 23.5 x 18.5 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: Att.74.7.2/14; G.15/1.1(1). NLS: 4.13(11).
1751

GREGORY, David. [Preface by Colin Maclaurin]
A treatise of practical geometry. In three parts. By
the late Dr. David Gregory, sometime Professor of Mathematics
in the University of Edinburgh, and afterwards Savilian
Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. (Translated from the
Latin. With additions.) The second edition. Edinburgh:
printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M DCC LI.
8°: $^2 A^0$ $^4$ [S2 signed; C2 as 'C3'] [P4 blank], 62 leaves,
5 plates.
19.5 x 12.3 cm.
BH: 8531.aaa.29(1)

Publication and price. January, 1751, 2/- (SM).

1751

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[Catalogue of a large collection of valuable books, in most
languages and faculties, which are to be exposed by way of sale
(the lowest price being marked at each book), at the shop of
G. Hamilton and J. Balfour.]

Notes. Not seen. According to the firm's advertisement in
CM, December 12, 1751, the catalogue was to be published in a few
days, and the sale was to continue until the end of March, 1752.
The terms were ready money only. Gentlemen who paid to the extent
of £20 would be entitled to a 52 per cent discount.
HIRD, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Disquisitio medica inauguralis, de lactis natura et usu.
... Gulielmus Hird, Anglus. Ad diem 3 Maii....
Edinburgh: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill: M.DCC.LI.
8°: 2 A^4 1^2 [§1(F2,G2)signed], 36 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 19.1 x 11.8 cm. Strasbourg lily.
Common-paper state. Cut 19 x 12.1 cm.
EUL: Add.74.7.4/2 (common); E.B.6104/22(1) (fine);
Theses sect.6104/2(1) (fine).

[HOWE, Charles.]
Devout meditations: or, a collection of thoughts upon
religious and philosophical subjects. By a person of
honour. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and
Neill. M.DCC.LI.

VARIANT title page, on another issue:
Meditations, devout and philosophical: or, a collection
of thoughts upon religious and philosophical subjects.
By a person of honour. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton,
Balfour, and Neill. M.DCC.LI.

12°: 7(3 leaves) A-P^6 Q(3 leaves) [§3(-Q2,3)signed], 96 leaves.
"Devout meditations"—NLS: II.6/1.25; Jolly. 2253. BM: 4400.a.20.

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall, under "Meditations, devout" title, on January 22, 1750/51 (Stationers' Register [1746–73], 92).

Publication and price. The book was advertised under the "Devout meditations" title on December 4, 1750, 2/- bound, 1s. 6d. in boards (CM). The other title must have been issued about this time, too, since it was registered with the Stationers' Company, but I do not find it advertised in CM until November 7, 1751.

1751

JONES, Samuel. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio physiologico-medica inauguralis, de venis absorbentibus . . . Samuel Jones, Cambro-Britannus.

8°: 112 A–G4 H2 [82(–H2) signed], 32 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 19 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily.
Common-paper state. Cut 19.1 x 11.8 cm.
EUL: Att.74.7.4/4 (fine); E.B.6104/22(2) (common).
1751

KELLY, Edmund. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertation medica inauguralis, de paronychia. . . . Edmundus
Kelly, Hibernus. Ad diem 29 Maii. . . . Edinburgi: apud
Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill. M. DCC. LI.

4°: n1 A-B² [81 signed], 5 leaves.

BUL: Att. 74.7.2/15

1751

LIVIUS, Titus. [Thomas Ruddiman's edition]
Titi Livii Patavini historiarum ab urbe condita libri qui
supersunt, cum omnium epitomis, ac deperditorum fragmentis:
ad optimum editiones castigati, accurante Tho. Ruddimanno,
A.M. Tomus I. [-IV.] Edinburgi, in aedibus T. and W.
Ruddimanni, venerate autem apud G. Hamilton. A. Kincaid, ac
socios. M. DCC. LI.

vol. 1—8°: a⁴+2a B⁸ 2H⁴ 2I² [84(-a3, 4, 2H3, 4, 2I2) signed],
250 leaves.
vol. 2—8°: n1 a-2H² 2I⁴ [84(-2H3, 4) signed], 277 leaves.
vol. 3—8°: n1 A-2I² [84 signed], 257 leaves.
vol. 4—8°: n1 A-2E³ 2A-3S⁴ [84, and 82 of third
alphabet, signed ], 298 leaves.
Fine-paper issue, en folio. Cut 15.4 x 9.5 cm.
Vryheydt lion, Propatria.

NLS: K.59.f
ISSUE in another format, with the name of another bookseller added to the title-page. The imprint reads: Edinburgi, in aedibus T. and W. Ruddimanni, veneunt autem apud G. Hamilton, A. Kincaid, ac socios, & J. Brown. M. DCC. LI.

vol. 1—12⁰: a⁴(A²) A−U¹² X⁶ [§6(−a³,4,X4,5,6) signed; M6 as 'M5'], 250 leaves.

vol. 2—12⁰: n1 A−Z¹² [§6 signed], 277 leaves.

vol. 3—12⁰: n1 A−X¹² Y⁴ [§6(−Y³,4) signed], 257 leaves.

vol. 4—12⁰: n1 A−Q¹² R¹²(−R12) S−T¹² 2A−2L⁶ 2M(3 leaves) [$6, and $3 of second alphabet(−2M3) signed; R12 as 'Co4', which is the signature of the leaf in the octavo format], 298 leaves.

Common-paper issue. Cut 15.3 x 8.9 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: E.B.8734

Publication and price. Noted in January, 1751, in SM but not until March 28, 1751, in CM; 14/- the set bound and lettered; this price was for the common-paper duodecimo, presumably.

1751

MONTESQUIEU

Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains, et de leur décadence. (Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée & augmentée par l'auteur.) À laquelle on a joint Un dialogue de Sylla et d'Eucrate. Et la défense De l'esprit des loix, avec quelques éclaircissements. À Edinbourg, chez Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. M DCC LI.

1. I have supplied accents for the chapters that I have changed to lower case.
8°; \( \pi^2 A^{-2T^4} \) [S2(-2E2,2E2,2K1,2T2)s]igned], 170 leaves.

Fine-paper state, on writing medium. Cut 20.85 x 13.1 cm.

Strasbourg lily.

NLS: E.66.d.21

Common-paper state, representing the bulk of the edition, uniformly printed and bound with the two-volume *De l'esprit des loix* of 1750.

Not seen.

Publication and price. April 11, 1751, 5/- bound; some copies were printed for the Curious, on a fine writing medium paper, price finely bound, gilt and marbled, 9/- (Gd).

1751

PASCAL, Blaise.

Thoughts on religion, and other subjects; by Monsieur Pascal. Translated from the French. . . . [quotation]


12°; a-6 d 2 \( \chi^2 A^{-Q^6} R^2 \) [S3(-a3,a2,E2,3,R2)s]igned]

[\( \chi \) Contents, \( \chi^2 \) Books printed for W. Gray jun. bookbinder, and T. Glas (sic), R2 blank], 120 leaves.
Not a good quality paper. Cut 16.6 x 9.7 cm. Grapes, with names and date: C LABESSE LIMOSIN 1742 [1749?].

NLS: Hall.191.h.

Publication and price. December, 1750, 2/- (SH).

1751

PHILELEUTHERUS.


8°: A-I⁴ [82 signed] [I4 blank], 36 leaves.
Uncut 20 x 12.5 cm.

NLS: 3.2664(2) (uncut, with final blank leaf); 3.1275(4) (an errata slip is pasted on the verso of title).

Notes. A comment on Henry Home's work of 1751.

Publication and price. June 25, 1751, 1/- (CL).

1751

RIDPATH, Rev. George, of Stitchel.

S°: π 1 A C 4 [§ 2 (−C 2 ) signed], 13 leaves.
Cut 19.8 x 12 cm.

NLS: 3.2832(6)

Publication and price. May, 1751, 6d. (SM).

1751

ROGERS, Christopher. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de paraphrenitate. . .
Christophorus Rogers, Hibemus. Ad diem 21 Junii. . .
4°: π 2 A B 2 C 1 [§ 1 signed], 7 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 23.5 x 18.3 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: Att. 74.7.2/17. NLS: 4.13(9).

1751

SCANLAN, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de lientaria. . . Johannes
Scanlan, Hibemus. Ad diem 21 Junii. . . Edinburgi: apud
Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill. M, DCC, LI.
4°: π 2 A B 2 [§ 1 signed], 6 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 23.9 x 18.5 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: Att. 74.7.2/18. NLS: 4.13(10)
SOCIETY OF THE FREE BRITISH FISHERY.

His Majesty's royal charter granted on the eleventh day of October, 1750, in the twenty fourth year of the reign of King George the Second, for incorporating the Society of the Free British Fishery, with power to make by-laws, &c. for the improvement of the British white herring fisheries, and better regulation of the trade thereof; and for preventing frauds and impositions in the management of the same.

Edinburgh: printed in the year M DCC LI.

8°: A−D 4 [§2 signed; A3 as 'A'], 16 leaves.
Cut 19.3 x 12 cm. IV.

EUL: in E.B.34(41)04/1

Publication and price. January 3, 1751, 6d (6d).
WISHART, William, Principal of Edinburgh University, and others.

Reasons of dissent from the sentence of the General Assembly
May 15, 1751.

Reasons of the dissent, entered on the 15th of May 1751, from
the sentence of the General Assembly, censuring the reverend
members of the Presbytery of Linlithgow, for not executing the
sentences of former Assemblies, appointing them to ordain and
admit Mr. James Watson minister of the Parish of Torphichen.

S0: A⁴ [$1 signed], 4 leaves.

Uncut 21.45 x 13.35 cm.

NC: in Qh/15

Notes. The pamphlet is reprinted in SH, May, 1751, 220-21, and

Publication and price. May, 1751, 1d. (SH)

1751

WHYTT, Robert.

An essay on the vital and other involuntary motions of
animals. By Robert Whytt, M.D. Fellow of the Royal College
of Physicians, and Professor of Medicine in the University
of Edinburgh. . . . Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour,
and Neill. M, DCC, LI.

S0: ⁴ 2x1 A-30⁴ [$1 signed] [2x1 Contents], 201 leaves.
1752

ALSTON, Charles.


M D C C L I I.

8° [chainlines horizontal]: 2 A-G 4 H 2 [$\&$2(-H2) signed], 32 leaves.

Cut 16 x 9.8 cm.

NLS: M.25/1.f.1(2)

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on March 8, 1753, the whole share for Hamilton and Balfour (Stationers' Register [1746-73], 122).

Publication and price. October 26, 1752, 2/- in boards (EdC).
1752

ALSTON, Charles.


8°: a 4 b 2 A-X 4 Y 2 [§2(-b2,Y2)signed], 92 leaves.

Chainlines horizontal in preliminaries and from signature P.

Cut 17.1 x 10.9 cm.

NLS: Jo.Bal.6.21. EUL: *I.32.1; *I.33.1; *K.32.11/2.

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on September 19, 1752, the whole share for Hamilton and Balfour (Stationers' Register [1746-73], 117).

Publication and price. June, 1752, 2/- stitched (SM).

1752

BOSTON, Thomas, the elder.

Human nature in its fourfold state of . . . [contents]. In several practical discourses. By Mr. Thomas Boston, late minister of the gospel at Etterick. The ninth edition; carefully read by the author's own copy; wherein the errors of former editions are corrected. . . . [quotations] Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, for William Gray junior, at the foot of Peebles Wynd; and sold by him and other booksellers. M, DCC, LII.

8°: a-b 4 A-3E 4 [§2(-R2)signed], 212 leaves.
Cut 18 x 10.8 cm. Poor quality paper.

NLS: L.126.K*

1752

BRODIE, Alexander. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Disquisitio medica, inauguralis, de rabie canina...
Alexander Brodie, Scoto-Britannus. Ad diem 28 Julii...

4°: $\pi^2 \Delta^2 B-E^2 \ [\& signed], 12 leaves.
Cut 22.1 x 17.5 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.3/1

1752

CLARKE, John.

Notes. Not seen. Published in November, 1752, price 2/- (SM).

1752

EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Medical essays and observations, published by a society in
revised and enlarged by the authors. Edinburgh: printed by
Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M, DCC, LII.

Five volumes in six parts:
vol. 1—12°: a-b⁶ A-2B⁶ [§3 signed], 162 leaves, 4 plates
(R. Cooper sculp).

vol. 2—12°: π⁴ A-2F⁶ 2G1 [§3 signed], 179 leaves, 4 plates
(R. Cooper sculp).

vol. 3—12°: a(3 leaves) A-2H⁶ 2I1 [§3(—a3)signed], 190 leaves,
6 plates (R. Cooper).

vol. 4—12°: a(3 leaves) A-2L⁶ 2i1 [§3(—a3)signed], 208
leaves, 4 plates (R. Cooper).

vol. 5 part 1—12°: a⁴ A-2I² 2K² 2L1 [§3(—a3,2K2)signed],
199 leaves, 6 plates (R. Cooper).

vol. 5 part 2—12°: π⁴ A-2Z² 3A² [§3(—3A2)signed], 282 leaves.
Cut 16.6 by 9.9 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: E.B.6104 Edi

Copyright. Hamilton and Balfour entered the third edition
as their copyright at Stationers' Hall on March 5, 1747/48
(Stationers' Register [1746-73], 41), but said this was done
to prevent piracy, not to establish ownership in the literary
property. For the publishing, and copyright, of the Medical
Essays, see above pp.41-42, 50-51, 108-109, and A Vindication of
Hamilton & Balfour Booksellers in Edinburgh, from the Charge brought
against them in A Memorial concerning the property of the Edinburgh
Medical Essays (Edinburgh, 1756).

Publication and price. November 21, 1752, one guinea bound (FFO).
1752

EDINBURGH ROYAL INFIRMARY.

Pharmacopoeia pauperum, in usum Mosocomii Regii Edinburgensis.


foolscap 8°: 2 A-I 4 K [S1 signed], 40 leaves.

Cut 15.6 x 9.1 cm. Vryheyt lion.

NLS: MS.9757

Notes. This is the second edition, published for the benefit of the Royal Infirmary; the Ruddimans published the first in 1746. The Infirmary’s copyright was registered on October 2, 1746 (Stationers’ Register [1746-73], 1).

Publication and price. April 21, 1752, 1/-. “For the Convenience of the Students of Physic, they may be supplied with Copiss by the Clerks of the Infirmary” (ECC).

1752

EUCLID

Euclid's elements of geometry, the first six, the eleventh and twelfth books; translated into English, from Dr. Gregory's edition, with notes and additions. For the use of the British youth. By E. Stone... [quotation] London, printed for and sold by Tho. Payne, next the News Gate, in Castle-street, near St. Martin's Church; sold also by Mr. James Fletcher at Oxford, Mr. Thurlbourn at Cambridge, Mr.
Hildyard at York, Mr. Newton at Manchester, and by Mess. Hamilton and Balfour at Edinburgh. MDCCLI.

8°: A-F⁸ C⁸(SP-G1) H-I⁸ K⁸(±K3) L-2D⁸ 2E(7 leaves) [64(-G2) signed], 223 leaves.

Press figures: A3v-1 B5r-1 C7v-1 D3v-1 D7r-1 E8r-4 F6r-4 F7r-3 G8v-1 H5v-4 I5r-4 K8r-5 L6v-1 L7v-4 M6r-5 M6v-1 N5v-1 O7r-4 O8r-5 P3v-4 P6v-5 Q2v-1 Q5v-5 R7v-1 Sev-1 T4v-1 T7v-1 U1v-4 Y8v-1 23v-1 2A5r-4 2E3v-1 2C1v-4 2D8r-3 2E3r-3.

Cut 20.4 x 12.8 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: D.S.g.27. EM: 60.b.16


1752

FORBES, Duncan, of Culloden.

Reflections on the sources of incredulity with regard to religion. By the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes of Culloden, late Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland. Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. M.DCC.LII.

foolscap 8°: A-P⁴ Q1 [Q1 signed], 62 leaves.

Uncut 16.6 x 10.4 cm. Propatria.
NLS: 5.1009(22) (cut).  EUL: E510/2.

Publication and price.  By November 2, 1752, 2/- bound (EBC).

1752

GREIVE, James.  [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de calculo vesicae
urinariae. . . . Jacobus Greive, Anglo-Britannus.  Ad diem
30 Aprilis. . . . Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et
Neill.  L, DCC, LII.

4°: π² A-E² F1 [$1 signed], 13 leaves.
Fine-paper state.  Cut 21.8 x 17.3 cm.  Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att. 74.7.3/2; Ja 635/6.

1752

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[An catalogue of valuable books, in most languages and faculties,
which are to be exposed by way of sale, (the lowest price being
marked at each book) at the shop of G. Hamilton and J. Balfour,
upon Tuesday the 28th of November 1752.]

Notes.  Not seen.  Published on November 21, 1752 (EBC).

1752

HAMILTON, Rev. Gilbert, of Cramond.

The disorders of a church, and their remedies.  A sermon
preached at the opening of the Provincial Synod of Lothian

8°: x1 A-B4 [S1 signed], 17 leaves.
Uncut 21.4 x 13.5 cm

NC: in Ca/15

Publication and price. May 19, 1752, stitched in blue paper (PROC).

1752

Howe, Charles.


Foolscap 8°: A-B4 2A2 [S2(-b2,X2,2a2) signed]
[b4 blank], 100 leaves.
Cut 15.6 x 9.5 cm. Vrykayt lion.

NLS: Prot.59 (+blank leaf b4); Grindlay 44.

pot 8°
Cut 14.6 x 8.8 cm. Arms of England.
Signature A2 as 'A3'.

Warren McDougall

Publication and price. November 9, 1752, on the writing paper 2/- bound and titled. "That this excellent Performance (which
is very proper to be read at this Time) may circulate extensively, there are some Copies printed on a coarser Paper, which will be sold bound and titled for 1s. 4d." (EBC)

1752

LOMNIUS, Jobocus.


12º: a-b6 * * 4 A-216 [S3(-x-3) signed; H3 as 'G3'] [* * 4 index], 208 leaves.

Cut 16.4 x 9.5 cm.

EUL: Zz.9.80

Notes. "This Book is allow'd by the best Judges to contain the most important Doctrine of Hippocrates, Celsus, and other ancient Physicians, concerning the Symptoms and Events of Diseases, and to be written in a Stile of most uncommon Purity and Elegance. Wherefore great Care has now been taken to print the whole of it correctly, as well as to supply, from former Editions, many gross Omissions in the later ones, which had obscur'd the Author's Meaning, and render'd this celebrated Performance in a manner imperfect"—the Hamilton and Balfour publication advertisement in EBC.

Publication and price. March 10, 1752, 3/- bound (EBC).
LOUTHIAN, John.
The form of process, before the Court of Justiciary in Scotland.
In two books. Containing, I. The constitution of the
sovereign Criminal Court, and the method of their procedure
in capital and other crimes, with the form of procedure in
trials for treason, upon a Commission of Oyer and Terminer.
II. The procedure of the Justice Aírs or Circuit-courts;
the manner of giving up Dittsacs, and the appeals from inferior
judges to these courts. Together with an appendix, containing
the form of process proposed to be observed in the Sheriff and
Stewart Courts in Scotland, in criminal and civil causes, with
tables of the fees to the clerks and other officers in these
courts, &c. The second edition, with additions and
M, DCC, LII.
8°: a 4 A-2n4 [G1:(+a2)signed], 148 leaves.
Cut 20.2 x 12.7 cm. Fleur de lys/ år Bird (similar to
Heawood 183).
MLS: C.31.1. EUL: LL.119.5.49 (Bird watermark).
Publication and price. By November 9, 1752, 4s. 6d. bound in calf.
3s. 8d. in sheets (EUL).
MORE, Charles. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]


4°: π1 2π2 A-D2 Β1 [S1 signed] [π1 half-title], 12 leaves. Fine-paper state. Cut 22.1 x 17.5 cm. Strasbourg lily/JW countermark of the James Whatman mill.

EUL: Att.74.7.3/3

PRIDEAUX, Humphrey.

The Old and New Testament connected. Four volumes.

vols. 1-3: not seen.


vol. 4—12°: π1 Α4 B-2ς6 2τ2 2υ1 [33(-A3, 2τ2)signed], 248 leaves.

Cut 16.3 x 10.2 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NC: C.11/a5

Notes. This is one of the Scottish reprints the combination of London booksellers tried to interfere with in 1759. (See above pp.127-29.)

Reasons of dissent from the sentence and resolution of the Commission of the General Assembly, met at Edinburgh March 11, 1752, concerning the conduct of the Presbytery of Dunfermline. To which is prefixed, A short narrative of the said conduct of the Presbytery, &c. Edinburgh: printed in the year M.DCC.LII.

S°: π1 a4 a4 e-c4 [S1 signed] [C4 blank], 17 leaves.

Uncut 21.3 x 13.2 cm. H N or N H mark.


Publication and price. May 18, 1752, 4d. (FBC)

1752

SEMPLE, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertation medica inauguralis, de arteriotomia. . .

Gulielmus Semple, Hibernus. Ad diem 30 Aprilis. . .

4° a2 A-C2 [S1 signed], 6 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 22.1 x 17.5 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.3/4

1752

SHAFTON, Benjamin. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertation medica inauguralis, de lochiorum suppressione. . .
Benjaminus Shafton, Hibernus. Ad dies 6 Julii. . . .

Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill. M.DCCLII.

8°: \( \frac{2}{3} \) A-B4 [C1 signed], 10 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 19.1 x 11.9 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: E.B.6104/22(3)

1752

SIMPSON, Thomas.

An inquiry how far the vital and animal actions of the more perfect animals can be accounted for independent of the brain. In five essays. Being the substance of the Chando Lectures for the year 1739, and some subsequent years. By Thomas Simson, M.D. Chando Professor of Medicine and Anatomy in the University of St. Andrew's, and honorary member of the College of Physicians at Edinburgh. Edinburgh:

printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M.DCC.LII.

8°: \( \frac{2}{3} \) a-b4 A-Z4 [C1(+-a2,b2)s]igned] [\( \times 2 \) errata], 146 leaves, 2 plates (A. Bell sculp.).

Cut 20.2 x 12.5 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NLS: M.14/1.b.x (+leaf \( \times 2 \)); K.11/1.e.

Publication and price. March 17, 1752, 4/- bound (\$C).

4°: [x1  2z^2  A-C^2  B1  [x1 signed]  [x1 half-title], 10 leaves. Fine-paper state. Cut 23.1 x 17.8 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.3/6; R*24.19/1.

1752-53

SWIFT, Jonathan.

Works, B[?], 9, or 10 volumes.

This edition is described in detail in A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift. Second edition, revised and corrected by Dr. H. Teerink. Edited by Arthur H. Scouler (Philadelphia, 1963), no. 90. It was reprinted from the Dublin edition of 1747; the first version of the series title refers to 8 volumes, but a 9th was added during the course of printing, and a Supplement or 10th volume was printed in 1753.

There was a loosely bound set of the edition (wanting volumes 1, 2, and 6) on temporary deposit at NLS. I collated it before it was withdrawn in 1974 by the Library at Leadhills, Lanarkshire.

vol. 1 and 2—12°: Not seen. The series title calls it the seventh edition, Edinburgh, printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill, N, DCC, LII. Volume 1 contains Miscellanies in prose, volume 2 Poetical writings. The imprint of volume 2 is as in volume 3:
Travels into several remote nations of the world. In four
parts, viz. ... [contents] By Lemuel Gulliver, first a
surgeon, and then a captain, of several ships. ... 
[quotation] Dublin printed; and Edinburgh reprinted, for
G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, and L. Hunter, at Edinburgh; and
A. Stalker, at Glasgow, and sold by them and other booksellers.
vol. 3—12°: A4 B2C6 2D2 [G3(-A3, 2D2) signed; π3 as * *]*
[2D2 blank], 162 leaves.
Teerink-Scouten describe preliminaries and end as: π2 * *4
... Ed1.

The Works of D. Jonathan Swift, Vol. IV. Containing a
collection of tracts, relating to Ireland; among which are,
The Drapier's letters to the people of Ireland; against
receiving Wood's half-pence; also, Two original Drapier's
letters. Dublin printed; and Edinburgh reprinted, for G.
Hamilton & J. Balfour, and L. Hunter, at Edinburgh; and A.
Stalker, at Glasgow; and sold by them and other booksellers.
N, DCC, LII.

vol. 4—12°: A4 B2D6 2G2 [G3(-2D2) signed], 162 leaves.
Teerink-Scouten describe as π4 B2F6 6F2; this would take up
174 leaves, but their pagination statement accounts for only
162.
The Works of D. Jonathan Swift. Vol. V. Containing I. The conduct of the allies. II. The Examiner, from no. 13, Dublin printed; and Glasgow reprinted, for A. Stalker, at Glasgow; and G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, and L. Hunter, at Edinburgh; and sold by them and other booksellers.

vol. 5—12°: p1 A-2C6 2D4 (-2D4) χ2 [§3 (-2D3) signed]
[χ^2 books printed and sold by Stalker], 162 leaves.

vol. 6—12°: not seen. Contains The public spirit of the Whigs; and other pieces of political writings; with polite conversation, etc. Imprint as in vol. 5.

The Works of D. Jonathan Swift. Vol. VII. Containing I. Letters to and from Dr. J. Swift, D.S.P.D. from the year 1714, to 1738. II. Some free thoughts upon the present state of affairs. Dublin printed; and Glasgow reprinted, for A. Stalker, at Glasgow; and G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, and L. Hunter, at Edinburgh; and sold by them and other booksellers.

vol. 7—12°: a6 A-χ6 [§3 signed; K1 as 'D'] [a6 blank], 132 leaves.

The Works of D. Jonathan Swift. Vol. VIII. Containing Directions to servants; and other pieces in prose and verse, published in his lifetime, with several poems and letters never
before printed. Dublin printed; and Glasgow reprinted, for A. Stalker, at Glasgow; and G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, and L. Hunter, at Edinburgh; and also [sic] by them and other booksellers.

vol. 8—12°: a-K^6 K-2H^6 2I^2 [§3(-a3,2I2) signed; L2 as 'L3', 2E2 as 'Es3'] [A1 wanting in this copy, 2J2 books printed and sold by Hamilton and Balfour], 198 leaves.

Teerink-Scouten do not specify second gathering K, or enter I^2 in their formula, although they account for both in their pagination statement.


vol. 9—12°: a-b^6 A-R^6 [§3 signed], 114 leaves.

Teerink-Scouten describe the changes in the prefatory matter in vol. 1, caused by the addition of the ninth volume to the series.
A supplement to Dr. Swift's Works, containing, I. Miscellanies, by Dr. Arbuthnot. II. Several pieces, by Dr. Swift and Mr. Pope. III. Poems on several occasions. Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. M, DCC,LIII.

12°: A-2F⁶ [§3(-Z2)signed], 174 leaves.

Teerink-Scouten: "This volume was also issued with a different title, with the names of Midwinter and Tonson in the imprint. Query: Did the other nine volumes also appear with new titles Midwinter and Tonson?"

This discovery of a Midwinter-Tonson version is of some importance, since it raises the possibility that London proprietors reissued the Scottish reprints they appropriated from provincial English booksellers.

Publication and price. The edition was published in nine volumes on April 30, 1752, 18/- in sheets, £1.2s.6d. bound and titled. The booksellers said this price made it cheaper than any previous edition (EDC). The Supplement was published by March 12, 1753, 2s. 6d. (CM)

1752

SWIFT, Jonathan.

A tale of a tub. Written for the universal improvement of mankind... [quotation] To which are added, An account of a battle between the ancient and the modern books in St. James's Library; and, A discourse concerning the mechanical
operation of the spirit. With the Author's apology; and,
explanatory notes, by W. Wotton, B.D. and others. . .
for G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, and L. Hunter, at Edinburgh;
and A. Stalker, at Glasgow; and sold by them and other
booksellers. M,DCC,LII.

12°
No. 240 in Teerink-Scouten. A separate issue, with new
title-page, of vol. 9 of the Works, 1752.
Not seen.

1752

SWIFT, Jonathan.
Travels into several remote nations of the world. In four
parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, first a surgeon, and then a
captain of several ships. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton,
Balfour, and Neill, for W. Gray junior. M,DCC,LII.

12°
No. 307A in Teerink-Scouten.
Not seen.

1752

SWINHOF, Francis. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio inauguralis, de theriarum antiquitate, contentis

8º: x A-N⁴ [§1 signed], 54 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 20.2 x 12.6 cm. Strasbourg lily.

Common-paper state. Cut 19 x 12 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NLS: Ry.1.2.132(9) (fine). EUL: Att.74.7.4/5 (common); Theses sect. 6104/2(4) (common).

1752

VOLTAIRE.


A Edinbourg: chez Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. M. DCC. LIII.

vol. 1—12º: a⁶ A-2h⁶ [§3 signed] [a1 blank], 192 leaves.

vol. 2—12º: x² A-2E⁶ 2F⁴ [§3(-2E1,2F3) signed] [2F4 blank], 174 leaves.

Common-paper state. Cut 16.9 x 10 cm.

NC: A10/b4

Fine-paper state, advertised as "a very fine Writing Paper."

Not seen.

Publication and price. In the press by July 7, 1752. Published on August 20, 5/- stitched in marble paper, 6/- bound and titled; "a few are thrown off on a very fine Writing Paper for the Curious" (BDC).

1. I have suffixed accents for words changed from capitals to lower case, "SIECLE" and "PUBLIE".
Notes. A few days after publication John Balfour sent Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick a bound copy with a covering letter:

Sir
Mr John Home was here Yesterday, & desired me to send to you Le Sicle de Louis Quatorze par Voltaire 2 Vol: which we have just now reprinted, & I have sent it by the Bearer, & you will find it a most interesting book. If it is agreeable to you, I shall send you the new good books as they are publish'd. I am glad to hear you are now pretty well recover'd again, & am with great Respect

Sir
Your most Humble Servt:
John Balfour

Edinr: Augst: 28th 1752

(SRO: GD 110/1025/1)

1752

WHYTT, Robert.


12°: 6 A–P 6 (3 signed; C2 as 'B2') [P6 blank], 96 leaves.

Cut 16.3 x 9.7 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.


Publication and price. October 26, 1752, 1s. 6d. stitched, 2/- bound (EEC).
1753

AINSIE, Alexander. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de vomitu idiopathico. . . .
Alexander Ainslie, Scotus. Ad diem 15 Junii. . . . Edinburgi:
apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill. M, DCC, LIII.
4°: x1 2x^2 A-F^2 G1 [$1 signed] [x1 half-title], 16 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 22.1 x 17.5 cm. Strasbourg lily.
EUL: Att.74.7.3/7 (+half-title); G.15/1.1(9).

1753

ALSTON, Charles.
Tirocinium botanicum Edinburgense. Conscriptum a Carolo
Alston. [Thistle ornament] Edinburgi: typis W. Sands,
A. Murray, & J. Cochran. Veneunt autem apud G. Hamilton
8°[chainlines horizontal]: x^2 A-0^4 P^2 2A-2P^4 [$2(-P2)singed],
120 leaves.
Cut 17.8 x 11.4 cm.
NLS: M.44/1.e.α<  EUL: Dd.5.56.

1753

[BALFOUR, James, of Pilrig.]
A delineation of the nature and obligation of morality. With
reflexions upon Mr. Hume's book, intitled, An inquiry concerning
the principles of morals. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton,
Balfour, and Neill. M, DCC, LIII.
12°: \( x^2 \ A^6 \ F^4 \ [+3(-F2.3)\text{signed}] \), 90 leaves.

Partly uncut 19 x 11 cm.

NLS: L.17.f

Publication and price. By March 12, 1753, 2/- in boards, 2s.6d. bound (CM).

1753-56

BLACKWELL, Thomas, the younger.


vol. 1-4°: \( x^4 \ A-3E^4 \ [+2 \text{ signed}] \ [x1 \text{ blank}] \), 196 leaves, 9 plates [medallion heads, engraved by Strange].

Paper: demy and printing medium according to Patrick Neill's ledger entry, superfine and large Imperial according to the publication advertisement in EEC. The following kinds of paper are in the few copies of the volume I have looked at:

Cut 27 x 20.8 cm: Strasbourg bend. A similar good quality paper, slightly thinner, without watermark: cut 25.6 x 20.5 cm.


A thicker paper, without watermark, uncut sheet size 54 x 44 cm. Warren McDougall (+blank x1).

Printing. Blackwell, who acted as his own publisher, had William Strahan of London print 1,000 subscription proposals in February and March, 1752 (EM: Add. Mss. 48803A, f.17r). He engaged Hamilton,
Balfour and Neill to do the printing. When I visited Neill and Company of Edinburgh in 1972 I found the following note pasted into a copy of the first volume. It had been transcribed from one of Patrick Neill's printing journals.

Mr Thomas Blackwell D[ebto]r
To printing Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, amounting to 49 sheets, vol. 1. 500 Demy, and 250 on Printing Medium at 18s. per sheet, large 4to English type £44. 2.

To enlarging the Forms of each Sheet, from the Demy, to the Medium Size, at 8d per Sheet 1.12. 8

To all the Foot-notes on Do. being 32 pages Small Pica, and 5 pages 24 lines Greek, amounting to 4. 9.10

To all the Author's Alterations on the Proof sheets which were charged by the Workmen according to the Time consumed in making them on each sheet 3.18. 5

To Proofs and Tymphans of Coarse Paper, one Ream 5. £54. 7. 11

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on April 26, 1753, the whole share for Thomas Blackwell (Stationers' Register [1746-73], 125).

Publication and price. April 19, 1753, £1.1s. The advertisement said the work would consist of two volumes in quarto, in about 120 sheets [in the event the book went to three volumes], on a superfine paper and a new English letter, adorned with 32 copper plates engraved by Strange, of which there were nine in the first volume. The price of the two volumes, two guineas in boards. Some copies, on large Imperial paper,
two guineas and a half. Subscribers were to call for their books at Hamilton and Balfour's shop in Edinburgh, Stalker's in Glasgow, and R. Thomson's in Aberdeen (ECC).

VOLUME TWO

The title-page is as in vol. 1, with a different quotation, and the date M. DCC. LV. [for 1756]

vol. 2—4º: $x^2 > 2x^2 \frac{3z^2}{2}$ (six preliminary leaves consisting of two gatherings inserted between x1.2). A-3L 4 [$2 signed], 234 leaves, 8 plates [Ravenet].

Cut 27 x 21.1 cm.

EFL: DG 279. NLS: E.64.c.2.

Publication and price. March 9, 1756, a guinea in boards (CM; SM for February).

Notes. Blackwell was a smooth character with a wide circle of acquaintances. His ability to promote the book is evident in this letter to one of his London agents, Robert Dodsley of Pall Mall.

Marshal College Aberdeen Jany. 15th. 1756.

Mr. Dodsley

Sir

Your Jaunt to Holland last Season, just before I left London, deprived me of the Pleasure I had proposed to myself, in some agreeable Hours passed at your House.

The public Papers will have informed you some time ago,
of the intended Publication of the Memoirs of Augustus Vol IIId. the 2d. day of next Month. As my Subscribers are for the most part Members of Parliament or Gentlemen of your End o' the Town, they will naturally address themselves to You, for their Books: I persuade myself you will find no Inconvenience in such People's frequenting your Shop; And hope for the same Friendship and Care in delivering out this Volume as I experienced in the Delivery & Sale of the former.

I shad. be very glad to be assured, that you are proceeding in your beautiful and instructive Poem Public Virtue. Be not discouraged at the moderate Demand for the first Part: A Work, even of true Merit, must have time to work it's Way—The high Runs are upon Pieces that flatter some Passion, or if I may use a low term, Scratch an itching Fancy. Yours, which applies to noblest Faculties of Head & Heart must not expect the Applause of the Mob, like ——— or the Beggars Opera—And yet if it is pursued in the same Strain, and executed with the same Spirit it set out with, I will, at any risque, insure it's Reputation & Success.

Be so good as make Compliments for me to Mr. Jas Doddesley and to Mr. Andr. Millar, when you have an Opportunity, from whom I have this Day a Letter full of Honesty and Friendship—and always am—— With unfeigned Esteem
Mr. Doddesley
Yor. most obedt humble Servt.
T. Blackwell.

(EUL: La.II.646/43)

VOLUME THREE, completed by John Mills, was published at London in 1763, printed for A. Millar.
1753

BURNET, Gilbert.

Bishop Burnet's History of his own time. Volume I. [-VI.]

Carefully corrected, and revised by the Folio copy.


M, DCC, LIII.

vol. 1—12°: a 2 b 6 A-2N 6 20 4 [§3(-203)signed], 228 leaves.

vol. 2—12°: a 6 A-2Q 6 2R 2 [§3(-2R2)signed] [2R2 blank]. 2R 2
in EUL copy is of coarser paper, chainlines vertical], 242 leaves.

vol. 3—12°: a 6 A-2R 6 2C 4 [§3(-2C3)signed] [a6 blank, folded
in front of title leaf at in EUL copy. 2C4 blank]; 160 leaves.

vol. 4—12°: a 6 A-2T 6 2I 1 [§3(-a3,S2)signed], 193 leaves.

vol. 5—12°: a 6 A-2K 6 2L 4 [§3(including 2L3)signed], 208 leaves.

vol. 6—12°: a 6(a1 + x 2) A-2L 6 [§3(-2F2)signed][x 2 Advertis-

Collation. The Advertisement by the Publishers may be
found inserted in other parts of the book. In it Hamilton
and Balfour denounce rival editions, and say that despite
opposition they will continue their policy of improving
Scottish printing. (See above pp. 124–26.)

Two papers were advertised, fine and coarse. I presume the
copies I have looked at represent the latter state, and are on the common paper.

Cut 17.2 x 10.1 cm. Bird (similar to Heawood 183). Bird (with a thinner neck and head, like a peacock's).


Publication and price. The first volume was published on January 30, 1753, and the others at intervals until the set was complete in June. The price was 1s. 6d. a volume in sheets for the coarse paper, 2s. a volume in sheets for "a very fine paper" (CM and SM).

1753

COURT OF SESSION.

[The decisions of the Court of Session, from the 4th of February 1752 to the 11th of March 1753; collected by Mr. Thomas Millar, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. John Swinton junior, and Sir David Dalrymple, advocates. By appointment of the Faculty of Advocates.]

Not seen. It was published on December 6, 1753, price 5/- (CM).

Notes. This marks the beginning of the Faculty of Advocates' official collection of court rulings. Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printed the Decisions of 1752-56 in parts over the next few years, then in 1760 brought them together as Volume One in the great series.
CROOKE, Clemens. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de pleuritide. . . . Clemens Crooke, ab Insula S t i Christophori. Ad diem 6 Idus Junii.
M, DCC, LIII.

4°: [v] 2n ² A-D E1 [81 signed] [v1 half-title], 12 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 22.1 x 17.5 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Atq.74.7.3/9; G.15/1.1(8).

DOUGLAS, Sir Robert.

An engraving, with the caption title:
An historical, genealogical tree of the Royal family of Scotland, and name of Stewart for 1000 years back, to the present generation M D C C L. Humbly dedicated to the most illustrious prince, James Duke of Hamilton & Brandon, &c. &c. &c. by his Grace's most devoted, and most obedient servant, Robert Douglas. [1753]

104 x 78 cm—two sheets pasted on linen (A. Baillie sculpsit Edinburgi).

NLS: S.305.c

Publication and price. August, 1753, 5/- (SM).
D'URBAN, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertation medica inauguralis, de haemorrhagia uterina.
... Joannes D'Urban, Britannus. A.D. VI. Idus Junias.
... Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill: M.DCC.LIII.
$^0$: $x^2 + c^4 - h^2 + \chi^1 [\chi^1$ signed$][\chi^1$ errata$]$, 33 leaves.
EUL: E.B.6104/22(4) ($\chi^1$); E.B.6104/11(5); Theses sect.
6104/2(5).

1753

FORBES, Duncan, of Culloden.
The whole works of the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes, late
Lord President of the Court of Session. Now first collected.
Containing, I. Thoughts on religion, natural and revealed.
II. A letter to a bishop, concerning some important
discoveries in philosophy and theology. III. Reflections on
the sources of incredulity with regard to religion. In
two volumes. Vol. I. [-II.] Printed for G. Hamilton and
J. Balfour, in Edinburgh; and D. Wilson and T. Durham, in
London. [1753]

vol. 1 $-$ $^0$(chainlines horizontal): $A^2 - B^8 - S^4 \{\$4(-S3,4)
signed$] [S4 blank], 134 leaves, 1 plate (S.F. Ravenet sculp).
Press figures: Riv-1 C4v-1 ERr-1 G1v-2 G2v-1 H3v-1 I3v-1
K7v-1 L2v-1 L8r-2 MBr-1 N7v-1 O7r-2 O6r-1 P6r-2 Q7v-2
R6r-2 R8v-1.
1753

GRAINGER, James. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de modo excitandi
ptyalismum, et morbis inde pendentibus... Jacobis
Grainger, Socto-Britannus. Pridie Idus Martii 1753... 
Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill. M.DCC.LIII.

$8^0$: x² A-D⁴ E1 [$1 signed], 19 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 18.6 x 12.1 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: E.B.6104/11(2); Theses sect.6104/2(7).

RE-ISSUED with the following:

GRAINGER, James.
Historia febris anomalae Batavae, annorum 1746, 1747, 1748,
&c. Accedunt monita sipylica. Auctore Jacobo Grainger,
M.D. ... [quotation] Edinburgi, excudebant Hamilton, Balfour,
et Neill. M.DCC.LIII.

$8^0$: x⁴ 2x² A-2B⁴ 2A-2D⁴ 2E² [$1 signed] [2x² index, medical
thesis is reissued with some re-setting from ²A₁, ²E² errata
in the first part), 124 leaves.
Cut 20.5 x 12.6 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: *G.22/75 (2x² inserted after ²E1)

Publication and price. September, 1753, 3/- in boards (SM).

1753

INNES, Robert. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de ileo. . . . Robertus
Innes Scoo-Britannus. Ad diem 15 Junii. . . . Edinburgi:
apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill: M, DCC,LIII.

8⁰: x² A-E⁴ [$1 signed] [E2 blank], 22 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 19.9 x 12.4 cm. Strasburg
lily/JW countermark of the James Whatman mill.

EUL: E,B.6104/22(5); E,B.6104/11(1); Att.78.7.6/23.

1753

JAY, James. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de fluore albo. . . .
M, DCC, LIII.

4⁰: x² A-G² [$1 signed], 16 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 22.1 x 17.5 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.3/12.
1753

MAITLAND, William.


Maitland, who was publishing the book himself, engaged Hamilton, Balfour and Neill to do the printing. These proofs are his record of corrections, complaints and comments made as Neill's men printed the 131½ sheets of the book between April, 1752, and February, 1753. They consist of perfected folio pages, which someone has subsequently trimmed and bound.

EUL: Dm.6.73

Notes. In gathering material for his book Maitland was single-minded and even ruthless, as is evident by the way he obtained William Edgar's "Plan of Edinburgh" for the fold-out frontispiece. It was said in the Court of Session that when Edgar died the family gave the Plan to an auditor of excise, George Fraser, to have it reduced in size; Fraser did so and sent the result to London for engraving. Maitland apparently induced a family creditor to seize the original and put it up for auction, where he bought it after discouraging rivals with the claim that it was only one of several copies. There was only one copy, in the hands of Fraser, and in 1744 Maitland pursued him in court to try to obtain it. The author meanwhile continued his researches in the town council archives. He was studying records as early

1. Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, Decisions of the Court of Session, ed. W. M. Morison (Edinburgh, 1813), II, "Maitland against Fraser."
as 1741, and over the years kept in the town's good graces by lending the council money at less than the current rate of interest. In 1750 he applied to the town for a £40 grant towards the cost of the 21 plates in the book, commenting that if he sold 400 copies at £1.5s. the work would pay, but he had decided to charge subscribers just a guinea. He received the grant, and soon afterwards called in his loans to the town. Then he turned his attention to the printing.

Neill's men may well have been encouraged to take more care when printing for the firm than when printing commercially for authors or organizations. Even so, The History of Edinburgh is probably the ugliest book Hamilton, Balfour and Neill produced. Maitland required such things as two columns to a page, with sixty-six lines to a column, and (despite the partners' dislike of ornaments) tail-pieces at the end of sections. He was paying for the printing, and interpreted white space in the layout as a scheme to cheat him. Thus the presence of only sixty-five lines per column on p. 494 caused him to write to Neill in the margin: "[I d]esire that Two [lines] may be brought from the other side to supply this defect and fulfill [our] agreement for they could be placed where they are with no other view than [to ex]tend the work; this I positively insist on." He then realized he wished to make a four-line correction elsewhere, so

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1. MS in EPL (Edinburgh Room); C. B. Roog Watson, "Some notes on the first History of Edinburgh."
to prevent the printer charging for that, he added: "N.B. This
I will excuse in consideration of the annexed alterations." The
page continued to have sixty-five lines. Maitland constantly
complained bitterly in the margins about the standard of composition,
and more than once threatened to go to Gavin Hamilton. Even
when the criticism was justified, the author's harsh tone was
self-defeating, for Neill was not a man to be bullied. For
example, on p. 135 of the proofs a compositor had ended a paragraph
in the first column with two lines:

"may be inrolled before the Day of Electi-
"on."

The author's heated demand that the two final letters be taken
to the line above was ignored, but Neill did make this change
before the forme went to press:

"may be inrolled before the Day of Ele-
"ction."

The proofs show that the formes were occasionally not
broken up soon enough, either because of the slowness of press-work
or correction, and this caused the compositors to run short of
the William Caslon type. Between pages 232 and 250 they
did not have enough of capital C or of quotation marks, and so
set noticeable sorts which they could replace later, such as
inverted capital E and a double horizontal line. The proofs also
bear the hand of a press corrector who sometimes made textual

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1. Identified as Caslon by A. F. Johnson, "Type-designs and
type-founding in Scotland," Edinburgh Bibliographical Society
Transactions, II (1938-45), 258.
queries, over doubtful words or spelling, or missed phrases. There are messages in the margins, too, which help to identify one or two of the workers in the printing house. (See above, p. 179.)

Neill and his much criticized workers completed the printing, but the firm was to see more of the author after publication:

The history of Edinburgh, from its foundation to the present time. Containing a faithful relation of the publick transactions of the citizens; accounts of the several parishes; its governments, civil, ecclesiastical, and military; incorporations of trades and manufactures; courts of justice; state of learning; charitable foundations, &c. With the several accounts of the parishes of the Canongate, St. Cuthbert, and other districts within the suburbs of Edinburgh. Together with the antient and present state of the town of Leith, and a perambulation of divers miles round the city. With an alphabetical index. In nine books. By William Maitland, F.R.S. Author of the History of London. The whole illustrated with a plan of the town, and a great variety of other fine cuts of the principal buildings within the city and suburbs. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, for the Author. M D C C LIII.

2⁰: a² b² A-2u² 2H² (+2H²) 2I-2r² 2X² (+2X²) 2Y-60² 6P². [§1 signed], 263 leaves, 21 plates (P. Fourdrinier sculp; they include Edgar's Plan of Edinburgh, and views by Paul Sandby).
Common-paper state (chainlines horizontal). Cut 36.2 x 23.2 cm.

NLS: LC 1252 (with cancellanda as well as cancellantia); Gray 1404; R.289.c. EUL: E.R.F.9(41445)Mad; D.S.d.2.11; *P16.22;

School of Scottish Studies.

Fine, large-paper state. Cut 43.1 x 28 cm. Strasbourg

lily/IV.

NLS: Z.9.d.16

Edition quantity. 752 copies (see Notes below).

First publication, and price. The author advertised on April 2, 1752, that the book would be put in the press shortly; it was published on February 19, 1753, £1.1s. to subscribers, £1.4s. to others (ECC and SM). Maitland also sold the Plan of Edinburgh separately for 2s.6d. retail or 2/– to booksellers; his trade price for a set of the plates was 5/– (ECC, and the author's receipts to Kincaid and Donaldson, 1754; in EUL: La.II.508).

Notes. Maitland said in the book that during the famine of 1740 Lord Provost Coutts had hoarded the grain he dealt in, which so enraged the populace that he had to flee the city. The author began having second thoughts about this at the proof stage, and tried to soften the libel by inserting "'tis said" and "as 'tis said." This was not good enough for the Coutts family, and they complained to the Bailies on March 2, 1753, two weeks after publication. Maitland was summoned to appear before the
magistrates at four o'clock that afternoon, and within a few days was forced to recall the book from circulation, so that the offending passage could be cancelled. He drew up a list for Hamilton, Balfour and Neill stating that of 762 copies printed, he had already distributed 213. Most of these had gone to Edinburgh booksellers (John Paton had taken twenty-five, Gavin Hamilton fifty, William Millar twelve, James Brown twelve, Alexander Kincaid fifty, John Ross twelve, and Charles Wright six), while the remainder were held by individuals and institutions, including the Advocates' Library. The firm then issued a printed circular, which was probably signed by Hamilton:

Sir

You having received a Copy of Mr Maitlands History of Edinburgh, in which a Paragraph is wrong and necessary to be altered; suffer me in Justice to the Memory of a most respectful Person, and in favour to the Author, to request you'll return your copy, either to me or the person you got it from, so as such Paragraph may be amended: And I hereby oblige myself to redeliver your Copy again, betwixt and the 10th April next.

I have too good an Opinion of you to think you will refuse this just request; I am for Self and Mr Maitland

Sir
Your most Humble Servant

Edinburgh 8th March 1753.

(MS copy)

Maitland was most reluctant to change the passage to suit the wishes of the Coutts family. As he lay ill on March 16, he wrote to the lawyer John Dickie: "if the Almighty at this time
should think proper to remove me into Eternity—the said paragraph might remain a monument uncastrated to future ages." The Almighty did not make the call, but the Bailies did; the author stayed, and the libel went.¹

Cancelled leaves 2H2 and 2X2. The first concerns the Coutts passage, on p. 124. The late Lord Provost is now praised in a paragraph reading: "In this Year was a great Scarcity of Victual, and it appears from the Council's Records, that the Magistrates used all possible Means for the Relief of the necessitous... and Mr. Coutts, and other Gentlemen, who dealt in the Corn Trade, did import great Quantities of Victual, which they delivered to the City at prime Cost, which reduced the Price very considerably; insomuch that the People lived in Plenty in the midst of Famine."

When the book was withdrawn from circulation the author probably thought it wise to tone down, on p. 175, sarcastic references to Walter Little of Liberton, who had claimed to have a charter showing there was once a loch in the Cowgate. The original paragraph began: "For the clearing up of which, I applied to divers of Mr. Little's Friends, to prevail on him to shew me the said Charter: But after many fair Promises and no Appearance

¹. This account is based on copies of MSS at EPL (Edinburgh Room): qYD.1822.M23. These include James Coutts' and James Ferguson's "Petition to Lord Provost and Magistrates concerning Maitland's History of Edinburgh," Maitland's "An account of the numbers of Copies of the History of Edinburgh Printed, given out to Subscribers and in Presents," a copy of the printed circular, and Maitland's letter to Dickie.
of a Performance, I called at his house . . . " It ended: "Now, as Mr. Little has a great Advantage of me a Stranger, in being believed; I therefore defy him to shew any Deed or Writing that doth attest the same." Maitland took out the provocative final sentence and substituted a milder paragraph that began: "For the clearing up of this Point, I applied to divers of Mr. Little's Friends, to endeavour to prevail upon him to let me search for the said Charter in his Charter-chest; which they having kindly performed, I waited on Mr. Little . . . "

1753

MERRIMAN, Samuel. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio physiologico-medica inauguralis, de conceptu.

... Samuel Merriman, Anglus. Ad diem 6 Idus Junii. ...

4°: x1 2n^2 A-D^2 E1 [$1 signed] [x1 half-title], 12 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 22.1 x 17.4 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: At74.7.3/13; G.15/1.1(6).

1753

MONRO, Donald. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de hydrope. ... Donaldus
Monro, Scoito-Britannus. Ad diem 8 Junii. ... Edinburgi:
apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill: M, DCC, LIII.

8°: 2 A-I^4 [$1 signed] [I4 blank], 38 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 19.1 x 11.9 cm. Strasbourg lily

EUL: E.B.6104/22(6); E.B.6104/11(3) (+blank I4).
OGILVIE, Rev. John.


foolscap 8°: a A-E⁴ [$1(+a2) signed], 28 leaves.

Cut 16.1 x 9.7. Vryheyt lion; Britan mia. Propatria.

NLS: NG.1167.j.3. NC: W.A.I/1.

Cut 16.6 x 10.1. Without watermark.

EUL: Yy.12.56

Publication and price. May 24, 1753, 8d. stitched in blue paper, 1/- bound. "The Poem is printed on a Writing Paper, and with a beautiful Letter, in the same manner as [Sir David Dalrymple's] late Collection of Sacred Poems" (ECC).

ROZEA, Jassintour.


8°: A-U⁴ [$1 signed] [no separate title-page in this copy for the Second Number, the text of which begins on L1 under heading "Numb. II"], 80 leaves.

Demy paper. Cut 18.8 x 12 cm.

NLS: NG.833.b.15
Publication and price. The work was to consist of twelve monthly numbers, but apparently only two appeared. Number One was published on January 9, 1753, and consisted of "five sheets, on a fine Demy Paper and in a new Letter," price 1/-.

Copies were sold for the author by George Rig, grocer, and Thomas Trotter, merchant. On February 13, copies were advertised as being available also from Hamilton and Balfour and other booksellers, 1/- stitched in blue paper (EEC and CM).

Hamilton and Balfour published Number Two on March 22, 1753; it also consisted of five sheets on a fine Demy paper, and cost 1/- (EEC).

1753

SOOTT, John, excise officer in Finzgar.

An epitome of arithmetic. Containing, the common rules, and general method of operation, particularly in questions containing sums of diverse denominations. The doctrine of proportion, with the rules for stating, and method of resolving questions. The doctrine of fractions, vulgar and decimal. The method of extracting the square, cube, biquadrate, and all other roots. With an appendix, containing proper definitions; general rules and examples for measuring planes and solids; plain and practical rules for gauging; with several other useful rules and tables,
which are not to be found in any other book of Arithmetic.


8°: a A-2T 2Z² [§1 signed], 186 leaves, 2 plates.

Cut 19 x 12.1 cm.

NLS: Grindlay 220

Publication and price. June, 1753, 4/- (SM).

1753

SHAKESPEARE.

general title in vol. 1:

The Works of Shakespear. In which the beauties observed by Pope, Warburton, and Dodd, are pointed out. Together with the author's life; a glossary; copious indexes; and, a list of the various readings. In eight volumes.


titles of vols. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8:

The Works of Shakespear. Volume the first. [—the eighth.]

the names of Hamilton and Balfour are missing from the imprint in vols. 3 and 4:


vol. 1—12°: $x^2 A-2D^6 2K^4 [S3(-2E3)signed], 204 leaves.

vol. 2—12°: $x^1 A-2G^6 2n1 [S3 signed], 182 leaves.

vol. 3—12°: $A-2G^6 2h^2 [S3(-2H2)signed], 182 leaves.

vol. 4—12°: $A-2L^6 [S3 signed], 204 leaves.

vol. 5—12°: $A-2F^6 2G^4 [S3 signed], 178 leaves.

vol. 6—12°: $A-2K^6 2L1 [S3 signed], 199 leaves.

vol. 7—12°: $A-2F^6 2G^4 [S3(-2G3)signed], 178 leaves.

vol. 8—12°: $A-2G^6 2H^4 211 [S3(including 2H3)signed], 185 leaves.

Uncut 18.2 x 10.9 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EPL: PR.2752.B

Publication and price. July 31, 1753, £1.4s. bound in calf and titled (CM).

Notes. The corrector of the press John Reid, and the ghost of Hugh Blair.

In the Preface of the 1753 Shakespear, the "Scots Editor" discusses his editorial methods and the attention paid to
punctuation. Who was this editor? A note on the verso of the general title-page of the fifth Edinburgh edition, 1795, says that "This edition of Shakespeare is correctly printed from the famous edition 1753, by Dr. Hugh Blair." Bibliographers and biographers have accepted the attribution.

Thus in his biography of Hugh Blair, R. M. Schmitz is led into making certain assumptions. Blair, he feels, was no creature of the booksellers, whose advice would extend to no more than the obvious and superficial, but was the sixth modern editor of Shakespeare in his own right. Mr. Schmitz, seeing Blair on the horns of a textual dilemma over whether to accept a reading by Pope or by Warburton, remarks ironically that the editor's compromise is an example of Moderate literary criticism. 1

In Fredson Bowers' Principles of Bibliographical Description, Dr. Giles E. Dawson remarks that since Blair was still alive in 1795 there is no reason to question the truth of the attribution. He says that although the text of the 1753 edition is practically worthless, being printed mainly from Warburton's edition, Blair has modernized and improved the punctuation throughout. "This is not surprising in a professor of rhetoric. It is quite possible that he rather than the

compositor is responsible also for the modernization of spelling and the use of capital letters, which has been carried out more systematically than in earlier editions."
The Index of Characters, Sentiments, Speeches, and the Glossary, have been improved, but what chiefly interested Blair the rhetorician was the pointing out of the Beauties.¹

Blair had nothing to do with the work. The Scots Editor was in fact John Reid, at the time a corrector of the press and printer with Murray and Cochran. Reid said so explicitly sixteen years later, when he was being prosecuted for stealing books during his 1760–65 partnership with Alexander Donaldson. James Boswell, as counsel for Donaldson, asked whether an edition of Shakespeare found in the Reid household had been taken from the bookshop. This was denied: "The Respondent [i.e. Reid] can easily satisfy Mr Donaldson in this particular. An edition of Shakespeare's works was printed by Messrs. Murray and Cochran in 1753, from Pope and Warburton's edition. The respondent had the sole management of that edition, selected the notes, enlarged

¹. Principles of Bibliographical Description (New York, 1962), pp. 474–77. (On pp. 318–21, 473–4, Professor Bowers describes the edition, and sets out an ingenious theory which has Hamilton and Balfour joining the syndicate of publishers halfway through the printing.)
and altered the index, prefixed a catalogue of the beauties observed by Mr Dodd, gave an index of them, and a list of the various readings, and wrote the Scots editors preface; and he preserved the copy from which it was printed, and caused it to be rebound after the work was entirely finished. This copy, the Respondent afterwards lent out in volumes to different persons of his acquaintance . . . *

1753


EUL: Att.74.7.4/6; E.B.6104/22(7); E.B.6104/11(4); Theses sect. 6104/2(6).

1753

STEWART, James, of Aucharn.

The trial of James Stewart in Aucharn in Duro of Appin, for the murder of Colin Campbell of Glemure, Esq; factor

for His Majesty on the forfeited estate of Arishiel;
before the Circuit Court of Justiciary held at Inverary
on Thursday the 21st, Friday the 22d, Saturday the 23d,
and Monday the 25th of September last; by his Grace the
Duke of Argyll, Lord Justice-General, and the Lords Elchies
and Kilkerran, Commissioners of Justiciary. Edinburgh:
printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. 1753.

\[ S^2: x^2 (x^2 + 1) \quad A - 2E^4 \quad 2F^4 (2F^4) \quad 2G - 2H^4 \quad 2A - 2S^4 \quad 2T(3 \text{ leaves}) \]

[\$1 signed] [Appendix begins at \( 2^A 1 \)], 221: leaves, 1 plate
(map).

Cut 19.7 x 13 cm.

NLS: Law; L.C.2104. EUL: Law Library.

Notes. This famous murder case involved Allan Breck and caught
the imagination of a Balfour descendant, Robert Louis Stevenson.

Publication and price. February, 1753, 5/- in boards (SM); noted
in CM on March 12.

1753

SWIFT, Jonathan.
A supplement to Dr. Swift's Works.
See under 1752.

1753

WALLACE, Robert.
Proof sheets of A dissertation on the numbers of mankind.
EUL: La.II.96/2
Notes. Most of the proofs here are perfected and cut, but there is one in an early state which shows the method of imposing the half-sheets in the book. A whole sheet is still blank on one side, with pages 17-24, signature C, printed on the other. The next step in the process would have been to turn the paper over to print the same pages on the other side, then to cut the sheet in half to provide two copies of signature C. (This uncut sheet is of the dummy size, 53.4 x 43.1 cm, fleur-de-lys watermark with countermark 'IV'.)

The proofs bear the writing of Wallace and Patrick Neill; David Hume also wrote in a few corrections. Author and printer seem to have co-operated well, although Neill did murmur occasionally about the author's slowness in returning the MS to the printing house, and about the amount of corrections. He wrote on the proof of signature I: "Mr. Wallace may please know, that the first page & a few more Sentences marked thus X are not read by the Copy, because he did not return it."

Neill remarked later: "Mr. Wallace will please know, that his Corrections and alterations of this half Sheet [signature X] has occupied the Compositor since the Return of it, by which another half Sheet has been retarded and will scarce be finished tomorrow."

A comparison of Wallace's written insertions in the proofs with the printed version shows the kind of accidental changes made by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill compositors. An insertion
on p. 96:

; among them fewer hands were employed in Trade; Trade was more confined; agriculture was more encouraged, & was indeed their principall occupation

became in print:

; among them fewer hands were employed in trade; trade was more confined; agriculture was more encouraged, and was indeed their principal occupation.

The author's insertion on p. 99:

This is evident from Columella, whose usefull work de re Rustica shews how much a man, who lived in corrupted times, laments the loss of the antient taste and praises the manners of the old Romans.

became:

This is evident from Columella, whose useful work de re rustica, shews how much a man, who lived in corrupted times, laments the loss of the antient taste, and praises the manners of the old Romans.

Robert Wallace's manuscript was published as:

A dissertation on the numbers of mankind in antient and modern times; in which the superior populousness of antiquity is maintained. With an appendix, containing additional observations on the same subject, and some remarks on Mr. Hume's Political discourse, of the populousness of antient nations.  


8°: x² A-2S⁴ 2T² [$1(+A2,D2,X2) signed], 168 leaves.

Cut 20.5 x 12.6 cm. Fleur-de-lys/IV.

EUL: EE²*4.10; E.B.30132 Wal. NLS: Aq.3/1.25; Aq.3/1.26.
Publication and price. February 6, 1753, 4s. 6d. bound, 4/- in boards (CM).

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on March 8, 1753, the whole share for Hamilton and Balfour (Stationers' Register [1746-73], 122).

Notes. The publishers distributed the book with their usual skill. Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick received a bound copy with an accompanying letter:

Sir

Mr Robert Wallace has just publishd a Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind As it is esteem'd a very Ingenious Performance I imagind it woud not be dissagreable to you to see it, have therefore sent a Copy by the Bearer. I am with great Respect for Self & Partner

Sir
Your most Humble Servt:
John Balfour

Edinr: Feb. 14th 1753

(SRO: GD 110/1025/2)

Meanwhile Gavin Hamilton looked to a wider audience. He felt that modulation was required in England, and wrote to a London agent:

Sir

When You advertise Mr Wallaces Book on the Numbers of Mankind tho his name is not on the title page yet I am allowed to let you know that you may in your advertisement
Besides all the other things you commonly insert add

By the Reverend Mr Robert Wallace one of his Majesties Chaplains for Scotland one of the ministers of Edinburgh & member of the Philosophical Society there:

But as this advertisement is intended wholly for England, You will take care to insert these titles of Mr Wallace in the way that is proper for England & may either insert or drop these words "for Scotland" as will be most suitable to the Climate or vary the form as may be best only you must add no other titles. I am

Sir your most humble servant
Gavin Hamilton

(EUL: La.II.96/1A, copy in the hand of Robert Wallace)

1753

WAYNE, Francis. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Disputatio medica, inauguralis de variolarum insitione.

... Franciscus Wayne, Anglus. Ad diem 6 Idus Junii.
... Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill.
M, DCC, LIII.

4°: n1 2x² A-E² F1 [$1 signed] [n1 half-title], 14 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 22.1 x 17.5 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.3/17
WISHART, William, the younger, Principal of Edinburgh University.

Discourses on several subjects. By William Wishart, D.D.
Principal of the College of Edinburgh. [ornament]
London: printed by W. Strahan; and sold by A. Millar in the Strand, and Mess. Hamilton and Balfour at Edinburgh. M DC LIII.

12°: 2 6 b+16 z4 [§3(-a2,l3,m2,23)singed], 138 leaves.
Common-paper state (chainlines vertical). Cut 15.3 x 9 cm.
Press figures: B6v-1 G3v-2 D4v-4 E4r-3 F6v-5 H3v-1 I6v-7 K4r-2 L4r-4 N6r-1 Q4r-4 R6v-2 T6r-1 Y3v-2.

EUL: *A.15/30. NLS: 33.e.

1,589 copies printed. (See Notes below.)

Fine-paper state. (Royal Paper.) Cut 16.5 x 10.2.
Strasbourg lily.

Press figures: D4v-4 E4r-3 Q4r-4.
NLS: F.6.A.17 (finessly bound)

16 copies printed.

ISSUE OF THE FIRST PART:
An essay on the indispensable necessity of a holy and good life to the happiness of Heaven. Shewing, that this
necessity, according to the plain tenor of the Gospel, is without any reserve or exception. With a practical improvement of the argument. By William Wishart, D.D. Principal of the College of Edinburgh. London: printed by W. Strahan; and sold by A. Millar in the Strand, and Mess. Hamilton and Balfour at Edinburgh. M DCC LIII.

12° (chainlines vertical): A⁶(-A6) B-L⁶ M⁴ [§3(-L3) signed], 66 leaves.

Cut 14.7 x 8.8 cm.

Press figures: A5r-3 B6v-1 C3v-2 D4v-4 E4r-3 F6v-5 H3v-1 I6v-7 K4r-2 L4r-4.

EUL: D.21.30/1

1,000 copies printed.

Notes. The work was printed by William Strahan on behalf of himself and Andrew Millar, although Hamilton and Balfour obviously took a number to sell in Scotland. The printing entry in one of Strahan's ledgers reads:

Messrs. Millar and Strahan

1753 March. Printing Wishart's Discourses 1589 Coarse and 16 Fine, enlarged Margin, 11½ Sheets £1.15. p sheet £20. 2. 6

For printing 1000 Essay separate 5½ sheets £10s. 2.15.
For $34\frac{1}{2}$ Reams of Paper @ 10/6
For 8 Quires Royal @ 1/8 p Qr
For 11 Reams Coarse paper for Essay @ 9s. p Ream
Paid for transcribing the MS
For Binding the Books given Mr W[ishart] as p. Frier's [?] Account
Paid for Mats, Cartage, and Sufferance for those sent to Scotland
Advertising Do. in Edinr. Courant and Mercury
Settled Novr. 26. 1765.

(EM: Add. Mss. 48803A, f.16v)

Publication and price in Edinburgh. April 26, 1753. Discourses, 2s.6d. bound; the Essay was available separately, 8d. stitched, with an allowance to anyone buying in dozens to give away (EEC).

1753

WRIGHT, Edward. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

$g_0: \frac{x^2}{A-G^4}H^2$ [§1 signed], 32 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 19.1 x 11.9 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: E.B.6104/22(8)
1754

AINSLIE, James. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

8°: π1 2π A-C D E1 [$1 signed] [π1 half-title], 18 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 18.8 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily.

BUL: Att. 74.7.12/1; E.B.6104/11(8).

1754

ALSTON, Charles.

8° (chainlines horizontal): π1 2π A-K4 [$2 signed], 45 leaves.
Cut 18 x 11.2 cm.


Publication and price. June, 1754, 1/- (SM).
1754

ANACREON, with Sappho and Erinna. Greek and Latin.

The Greek in the titles is mainly in capitals, as follows.

half-title:

ANACREON ΟΔΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΝ.

title-page:

AI TOY ΑΝΑΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΟΔΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΡΙΝΝΑΣ ΛΕΙΤΥΑΝΑ.
Edinburgi, apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. M.DCC.LIV.


Cut 8.6 x 5.4 cm.

Copy at Neill and Company, Edinburgh. Pasted inside was a transcription of the Neill ledger entry, which gave some details of the printing, as well as the amount of corrections by the scholarly editor employed for the occasion, Robert Hunter, Professor of Greek at Edinburgh University:

1754 April 23
Messrs Hamilton & Balfour D[ebto]rs.

To printing a Greek, with Latin Translation of Anaacreon, Sappho, & Erinna &c, at 18s. for 2½ sheets 500 copies £4.10.

To a very great Number of Alterations by Professor Hunter, and resetting 5 pages 10.

VARIANT

The Greek section was also issued printed on silk.

NLS: F.6.b.4. BM: 1473.as.30.
BLACK, Joseph.  [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

$8^0$: A-E $^4$ F$^4$ (-F$^4$)  [$8$ signed]  [x1 half-title],
26 leaves.
Fine-paper state.  Cut 20.3 x 12.9 cm.  Strasbourg lily.

BUL: JA 501 (with half-title x1 uncut in last gathering, as F4);
Att.74.7.12/2.

BLACKLOCK, Thomas.
Poems on several occasions.  By Thomas Blacklock, student of philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. . .

$8^0$: A $^4$ B $^4$ A-X $^4$ Z (3 leaves)  [$8$ signed]  [a1 half-title],
99 leaves.
Cut 20.9 x 13.2 cm.  Not a good quality paper.  Fleur de lys.

BUL: E.B.82169Rla;  NLS: I.37.c.

Publication and price.  February 12, 1754, 3/- in blue boards (GH).
The price to booksellers was 2s. 6d.
Notes. The book was printed for the author, who made a hundred guineas from it, according to his friend David Hume. Hume said that had the blind poet’s work been published “in the common way, their merit would have recommended them sufficiently to common sale; but, in that case, the greatest part of the profit, it is well known, would have redounded to the booksellers. His friends, therefore, take copies from him, and distribute them among their acquaintances” (The Letters of David Hume, ed. J. Y. T. Greig [Oxford, 1932], I, 184).

1754

BUTTER, William.

A method of cure for the stone chiefly by injections.
With descriptions and delineations of the instruments contrived for those purposes. By William Butter, M.C.


12°: $\frac{x}{2}$ A–6 [$\ \text{f.1 and 3(–A3) signed}$], 44 leaves, 1 plate

(Richd. Cooper del. & sculp.).

Cut 16.4 x 10 cm.

BUL: Wd.5.11/1

Publication and price. March 28, 1754, 1/– (CM).
1754

DIAPER, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de clystere. . . . Ioannes
Diaper, Anglo-Britannus. . . . Ad diem 11 Junii. . .

8°: x 24 A-D4 [$1 signed]. 18 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 18.8 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.T4.T.12/4

1754-56

EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Essays and observations, physical and literary. Read
before a society in Edinburgh, and published by them.

Volume I. Edinburgh: printed by G. Hamilton and J. Balfour,
Printers to the University. M.DCC.LIV.

8°: x 2 x 2 A-L4 M4(-M4) N-R4 S4(-S2) T-3N4 [$1 signed]

[2x2 Contents ], 242 leaves, 8 plates [Ravenet].

Cut 20.5 x 12.9 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: E.B.6104Edi (two copies). NLS: Hall.133.d.

Notes. The Preface says that papers should be sent to the
secretaries of the Society, Professor William Monro and David Hume.

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on May 20, 1754, the
whole share for Hamilton and Balfour (Stationers' Register
[1746-73], 143).

Publication and price. At Edinburgh on May 2, 1754, 6/- in boards,
including eight copper plates engraved by Ravenet (GW, SM for April).

VOLUME TWO

Title and imprint as in vol. 1, with changed vol. number, and the date M,DCC,LVI.

vol. 2—80: x 4 A-31 4 3K 2 [81 signed], 226 leaves, 7 plates.
Cut 20 x 12.4 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

Publication and price. April 20, 1756, 5/- in boards (CH).

VOLUME THREE was published at Edinburgh, printed for John Balfour, in 1771.

1754

EDINBURGH ROYAL EXCHANGE

Contract of agreement, for building an Exchange, in the City of Edinburgh, between the magistrates and town-council, and the tradesmen. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M,DCC,LIV.

80: x 2 > 2x 2 3x 2 (two gatherings of preliminaries inserted into conjunct gathering x 2; x1 title-leaf, x2 pp. 11-12)
A\[\text{signed}\] $^4$R $^2$A $^4$B $^4$C $^2$D [text of Appendix begins on $^2A^1V$, the type set the length of the pages], 50 leaves, 1 plate intended as a frontispiece ("The south front of a new design'd square," J. Fergus delin., A. Bell sculp.).

Cut 19.4 x 12.7. Strasbourg bend/JW countermark of the James Whatman mill. (EUL copy)

Cut 21.5 x 13.2 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: Df.9.145. NLS: NE.11.d.25; 1924.11(- gatheringA$^4$; + a second plate, taken from the Scots Magazine for September, 1754, "A generall plan of the exchange," A. Bell sculp.); NE.11.d.1(6); L.C.306 (-leaf D2); 1.1001(6); Ry.1.4.21(-plate).

Publication and price. July 25, 1754, 1s.6d., the copper-plate by itself, 4d (CM).

1754

ERSKINE, David, Lord Dun.

Lord Dun's friendly and familiar advices, adapted to the various stations and conditions of life, and the mutual relations to be observed amongst them. Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and Balfour. [sic] M.DCC.LIV.

12°: x$^4$ A-6 \[\text{X$^2$ signed}\], 126 leaves.

Two papers, fine and coarse.
Fine-paper state? Cut 16.9 x 9.9 cm. Fleur de lys/IV. Not a good quality paper.
Coarse-paper state. Cut 17.2 x 10.3 cm. Bird (similar to Heawood 183).


Publication and price. January 15, 1754, the fine paper bound 2/-, the coarse or common paper in boards, 1s.2d (CM; SM for December, 1753).

1754

ERSKINE, John.


Vol. 1—8° x 4 A-B4 C4(±C1,C2) D4 E4(±E1) F4(±F1) G4 H4(±H3,H4) I-2I4 2k(3 leaves) [$1 signed], 135 leaves.

Vol. 2—8° x 1 A-2H4 A4 b-c4 d1 [$1 signed] [2H4 blank, Index starts at a1], 138 leaves.

Cut 20.1 x 12.4 cm.

EUL: E.B.34(41)Er

VARIANT. Ordinary-paper state, in one volume:
Not seen.

Publication and price. May 30, 1754, in one large octavo 7/- bound; "There are a few Copies printed on a very fine Paper," bound in two volumes, 10/- (CM).
1754

FORBES, Theodore. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de tussi convulsiva. . . .
Theodorus Forbes, Scotus. . . . Ad diem 22 Aprilis. . . .
8°: x² A-D⁴ [$1 signed], 18 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 18.8 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily.
EUL: Att.74.7.12/5

1754

GORDON, Alexander. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de variolis. . . . Alexander
Gordon, Scotus. Ad diem 11 Junii. . . . Edinburgi: apud
Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill. M, DCC,LIV.
8°: x² A-D⁴ E(2 leaves) [$1 signed], 20 leaves.
Common-paper state. Cut 18.8 x 12 cm. Fleur de lys.
EUL: Att.74.7.12/6.

1754

[GRAEME of Arngomery]
A letter to a gentleman in Edinburgh, concerning Mr. Graeme
of Argomery's improvements of moss, and the benefits of
these improvements to the nation. Edinburgh: printed for
Hamilton & Balfour, and sold by them and other booksellers;
and by the booksellers in Perth, Glasgow, & Stirling.
M, DCC,LIV. (Price four pence.)
8°: \( x^2 \supset A-D^4 E^2 \) (gatherings A to E within two unsigned, conjunct wrapper leaves) [$1 signed], 20 leaves.

"Fine" paper state. Uncut, sheet size approximately 52 x 42 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NLS: 1939.5(2)

Common-paper state, presumably with "Price three pence" on title-page;

Not seen.

Publication and price. May 14, 1754, fine paper 4d., coarse paper 3d (CM).

1754

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A?] catalogue of a very curious and valuable collection of books, in most languages and faculties, which are to be exposed by way of sale (the lowest price being marked to each book) at the shop of G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, upon Thursday the 21st of November 1754. Among which are... [contents] The books are generally in fine condition, and will be sold only for ready money. The person who commissions or demands a book first, is always prefer'd. Edinburgh, printed in the year MDCCCLIV.

8°: \( x1 A-G^4 \) [$1 signed], 29 leaves. [The head margin in this copy has been trimmed.]
Coarse paper

Bodleian: 2593.f.(53)2

1754

[HART, Samuel.]

Herminius and Espasia: a tragedy. As it was acted at the theatre in Edinburgh. Edinburgh: printed for the author; and sold by G. Hamilton & J. Balfour. M,DCC,LIV.

8°: ♀ A-K 4 L 2 [$1 signed], 44 leaves.

Cut 20.6 x 12.7 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.


Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on April 23, 1754, the whole share for Saml. Hart (Stationers' Register [1746-73], 141).

Publication in Edinburgh, and price. March 12, 1754, 1s.6d.

(CM; SM for February)

1754

HORSBURCH, William.

[Experiments and observations upon the Hartfell Spaw, made at Moffat 1750; and an account of its medicinal virtues, so far as they have hitherto been discovered from experience.]

Not seen.

Notes. It was published in June, 1754, price 1/- (SM). Horsburgh's account also appeared on pp. 341-71 of the Essays and Observations of the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, which Hamilton and Balfour published in May, 1754.
HUME, David.

The history of Great Britain. Vol. I. Containing the reigns of James I. and Charles I. By David Hume, Esq;
M, DCC, LIV.

A few copies were printed on a large paper. Query: was this the royal paper?


Edinbr., 29 Janry, 1754.

My Dear Willie,

in any important step I make, in business, I should reckon my self very much out of my duty to you as on of my sincerest freinds if I did not un bosome my self, lett this serve for preamble to what I am going to say.

I have within these ten days concluded a bargain that is reckoned very bold by every body that hears of it, and some think it rash, because they never heard of the like pass here; tho' at the same time I remain very well content with my bargain.
John Balfour and I have agreed to pay £1200 sterllng of copy money, for a single impression of a book, 'tis the history of great Britain composed by David Hume our Scots author. I print 2000 and have the right to print no more, the calculation will stand thus, to print 3 quarto vols which it will make, will cost with advertisements and incidents about 320 per vol. the book will sell at 15/- bound or ten shillings to Es. Sellers in sheets, but lett as reckoned the London copies only producing 9 shilling, then 2000 copies will yeild about 920£ sterling per vol. after deducing 320£ for printing and 400£ to the author which is not payable very soon, there remains of profit for our selves about 200£ per vol. which we are content to put up with as we are perswaded that this first impression will be short while in hands, and this is the next question, how do you know that? all I can say to you in the bounds of a very short letter is that we have been at due pains to inform our selves of the merit of the work and are well satisfied one that head that it is the prettiest thing ever was attempted in the English History, the three vols contain three grand periods, the first from the union of the Crowns to the death of the king, the 2d vol from the death of the king to the Revolution, and the last till the treaty of Utrecht, the facts are well vouched and thrown together into a light as to give the true character of the times, it is neither Whig nor Tory but truely impartial.

I am with sincerity, yours
Gavin Hamilton.

To Mr. William Strachan
Printer in New street near Fleet street London.

(Letters of David Hume to William Strahan, ed. G. Birkbeck
Hill [Oxford, 1888], p. 3.)

In the event, Hamilton paid Hume £400 for the right to print an edition of volume one in 2,000 copies (The Letters of David Hume, ed. Greig, I, 193), but lost the right to publish any more. See above, pp. 160-67.

Copyright. Gavin Hamilton himself entered the book at Stationers' Hall on November 11, 1754, the whole share for David Hume (Stationers' Register [1746-73], 147).
Publication and price. November 12, 1754, in both Edinburgh and London, according to CM. Hamilton was at Stationers' Hall on the day before this, but it is possible that publication in London was held back for at least a week. The London Gazette of November 19-23 said the book was to be had from Mr. Hamilton the publisher, at the Golden Head near Pinchbeck's Toyshop facing the Hay-market; and also from Messrs. Knapton, Longman, Hitch and Hawes, Millar, Dodsley, Rivington, T. Payne, and Wilson and Durham, booksellers.

The retail price was 14/- in boards; there were "a few" large-paper copies, one guinea in boards.

1754

HUNTER, Thomas. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]


8°: x⁴ > A–C⁴ (gatherings A to C inserted between leaves x3,4; x⁴ is the dedication, x⁴ the last leaf of text)

[$1 signed], 16 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 20.3 x 12.6 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Dh.5.111; E.B.6104/11(6).
1754

KENNEDY, Hugo Alexander. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de Rhabarbaro. . . . Hugo
Alexander Kennedy, Hibernus. Ad diem 11 Juni. . . .
Edinburgi: cum Typis Academicis. M,DCC,LIV.
8°: x⁴ A-D⁴ [$1 signed] [x1 half-title], 20 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 18 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.12/7.

1754

MURDOCH, Robert. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de gonorrhoea. . . .
Robertus Murdoch Hibernus. Ad diem 23 Augusti. . . .
Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton et J. Balfour Academiae
Typographos. M,DCC,LIV.
8°: x⁴ A-H⁴ [$1 signed] [x1 half-title], 12 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 18.8 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.12/9; E.B.6104/11(7).

1754

PETTON, Valentine. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de abortu. . . . Valentinus
Peyton, Virginiensis. . . . Ad diem 22 Aprilis. . . .
8°: x⁴ A-D⁴ [$1 signed] [x1 half-title], 20 leaves.
1754

PITCAIRN, Alexander.

Dissertation proving the absurdities of that enslaving and tyrannical doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, in all cases, to sovereignty; in opposition to Lord Dun's sentiments in reference thereto, as contained in his book lately published, intitled, Friendly and Familiar Advices; and that the resistance made to the late King James's arbitrary and popish government was not only lawful, necessary and expedient, but highly laudable and glorious in its original fabrick, and in the many transcendant consequential blessings. By Alexander Pitcairn, Writer to His Majesty's Signet, A.M.


MDCCLIV.

8°: A⁴ B-M⁴ N² [$'= signed] [odd-numbered pages are on the verso of leaves], 50 leaves.

Coarse paper. Cut 17.3 x 10.4 cm.

EUL: ES*9.12

Publication and price. May, 1754, 1s. 6d. (SM)
PLENDERLEATH, Rev. David, of Dalkeith.

Religion a treasure to men, and the strength and glory of a nation. A sermon: preached in the High-Church of Edinburgh, January 7. 1754. before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. By Mr. David Plenderleath, minister at Dalkeith; and published at the desire of the Society. To which is annexed, an account of the present state of the schools and missions supported by the Society; with reflections on the usefulness and importance of the design and ends of their erection, drawn up by a member of the Society. Edinburgh:

Printed by Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. M, DCC,LIV.

8°: x² A-K⁴ χ¹ [§1 signed] [χ¹ is a whole sheet, containing list of schools], 42 leaves + 1 sheet.

Uncut sheet size 55.9 x 42 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NC: in Qh.15 ("χ¹"); tNE6.SSPCK.2 ( +χ¹); tNE6.SSPCK.3

NLS: 5.2340(26).

Edition quantity. At least 500 copies.

Notes. Plenderleath's performance at the anniversary meeting of the SSPCK was warmly received. Some £15.14.3d. was taken at the church doors, and the Society, in making its usual request that the annual sermon be printed, ordered 500 copies, 300 of which were to be sent to London. They paid Gavin Hamilton an unspecified
account for the work on August 1, 1754. (SRO: SSPCK minutes, GD 95/1/4, pp. 526, 542; GD 95/2/7, p. 221.)

I imagine that the number of copies ordered took in most of the edition, but in the absence of detailed printing accounts, one cannot rule out the possibility that the booksellers printed some at their own expense.

Publication and price. May, 1754, 1/- (SM).

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1754

ROSS, Alexander. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de amaurosi. . . .
Alexander Ross, Hibernus. . . . Ad diem 22 Aprilis. . . .

8°: x² A-B² C(3 leaves) [§1 signed], 13 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 18.8 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.12/11

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1754

TEMPLE, Sir William.
The works of Sir William Temple, Bar. In four volumes.
vol. 1—8°: A4 B-E4 A-3F4 [$1 signed], 264 leaves.

vol. 2—8°: $1(3 leaves) A-3F4 3Q1 [$1 signed], 248 leaves.

vol. 3—8°: A4 B-3X4 [$1 signed] [3X4 blank], 268 leaves.

NLS copy and one of the EUL copies have signature S as 'R'.

vol. 4—8°: A4 B-414 [$1 signed], 312 leaves.

Cut 20.1 x 12.4 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.


Publication and price. May 28, 1754, £1 bound (CM).

1754

THOMSON, Alexander. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Tentamen de effectis pathematum in corpus. . . . Alex.
Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton et J. Balfour Academiae
Typographos. M, DCC, LIV.

8°: A1-C4 [$1 signed] [1 half-title], 14 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 18.8 x 12 cm.

EUL: At74.7.12/12

1754

WALLACE, Robert.
The doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance considered. With some observations on the necessity
and advantages of the revolution in the year 1688.
By Mr. Wallace, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. Published
on occasion of Lord Dun's Friendly and familiar advices.

... [quotation] Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton,
Balfour, and Neill. M.DCC.LIV.

8°: A^4 B-E^4 [$1 signed], 20 leaves.
Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: La.II.96/6 (with marginal notes in Wallace's hand)

Publication and price. February, 1754, 6d. (SM)

1755

ALSTON, Charles.
A second dissertation on quick-lime and lime-water.
By Charles Alston, M.D. The King's botanist in
Scotland, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians,
and Professor of Medicine and Botany in the University
of Edinburgh. [flower ornament] Edinburgh: printed
by W. Sands, A. Murray, and J. Cochran. Sold by
G. Hamilton & J. Balfour. M D C C L V.

8°[chainlines horizontal]: a(3 leaves) A-H^4 [$2 signed],
35 leaves.

Cut 18 x 11.2 cm.


Publication and price. July, 1755, 1/- (SM).
[ANDERSON, Walter.]
The history of Croesus King of Lydia, in IV. parts.
Containing observations, I. On the antient notion of
destiny. II. On dreams. III. On the origin and credit
of oracles. IV. And the principles upon which their
responses were defended against any attack. Edinburgh:
 printed by Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. M,DCC,LV.
\[12^{\circ}: a-b^6 A-I^6 K^{(\text{+K1})} L-R^6 S^4 \chi^1 \text{[S3(-S2.3)signed]}\]
[\chi^1 table of currency and measure], 119 leaves.

Cut 16 x 9.5 cm. Fleur de lys.

NLS: E.147.f.25

Publication and price. November 27, 1755, 2s.6d. bound (CM).
On November 28 Alexander Donaldson paid the author 9/- for
six copies (EUL: in La.II.58).

1755

BLACKWELL, Thomas.
Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, volume 2.
See under 1753.

1755

BROUGHTON, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de ulcere uteri. . . .
Gulielmus Broughton, Hibernus. Ad diem 6 Augusti. . . .
Edinburgh: apud G. Hamilton and J. Balfour Academiae

Typographos. M, DCC, LV.

$^{8°}$: $^2 A^4 B^2$ [$^8$ signed], 8 leaves.


EUL: Att. 74.7.13/1; E.B. 61604/1(7).

1755

BROWN, Charles. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de morbillis. . .

Carolus Brown, Anglo Britannus. Ad diem 22 Aprilis.

. . . Edinburgh: apud G. Hamilton et J. Balfour Academiae

Typographos. M, DCC, LV.

$^{8°}$: $^2 A^4$ [$^8$ signed] [E4 blank], 22 leaves.


EUL: Att. 74.7.13/2

Common-paper state. Cut 19.5 x 12.2 cm.

EUL: Att. 78.7.2/6 (+leaf E4)

1755

CABEILL, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Prolusio medica inauguralis, de animi pathematibus quatenus morborum causis. . . Joannes Cabell,

Anglo-Britannus, A.&R. Ad diem 10 Junii. . .

Edinburgh: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour Academiae
1755

COURT OF SESSION.

[Decisions of the Court of Session. From the sixteenth of June 1753, to the ninth of March 1754. Collected by Mr. Thomas Miller, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. John Swinton junior, Sir David Dalrymple, advocates. By appointment of the Faculty of Advocates.]

Not seen. This part of the volume in progress was published on April 1, 1755, price 2/- stitched (CM).

1755

[DUGUET, J.J., translated by Thomas Lally.]

The principles of the Christian faith. In two volumes.
Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, J.
Traill, W. Miller, and J. Brown. M, DCC, LV.

vol. 1—12°; a (3 leaves) b6 A-2E6 2F4 [$3(-b2,3) signed]
[2F4 blank], 181 leaves.
vol. 2—12°: 6 x 2 π ² A·2E ² 2F ⁴ [$3(-ZF3) signed], 180 leaves.

Cut 16.4 x 10.1 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NC: F.12/b.3. BM: 3505.bbb.38. NLS had a set, on temporary deposit, with leaf 2F4 in vol. 1.

Publication and price. January 2, 1755, 6/- bound and lettered. "This excellent Performance was translated by Mr. Lally in 3 Vols. at the Price of 15s., which we have reduced so low as 6s. that it may be in the Power of a greater Number to purchase a Book of so General Use" (CM). The reference was to the three-volume edition printed at London in 1749 for John Nourse.

1755

ECROYD, Richard. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de rachitide. . . .
Richardus Ecroyd, Anglo—Britannus. . . . Ad diem 10
Juni. . . . Edinburghi: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour
Academiae Typographos. M.DCC.LV.

8°: x A·D ⁴ [$1 signed], 18 leaves.


EUL: Add.74.7.13/6.
The EDINBURGH REVIEW.

No. 1:
The Edinburgh Review. Numb. 1. (To be published every six months.) Containing an account of all the books and pamphlets that have been published in Scotland from the first of January to the first of July 1755. To each number will be added an appendix, giving an account of the books published in England and other countries, that are most worthy of notice. This number contains, I. History of Peter the Great. II. Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy. III. Moyses's Memoirs of Scottish affairs. IV. History of the Rebellion 1745 and 1746. V. Mr. John McLauren's Sermons. VI. Mr. Eben. Erskine's Sermons. VII. Mr. Wil. Robertson's Sermon. VIII. Mr. Fordyce's Sermon. IX. Dr. Martin's Commentary on Bustachius's Tables. X. Barclay's Greek grammar. XI. Decisions of the Court of Session. XII. Abridgment of the statutes, &c. XIII. Mrs. Cleland's Cookery. XIV. An analysis of the writings of Sopho, & David Hume esq; XV. Observations on it. XVI. The deist stretch'd on a death-bed. XVII. Moderation without mercy. The appendix contains, I. Bp. Sherlock's Discourses. II. Dodsley's Collection of poems. Vol. IV. III. Johnson's Dictionary. IV. Theron and Aspasio. V. The centaur not fabulous. Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour 1755. Price 1s.
no. 1—6°: x1 ᾱ² A-I ² K(3 leaves) [$1 signed] ᾱ² is the Preface, attributed to Alexander Wedderburn], 42 leaves.

Cut 20.7 x 12.6 cm. NH or HN mark.


Notes. The publishers advertised that their literary journal would view, from time to time, the state of letters and the progress of taste in Scotland. Besides a critical review of books, they proposed to print any literary observations or memoirs that correspondents might provide.

Publication and price. In the press by July 17, 1755, with publication expected in the beginning of August. It was published on August 26, price 1/- (GM).

no. 2:

I have not seen a copy with a title-page. If a title was issued with the second number, it was probably in the same style as the Hamilton and Balfour publication advertisement:

[The Edinburgh Review No. II. (To be published every six months.) Containing an account of all the books and pamphlets that have been published in Scotland from the first of July 1755 to the first of January 1756; with an account of such published in England and other countries as are most worthy of notice. This number contains.

no. 2—8°: A-K⁴ [$1 signed] [text begins A¹, K⁴ is a book advertisement], 40 leaves.

Cut 20.7 x 12.6 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.


Publication and price. March 30, 1756, 1/- (CM).

Notes. The articles in the Edinburgh Review were unsigned, but it is accepted generally (sources of attribution include Sir James Mackintosh's 1818 London reprint) that Alexander Wedderburn wrote the Preface and acted as editor, and that, in the main, William Robertson reviewed history, Hugh Blair philosophy and literature, John Jardine Scottish sermons and
Dr. James Russell science, while Adam Smith reviewed Johnson's Dictionary in the first number, and discussed French literature in the second. It was the first time that writers of such calibre had come together in a local periodical, and the Edinburgh Review is a landmark in Scottish literary journalism.

The reviews by Jardine, the Moderate Party politician, were controversial and provocative. They stirred up several pamphlets, and a letter from Rev. Thomas Boston of Oxnan, which was printed in the Caledonian Mercury. The Boston letter would surely have raised a few smiles in the coffee-houses. "Please know," he wrote, "that I would think it very much below my Character, as a Minister of the Gospel, to enter the Lists with that contemptible Tribe of Writers, who, like Boys sculking behind a Hedge, throw Dust and Stones on the most respectable Persons that walk along; and yet one cannot get hold of them, to chastise them for their insolent Folly" (CM, April 24, 1756).

Some later observers believed that the protests killed the periodical after the second number. In Alexander Fraser Tytler's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames (Edinburgh, 1807), I, 169, we are told that "the censure [the contributors] most justly bestowed on
some of those miserable effusions of fanaticism, which, at that time, disgraced both the pulpit and the press, excited such an outcry from the authors of those productions and their zealous partizans, that a regard both to the public tranquillity and their own, determined the reviewers to discontinue their labours." On the other hand, Dugald Stewart offers a more mundane explanation in his biography of Adam Smith: he says the contributors were prevented by other engagements from carrying the work on any further (Stewart, Works [Cambridge, 1829], VII, 11).

There may be something to both these accounts. Launching a periodical was not difficult, but hard work was required to keep one going. One man whose interest may have flagged was the editor, Wedderburn, who had an abrupt change of prospects in 1756: his father died (CM, August 12, 1756), and he became more determined to go to England. The tone and interests of John Jardine possibly caused some consternation among the contributors. While Robertson, Smith, Blair and Wedderburn were not ones to back down in the face of an outcry from the popular party in the Church, they were men who looked to an audience beyond Scotland, and were perhaps not inclined to
be involved with a public journal which was noted for its devotion to provincial books and parochial concerns. Smith, indeed, recommended in his letter in the second number that the scope of the reviews should be widened to include European literature.

The imprint of the *Edinburgh Review*, "printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour," indicates the two booksellers bore the cost of printing and arranged the distribution. Hamilton and Balfour used the periodical to some extent to puff the books they had published or were selling. Their abiding interest in promoting Scottish publishing found some expression in Wedderburn's Preface; he remarked on the improvement of the art of printing in Scotland, and said "the reputation of the Scotch press is not confined to this country alone."
1755

FARR, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de usu mathematicae et
philosophiae naturalis in medicinae studio. . . . Gulielmus
Edinburgh: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour Academiae-
Typographos. M,DCC,LV.

\[ S^0: \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ A-E^4 \ \ F^2 \ [\#1 \ signed] \ [F^2 \ blank], \ 24 \ leaves. \]


EUL: E.B.61604/1(3):

Common-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 12 cm.

EUL: Att.74.7.13/7.

1755

FERGUSSON, Adam. [Faculty of Advocates thesis]
Disputatio juridica, ad tit. I. lib. XXII. Pand. De
usuris, et fructibus, et causis, et omnibus accessionibus,
et mora. . . . Adamus Fergusson aut. & resp. Ad diem
20 Decembris 1755. . . . Edinburgi: in aedibus Hamilton,
Balfour, & Neill. M,DCC,LV.

\[ 4^0: \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ A^4 \ \ \ \ \ [\#1 \ signed], \ 6 \ leaves. \]

Leaf A3 missing in this copy.

Post paper. Cut 19.6 x 15.7 cm. Horn in crowned shield.

EUL: F.1021/32
FORREST, George. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de ventriculi concoctione
laesa. . . . Georgius Forrest, Scotio-Britannus. . .
Ad diem 10 Junii. . . . Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton &
J. Balfour Academiae Typographos. M, DCC, LV.
8°: x A-C 4 p 2 [§1 signed], 16 leaves.
EUL: Att. 74. 7. 13/8

GOOLD, Simon. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de ventriculi imbecillitate.
Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour Academiae
Typographos. M, DCC, LV.
8°: x A-D 4 [§1 signed], 18 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily/JW
countermark of the James Whatman mill.
EUL: Att. 74. 7. 13/9

HALL, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de febre acuta
puerperis superveniente. . . . Johannes Hall,

M, DCC,LV.

8°: ^2 A-D^4 E^2 [*1 signed] [E2 blank], 20 leaves.


EUL: Att. 74.7.13/10

Common-paper state. Cut 19.5 x 12.2 cm.

EUL: Att. 78.7.2/3

1755

LOUIS XIV.

One volume made up as two:

Lettres de Louis XIV. aux princes de l'Europe, à ses généraux, ses ministres, &c. Recueillies par Mr. Rose, secrétaire du cabinet; avec des remarques historiques, par M. Morelly. Tome [blank in this copy]. [-Tome II.]


12°: *5 leaves) A-T^6 K^6 (K2 + *3 leaves) L-S^6

T (5 leaves) [*3 signed] [*4,5 "Table des noms propres, pour le premier tome," *1 Tome II title-page, *2,3 "Table des noms propres, pour le deuxième tome"]. 121 leaves.

Cut 16.9 x 9.9 cm. Fleur de lys.

NLS: D.29.h.4

Publication and price. November, 1755, 3/- (SM).
1755

**McDONNELL, John.** [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de calculo.


Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour Academiae

Typographos. M, DCC, LV.

8°: \(\pi A-E^4 \) [§1 signed], 10 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily/

JW countermark of the James Whatman mill.

EUL: Att. 74.7.13/12; E.B. 61604/1(4).

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1755

**MacFARLAN, John.** [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de dysenteria.

Joannes MacFarlan Scoto-Britannus. Ad diem 25

Octobris. Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour

Academiae Typographos. M, DCC, LV.

8°: \(\pi^2 A-F^4 G^2 \) [§1 signed], 28 leaves.


EUL: E.B. 61604/1(2)

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1755

**MacLEANE, Lauchlin.** [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de erysipela.

Lauchlin MacLeane Hibermus. T.C.D. Ad diem 6 Augusti.
1755

MAXWELL, Walter. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Tentamen medicum inaugurale, de emeticorum usu. . .
Gualterus Maxwell, Scotus. . . . Ad diem 6 Augusti.

. . . Edinburgh: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour Academiae
Typographos. M.DCC.LV.

8°: a4 A–C4 D2 [$1 signed] 16 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 12 cm. Strasbourg lily/
JW countermark of the James Whatman mill.

EUL: Atl.74.7.13/11; E.B.61604/1(5).

1755

MONRO, Alexander, secundus. [Edinburgh University medical
thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de testibus et de semine
in variis animalibus. . . Alexander Monro Scoito-Britanmus.
Ad diem 27 Octobris. . . Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton
& J. Balfour Academiae Typographos. M, DCC, LV.

S 0 : x 2 A-1 4 M 1 [$1 signed] [M 1 index], 47 leaves.

Common-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 12 cm.

BUL: Att. 74.7.13/10; E.B. 61604/1(1); H.19.74/1.

1755

OWEN, John. [ed. Adam Gib]
Salus electorurn, sanguis Jesu: or the death of death in
the death of Christ. Being a treatise of the redemption
and reconciliation that is in the blood of Christ; wherein
the whole controversy about universal redemption is
fully discussed: In four parts. . . . [contents] By
John Owen, D.D. Carefully revised and corrected.
Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill,
for James Young bookbinder in Edinburgh. M, DCC, LV.

S 0 : 4 b-4 f 4 A 4 B-3 4 [$1 signed] [3 A 4 r "Books sold by
James Young, first Stair above the Excise-Office,
Edinburgh:"], 212 leaves, 1 plate, "printed for James
Young Bookbinder."

Coarse paper. Cut 16.1 x 9.9 cm.


1755

ROBERTSON, William.

The situation of the world at the time of Christ's
appearance, and its connexion with the success of his religion, considered. A sermon preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, at their anniversary meeting, in the High Church of Edinburgh, on Monday, January 6, 1755. (Published at their desire.) By William Robertson, minister of the gospel at Gladsmuir. To which is subjoined, a short account of the present state of the Society. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M. DCC. LV.

8°: A4 B–C4 D4 (±D4) E–IV [§1 signed] [I4 blank], 36 leaves.

Cut 20.4 x 12.5 cm.

NC: tNE6.SSPCK.2. NLS: 5.2340(25); 5.2204(31) (–leaf.I4).

Edition quantity. At least 300 copies.

Notes. The sermon was reprinted over the years, but at the time the Society members did not receive it quite as warmly as Plenderleth's contribution of 1754. The collection at the church doors amounted to £12.0.2½d., and the SSPCK ordered 300 printed copies, 200 of which were sent to London. (SRO: SSPCK minutes, GD 95/1/4, pp. 566–7.)

Publication and price. March, 1755, 6d. (SM)

1755

SALLUST

Caldi Crispi Sallustii belli Catalinarii et Jugurthini
historiae. Edinburgi, apud G. Hamilton et J. Balfour, Academiae Typographos. M, DCC, LIV.

8°: x1 A⁴ (+A2) B-2K⁴ [81 signed] [2K4 blank], 133 leaves.

Advertised as finest Writing Treasury Post.

Cut 15.9 x 9.9 cm. Horn in plain shield/cypher of the James Whatman mill, similar to figure 3 in Balston, James Whatman Father & Son, p. 157.

EUL: Dh. 5.109

A thicker Post paper. Cut 17.7 x 11 cm. Horn in crowned shield/cypher of the James Whatman mill, similar to figure 5 in Balston, p. 158.

NLS: K, 59.f

Publication and price. Not noticed until December, 1756, in SM, and January 4, 1757. in EEC, 3s. 6d. bound.

Notes. Edward Harwood counted this as one of the four editions of the Latin classics that did so much honour to the University of Edinburgh. (The others were the Ruddiman Livy of 1751, and the Hamilton, Balfour and Neill Virgil of 1755 and Terence of 1758.) "This most beautiful Edition of Sallust was purposely printed for the Prize then offered by the University of Edinburgh, and deservedly obtained it," Harwood said. "I have read it through five times, and have not discovered a single error."

Harwood meant that the edition won an Edinburgh Society silver medal. He may have been in a position to know, yet I have not found corroboration in the Edinburgh periodicals. According to the prize lists in SM, the Foulis Press received the medals offered for 1755, 1756, and 1757, and Hamilton and Balfour won one of the medals put up in 1758, for the edition of Terence.

1755

A SELECT COLLECTION OF ENGLISH PLAYS.

The 24 plays in the Collection were sold in six volumes, with two tragedies and two comedies to a volume.

The plays were also sold singly, and, indeed, had been printed as separate units.

The general title page of each volume, and the imprint of each play, are in the following style:

A select collection of English plays. In six volumes.

[vol. 1]

ROWE, Nicholas.

The tragedy of Lady Jane Gray, written by Nicholas Rowe, Esq. ... [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A B-C4 D-E4 $1 signed], 36 leaves.
[vol. 1]

ROWE, Nicholas.

The tragedy of Jane Shore, written by Nicholas Rowe.

Esq. . . . [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A^4 B-H^4 [§1 signed], 32 leaves.

[vol. 1]

STEELE, Sir Richard.

The conscious lovers. A comedy. Written by Sir Richard Steele. . . . [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A^4 B-L^4 [§1 signed], 44 leaves.

[vol. 1]

CONGREVE, William.

Love for love. A comedy. Written by Mr. Congreve. . . .

[quotation, and imprint]

8°: A^4 B-0^4 P^2 [§1 signed], 58 leaves.

[vol. 2]

CONGREVE, William.

The mourning bride: a tragedy. Written [sic] by Mr. Congreve. . . . [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A^4 B-I^4 [§1 signed], 36 leaves.

[vol. 2]

[HILL, Aaron.]

Alzira. Or Spanish insult repented: a tragedy. As it
is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. . . . [imprint]

8°: A⁴ B-H⁴ [§1 signed], 32 leaves.

[vol. 2]

[FARQUHAR, George.]
The beaux stratagem: a comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. . . . [imprint]

8°: A⁴ B-M⁴ [§1 signed], 48 leaves.

[vol. 2]

HOADLY, Benjamin.
The suspicious husband, a comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. Written by Dr. Hoadly. . . . [imprint]

8°: A⁴ B-L⁴ [§1 signed] [L4 blank], 44 leaves.

[vol. 3]

PHILIPS, Ambrose.
The distress'd mother. A tragedy. Written by Mr. Philips. . . . [imprint]

8°: A⁴ B-G⁴ H² [§1 signed], 30 leaves.

[vol. 3]

ROWE, Nicholas.
The fair penitent, a tragedy. Written by Nicholas Rowe, Esq. . . . [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A⁴ B-H⁴ [§1 signed], 32 leaves.
[vol. 3]

CIBBER, Colley, and Sir John Vanbrugh.
The provok'd husband, or, a journey to London. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal by His Majesty's Servants. Written by the late John Vanbrugh, and Mr. Cibber. . . . [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A⁴ B⁻⁴ C⁻⁴ Q² [$1 signed], 62 leaves.

[vol. 3]

CIBBER, Colley.
The careless husband. A comedy. Written by C. Cibber. . . . [quotation, and imprint]

8°: a⁻¹ b⁻¹ c⁻¹ m⁻¹ n⁺² [$1(al2) signed], 50 leaves.

[vol. 4]

ADDISON, Joseph.
Cato, a tragedy, by Mr. Addison. . . . [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A⁴ B⁻¹ H⁻¹ [$1 signed], 32 leaves.

[vol. 4]

OTWAY, Thomas.
The orphan, or, the unhappy marriage, a tragedy. Written by Tho. Otway. . . . [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A⁴ B⁻¹ K⁻¹ L² [$1 signed], 42 leaves.

[vol. 4]

STEEL, Sir Richard.
The funeral, or grief a-la-mode, a comedy. As it is
acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, by His Majesty's Servants. Written by Sir Richard Steele. ... [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A⁴ B-K⁴ L² [§1 signed] [L2 blank], 42 leaves.

[vol. 4]

VILLIERS, George, 2nd Duke of Buckingham.
The rehearsal; as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal. Written by His Grace, George Villiers, late Duke of Buckingham.
With notes, containing a critical view of the authors, and their writings, that are exposed in that celebrated play.
... [imprint]

8°: A⁴ B-K⁴ L² [§1 signed], 42 leaves.

[vol. 5]

THOMSON, James.
Tancred and Sigismunda; a tragedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal, in Drury-Lane, by His Majesty's Servants.
Written by James Thomson. ... [imprint]

8°: A⁴ B-K⁴ [§1 signed] [K4 blank], 40 leaves.

[vol. 5]

MASON, William.
Elfilda, a dramatic poem. Written on the model of the ancient Greek tragedy. By Mr. Mason. ... [imprint]

8°: A⁴ B-F⁴ [§1 signed], 24 leaves.
[vol. 5]

CONGREVE, William.
The way of the world; a comedy. Written by Mr. Congreve.
... [quotation, and imprint]
8°: A⁴ B-N⁴ O² [$1 signed] [02 blank], 54 leaves.

[vol. 5]

GAY, John.
The beggar's opera. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal, in Lincolns-Inn-Fields. Written by Mr. Gay. ... [quotation, and imprint]
8°: A⁴ B-I⁴ [$1 signed] [14 blank], 36 leaves.

[vol. 6]

OTWAY, Thomas.
Venice preserv'd: or, a plot discovered. A tragedy.
Written by Mr. Thomas Otway. ... [imprint]
8°: A⁴ B-K⁴ L² [$1 signed], 42 leaves.

[vol. 6]

ROWE, Nicholas.
Tamerlane: a tragedy. Written by N. Rowe, Esq. ... [quotation, and imprint]
8°: A⁴ B-K⁴ L₁ [$1 signed], 41 leaves.

[vol. 6]

RAMSAY, Allan.
The gentle shepherd. A Scots pastoral comedy, written by
Allan Ramsay. . . . [imprint]

8°: A⁴ B–K⁴ [$1 signed] [K4 blank], 40 leaves.

[vol. 6]

ADDISON, Joseph.
The drummer: or, the haunted-house. A comedy. By Mr. Addison. . . . [quotation, and imprint]

8°: A⁴ B–H⁴ I(3 leaves) [$1 signed], 35 leaves.

Foolscap. Cut 15.5 x 9.6 cm. Vryheyt. Propatria.


A finer quality foolscap? Uncut, sheet size approximately 43 x 33.5 cm. Vryheyt.

NLS: 5.864(51) (Gentle Shepherd)

Coarse paper, horizontal chainlines in octavo format.

Uncut, sheet size approximately 42 x 35 cm (or half-sheet size, if this is Double Crown).

EUL: Df.5.54 (Way of the World). NLS: NG.1580.d.1(4) (Beaux Stratagem); 5.1540(10) (Venice Preserv'd).

VARIANT? The newspaper advertisements did not mention octavo; instead, they announced that the 24 plays were "calculated to be bound up in 6 volumes 12mo."

I have not seen this format.
Notes. The first four volumes were available by May 29, 1755. A point was made of the cheapness and neatness of the edition in comparison with others—the price of the six-volume set was to be 12/- bound and lettered, while some copies on a fine writing paper were 15/- bound. Copies of individual plays, although not referred to, clearly would have been sold for less than sixpence apiece.

"The Publishers," the newspaper advertisement stated, "have been careful to give a Place to all good Plays that are in use to be represented in any of the British Theatres, Shakespear's excepted, none of which are included, as the Works of this Author are presumed to be in every Body's Hands." (KEC and CM)

1755

SMITH, Hugo. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de sanguinis missione.
... Hugo Smith, Anglo-Britannus. Ad diem 22 Aprilis.
... Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton et J. Balfour Academiae
Typographos. M, DCC, LV.

8°: 2 A–D4 E² [§1 signed][x2 is Dedication], 20 leaves.


EUL: Att. 78.7.2/5; Att. 74.7.13/15 (-x1).
1755

VIRGIL.

P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis, ad optimorum exemplarium fidem reensita. Vol. I. [-II.]
Edinburgh, apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, Academiae typographos. M. DCC. LV.

vol. 1—8º: x 1 A–2r 4 2D4 [$1 signed], 106 leaves.

vol. 2—8º: x 1 A–2r 4 2G(3 leaves) [$1 signed], 120 leaves.

Edition quantity. 1,250. Three papers were used.

Notes. I found the following transcription, taken from Patrick Neill's printing journal, pasted into a copy of the book at Neill & Co., Edinburgh:

Novr. 18th, 1754

To printing P. Virgilii Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis, amounting Vol. I. to 13½ sheets Long Primer, small 8vo. 500 on coarse Pot, 500 on Foolscap, and 250 on Treasury Post, at £1.4.0 per sheet £15.12. 6

Vol. 2. to 15 sheets, at £1.4.0 per sheet 18. 0. 0

To enlarging 58 forms of both vols. in order to work the 250 Copies on Post paper, at 4d per form 0.19. 4

34.11.10

N.B. The Tympanas were taken from the Coarse paper Cordings

Publication and price. December, 1754, 1s.6d., 4/- or 6/- (SM).

1755

WAINWRIGHT, James. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de hydrocephalo.

Jacobus Wainwright, Hibernus. Ad diem 6 Augusti.

Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour Academiae

Typographos. M.DCC.LV.

8°: π1 A–C4 D(3 leaves) [$1 signed], 16 leaves.

countermark of the James Whatman mill.

EUL: E.B.61604/1(8)

1755

WALLACE, Robert.

A half-sheet of proofs of an unpublished work:

Irenicum: or, an essay to promote peace and union in
ecclesiastical affairs. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton,
Balfour, and Neill. M.DCC.LV.

12°: A6 [$3 signed] [A1 title, A2 Advertisement by the
Publisher begins, A4 blank, A5 text begins], 12 leaves,

EUL: La.11.97/3. (Four sets of proofs perfected and folded; one has the author's corrections, the others are clean.)

Notes. "The following Essay, which was instructed to my disposal," Wallace remarked in the preliminary Advertisement, "is written with such calmness of temper, and such a spirit of moderation, and the principles maintained in it are so just, that I would think it an iniquity to conceal it from the view of the public." Conceal it he did, however, by stopping the work after Neill's men had completed only one half-sheet.

The half-sheet was imposed for 'work and turn'—see Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography, figure 59, for an illustration of the method. The tear marks on the proofs show that two whole sheets of paper were run through the press, then each cut in half to provide the four copies here.

1755

WATSON'S HOSPITAL.

The statutes and rules of George Watson's Hospital.
Revised, amended and improved, by his trustees conform to the powers reserved to them at compiling the statutes anno 1724, and at revising the same anno 1740. . . .


12°: ² A-E⁶ F⁴ [$3(-F2.3) signed], 36 leaves.
Cut 15.8 x 10 cm.

NLS: R.251.1
An essay on the virtues of lime-water in the cure of the stone. The second edition corrected, with additions. By Robert Whytt, M.D. F.R.S. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh. . . . [quotation] With an appendix, containing the cases of the Right Hon. Horace Walpole, Esquire; the Reverend Dr. Newcome, Canon of Windsor, &c. Edinburgh; printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M.DCC.LV.

12°: x 6 A–S 6 [§3 signed] [S6 errata], 114 leaves, 1 plate.

Cut 16.6 x 10.1 cm. NH or HN mark.

Publication and price. December 2, 1754, 2s. 6d. (CH)

Physiological essays, containing. I. An inquiry into the causes which promote the circulation of the fluids in the very small vessels of animals. II. Observations on the sensibility and irritability of the parts of men and other animals; occasioned by Dr. Haller's late treatise on these

12°: x⁴ A–S⁶ T⁴ [§3 (–section title II., and T3) signed] 116 leaves.

Cut 16.4 x 9.9 cm. Fleur de lys.

BUL: E.B.61204 Why

Publication and price. December 2, 1755, 2s.6d. bound (GH).

1755

WISDOM of Solomon [ed. Sir David Dalrymple].
The wisdom of Solomon; and, the wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus.

Not seen. Published in April, 1755, 1s.6d. stitched (SH).

1756

BARRY, David. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de haemorrhoidibus. . . .


M.DCC.LVI.

8°: x² A–C⁴ [§1 signed] [C4 blank], 14 leaves.


BUL: E.B.61604/1(11)
1756

BLACKWELL, Thomas.
Memoirs of the Court of Augustus, vol. 2.
See under 1753.

1756

CLAUSE, Jean.
[Self-examination, in order to a due preparation for the worthy receiving of the Lord's supper. Written in French by M. Claude.]
Not seen. Published in April 1756, 10d. (SM)

1756

COURT OF SESSION
[Decisions of the Court of Session, from June 1754 to August 1755.]
Not seen. Published in August, 1756, 3s.6d. (SM)

1756

BRITISH SONGS [ed. Sir David Dalrymple]
British songs. Sacred to love and virtue. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. MDCCLVI.
Post 16°: n(3 leaves) A B-G H (5 leaves) [6 signed]. 64 leaves.
Cut 11 x 8.9 cm. Horn in crowned shield over GR/ cypher countermark.

NLS: H.31.f.15

Notes. This copy contains a notation by David Laing: "This little volume, selected and edited by Sir David Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Hailes, was printed for private circulation, the impression being limited to 50 copies. D.L."

1756

[DECKER, Sir Matthew.]

An essay on the causes of the decline of the foreign trade, consequently of the value of the lands of Britain, and on the means to restore both. . . . [quotation] Edinburgh: M, DCC, LVI.

12°: a b⁴ A-T⁶ [§3(-b3)signed], 124 leaves.

Cut 16.7 x 9.7 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: Dh.4.273 (Adam Smith's copy); *EE.8.5.

Publication and price. August 24, 1756, 2s.6d. bound, "published by" Hamilton and Balfour (CA).

1756

DOBSON, Matthew. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de menstruis. . . .

Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour Academiae

Typographis. M.DCC.LVI.

$8^0$: $x^2$ A-D$^4$ [$\S$1 signed], 18 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm. Strasbourg lily/

JW countermark of the James Whatman firm.

EUL: E.B.61604/1(13)

1756

EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Essays and observations, vol. 2.

See under 1754.

1756

EDINBURGH REVIEW, vol. 2.

See under 1755.

1756

EDINBURGH, Royal College of Physicians.

Pharmacopoeia Collegii Regii Medicorum Edinburgensis. . . .

[engraving: thistles within round shield bearing motto]

Edinburgi, apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill.

M. D C C, L V I.

$12^0$: $x^2$ b(3 leaves) A-D$^6$ E$^6(=E3)$ F-S$^6$ T(3 leaves)

[$\S$3(-b2,3,E2,3) signed; B2 as 'E3'], 116 leaves.
Cut 16.9 x 9.8 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: *I.31.82 (title torn)

Publication and price. April 6, 1756, 2s.6d. bound (CA).

1756

GRAEME of Arnsomery.

[Memorial anent the moss-culture, by Mr Graeme; some reasons for carrying it on, with an apology for giving it up.]

Not seen. Published April, 1756, 3d. (SM)

1756

HALDAN, Rev. Bernard, of Glenholm.

The foundations of religion and morality. A sermon preached in the Tron Church of Edinburgh, at the opening of the Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, May 11. 1756.

By Bernard Haldan, M.A. Minister of the gospel at Glenholm. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M.DCC,LVI.

8° x 2 A–D4 [§1 signed], 18 leaves.

Cut 19.6 x 12 cm. Fleur de lys.

NC: in H.d.20

Publication and price. May, 1756, 6d. (SM)
1756

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A catalogue of a very curious and valuable collection of books, consisting of upwards of 7000 volumes in most languages and faculties; which are to be exposed, by way of sale, (the lowest price being marked at each book) at the shop of G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, upon Thursday the first of January 1756.]

Not seen. Published December 18, 1755 (CA).

1756

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

A vindication of Hamilton & Balfour booksellers in Edinburgh, from the charge brought against them in A memorial concerning the property of the Edinburgh Medical Essays. Edinburgh: printed for Mess. Hamilton & Balfour. M.DCC.LVI.

Foolscap 8°: A^4 B-C^4 [§1 signed], 12 leaves.

SL: 115.g.54/2. BM: 516.a.43.

Notes. The *Vindication* answers the claim by the widow of William Drummond that Hamilton and Balfour had no right to publish the Edinburgh Medical Essays. (A copy of Mrs. Drummond's pamphlet is in SL: 115.g.54/1.)
1756

HEINECICIUS, Johann Gottlieb.

8°: A b² A-T⁴ u² [§1 signed], 84 leaves.

Coarse paper. Cut 17.9 x 11 cm.

NLS: Jolly.2358; Alva 245. EUL: D.Sg.13.10.

Publication and price. August, 1756, 2/- (SM).

1756

OGILBY, Robert. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

8°: x(3 leaves) A-C⁴ D¹ [§1 signed] [x1 half-title, x2.3 conjunct], 16 leaves.


EUL: E.B.61604/1(12); Att.77.7.1(2).
1756

PLATO.

The idea of beauty, according to the doctrine of Plato.

Edinburgh: printed in the year M,DCC,LVI.

8°: x1 A-E F(3 leaves) [S1 signed], 24 leaves.

Cut 19.9 x 12.1 cm.  Fleur de lys/IV.

NLS: N.G.1530.e.13(1)

Publication and price.  May, 1756, 1/- (SM).

1756

PSALMS of David, in metre.

[The Psalms of David; according to the version approved by
the Church of Scotland, and appointed to be used in
worship.  Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, 1756.]

Not seen.  The Psalms were published on May 25, 1756,
price on fine writing paper 2/-, or 2s.6d. with the church
tunes; copies on coarser paper were 1s.2d. bound, or 1s.6d.
with the church tunes (SM).  Principal John Lee notes this
edition in a supplementary list, "Editions of the Psalms in
metre not printed by His Majesty's Printers," bound with
his Additional Memorial on Printing and Importing Bibles
(Edinburgh, 1826).
RUTHERFORD, John, Earl of Gowrie [ed. Sir David Dalrymple].
A discourse of the unnatural and vile conspiracie attempted by John Earl of Gowrie and his brother, against his Majesties person at Saint Johnstoun, upon the 5th of August 1600.

12°: x(2 leaves) A-D6 E(5 leaves) [83 signed] [x2 publisher's note], 31 leaves.

Cut 17.8 x 10.4 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NLS: H.26.d.33

Edition quantity: 24, according to a note pencilled in the NLS copy: "A copy of this which belongs to Dr. Woodward ... bore this autograph inscription 'There are only 24 Coppys of the Account published by authority. David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes)."

Publisher's note on x2: "The following Sheets are a Specimen of a Work intituled, Historical Collections concerning John Ruthven Earl of Gowrie, and his Brother Alexander Ruthven, who were killed at Perth on the 5th of August 1600.

"All Persons who are possessed of any Papers which may tend to illustrate this obscure Passage of the Scottish History, are entreated to communicate them to Mess. Hamilton and Balfour
Booksellers in Edinburgh, and the Favor shall be gratefully acknowledged."

Publication and price. January 8, 1756, 1/- (CM).

1756

SMITH, John [ed. Sir David Dalrymple].

Select discourses: treating I. Of the true method of attaining divine knowledge. II. Of superstition. III. Of atheism. IV. Of the immortality of the soul. V. Of the existence and nature of God. VI. Of legal righteousness, and the righteousness of faith. VII. Of the shortness and vanity of a Pharisaical righteousness. VIII. Of the excellency and nobleness of true religion. IX. Of the conflicts and conquests of a Christian. By John Smith, late Fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge. . . . [quotation]


12° a-b^6 A-K^6 M-2E^6 20^2 [$3(-a3, C2, T2, 2C2, and various section headings) signed; a2 as 'a', E3 as 'E2'] 158 leaves.

Cut 17.1 x 10 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NLS: Hall.224.h; Dowd.178.

Publication and price. Announced for July 22, 1756, 3/- bound (CM).
1756

[STANYAN, Abraham]

An account of Switzerland. Written in the year 1714.
M.DCC.LVI.

12°: a4 A–T6 u2 [§3 (a3, F2, F3, U2) signed; C2 as '03'],
120 leaves.

Cut 16.7 x 9.8 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.


Publication and price. March 11, 1756, 2s.6d. bound (CM).

1756

STEWART, Matthew.

A solution of Kepler's problem; by Matthew Stewart,
Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh.
Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. MDCCCLVI.

8°: x1 A–E4 [§1 signed], 21 leaves, 1 plate.

Uncut, sheet size approximately 53 x 43 cm. NH or HN mark.

NLS: Hall.250.a.1(8)

1756

TURNER, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de morbo hypochondriaco.

... Gulielmus Turner, Anglo-Britannus. Ad diem 30

8°: x^2 A-D^4 [$1 signed] [D4 blank], 18 leaves.


JW countermark of the James Whatman mill.

EUL: E.B.61604/1(9); Att.77.7.1(3).

1756

VAUGHAN, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de rheumatismo. . . .


Edinburgi: apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour Academiae Typographos. M, DCC, LVI.

8°: x^2 A-C^4 D^2 [$1 signed], 16 leaves.


EUL: E.B.61604/1(14); Att.77.7.1(4).

1756

WADE, Brian. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de inflammatione. . . .

Bryannus Wade, Hibernus. Ad diem 30 Aprilis. . . . Edinburgi:
apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour Academiae Typographos. M, DCC, LVI.

8°: x^2 A^4 B^4 C^2 [$1 signed], 12 leaves.

Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm. Common paper (fleur de lys) used for x^2 and C^2, fine paper (Strasbourg lily) for the remainder.

EUL: E.B.61604/1(10); Att.77.7.1(5).
1757

ALSTON, Charles.

A third dissertation on quick-lime and lime-water. By Charles Alston, M.D. The King's Botanist in Scotland, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Professor of Medicine and Botany in the University of Edinburgh.


8°[chainlines horizontal]: x1 a2 A-E4 F2 G1 [$2(including F2)signed], 26 leaves.

Cut 18 x 11.2 cm.


Publication and price. January 12, 1758, 9d. stitched (CM).

1757

[ANDREWS, Robert, of Bridgnorth, also ascribed to Rev. Robert Colvill, of Dysart.]


By the author of Animadversions upon the Reverend Doctor
Brown's three essays on the Characteristicks; and of a
Criticism on the late Reverend Mr Holland's Sermons.
M, DCC, LVII.

4°: A^4 B-F^4 [§1 (+C2 as '2') signed], 24 leaves.
Cut 22.7 x 18.2 cm. Strasbourg lily.

NLS: 3.539(11)

Publication and price. By March 9, 1758, 1s.6d. (CM)

1757

BAYLY, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de frigore quatumus
Ad diem 6. Octobris. . . . Edinburgi: apud Hamilton,
Balfour, & Neill, Academiae Typographos. M, DCC, LVII.

8°: x1 A-D^4 [$1 signed], 17 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 18.7 x 11.7 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.71.7.1(16); Theses Sect.61604/5(5).

1757

BULFINCH, Thomas. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de crasisibus. . . .
. . . . Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill,
COURT OF SESSION

[Some of the most remarkable decisions of the Court of Session from November 1735.]

Not seen. It was published on January 4, 1757, price 9/- (EEG). Hamilton and Balfour refer to it as Decisions of the Court of Session, from 1735, to 1739 in later advertisements.

I do not know what connexion it had with Henry Home, Lord Kames, whose Remarkable Decisions, 1716 to 1728, and Remarkable Decisions, 1730 to 1752, were published by Ruddiman in 1728, and Kincaid and Bell in 1766.

1757

ERKINE, John.

The principles of the law of Scotland: in the order of Sir George Mackenzie's Institutions of that law. Vol. I. [-II.]

The second edition, revised by the author. Edinburgh:
printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M.DCC.LVII.

vol. 1—8°: n 4 A-2L 4 2K(3 leaves) [§1 signed], 135 leaves.

vol. 2—8°: n1 A-2L 4 [§1 signed], 137 leaves.

Cut 20.3 x 12.4 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

NLS: MS.736 (with MS notes by James Boswell)

Publication. May 2, 1757 (ERG).

1757

GRAY, John.

The art of land-measuring explained. In five parts. Viz.

I. Taking dimensions. II. Finding contents. III. Laying

out ground. IV. Dividing. And V. Planning. With an

appendix concerning instruments. By John Gray, teacher

of mathematics in Greenock, and land-measurer. Glasgow;

printed by Robert and Andrew Foulis for the author. Sold

by D. Wilson and J. Durham, in the Strand, London; G.

Hamilton and J. Balfour, Edinburgh; and R. and A. Foulis,

Glasgow. M.DCC.LVII.

8°: a 6 A-T 8 U 2 [§4(-a4,T1,U2)signed], 160 leaves, 9 plates.

Cut 19.3 x 12.2 cm

EUL: *0.28/29

Notes. Entry no. 336 in Gaskell. A Bibliography of the Foulis

Press.

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on November 23; 1757.
the whole share for the author (Stationers' Register [1746-73] 117).

Publication and price. By September 15, 1757, 6/- (EEC. SM).

1757

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A catalogue of a curious and valuable collection of books, that are to be disposed of by way of sale, (the lowest price being marked at each book,) at the shop of G. Hamilton and J. Balfour on Saturday the first of January next, and to continue till all are sold off. The books are generally in very good condition, and are all perfect, unless otherwise expressed. Among the collection are these following . . .

[contents] Catalogues to be had at the shop of G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, and the books are to be sold only for ready money. The person who first commissions, or demands a book, shall always be preferred.]

Not seen. Published December 21, 1756. (CM) I presume the newspaper advertisement followed the style of the title-page.

1757

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A catalogue of curious and valuable books, being the library of Mr James Armour, Clerk to the Signet, lately deceased, which will begin to be sold by auction, at the auction-house
of Yair and Fleming, on Monday the 31st of January 1757, and to continue until all are sold off. . . . Commissions from gentlemen at a distance, or from those that cannot attend at the auction, will be carefully executed by Hamilton and Balfour, at whose shop catalogues are to be had.]

Not seen. Published January 18, 1757 (EEC).

1757

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A catalogue of books in physic, surgery, botany, anatomy, and chemistry, which are to be sold by way of auction on Tuesday next, being the 8th of November, at the auction-house of Yair and Fleming. Time of the auction from 5 to 8 o'clock at night. Commissions will be carefully executed for gentlemen who cannot attend, by Hamilton and Balfour. The books may be seen on Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday forenoon.]

Not seen. Published November 3, 1757 (EEC).

1757

HOG, Sir Roger, of Harcarse.

Decisions of the Court of Session, collected by Sir Roger Hog of Harcarse, one of the Senators of the College of

2°: x^2 A-4D^2 [§1 signed], 148 leaves.

Pseudonym. Cut 31.5 x 20 cm. Vryheyt.

NLS: Law. EUL: *E.18/30.

Notes. Hamilton and Balfour advertised for subscriptions as early as December 14, 1752, saying then that they proposed to begin printing in January, 1753 (ECC).

Publication and price. May 2, 1757. 15/- (ECC, SM).

1757

HOME, Francis.


8°: a^4(2a1) A-Y^4 Z^2 [§2(−Z2) signed], 94 leaves.

Uncut, sheet size approximately 53 x 44 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.


ISSUED with a variant title-page, bearing another imprint and an altered date:

Edinburgh: printed by Sands, Donaldson, Murray, and Cochran, for A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson. MDCCCLVI.

EUL: *G.7.84.3
Edition quantity. 500 copies.

Publication and price. January 4, 1757, "published by G. Hamilton and J. Balfour," 3/-. They note that the treatise was awarded an Edinburgh Society premium in 1756 (EEC).

Notes. In the following year Home negotiated with the booksellers for a second edition:

[to Andrew Millar]

Sir

As my Principles of Agriculture are out of Print & a demand for them I have thoughts of reprinting that book & adding some Experiments to it. The number of 500 which Mr Hamilton printed was but an Essay to see how it would sell. As they have spoke to me to reprint it here, let me know what you can give me for this Edition or for the property of the book. I should think that the subject would make it sell.

I have likewise a Collection of papers called Medical Facts & Experiments containing an account of several Epidemical Diseases, Gun shot wounds, remarkable cases, Experiments on Perspiration & on the Inoculation of the measles, which last being quite new should make a Demand for it. It will be full larger than the Principles of Agriculture & in English. Tis my affair to take care of the contents. Let me know likewise your proposals with regard to this book. I am

Sir
Your most obedient servt.
Francis Home

Edimr June 20 1758

(Royal Society of Edinburgh: Hume MSS VIII no. 16)

Millar published the second edition of The Principles of Agriculture and the first of Medical Facts and Experiments in 1759.
1757

[HOME, John.]


Cut 20.7 x 12.8 cm.

NLS: H.1.a.15(1)

Publication and price. March 29, 1757, 1s.6d. (EEC). The price is also on the title-page.

ANOTHER EDITION:


foolscap 8° : A4 B-G4 H(3 leaves) [$1 signed] ['H3' Epilogue], 31 leaves.

Cut 15.9 x 9.9 cm. Propatria.

NLS: Ry.III.e.47

Publication and price. May 19, 1757, 6d. (EEC)
1757

MASSON, Arthur.


Not seen.

Notes. Masson, a teacher of languages in Edinburgh, published the edition on June 9, 1757, and inserted this advertisement in the newspapers: "The first edition of this book, which consisted of two thousand copies, being quite spent, the author has been encouraged to print this edition with large improvements, which have swollen it to a much bigger size, containing no less than 160 pages in Octavo.  The price of the book, however, is not raised by this addition [it was 1/- according to SL, May, 1757]: only there are some copies printed on a finer paper which will be sold at 1s.6d.—Great allowance will be given to school-masters in the country.  To be had at the shop of Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour, booksellers; and at Mr. Masson's lodgings now in the third turnpike within the head of Middry's wynd, east side" (PEC).

Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printed the third edition for the author in 1761.  The author had Patrick Neill print another edition in 1765—6,000 copies of the whole book, 2,000 additional copies of the first part (Patrick Neill's Ledger, p. 28).

It became a standard text-book in Scotland, and Robert Burns was taught from it (R. M. Lawrance, Burns's School Reading Book [Aberdeen, 1931], p. 6).
MAXWELL, Robert, of Arkland.


$^5$: $^4$ b $^2$ A $^2$ H $^4$ H $^2$ $^1$ [$_1$ signed] [$_1$ Explanation of the plate], 225 leaves, 1 plate.

Cut 20.4 x 12.5 cm.

NLS: LC.2696; M.38.g. EUL: *K.26/10.

Copyright. The verso of title-page has a printed note signed by the author: "This Book is entered in Stationers Hall; and further to prevent pirating, I have signed each genuine Copy on the Back of the Title-page. Rt Maxwell." The book was entered for the author on April 1, 1753 (Stationers' Register [1746-73], 185).
1757

OWEN, Pryce. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de mercurio. ... Pryce
Owen, Cambro-Britannus. Ad diem 10 Maii. ... Edinburgi:
M, DCC,LVII.

8°: \( \pi^2 \) A-D-4 [$1 signed], 18 leaves.


EUL: Att.77.7.1/9; Theses Sect.61604/5(1).

1757

PHAEDRUS.

Phaedri Augusti Liberti Fabularum Aesopiarum libri quinque.
Ex recensione Alexandri Cumingamii, Scoti. Accedunt
Publiz Syri, et aliorum veterum, sententiae. Edinburgi,
apud G. Hamilton & J. Balfour, Academiae Typographos.
M, DCC,LVII.

8°: \( \pi^2 \) A-D-4 B-E-4 F-4(P2) G-M-4 N-4 [$1 signed], 52 leaves.

Advertised as Finest Writing Treasury Post paper. Cut
18.9 x 11.9 cm. Horn in crowned shield.

EUL: W#32/66; W#30/23.

Publication and price. January 4, 1757, 2/- bound (EBG).
1757

Ramsay, Robert. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de bile. ... Robertus
Ramsay Scotus. Ad diem 10 Decembris. ... Edinburgi:
apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill, Academiae Typographos.
M, DCC, LVII.

8°: $x^2 A-B^4 C^2$ [$1$ signed], 12 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 19.5 x 12.2 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.77.7.1/10; Att.78.7.2/7; Theses Sect.61604/5(6).

1757

Rolleston, James. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de variolis. ...
Jacobus Rolleston, Anglo-Britannus. Ad diem 10 Maii. ...
Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. Academiae
Typographos. M, DCC, LVII.

8°: $x^2 A-C^4$ [$1$ signed] [C4 blank], 14 leaves.


EUL: Theses Sect.61604/5(2)
SWIFT, Jonathan.

series title:

volume titles:

vol. 1–12°: a–k6 l1 A–2D5 2E2 [$3(-A1, N3, Q2) signed; I3 as 'I2'] [M1 series title, a2 vol. title], 225 leaves.
vol. 2–12°: a4 A–216 2K4 [$3(-2K2.3) signed] [2K4 blank], 200 leaves.
vol. 3–12°: x2 A–2k6 [$3 signed], 188 leaves.
vol. 4–12°: a4 A–216 2K2 [$3(-a2, 2K2) signed; A5 as 'A'1], 198 leaves.

Tearink-Scouten drop any reference to 2k2 in their entry (No. 94) but account for the gathering in their pagination statement.
vol. 5—12°: \( \pi^2 A-2K^6 \) \( 2L^2 \) \([S3(-2L2)\text{signed}]\), 202 leaves.

vol. 6—12°: \( a^4 A-2I^6 \) \([S1\text{ and } 3(-a3; +A2,E2)\text{signed; } a2\text{ as 'a', } P3\text{ as 'P5'}]\), 196 leaves.

vol. 7—12°: \( \pi^2 A-2K^6 \) \( 2L^4 \) \([S3(-D2,H2,O2,2L2,3)\text{signed}]\)

204 leaves.

vol. 8—12°: \( a^2 \) \( A-2H^6 \) \([S3(-a3)\text{signed; } a2\text{ as 'a'}]\) \([a1 \text{ title, } a2-\chi 2 \text{ Contents}]\), 190 leaves.

This copy is wanting the blank leaf 2H6 reported by Teerink-Scouten.

Cut 17.4 x 10.2 cm.

NLS: Hall.189.d

See Teerink-Scouten for the three volumes of Posthumous Works added by John Balfour in 1766.

Publication and Price. Proposals for the eight-volume edition were advertised on May 13, 1756. The work was in the press by November 25 of that year and was published on December 8, 1757. The price was 12/- in sheets to subscribers and to anyone who wished to pay ready money before January 1, 1758; after this date the low price was to be raised. (CM and EEC.) Hamilton and Balfour and Lauchlan Hunter published the book in the face of competition from Kincaid and Donaldson, Yair and Fleming, and Gordon of Edinburgh, and Urie, Gilmour, and Baxter of Glasgow, whose eight-volume edition was published in 1756.
1757

[WILKIE, William.]
The Epigonion. A poem in nine books. ... [quotation]
M, DCC, LVII.
8°: a⁴ b-e⁴ f1 a-2N⁴ 2P1 [$1 signed], 166 leaves.
Post paper (advertised as fine treasury post). Cut
17.6 x 11 cm. Horn in crowned shield.

NLS: Ai.5/2.54

Foolscape paper (advertised as fine writing foolscape).
Cut 15.5 x 9.7 cm. Vrykeyt.

EUL: E.B.81269Wil

Edition quantity. 750 copies.
Publication and price. May 26, 1757, 6/- for the treasury
post bound, 4/- for the foolscape bound (BEC).

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on June 24, 1757,
the whole share for Hamilton, Balfour and Neill (Stationers' Register [1746-73], 171).

Notes. David Hume, writing to Andrew Millar on September 3,
1757, said the whole edition had run out—500 copies had been
disposed of locally, and 200 had been sent to London. (The
Letters of David Hume, ed Craig, I, 268.) The second edition
was printed at London in 1759 for Millar, and for Kincaid and Bell in Edinburgh.

The poem brought the author fame as the "Scottish Homer" but little other reward, apparently. In an article in a periodical later in the century, a correspondent wrote that Wilkie "told me himself, that the labour of this composition had been such, as so much to impair his constitution that it never was afterwards re-established; and the emoluments he derived from it were so inconsiderable, that he would have earned more money had he been employed all the time in hoeing [*] potatoes, at the rate of eight-pence a day; the common wages of a labourer in his neighbourhood at the time he wrote it" (The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer, for Wednesday, August 21, 1793, p. 271).

1757

WYNN, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

8°: $x^2 + G^4 + H^2 \ [S1(A2, B2, D2) signed][H2 blank], 32 leaves.
Mixture of fine and common paper? Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm.
Strasbourg lily, fleur de lys.

BUL: Att.77.7.1/11; Theses Sect.61604/5(7) (+blank leaf E2).
1758

[BETHUNE, John.]

Four short discourses on funeral occasions, by a minister of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M DCC LVIII.

$8^0$: A\(^4\) B-E\(^4\) F\(^2\) G1 [81 signed], 23 leaves.

Foolscap. Cut 15.6 x 10 cm. Vryheyt.

NLS: 2.545(1)

Publication and price. May, 1758, 6d. (SH)

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1758

BUCKHAM, James. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de ventriculi inflammatione. . . . Jacobus Buckham, Scotot-Britannus.


$8^0$: x\(^2\) A\(^4\) B-D\(^4\) E\(^2\) [81 signed], 20 leaves.

Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm.

EUL: Att.74.7.14/1; Theses Sect.61604/5(15).

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1758

CLAYTON, Thomas. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de parca et simplici medicina. . . . Thomas Clayton, Virginiensis. . . . Ad
diem 19 Maii. . . . Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, &
Neill, Academiae Typographos. M, DCC, LVIII.

8°: π A-C4 [81 signed], 14 leaves.


EUL: Att.74.7.14/2; Theses Sect.61604/5(9).

1758

COURT OF SESSION.

[Decisions of the Court of Session from November 1755 to
March 1756.]

Not seen. Published in March, 1758, price 2/- (SH).

1758

CROOKS, Alexander. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de arthritide. . . .
Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill, Academiae
Typographos. M, DCC, LVIII.

8°: π A-C4 [81 signed], 14 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 19.1 x 12.1cm.

EUL: Att.74.7.14/3; Theses Sect.61604/5(8).
1753

DALRYMPE, Sir Hew. (d. 1737)

Decisions of the Court of Session, from M.DC,XCVIII, to
M.DCC,XVIII. Collected by the Right Honourable Sir Hew
Dalrymple of North-Berwick, President of that court.
M.DCC,LVIII.

2°: π1 A-3U2 [§1 signed], 133 leaves.

Writing Demy. Cut 35.5 x 22.8 cm. Strasbourg lily/IV.

NLS: Law.

Foolscap. Cut 30.5 x 19 cm. Propatria, Vryheyt.

EUL: *E.18/31

Publication and price. August 3, 1758, 12/- bound for the
ordinary copies, on the foolscap, 16/- bound "for a few copies
on a fine Writing Demy paper." (M)

Notes. For a letter Balfour wrote in 1757, requesting permission
to publish the MS, see above pp. 49-50.

1758

DAVIES, Robert. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de chlorosi. . . . Robertus
Davies, Hibernus. Ad diem 19 Maii. . . . Edinburgi: apud
Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill, Academiae Typographos.

M, DCC, LVIII.

8°: Π² A-D⁴ E² [§1 signed], 20 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Out 19.1 x 12.1 cm. Strasbourg Lily.

EUL: Att. 74.7.14/4; Theses Sect. 61604/5(10) (with an errata slip inserted after π²)

1758

DICK, Rev. Robert.

The simplicity and popularity of the divine revelations, and their suitableness to the circumstances of mankind. A sermon preached in the High Church of Edinburgh, November 9, 1757, at the opening of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, by Robert Dick, M.A. one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

Published at the desire of the Synod. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. M, DCC, LVIII.

8°: Π₅ A⁴ B-D⁴ E₁ [§1 signed], 18 leaves.

Hamilton and Balfour printing demi, with cypher. Uncut, sheet size approximately 53 x 43 cm.

EUL: P. 172/9

Publication and price. November, 1758, 6d. (SM)
1758

EDINBURGH ROYAL INFIRMARY.
Pharmacopoeia pauperum, in usum Nosocomii Regii
Edinburgensis. Editio tertia. . . . [engraving of
Hospital's coat of arms] Edinburgi, apud Hamilton, Balfour,
et Neill, sumptibus Nosocomii. M, DCC,LVIII.
foolscap 8°: π² A–κ⁴ [G1 signed], 42 leaves.

EM: 7509.as.31

Publication and price. By February 16, 1758, 1/-.
It was also being sold by the clerks of the Royal Infirmary. (G1)

1758

FALLON, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de strumis. . . . Joannes
Fallon A.M. Hibernus. Ad diem 19 Septembris. . . .
Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. Academiae
Typographos. M, DCC, LVIII.

8°: π(3 leaves) A–κ⁴ G1 [G1(including G1) signed] .
[π1 half-title, π2.3 conjunct], 28 leaves.
Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm. Hamilton and Balfour cypher; a fine
printing demy? The paper used in this thesis and in some
of the others from the 1758-59 period bound with it at EUL
(Att.74.7.14) may be the "best printing paper" which was
made in 1757 and which won an Edinburgh Society silver medal.

EUL: Att.74.7.14/5; Theses Sect.61604/5(12).

1758

FORDYCE, G[orge?] [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de catarrho. . . .
Academiae Typographos. M.DCC,LVIII.

8°: π(3 leaves) A−C⁴ D⁴ [§1 signed] [π1 half-title],
16 leaves.
Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm.
EUL: Theses Sect.61604/5(11)

1758

GARDINER, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de vino. . . . Johannes
Gardiner, Scoto-Britannus. Ad diem 29 Decembris meridie,
Edinburgh: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. Academiae
Typographos. M.DCC,LVIII.

8°: π(3 leaves) A−E⁴ F⁴ [§1 signed] [π1 half-title], 24
leaves.
Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm.
EUL: Att.74.7.14/6; Theses Sect.61604/5(13)
1758

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A catalogue of valuable books, which begin to be sold by auction on Monday the 16th of January 1758.]

Not seen. Published by December 22, 1757 (EEC).

Prompt payment was required for books sold in this way. The advocate George Wallace bought British Acts, 22 volumes, at this auction, for which he paid £4.16s. on February 10. (EUL: La.II.694/7, NS receipt made out by Walter Balfour.)

1758

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A catalogue of books, to be disposed of by way of sale, (the lowest price being marked at each book in the catalogue) beginning on Monday the 23d instant i.e. of January, 1758. Commissions from the country will be carefully executed.]

Not seen. Published by January 12, 1758 (CM).

1758

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A catalogue of a large library of books, which Hamilton and
Balfour were to sell by auction beginning November 20, 1758.]

Not seen. An advertisement in CM, September 5, 1758, said the catalogue would be available at the shop three weeks before the auction.

1758

HOME, Francis.


8°: & 4 b-0 4 a-M 4 n(2N2) 0-2R 4 [$1 signed][2R4 errata], 172 leaves.

Cut 20.4 x 12.5 cm. Printing demy. Fleur de lys/IV. Hamilton and Balfour cypher.

EUL: E.B.616 Hom

Publication and price. March 9, 1758, 4/- in boards (CM):

1758

[HOME, John.]

Agis: a tragedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. M,DCC,LVIII. (Price one shilling sixpence)
8°: A² B-K⁴ [§1(+B2.3) signed], 38 leaves.

Uncut demy, sheet size approximately 55 x 43 cm. Hamilton and Balfour cypher.

EUL: Dt.5.52 (uncut); Dt.5.95/3. NLS:1950.69(29).

Publication and price. March 14, 1758, 1s.6d. for ready money (CM).

1758

LANDER, John. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]


8°: x² A–E⁴ [§1 signed], 22 leaves.

Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm, and trimmed 18.7 x 11.7 cm. Fine printing demy? Hamilton and Balfour cypher.

EUL: Att.74.7.14/7 (cypher); Theses Sect.61604/5(16).

1758

LEECHMAN, William.

half-title:

A sermon preached before His Majesty's High Commissioner, at the opening of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1758.
The wisdom of God in the gospel revelation. A sermon, preached at the opening of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in May 1758. By Dr. William Leechman, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill. MDCC,LVIII.

8°: A A⁺ B⁻ C⁻⁻⁻⁻⁴ H² I [§1 signed] [§1 half-title], 30 leaves. Printing demy, sheet size approximately 55 x 43 cm, Hamilton and Balfour cypher.

NLS: 1961.75(2) (uncut). NC: in H.d.20; Te/1(4); B.c.b.3(1)(-x1).

Publication and price. June 3, 1/- (CM).

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on July 8, 1758, the whole share for Hamilton, Balfour and Neill (Stationers' Register [1746-73] 188). William Bradford of Philadelphia reprinted it in 1759. (Copy in NLS: F.7.d.19.)

1758

[MacARTHUR, Samuel.]


8°: A⁻⁻⁻⁻ D⁻⁻⁻⁻ E⁻⁻⁻⁻ [§1 signed; A2 as 'A'], 17 leaves.

Cut 16.4 x 10.4 cm.


Publication and price. May, 1758, 8d. (SM)
1758

MICHAELSON, Thomas. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de gonorrhoea virulenta . . . .
Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. Academiae
Typographos. M, DCC, LVIII.
$\delta^2 - \alpha^2 = 0 \quad D^2 \equiv [S \text{ signed}], 16 \text{ leaves.}

Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm.

EUL: Theses Sect. 61604/5(14)

1758

MONRO, Alexander, primum.
The anatomy of the human bones and nerves. With an account
of the reciprocal motions of the heart, and a description
of the human lacteal sac and duct. Corrected and enlarged
in the sixth edition, by Alexander Monro, senior, M.D. and
F.R.S. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and
Professor of Medicine and of Anatomy in the University of
Edinburgh. Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton, and
J. Balfour. Sold by them and other booksellers there.
At London, by Mess. Hitch and Hawes, and A. Millar, J. Nourse,
R. Baldwin, Rivington and Fletcher; and Wilson and Durham.
At Dublin, by J. Smith. MDCCLVIII.
12°: x² a⁴ A-2b⁶ 2m⁴ [$3(-a3, 2m3) signed, I3 as 'X3', 202 as 'B2'] [x1 half-title, x2 title, 2m4 errata], 214 leaves.

Cut 16.8 x 9.9 cm. Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher.

EUL: H*31/22

Publication and price. February 16, 1758, 3/- bound (CM).

1758

MONRO, Alexander, secundus.

The following pamphlets, and Gavin Hamilton's interesting letter to the author, relate to the controversy between Monro and Dr. William Hunter over who was the first to discover the nature of the lymphatic vessels. Mark Akenside also became involved in the dispute:

Observations, anatomical and physiological, wherein Dr. Hunter's claim to some discoveries is examined. With figures. By Alexander Monro junior, M.D. and Professor of Medicine and of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh.

Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour & Wedill, August M, DCC, LVIII.

8°: x² a⁴ [$1 signed], 42 leaves, 2 plates (A. Bell sculp.).

Cut 18.2 x 12 cm.

EUL: H.19.74/3

Publication and price. August, 1758, 1s. 6d. (SM, and title-page)
Answer to the Notes on the postscript to Observations anatomical and physiological, by Alexander Monro junior, M.D. and Professor of Medicine and of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh. Edinbrgh [sic]: printed in the year M, DCC, LVIII.

8°: A B⁴ [$1 signed], 8 leaves.

Cut 18.2 x 11.7 cm. Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher.

EUL: H.19.74/4

Publication and price. December 7, 1758, 4d. (CM, and SM for November) Mark Akenside's Notes on the postscript, to which this is an answer, had been published at London in October.

Notes. Although the Hamilton, Balfour and Neill imprint appears on the first pamphlet by young Monro, Gavin Hamilton evidently thought it wiser to leave it off the second. Earlier in the year Gavin had written to an unnamed friend—clearly the author himself—agreeing to publish the Monro side of the dispute, and, in case of legal trouble, agreeing to accept the bond of indemnity offered by Alexander and his brother, Donald Monro:

Edinburgh 29 April 1758

Sir

I had the pleasure of receiving yours this day with a postscript from my good friend your brother to whom I
offer my best compliments as to the affair your letter alludes to it gives me concern that you should be in the situation you describe. I cannot say I am suspicious in the least of bringing ourselves under any hazard of prosecution or trouble by printing such a narrative of the affair as you judge necessary for vindicating your Character with the publick. if I did I certainly would decline the employment but as I have no difficulties on that head and the less as these narratives never bear either printers name or place I have no objection against your sending us the Manuscript copy which shall be execute according to your orders without any copies being reserved, only that in case such a bond of Indemnity as your Brother & you offers should be afterwards judged necessary for our security you shall understand yourselves bound to give it if required.

I am Sir
Your most humble serv'tt
Gavin Hamilton

(SUL: La.II.261)

1756

[MURRAY, Patrick, Lord Elibank.]

Thoughts on money, circulation, and paper currency.


M, DCCLVIII.

8°[chainlines horizontal]; A1 D-E4 [$1 signed], 17 leaves.

Partly uncut, approximately 18.5 x 12 cm.

EUL: P.559/8 (partly uncut). NLS: Ry.1.4.32.

Publication and price. By June 3, 1758, 6d. (24)
PLUTARCH.

series title:

Plutarch's Lives, in six volumes. Translated from the Greek. To which is prefixed the Life of Plutarch, written by Mr. Dryden. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. MDCC,LVIII.

volume titles:


vol. 1—12°: x1 2a1 a6 b4 A-2k6 2l2 [$3(-b2,3) signed]

[x1 series title, 2x1 volume title, ZL2 blank], 212 leaves. A blank leaf has been inserted in place of leaf G5 (pp. 81-2) in this rebound copy.

vol. 2—12°: x1 A4 B-2l6 2m4 [$3 including 2M2.3 (-A2.3) signed], 207 leaves.

vol. 3—12°: x1 A-2n6 [$3 signed], 187 leaves.

vol. 4—12°: x1 A-2q6 2r2 [$3(-2r2) signed], 237 leaves.

vol. 5—12°: A4 B-2R6 2I4 [$3(-A3,2I3) signed], 183 leaves.

vol. 6—12°: A-2c6 [$3 signed], 156 leaves.
Cut 16.7 x 10.2 cm. Fleur de lys in the first part of the edition; Hamilton and Balfour demy, with cypher, was used from the middle of vol. 4.

NLS: K.22.f

Publication and price. Proposals for an eight-volume edition of Plutarch's Lives were advertised in EEC on May 21, 1757, by Gordon, Donaldson, Fleming, Wright, Crawfurd and J. Brown. Hamilton and Balfour responded three days later by advertising that they had had an edition in the press for more than twelve months. Several "unforeseen accidents" had delayed publication, but gentlemen who wished could have three volumes immediately. No money was required until the whole edition was finished (EEC, May 24, 1757). The six-volume edition was published by Hamilton and Balfour on September 28, 1758, 18/- bound and lettered (CM).

In the set described above, only vol. 1 has the date 'M.DCC.LVII' on its title-page; the others have 'M.DCC.LVIII'. It is likely, however, that vols. 2 and 3 were also issued with the earlier date.

1758

RICHARDSON, Edward. [Edinburgh University Medical thesis] Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de epilepsia. ... Edvardus Richardson, A.M. Ad diem 19 Septembris. ... Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill, Academiae Typographos. M.DCC,LVIII. S²: x1 A-D⁴ E² [$1 signed], 19 leaves.

Cut 19.1 x 12.1 cm.

BUL: Theses Sect.61604/5(17)
1758

ROBERTSON, James.

Grammatica linguae Hebraeae: cum notis et variis
questionibus philologicos, in quibus praecipue dissertatur
... [contents] In usum Juventutis Academicae. Jacobo
Robertson, A.M. Ling. Orient. Professore in Academia
Edinburgene, auctore. ... [quotations] Edinburgi:
apud Hamilton, Balfour & Neill, Academiæ Typographos.
Prostant venales apud Hamilton & Balfour, et Gul. Miller,
Edinburgi; Wilson & Durham, Londini, vicino vulgo dicto

The Strand, bibliopolis. M.DCC.LVIII.

8°: x 2 x² A-21y [S1 signed] [x2 dedication, 2x1 preface,
2x2 index, 214 Hebrew-Arabic table], 132 leaves.

Royal paper. Cut 21.8 x 14 cm. Strasbourg bend/JW
countermark of the James Whatman mill.


Publications and price. By June 8, 1758, 5/- (CM).

1758

ROLLIN, Charles.

Ancient History, 10 volumes, with ten plates.

vols. 1-8, and 10:
not seen.

vol. 9:

vol. 9—120; a4 B—2H6 [$3—e3]signed], 184 leaves. No plate in this copy.

Cut 16.9 x 10.2 cm. Hamilton and Balfour printing decay, with cypher.

Copy: Warren McDougall

Publication and price. November 11, 1758, ten volumes with ten copper plates, £1.5s. bound in calf leather and titled (GM).

1758

[SMITH, Charles.]

A short essay on the corn trade, and the corn laws.

Containing a general relation of the present method of carrying on the corn trade, and the purport of the laws relating thereto in this kingdom. Edinburgh: printed in the year M.DCC,LVIII.

8°: x1 a2 A—c4 [$1 signed], 31 leaves.

Cut 19.9 x 12.5 cm. Demy paper, with Hamilton and Balfour cypher.

NLS: 2.14(3)

Publication and price. By March 11, 1758, 1/— (GM). SM for February notes that it was reprinted from a London pamphlet.
TERENCE.

Terentii comediae, ad fidem optimarum editionum expressae.
Edinburgi, apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill, Academiae Typographos. M DCC LVIII.

post 6°: 15 preliminary leaves [x² 2x-4x⁴ 5x1?] 1-20⁴ 21⁴(21) 22-30⁴ 31⁴(31) 32² [§1 signed with Arabic numeral], 141 leaves. There are no catchwords.

VARIANT, with 145 leaves. The firm's star apprentice, William Smellie, who composed and corrected the entire edition himself, expanded the preliminaries by reposing the type and by adding new headings. (The title page remained the same.) The collation is:

19 preliminary leaves [x² 2x] 3x² 4-6x⁴ 7x²?]

Cut 18.7 x 11.6 cm. Born in crowned shield/IV.

NLS: K.50.c (19 prelim leaves); F.7.g.14. BUL: JA.2679 (Adam Smith's copy).

Edition quantity. At least 250 copies were put on sale: the book was put forward for an Edinburgh Society award, and this minimum number was one of the conditions of the competition.

Notes. Hamilton, Balfour and Neill were awarded an Edinburgh Society silver medal for the work (SM, February 4, 1758).

Publication and price. March, 1758, 4s.6d. (SM)

English and Gaelic.

**English title:**
The mother's catechism for the young child or, a preparatory help for the young and ignorant, in order to their more easy understanding the catechisms of a larger size. . . . [quotations] By the Reverend Mr. John Willison late minister of the gospel at Dundee. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. M,DCC,LVIII.

**Gaelic title:**
Leabhar-œist na maithir do'n leanabh og; no reamh-chuideachs' do'n droing ta og agus sineolach, ohum 's gu b' ass' dhaibh na leabhair-œiste is mo a thugain. . . . [quotations] Le Mr. Eoin Willison ministeir an tsoisgeil bha ag Dundebh. Clo-bhuailt ann Duneedin: le Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill. M,DCC,LVIII.

8°: A⁴ B⁻¹⁻¹ [§1 signed][A¹ English title, A² Gaelic title, L4 blank], 44 leaves. The text is laid out in two columns to a page, with English in one column and Gaelic in the other. Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Uncut, sheet size approximately 55 x 42.5 cm.

EUL: C.R. Box 1.26 (uncut); C.R.5.7.16.3. i.EM: 872.1.40 (-L4).
Notes. The book was published by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. A committee reported on June 1, 1758, that it had decided to "pay one hundred pound Scots to one of the Society's School-Masters, for translating the Mother's Catechism into Barse, which translation being now finished & revised by three Ministers versant in that language, the Committee have also agreed to be at the expense of printing a number of copies of it, having the English on the one side and the Barse on the other." (SRD: GD 95/1/4, pp. 625-6.)

1758

[WILSON, Andrew, M.D.]

**general title:**

Human nature surveyed by philosophy and revelation. In two essays. I. Philosophical reflections on an important question. II. Essay on the dignity of human nature. With aphorisms and indexes to both essays. By a gentleman.


**first essay:**

C0: x2 A^4 (A, A1) B-D^4 2 A^2 2 E^1 [§1 (A1) signed; A2 as 'A']

[x1 general title, x2 advertisement by the publisher, A1 half-title for Philosophical reflections, A2 text], 21' leaves.
second essay.


5°: x1 A–F 4 Q 2 [§1 signed] [x1 title-page, 01, 2 index to the Philosophical reflections], 63 leaves.

Cut 16.4 x 10.2 cm.

NC: C.b/23(2)

Notes. This copy consists of two separately printed essays that have been made up into one volume by bookseller or printer; stab marks are visible on the first essay, not on the second or on the general title.

The author had published Philosophical reflections in 1757 and now wanted to extend the work. There were unsold copies on hand, it would appear. The printer cancelled the old title with a half-title and added the general title described above. He printed the Essay on the dignity of human nature with its own title but with consecutive pagination, so that it could be sold either with Philosophical reflections or by itself.
Publication and price. June 3, 1758, 2/- for the whole work in boards. Readers who had purchased Philosophical reflections the year before were advised that they could have the Essay on the dignity of human nature by itself for 1s.6d. (C)

1759

CAMPBELL, Archibald.

The authenticity of the gospel-history justified; and the truth of the Christian revelation demonstrated, from the laws and constitution of human nature. In two volumes [on title of 2nd vol. this phrase is replaced by 'Volume II.'].

By the late Archibald Campbell, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M, DCC, LIX.

vol. 1—8°: x² A⁻¹ a-g⁴ A-2X⁴ 2Y² [$1 signed] [x⁻¹ Contents], 209 leaves.

vol. 2—8°: g₁ b² A-2X⁴ 2Z² [$1 signed], 185 leaves.

Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Uncut, sheet size approximately 55 x 43.3 cm.

NLS: Jolly.2692 (vol. 1 only; uncut); H.1.a.10-11 (leaf x⁻¹ inserted after g₄ in vol. 1).
Publication and price. February 24, 1759, 10/- in boards (CM). Hamilton and Balfour advertised a few months later that they had lowered the price to 8/-: "As several circumstances concurred to prevent this Book's being printed in the manner that was at first proposed, and as it is contained in fewer Sheets than was expected, it is therefore sold 2 shillings cheaper; and the Gentlemen who may have advanced the full subscription-money, will receive that sum back again from the persons to whom they may have subscribed, or from Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour" (Edinburgh Chronicle, May 26, 1759).

1759-61

The EDINBURGH CHRONICLE.

Vol. 1: March 22 to September 15, 1759, pp. 1-416.

Vol. 2: September 18, 1759, to March 15, 1760, pp. 1-624.

Vol. 3: March 17, 1760, to March, 1761? Pp. 1-? [The latest number I have seen is that for May 7, 1760. Neill's accounts to one customer go up to January 21, 1761, and he testified during a libel case that he continued the publication until March of that year.]

4°: 8 pages per number, three columns to a page. Published twice a week from March 22 to September 15, 1759; three times a week from September 17, 1759, to April 30, 1760; once a week from May, 1760. The price of 2½d was lowered to 2d. at the start of vol. 2.
Series titles, each with a two-page index, were given retrospectively for vols. 1 and 2:

The Edinburgh Chronicle; or, Universal Intelligencer.

For the year 1759. [For the year 1759-60.] Containing, besides a full collection of news, foreign and domestic, a variety of useful and entertaining essays, both in prose and poetry. Volume I. From March 22. to September 15.

[Volume II. From September 18, 1759. to March 15, 1760.]

... [quotation] Edinburgh: printed for Patrick Neill and John Reid; and sold at the first laigh shop below the entry to the Exchange, and at the printing-office in the College.

The colophons provide more information on the publishers.

The early ones begin:

Printed for G. Hamilton, J. Balfour, and P. Neill, and sold at the shop of William Gray bookseller, east wing of the New Exchange. Price two pence half-penny each.

On September 1, 1759, because of the legal difficulty Hamilton and Balfour found themselves in, the style of the colophon is changed to:

Edinburgh: printed by Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour, Patrick Neill, and John Reid; for the said P. Neill and J. Reid; and sold at the printing-office in the College, and by William Gray in the Exchange; where advertisements are taken in.
On April 26, 1760, when John Reid's role in the printing and publishing partnerships had diminished, the style of the colloquy is changed again.

Edinburgh: printed by Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour, and Patrick Neill; for the said P. Neill and Company; and sold by William Gray, bookseller, at his shop, in the New Exchange, where, and at the printing-office in the College, commissions and advertisements are taken in.


Notes. The Edinburgh Chronicle reflects the ambitions that inspired and the problems that beset Hamilton and Balfour. The two men were determined to make this a superior newspaper with a national circulation, and with the help of Neill and later John Reid they did succeed in producing an entertaining and informative periodical. There were some especially attractive features: readers were encouraged to send in opinions and observations, for inclusion in the columns, and the publishers took a more than usual interest in literature and drama.¹

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Other newspaper proprietors were hostile to the enterprise as soon as the proposals appeared in 1759. Andrew Stalker, editor of the Glasgow Journal, was afraid his subscribers would be lured away. (See W. J. Couper, "The Glasgow Periodical Press in the Eighteenth Century," Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society, VIII [1930], 102.) Walter Ruddiman of the Caledonian Mercury was offended by the tone of the proposals and enraged at a suggestion that the Edinburgh Chronicle might be published thrice weekly. He took the whole of the front page of his newspaper on March 10, 1759, to make his reply and to give the first hint that Balfour had actually agreed in writing in 1754 to refrain from publishing a thrice weekly journal for the space of seven years; this promise, to Thomas Ruddiman, had been made while Hamilton and Balfour were bargaining to succeed the old scholar as University Printer. Walter Ruddiman reprinted Balfour's signed agreement in the September 29, 1759, and said he was beginning a legal prosecution.

I suspect the moral Bailie Hamilton did not know of this agreement before beginning the newspaper. However, he and Balfour maintained a unified public stance, and protested their innocence in a letter to the Edinburgh Chronicle of October 6, 1759. They also handed in a lengthy rebuttal which, it appears, Neill and Reid printed separately for free distribution to interested readers.

Hamilton and Balfour had withdrawn from the publishing side, in name but perhaps not in fact, and were appearing on the colophon
simply as printers. John Reid, who was joint publisher with Neill for a time, was unable apparently to bring in the money he promised, and he drops out as a partner. The newspaper was then reduced to a weekly.

The declining days of the newspaper, and the casual editorial practices of the day, were brought to light when Neill was prosecuted for printing a defamatory paragraph in the number for December 17, 1760. It was explained in court that Neill, in May, 1760, began

to publish the News-paper, intitled, The Edinburgh Chronicle, once a-week, viz, on the Wednesday Evening. And, as the demand for it when published three times a-week had been but small, he, in order to save the expense of Postages, and of keeping up Correspondents in different parts of the Country, made an agreement with Mr Fleming Printer of the Courant, by which he was allowed the use of all the Intelligence and Articles of News that were sent to him. In consequence of this Agreement, [Neill] called regularly every Wednesday's evening at Mr Fleming's Printing-office, and took Excerpts from all the Letters and Articles of Intelligence that were sent to him.

(SL: Session Papers, Vol. 70 [35]: Nov. 12, 1762, Memorial for Patrick Neill Printer in the College of Edinburgh, Defender; against John Finlay Merchant-Shoemaker in Glasgow, Pursuer, p. 1.)

One Wednesday evening the corrector of the Courant, who had no space for the item himself, handed Neill a letter from Glasgow containing an interesting paragraph: "On Saturday, John Finlay Shoemaker, charged for committing a rape on a young girl, servant
to one of the present magistrates of Glasgow, which has occasioned her death, was put in prison there, to stand his trial." Neill printed it, as did the Caledonian Mercury, which had received a similar report from the same correspondent. There was not a word of truth to the story. John Finlay, shoemaker, was outraged, and took the publishers to the Court of Session. Neill, who protested that all he did was to print a current story as a piece of news, without the least intention of hurting anyone, was fined £10 and costs. He had quickly retracted the story and had made attempts to apologize. The publishers of the Caledonian Mercury, who had presented the story in a more virulent form, were fined £15 and costs.¹

Neill said in the process that he continued publishing the newspaper until March, 1761. The demise was sudden apparently, since he had a large supply of stamped paper on hand. In May of that year he returned 5,450 of the "stamps" to his agent in London, William Strahan, who debited the amount in a ledger (EM: Add.Mss.48803A, f.100r).

¹ See also:


February 9, 1763, Unto the Right Honourable the Lords of Council and Session, the Petition of Patrick Neill Printer in the College of Edinburgh.

These are in SL: Session Papers, Vol. 70 (35), along with the defence of Walter Ruddiman, the widow of Thomas Ruddiman, and John Richardson and Company.
The firm distributed the Edinburgh Chronicle by post to remote parts of Scotland, and partly in consequence had difficulty in collecting debts. The Neill MSS at the National Library of Scotland include the bills Patrick and John Reid sent to one gentleman of Caithness, James Sinclair, who accepted almost the entire run of the newspaper without paying a farthing. Neill finally wrote to him:

[To James Sinclair, Esqr. by Thurso]

To Patrick Neill and John Reid
To furnishing the Edinburgh Chronicle from March 22, 1759, to January 21, 1761, by Post.

£2.7.6.

Sir

In November last, your Son, who was come to this place to attend Dr Monro's Colleges, called upon me at the Printing house in the College, and desired me to show him your Letter ordering the Chronicle, which I did. He told me that he would call in a few days and pay it. I gave him a copy of the Accoumt, and likewise a copy of Fresswick's and Olrick's which remain still unpaid, to be transmitted to a proper person in Caithness. I promised your Son several curious Theses upon medical Subjects as an acknowledgement of his civility; which I had ready to deliver to him when he called.

But it surprised me greatly, that tho' he was in the College almost every Day he did not come near the Printing house.
Last month, about the rising of the College, I gave the Receipt to a young man, Andrew Liddell, who was acquainted with your Son, desiring him to speak with Mr Sinclair, and desire him to call for the theses I had promised him. Mr Liddell returned the Receipt, & told me Mr Sinclair was to call himself. A few days after, when the Class was risen, I sent one of my Servants to Mr Sinclair's Lodgings, and he brought me notice that he was gone North.

Now, I beg pardon for troubling you in this manner. I own, I was displeased that Mr Sinclair promised once and again to call, but declined doing so, the more especially as I would [have] been glad to have cultivate acquaintance, and done him all the Service I could, that lay in the Way of his Education. I am ready to impute his not clearing the Accompmt to some Kind of Forgetfulness, rather than Design, for which I dare say he will be able to excuse, and will surely not blame me for sending this Line as to the fact.

You'll be so good as order payment here by some proper person, at the College Printing house, and it will be still further obliging if you'll be so good as direct, to whom I should apply [paper torn] Freswick's and Olrick's Accompts, for I [paper torn] wrote several Letters to themselves, witho[ut] [re]ceiving any Return.

You see, Sir, that it has been [torn] outstanding. The delay of some paym[ents] hindered a Settlement with the other A[ccompts?] and I must say, added to a much greater Loss we have sustained by this news-paper.

Please give my Compliments to your Son, and if he has any opportunity for Caithness from this place, please acquaint me, and I shall send the Theses I have kept by me this long time for his use. I am, with due Respect, Sir,

Your very obt. Servt
Patr Neill

College, June 18, 1763

( NLS: in MS, Dep. 196)
1759-61

LAUDER, Sir John, Lord Fountainhall.

The decisions of the Lords of Council and Session, from June 6th, 1678, to July 30th, 1712. Collected by the Honourable Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, one of the Senators of the College of Justice. Volume I. [-Volume II.] Containing also the transactions of the Privy Council, of the Criminal Court, and Court of Exchequer, and interspersed with a variety of historical facts, and many curious anecdotes. Published from the original manuscript, in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, at their desire. Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. M.DCC.LIX. [-M.DCC.LXI.]

vol. 1—2°: x1 A—9z² 10A1 [$1 signed], 416 leaves.

vol. 2—2°: x1 A—Q² 9R1 [$1 signed], 402 leaves.

Ordinary-paper state: foolscap. Cut 31.5 x 20 cm.

Propatria.

Warren McDougall.

Fine, large-paper state. Cut 35.8 x 22.5 cm. Vol. 2 of this set has a Strasbourg lily, with the countermark 'JWhatman'.

NLS: Law

Publication and price. Vol. 1, August 4, 1759, £1.5s. in sheets.
The volume was larger than expected, but gentlemen could buy it at this subscription rate until November 12, after which the price would be raised (Edinburgh Chronicle). The publication of vol. 2 was announced for December 3, 1761, £1.6s. in boards (CM, November 31, 1761).

1759

MAQUEEN, Rev. Daniel, of Edinburgh.

A sermon on Colos. 1.23. Preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, at their Anniversary meeting, in the High Church of Edinburgh, on Monday, January 1, 1759, (published at their desire) by Daniel Maqueen, D D, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

To which is annexed, the present state of the said Society. Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neil. M, DCC, LIX.

\[8^0: \Delta^4 \text{ B-H}^4 1^4(-14) K^4 \text{[K4 signed][K4 blank], 39 leaves.}\]

Hamilton and Balfour printing damy, with cypher. Cut 18.9 x 11.7 cm.

NLS: 5.2349(25)

Edition quantity. 500 copies were printed. The SSPCK members were told in June, 1759, that 200 of the 500 copies had been sent to London. A few were put into the bookseller's shop, to be sold at 6d. apiece, while the remainder were taken by the Society for distribution to members. (SRO: GD 95/1/4, p. 640)

Publication and price. May 26, 1759, 6d. (Edinburgh Chronicle).

1. The letters 'D D', which come at the end of a line, appear to have been stamped in
1759

PORTERFIELD, William.

A treatise on the eye, the manner and phænomena of vision.

Vol. 1—8°: \(x^2a-d^4A-3H^43L^2\) \([\$1 signed] [d4 blank, 3L2 errata], 244 leaves, 5 plates.

Vol. 2—8°: \(a^4b-d^4e^2A-3H^43I^2\) \([\$1 signed] [3I2 errata], 236 leaves, 3 plates.

Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Cut 20 x 12.7 cm.

NLS: M.14/1.b.<. BUL: 0.9/3-4 (—plate 1 in vol. 1).

Publication and price. February 24, 1759, 12/- bound (CM).

1759

ROBERTSON, William.

The situation of the world at the time of Christ's appearance, and its connexion with the success of his religion, considered. A sermon preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, at their anniversary meeting, in the High Church of
Edinburgh, on Monday, January 6, 1755. (Published at their desire) By William Robertson, D.D. minister of Lady Yester's, Edinburgh. To which is subjoined, a short account of the present state of the Society. The third edition. Edinburgh: printed for Hamilton & Balfour, and sold by them, and Mr. A. Millar, London. M, DCC, LIX.

6°: A B F G2 [$1 signed], 26 leaves.

Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Uncut, sheet size approximately 55 x 43 cm.

NLS: 1961.44(1)

Publication and price. May 26, 1759, 6d. (Edinburgh Chronicle)

1759

RUSSELL, Balfour. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]


8°: A B-D [$1 signed], 18 leaves.

Cut 19.2 x 11.8 cm.

EUL: Att.74.7.14/10; Theses Sect.61604/1(4)
The institutions of the law of Scotland, deduced from its originals, and collated with the civil, and feudal-laws, and with the customs of neighbouring nations. In four books. By the late James Viscount of Stair, Lord President of the Court of Session. The third edition, corrected, and enlarged, with notes. Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. M,DCCLIX.

$2^0: \pi - 4 \times 10^{-2}$ [§1 signed], 430 leaves.

Ordinary-paper state: foolscap. Cut 31.9 x 19.8 cm.

Propatria.

NLS: Law.

Fine, large-paper state:

Not seen.

Notes. The publication of this definitive third edition was projected at first for February, 1750 (CM, August 8, 1749).

According to the advertisement within the book, the first eighty-five pages were edited by Gordon; the printing stopped, then the work was completed by Johnstone.

Publication and price. July 19, 1759, £2.2s. in boards, £2.5s. bound; "a few copies thrown off on a very fine and large paper" were £3.3s. in boards, £3.6s. bound (Edinburgh Chronicle).
1759

SKELTON, Francis. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de ophthalmia. . . .
Franciscus Skelton, Hibernus. Ad diem 26 Junii. . . .
Edinburgh: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill, Academiae
Typographos. M, DCC,LIX.
8°: $A^4 B-C^4 D^2$ [$\$1 signed; D as 'C'], 16 leaves.
Well-cut 18.7 x 11.7 cm. Hamilton and Balfour cypher. This
may be an example of the firm's fine printing paper.

EUL: Att.74.7.14/11

1759

TOWNSEND, Richard. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de rheumatismo. . . .
Richardus Townsend, Hibernus. Ad diem 17 Aprilis. . . .
Edinburgh: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill, Academiae
Typographos. M,DCC,LIX.
8°: $A^4 B$ (3 leaves) [$\$1 signed], 9 leaves.

Well-cut 18.7 x 11.7 cm.

EUL: Att.74.7.14/12; Theses Sect.6104/1(1).
ADDISON, Joseph.

The Spectator, in eight volumes?

I have seen only volume one:
The Spectator. Volume the first. . . . [engraving]

vol. 1—12°: A(5 leaves) B-2D6 [$3 signed] [this copy does not have leaf A1—was this a series title?], 161 leaves.

Press figures: Clv-3 Dlv-3 Elv-3

Cut 16.9 x 9.7 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: V.23.14

Notes. The press figures suggest there was some kind of London involvement.

1760

BUDD, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de ischuria vera. . . .
Gulielmus Budd, Hibernus. Ad diem 22 Augusti. . . .
Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill. MDCCCLX.

8°: x(3 leaves) A-E4 F1 [$2 signed] [x1 half-title], 24 leaves.

Cut 18.3 x 11.7 cm.

EUL: Theses Sect.6104/1(18)
The question relating to a Scots militia considered.

In a letter to the lords and gentlemen who have concerted the form of a law for that establishment. By a freeholder.

Edinburgh: printed for Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour.

M D C C L X.

8°: A² B-F⁴ G² $[$2(-G2) signed] x1 half-title], 24 leaves.

Cut 21 x 13.3 cm. Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher.

EUL: E.B.P.355(4107)Car; De.7.119/2 (John Home's copy).

NLS: NG.1588.c.17(4); 3.635(2) (-x1); Ry.1.4.36(1); Ry.1.4.39; 1.889(13).

Notes. The pamphlet, which expressed the feelings of Scotsmen who were keen to have the militia system extended to Scotland, was written by Carlyle at the instigation of William Johnstone and Adam Ferguson; William Robertson inserted a paragraph. George Townshend had it reprinted at London with a preface of his own (2nd edition, London: printed for M. Cooper, 1760), and Provost Ferguson of Ayr also reprinted it. (See The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, ed. J. Hill Burton [Edinburgh, 1910], pp. 418-20.) Hamilton and Balfour published a 4th edition in 1762.

Publication and price. January, 1760, 6d. (SH)
COURT OF SESSION.

Decisions of the Court of Session, from the beginning of February 1752, to the end of the year 1756. Collected by Mr Thomas Miller, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr John Swinton junior, Sir David Dalrymple, Mr John Dalrymple, Mr Walter Steuart, advocates. By appointment of the Faculty of Advocates. Edinburgh; printed for Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour. M D C C L X.

2°: x² A-4D² 4E²(4E₂ +₁) 4F-4S² [$ signed][Index of Principal Matters begins 4F1], 177 leaves.

Foolscap. Cut 31.7 x 20 cm. Propatria, Vryheyt.

NLS: Law

Notes. This book constitutes Volume One of the Faculty's official collection. Although the firm had been publishing the contents in parts since 1752, this complete edition appears to have been printed separately; only the first section here (to 2E²) corresponds with the chronological divisions of the fascicles as advertised in the newspapers.

Publication and price. Announced for January 29, 1760, 18/- bound. The parts were also available at the following prices: the Decisions for 1752, 5/-; 1753, 2/-; 1754, 3s.6d.; 1755, 2/-; 1756, 3/-. (CM, January 26)
DONALDSON, Alexander. [Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printing.]

[Catalogue of books to be sold by auction. 1760?]

Not seen.

The firm's printing record was extracted from their ledgers
and used as evidence in the Balfour-Donaldson court case:

To Alexander Donaldson

1759
Dec. 21
To printing his Auction Catalogue
1 sheet 8vo long primer 750 copies coarse
Crown, the paper ours £1.11.0

(SRO [West Register House]: in CS.231, Currie Mack Misc.
Bundle 1 no. 20.)

1760

EDINBURGH: Ratho Club.

Considerations addressed to the nobility and gentlemen of
the landed interest, to engage them to use their influence
to have the prohibition of the distillery of malt spirits
taken off in Scotland. Written by one of the members of
the Ratho Club, at their desire. Edinburgh: printed by
Hamilton, Balfour, Neill, and Reid, for William Gray.
MDCCCLX. (Price three pence.)

8°: A1 B-D4 E(3 leaves) [$2 signed], 16 leaves.
Uncut, sheet size approximately 49 x 38 cm.

NLS: 5.2350(6)

Price. 3d. (Title page)

1760

The EDINBURGH CHRONICLE.

See under 1759.

1760

ELLiot, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Tentamen medicum inauguralis, de medicamentis stimulantibus
in genere. . . . Gulielmus Elliot, Scoo-Britannus.
Ad diem ["11" written in] Septembris. . . . Edinburgi:
apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill, Academiae Typographos.
M D C C L X.

8°: v(3 leaves) A–I 4 x1 [$1 signed] [x1 half-title,
x1 errata], 40 leaves.

Well-out 18.7 x 11.7 cm.

EUL: Att.74.7.14/14; Theses Sect.6104/1(10).
1760

FLEURY, John Charles.  [Edinburgh University medical thesis]  
Tentamen medicum inaugurale, de natura febris 
intermittentis in genere. . . . Joannes Carolus Fleury, 

$^0$: $\xi$(3 leaves) A-$^4$ $\xi$(2 leaves) [$82$ signed; A2 as 'A3']  
[+$1$ half-title, $G2$ errata], 29 leaves.  
This is the best formula I can arrive at from the two copies 
examined.  $\pi2.3$ are conjunct.  

Well-cut 18.7 x 11.7, with traces of the Hamilton and Balfour 
cypher.  Is this their fine printing demy?  

EUL:  Att.74.7.14/15; Theses Sect.6104/1(11). 

1760

FORDYCE, James.  
The folly, infamy, and misery of unlawful pleasure.  A 
sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Church 
M D C C L X.  (Price eight pence.)  

$^0$: $A^2$ B-$^4$ [$82$ signed], 34 leaves.  
Cut 19.8 x 12.1 cm.  Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, 
with cypher.
Notes: "This sermon was preached before the grandest audience in Scotland, was delivered with all the graces of oratory, and is bought up with the greatest avidity, especially by the beau-monde, which last circumstance is very uncommon with regard to sermons" (SM for May, 1760, p. 280).

Publication and price. Advertised in CM on June 9, 1760, 8d.

1760

FORDYCE, James.


Not seen. It was announced for the last week of August, 1760 (CM, August 23), although it was not noted in SM until October; the price was 6d.

1760

GOGUET, Antoine Yves. [Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printing for Alexander Donaldson.]

[Subscription proposals for a translation of De l'origine des loix. Donaldson published the work in 3 vols 8vo in 1761.]

Not seen. This was the entry in the company records:
To Alexander Donaldson

1760
May 26

To subscription for ye Origin of Laws a small fol. page Eng[li]sh 2½ quires writing foolsoap the paper his £0.3.6d.

(SRO [West Register House]; in OS.231, Currie Mack Misc. Bundle 1 no. 20.)

1760

GROOT, Hugo de.

Hugonis Grotii de jure belli ac pacis librorum III. Compendium. In usum studiosae juventutis Academiae Edinensis. Edinburgi: apud Hamilton et Balfour, Academiae Typographos. MDCCCLX.

12°: A–G 6 H 6 (‡3H2) I–U 6 X 6 (+X3) Y–2A 6 2B 6 (+2B2) 2 2X

[$$3(–D2,P2,X2,3,2B2)$] signed; K2 as 'Kv' [2B6 blank, $X^2$ Contents, $2X^1$ errata], 153 leaves.

Uncut, sheet size approximately 55.5 x 43.5 cm. Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher.

Warren McDougall. NLS: N.C.304.d.4 ($X^2$ inserted after A1; wanting leaf $2X^1$).
1760

HALL, Henry. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]

Tentamen medicum inaugurale, de urinis. . . . Henricus

Hall, Anglo-Britannus. Ad diem 9 Junii. . . . Edinburgi:
apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Socios. M D C C L X.

$^2$ A-C$^4$ D(3 leaves) [$^2$ including D2 signed], 17 leaves.

Well-cut 18.7 x 11.7 cm.

EUL: Att.74.7.14/16; Theses Sect.6104/1(6).

1760

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A catalogue of very capital and scarce books, consisting
of near 7000 volumes, generally in fine condition, and
elegantly bound, which are to be exposed to sale, by auction,
on Monday, the 24th of November, 1760, at the auction house
of G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, in the east wing of the New
Exchange.]

Not seen. Published by November 1, 1760 (CM).

1760

HENRY, Matthew. [Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printing for
Alexander Donaldson.]

[SM, July, 1760, noted publication of Henry's exposition of
the Old and New Testament, sixth edition, 6 vols. folio. The
work was published by Alexander Donaldson and John Wood, £4.10s. for fine paper and £3.10s. for coarse paper in quires.]

Wood and Donaldson spread the printing around various printing houses in Edinburgh. Hamilton, Balfour and Neill apparently printed one of the volumes for Wood. In 1760 their new partner John Reid obtained the order to print part of the fourth volume also, on behalf of Donaldson. The firm did the work and drew up this account:

To Alexander Donaldson

1760
May 28
To last 18 sheets of ye 4th Vol of Henrys Exposition of the Bible 1000 Copyys at £1.5.8 pr sheet £23.2.0

(SRO [West Register House]: in CS.231, Currie Mack Misc. Bundle 1 no. 20.)

The bickering between John Balfour and Donaldson over this and other accounts sheds light on Edinburgh printing-house procedures. A number of different printers might sometimes produce parts of a single publication. There were standard printing charges in the city at this time, and the charges to the customer were arrived at by doubling the cost of production. (The English only charged labour plus fifty per cent; see Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography, p.178.)

This came out after Balfour said that Reid, who drew up the above account, had charged too little. The bundle of MSS in the case contain Reid's reply, in the form of a holograph letter to
Balfour dated July 22, 1761. Reid said the complaint of overcharging was "a palpable mistake. Mess. Murray & Cochran printed all the 2d volume [of Henry's Exposition] for John Wood, and all the 4th volume, except 58 sheets, for Mr Donaldson. They paid just 9s 6d for composing each sheet of it, and 3s 4d for the sheet at press. Double these sums, and they will make £1 5s 8d per sheet, at which I charged the work to Mr Donaldson. How then is it too low? Could I charge it higher than those who had done one volume complete, and the greater part of that of which I had only done a part? No, I could not in conscience do it, and my charge is quite right. And Sully I charged the same way as Mess. Murray & Cochran did it; and Swift also." The latter references are to the charges to Donaldson for printing parts of Sully's Memoirs, 1760, and Swift's Works, 1761, the details of which I give below.

Donaldson, on the other hand, said that Hamilton, Balfour and Neill charged too much for the Henry. The bundle of MSS at SRO contain "Replies for Alexander Donaldson to the Answers of Messrs Hamilton & Balfour [17th of December] 1761," in which he claimed that not only did Murray and Cochran, Adrian Watkins, and the Robertsons charge £1.5s. a sheet for the work, but so did Hamilton and Balfour when they printed the volume for Wood. Donaldson was trying to show that trade discounts were normal in Edinburgh. However, Hamilton, Balfour and Neill commented: "It is not usual for our own, & as far as we know for any other printing
house, to give abatement to particular persons, of the prices normally charged. For our own Part, we don't remember ever to have given any abatement, excepting in one instance, viz to John [Wood] who gave us a Vol of Henrys Commentary to print, the price of each sheet of which should have been £1.5.8 but in regard the work he gave amounted to above £100 ster[ling] we agreed to the discount [of] the odd eight pence." (Item no. 20 in the bundle, "June 16, 1762, Answer for G. Hamilton, J. Balfour, and Pat. Neill to the Petition of Alexr Donaldson June 9, 1762.")

For an account of Balfour's battle with Donaldson over printing charges see above, pp. 169-72.

1760

[MACPHERSON, James.]

Fragments of ancient poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse language. . . . [quotation] Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. MDCCLX.

8°: A-I⁴ [82 signed] [I4 blank], 36 leaves.

Post paper. Horn in crowned shield/cypher.

NLS: Oss.1; Ry.III.e.39; Cam.1.f. EUL: C.R.6.5.30.

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on June 28, 1760, the whole share for Hamilton and Balfour (Stationers' Register [1746-73] 203).
Publication and price. June 14, 1760, 1/- (CM).

SECOND EDITION:
Fragments of ancient poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse language. The second edition... [quotation]
Edinburgh printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour.
MDCLX.

8°: A⁴ B-K⁴ [$1+(D2,E2,F2,G2) signed] [K4 editorial note],
40 leaves.

Post paper. Horn in crown shield/cypher.

NLS: Oss.2; H.31.d.14.

Publication and price. August 23, 1760, 1/- (CM).

1760

Reasons for extending the militia act to the disarmed counties of Scotland. Edinburgh: printed for Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour. M D C C L X. (Price three pence.)

8°: A¹ B-C⁴ D¹ [$2 signed], 10 leaves.

Cut 20.4 x 12.6 cm. Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher.

NLS: 3.2857(5)

Publication and price. March, 1760, 3d. (SM)
SULLY, Duke of. [Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printing for Alexander Donaldson.]

[Memorials of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, prime minister of Henry the Great. Newly translated from the French edition of M. de l'Ecluse. To which is annexed, the trial of Francis Ravaillac, for the murder of Henry the Great. Edinburgh: printed for A. Donaldson at Pope's Head. MDCCCLX. The five volumes, large 12mo, were published in October, 1760, price 15/-, according to SM.]

Printing:

To Alexander Donaldson

1760

Augst 9

To 9 sheets being letter B-T of the 4th vol. of Sully's Memoirs, 12mo, small pica

1000 copies at £1.6.8 pr Sheet

£12. 0. 0

To 6½ Sheets being letter B-O of ye 5th Vol. of Sully

8.13. 4

To foot notes on both these vols

1. 4. 8

To paper for proofs, & tympan sheets for Swift [i.e. the Works published in 1761] & Sully

9. 7

(SFO [West Register House]: in CS.231, Currie Mack Misc. Bundle 1 no. 20.)

John Reid (in his letter to Balfour of June 22, 1761) gives some other printing details: “Mr Donaldson spoke not of Sully
till long after Henry was finished. And the occasion was as follows. That work [i.e. the Sully] had been long retarded by the translator, as I had very good access to know; and it had begun to be printed a year and a half before. So that Mr Donaldson was become very uneasy about it. By the time he spoke to me, he had got all the work into his hands. Mess. Murray & Cochran had finished the first vol. and were busy with the 2d & 3d, and were to use their endeavours to have both these volumes finished by the beginning of August. He then proposed that I should begin the 4th volume, which I did upon the newest Small Pica, and soon after the 5th upon the old Small Pica." Reid added that he charged the work at the same rate as Murray and Cochran.

The London proprietors claimed the publication was a piracy of their Charlotte Lennox translation; see above pp. 132-3.

1760

WALLACE, George.

half-title:
A system of the principles of the law of Scotland. Part I.
title:
A system of the principles of the law of Scotland. By

2°: x1 a² b-g² A-7K² [$1 signed] [2 leaves]. 311 leaves.

Foolscap. Cut 31.5 x 20.5 cm. Propatria.

Edition quantity: 500 copies (see notes below).

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on March 18, 1760, the whole share for George Wallace (Stationers' Register [1746-73] 201). As with Hume's History in 1754, entry was made before the book was published.

Publication and price. Announced for March 27, 1760, £1.5s. in boards. (CM, March 24)

Notes. A second volume was never published, since the first proved to be one of the least-read books of the period. A full and interesting account of the printing and publishing is contained among the George Wallace MSS at EUL. (The pertinent papers are in La.II.694/6.) John Balfour negotiated with Wallace on behalf of the firm. The author had agreed to their terms by January, 1759, and in the summer of that year Balfour sent him this formal letter of agreement:
Edinr: July 5th 1759

Sir

In consequence of several conversations which we have had with you, about the first volume of your System of the Principles of the Law of Scotland, we hereby oblige ourselves to print and publish, as soon as can be, the first impression of it, consisting of five hundred copies, and no more, at our own proper risque & expence, on a good paper and letter, and in every event to keep you indemnis. And as the property of no more than the first impression is made over by you to us, we also oblige ourselves, before the publication of the book, to enter it at Stationers hall at our own charge, on your account; and to give you gratis sixteen copies of it, to dispose of amongst your friends as you shall think fit. And we further oblige ourselves, to give you, so soon as the charge of the impression shall be indemified, forty pounds sterling out of the first and readiest of the sales, after that indemification. We are

Sir
Your most Humble Servants
John Balfour & Co.

The author did not receive his £40. Nineteen years after the publication date, with the bulk of the edition still unsold, Balfour drew up a statement for Wallace's information. The bookseller had taken to calling the work the Institute of the Law of Scotland:

Accompt of the Charge of Printing Wallace's Institute of the Law of Scotland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Printing 160 Sheets inclusive of 4½ Sheets that were reprinted at 13/10 pr Sheet</td>
<td>£110.13. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160 Reams paper at 12/6</td>
<td>100.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising &amp; other charges</td>
<td>2.10.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Freight of the Copys sent to Stationers
9 Copys & entry 13. 8
Advertising in Edinburgh 19.
Tympan & proof Sheets 5.

There were 500 printed so that each Copy cost 9sh. 7½
Twenty five were given the Author
Nine were sent to Stationers Hall
So that the Impression was proper 466 Copys.
There are 351 Copys on hand

Sir
Agreeable to your desire I have sent you above a State of the Institute of the Law of Scotland & am

Sir
Your most Humble Servant
John Balfour

Edinr Augst 17th 1778

Balfour disposed of some more, by various trade methods, in the following year. He was quite philosophical about this publishing disaster, however, and put a proposition to the unfortunate author:

Edinr: July 9th 1779

Sir

Some time ago, I made a dilligent search into my day book to find the number of the Copys of the Institute that had been sold in the Natural way, & I found on 38 the names
of those that have got them I have taken down, it is very possible I may have missed a few Copys, but they cannot be many. It will appear evident to you, that our loss on this transaction is considerable, but it was the fate of war, & I submit to it with patience. All the other Copys have been disposed at Auction, & in exchanges, at a very considerable loss. There are above 200 Copys on hand, these are my property & that of the Heirs of the late Mr Gavin Hamilton, as they are entirely out of the business, it is their desire that they should be disposed of at whatever they would give. I declin'd pursuing out this method without acquainting you, & am impowered to offer you the Copys that remain at 4sh: pr Copy, a price I think I am very certain they would give among the trade. I by no means desire or expect that you should purchase them, unless you think proper. I am sure I would be sorry to put the smallest hardship upon you. At the same time the[y] really must be sold, & there are but two methods, either to sell them among the Trade, or by Subscription at a low price. It will therefore be obliging in you, if you will think upon the matter, I am sure I am unwilling to do any thing without your Concurrence, this affair has been long delayed, & there is now an absolute necessity of disposing of them in one way or another. I shall be glad to know your Sentiments on the Subject, & am with due Regard

Sir
Your most Obedt: Servant
John Balfour

Wallace was a gentleman, and a few months later bought all the copies that remained.
1761

BLACKLOCK, Thomas.

Half-title:
Faith, hope, and charity, compared. A sermon.

Title:
Faith, hope, and charity, compared. A sermon on
I Corinthians. xiii. 13. Preached in Lady Yester's, Edinburgh,
April 19, 1761. By Mr Thomas Blacklock. Preacher of the
M, D C C, L X I.

8°: x1 A⁴ B-C⁴ D² [$1 signed] [x1 half-title], 15 leaves.
Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Uncut,
sheet size approximately 54.5 x 43 cm.


Publication and price. May, 1761, 6d. (SM)

1761

BOOTH, James. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de ileo. . . . Jacobus
Booth, Anglo-Britannus. Ad diem secundum Junii. . . .
Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill, Academiae
Typographos. M D C C L X I.

8°: x² A-C⁴ D² [$1 signed], 16 leaves.
Cut 19.2 x 11.5 cm.

EUL: Theses Sect.6104/1(12); Att.74.7.15/1.
1761

BUCHAN, William.

Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de infantum vita conservanda. . . . Gulielmus Buchan, Scoito-Britannus.


cropped

8°: x⁴ A-E⁴ [$1 signed] [F4 blank], 28 leaves.

Cropped 18.3 x 11.8 cm. Hamilton and Balfour cypher.

EUL: Theses Sect.6104/1(13)

1761

BUTTER, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]


8°: x⁴ A-E⁴ [$1 signed], 21 leaves.

VARIANT: The letters 'A.M.' are inserted after the author's name on the title-page; errata inserted, on E⁴. Common-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 11.5 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: Att.74.7.15/2; Theses Sect.6104/1(16) (variant).
1761

[DALRYMPLE, Sir David.]
A plan for cleaning the streets of the City of Edinburgh.

... [quotation] Edinburgh: printed in the year M,DCC,LXI.

8°: A⁴(²A²) B-E⁴ F1 [$1 signed; A2 as 'A''], 21 leaves.

Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Cut
20.4 x 13 cm.

NLS: NE.11.d.1(1); 5.636(33).

Publication and price. October 14, 1761, 6d. (CM)

1761

EDINBURGH CHRONICLE.

See under 1759.

1761

[FERGUSON, Adam.] [Printed by William Strahan; Patrick
Naill was one of the publishers.]

The history of the proceedings in the case of Margaret,
commonly called Peg, only lawful sister to John Bull,
Esq; London: printed for W. Owen, near Temple Bar.

MDCCCLXI.

8°: A² B-M⁸ N⁶ [$4(-N4) signed], 96 leaves.

Press figures: B8v-5 E8v-6 C7v-1 D2v-8 D3v-4 E6v-7
E8r-3 F8r-8 G6r-7 H6v-6 H8r-1 I1v-3 I4v-8 K1v-5
K5r-4 L6v-3 L7v-7 M7r-4 M7v-1 N6r-6.

Foolscap paper. Propatria.

NLS: X.44.h.31. EUL: Dd.10.111(cropped).
Edition quantity. 1,000.


SECOND EDITION:

The history of the proceedings in the case of Margaret, commonly called Peg, only lawful sister to John Bull, Esq; The second edition. Printed for W. Owen, near Temple Bar.

MDCCLXI.

$^8$: A² B-M² N⁵ [$4(-N4) signed], 96 leaves.

Press figures: B7r-2 B7v-4 C5r-4 D1v-3 E6v-3 E8r-4 F1v-4 F7r-6 H5r-3 I8r-1 I8v-2 K3v-2 L2v-2 N2v-4 N6r-3.

Foolscap paper. Propatria.

NLS: Ry.1.4.42; Ab.9.13.

Edition quantity. 750.

Publication and price in Edinburgh. February 11, 1761, 1/- (CM).

Same booksellers as before, with the addition of F. Douglas, Aberdeen.

Notes. The entry in one of Strahan's printing ledgers (BM: Add.Mss. 48803A, f.43r²) shows that Neill participated silently in the publishing venture:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity/Details</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Copy [money] 25. £69.11.

Feby 10 From Mr Owen for Sale of 600 £45. 5. 6
From Mr Neill for Sale of 400 on ac[ount] 27.
From Mr Owen for Sale of 300 24. 1. 6
From Mr Neill in Balance 6. 1. 5[½] £102. 8. 5½

Prof[it] £32.17. 6½

1761

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A large collection of medical and botanical books, being the library of the late Dr. Charles Alston, Professor of Botany in the University of Edinburgh.]

Not seen. Published by January 24, 1761; the books were to be auctioned on February 2, at the auction house in the east wing of the New Exchange (CM).
HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A very valuable collection of books, consisting of about 6,000 volumes in most languages and faculties, particularly, the largest collection of English law, that ever was exposed to sale in this country, being the library of the late Mr. Baron Edlin.]

Not seen. Published by January 24, 1761. The auction was to begin on February 9 in the auction house in the New Exchange. "The room is very large and commodious, and gentlemen will be furnished with seats and tables during the time of the auction, which will continue every day till all are sold off. The time of auction from five to eight o'clock at night" (CM, February 7).

1761

HAMILTON and BALFOUR.

[A very valuable collection of books in most languages and faculties.]

Not seen. The catalogue was published on November 18, 1761; the books were to be sold by auction beginning November 30. (CM)
1761

[HAMILTON, Thomas, Earl of Haddington.]

A treatise on the manner of raising forest trees, &c.

In a letter from the Right Honourable, the Earl of —— to his grandson. To which are added, two memoirs; the one on preserving and repairing forests; the other on the culture of forests. Both translated from the French of M. de Buffon of the Royal Academy at Paris.

Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. M,DCC,LXI.

12°: [1 A–K 6 L 6 (-L6)] [$3 signed; K2,3 as 'I2', 'I3'], 66 leaves, 1 plate (A. Bell sculpt).

Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Uncut, sheet size approximately 55.5 x 43.5 cm.

NLS: Grindlay.196 (uncut); L.C.2064.

Publication and price. By September 12, 1761, 1s.8d. in boards (CM).

1761

HOWE, Charles.


London. M,DCC,LXI.
12^0: 6 2x^2 A-F^6 Q(3 leaves) [§3(-Q2,3) signed] [x1 title, 2x^2 Advertisement], 101 leaves.

Hamilton and Balfour demy, with cypher.

EM: 4409.aas.30

Publication and price. By September 12, 1761, 2/- bound (OM).

1761

LAUDER, Sir John, Lord Fountainhall.
The decisions of the Lords of Council and Session. Vol. 2.
See under 1759.

1761

MASSON, Arthur.

12°: A6 B-N6 [$3 signed], 78 leaves.

BM: 1212.K.6

Notes. See under the second edition, 1757.

Copyright. Entered at Stationers' Hall on June 11, 1761, the whole share for Arthur Masson (Stationers' Register [1746-73] 213).

Publication and price. By October 14, 1761, 1/- (CM).

1761

POPE, Alexander.

The Iliad of Homer. Translated by Alexander Pope, Esq.


12°: A-2I6 2U4 [$3(-2U3) signed; C2 as 'C', 2H3 as 'H3', 2T as 'T'], 256 leaves, 1 plate (of Pope under the bust of Homer; A. Bell sculpt.). There are no catchwords.

Cut 17 x 10.2 cm.

NLS: K.2.h

Publication and price. The Iliad was published along with the Odyssey in two volumes duodecimo on December 3, 1760, and sold by Hamilton and Balfour, A. Donaldson, G. Crawfurd, J. Wood, and E. and J. Robertsons. The price was 7s.6d. for the two volumes bound in calf, or 4/- for the Iliad separately, 3s.6d. for the Odyssey (announced in CM, Nov. 26, 1760).
POPE, Alexander.
The Odyssey of Homer.

Not seen with a Hamilton and Balfour imprint. It is possible that different titles were printed for various booksellers, as in the following:


M D C C L X I.

12°: A-2P⁶ [§3 signed], 228 leaves, 1 plate (of Pope under the bust of Homer; A. Bell sculpt.). There are no catchwords. The type differs from that of the Iliad; but in this copy, the same plate is used.

NLS: NG.1530.c.13

Publication and price. See under the Iliad.

1761

RATTRAY, David. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
8°: ⁴ A-D⁴ [§1 signed][x1 half-title, D4 errata], 20 leaves.
Common-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 11.5 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: Theses Sect.6104/1(14); Att.74.7.15/3.
Reflections upon the tax of two pennies Scots per pint, on all ale and beer; first granted anno 1693, by the Parliament of Scotland, to the City of Edinburgh, and since continued to Edinburgh, and granted by the British Parliament to many other towns in Scotland. Edinburgh; printed in the year MDCCLXI.

S°; A 4 B-C 4 [$1 signed], 12 leaves.

Cut 18.9 x 11.2 cm.

NLS: Ry.1.4.41

Publication and price. March 18, 1761, 4d. (CM)

1761

SHIPPEN, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio anatomico-medica, de placentae cum utero natus.
... Gulielmus Shippen, Pennsylvaniensis. Ad diem [*16' stamped in] Septembris... ... Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill, Academiae Typographos. M D C C L X I.

S°: π 2 A-C 4 D 2 [$1 signed, D as 'C'], 16 leaves.

Common-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 11.5 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: Theses Sect.6104/1(15); Att.74.7.15/2.
1761

SWIFT, Jonathan. [Hamilton, Balfour and Neill printing for Alexander Donaldson.]

[The works of Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin. Edinburgh: printed for A. Donaldson, at Pope's Head. MDCCCLXI. The eight volumes duodecimo were published in 1761, price £1.4s.]

Printing:

To Alexander Donaldson

1760
May 29

To $7\frac{1}{2}$ sheets being letter A-P of ye 2d vol. of Swift's works 12mo long primer
1000 Copyys on Demy paper at £1.10s.
pr sheet

£11. 5.

To Brevier foot notes on Do

1. 7

(To paper for proofs, & tympan sheets
for Swift & Sully

9. 7)

(SRO [West Register House]: in CS.231, Currie Mack Misc. Bundle 1 no. 20.)

In his letter to Balfour, John Reid explained that he had approached Donaldson in April, 1760, to get work for the printing house: "I got the 2d volume of Swift from him, and accordingly began to print it. Not long after Mr Donaldson being concerned in Tillotson's works, he proposed to me to take a volume of it, which he had been endeavouring to procure, in spite of opposition made to it by several of the proprietors and printers;
at the same time telling me he was to ask no deduction upon it. To this I cheerfully agreed, as being better work than Swift. In consequence of this Swift was stopped, because the fount of Long Primer would not answer both."

I do not know what edition of Tillotson's *Works* Donaldson was involved with, or whether it was published.

1761

WHYTTE, Robert.

An essay on the virtues of lime-water and soap in the cure of the stone. The third edition corrected, and enlarged with an appendix, containing the cases of Lord Walpole. The Bishop of Llandaff. William Hay Esq; Mr L. Trevigar, &c. By Robert Whytt, M.D. F.R.S. Physician to his Majesty, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh.

... [quotation] Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill. M,DCC,LXI.

$12^0; n \; 6 \; A-S^6 \; T^2 \; [83(\text{including T2})\text{signed}], 116 \text{ leaves}, 1 \text{ plate.}$

Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Cut 16.8 x 10.2 cm.

EUL: *I.31/29

Publication and price. September 12, 1761, 2s.6d. (CM)
WHYTIT, Robert.

[Physiological essays. Second edition, corrected and enlarged.]

Not seen. They were published on September 12, 1761, price 3/-.

The Appendix was also sold separately, for 1/-, with a different title. (CM)

SEPARATE ISSUE OF THE APPENDIX.

half-title:

A review of the controversy concerning the sensibility and moving power of the parts of men and other animals.

title:

A review of the controversy concerning the sensibility and moving power of the parts of men and other animals; in answer to M. de Haller's late remarks on these subjects in the Mémoires sur les parties sensibles et irritables, tom. iv. By Robert Whytt, M.D. F.R.S. Physician to His Majesty, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh. . . . [quotation] Edinburgh: printed by Hamilton, Balfour and Neill. M,DCC,LXI.

12°: A-H i z [§3(-i2) signed] [A1 half-title, I2 errata], 50 leaves.

Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Cut 16.3 x 10.1 cm.

EUL: Wd.5.11/6

Publication and price. See above.
1761

YOUNG, Thomas. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de lacte. . . . Thomas
Young, A.M. Britanmus. . . . Ad diem 30 Novembris. . . .
Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill, Academiae
Typographos. M D C C L X I.

8°: x² A-I4 K² [$1 signed], 40 leaves.
Common-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 11.5 cm.

EUL: Att.74.7.15/5

1762

[CARLYLE, Alexander.]
The question relating to a Scots militia considered. In
a letter to the lords and gentlemen who have concerted the
form of a law for that establishment. By a freeholder.
The fourth edition. With a preface, in which some late
objections against the establishment of a militia are
considered. . . . [quotation] Edinburgh: printed for Gavin
Hamilton and John Balfour. MDCCLXII.

8°: x1 A ² B-H⁴ E1 [$1 signed], 18 leaves.
Cut 20.7 x 13.2 cm.

EUL: P.50(4); V.15/2.58/4.

Publication and price. February 24, 1762, 3d. (CM)
COURT OF SESSION.

The decisions of the English judges, during the usurpation, from the year 1655, to his Majesty's Restoration, and the sitting down of the Session in June 1661. Edinburgh: printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour. M DCC LXII.

2°: \( \times \) A-3F² [§1 signed], 124 leaves.

Foolscap. Cut 31.8 x 20 cm. Propatria.

NLS: Law.

There was a fine and a common paper. Was the foolscap the common?

Publication and price. February 23, 1762, 10/- for the fine paper, 8/- for the common (OM, February 20).

1762

HARRIS, Richard. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatic medica inauguralis, de abortu... Richardus Harris, Hibernus... Ad diem ["18" written in] Decembris.
... Edinburgi: apud Hamilton, Balfour, & Neill, Academiae Typographos. M, DCC, LXII.

3°: \( \times \) A-4 E(3 leaves) [§1 signed], 21 leaves.

Common-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 11.5 cm. Fleur de lys.

EUL: Att. 74.7.15/6
HAMiLTON and BALFOUR.

[Book catalogue.]

Not seen. It was published by October 30, 1762, and contained "many thousand volumes", including collections of history, law, divinity, and of Elzivir and other editions of the classics. The books were to be auctioned at the premises in the New Exchange beginning December 6, 1762 (CM, October 30, December 4).

1762

[HOWE, Charles.]


M DCC LXII.

12°: $^6$ A-$^6$ Q(3 leaves) [§3(-Q2,3 signed)], 99 leaves.

Hamilton and Balfour, printing demy, with cypher. Cut

16.6 x 10.2 cm.

NLS: L.54.g
1762

LAW, John.


8°: x 2 x 2 A-F⁴ G¹ [§1 signed] [x1 half-title], 28 leaves.

Fine-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 11.5 cm. Strasbourg lily.

EUL: Att.74.7.15/7

1762

MACCHIAVELLI, N.

vol. 1—4:[ a-c⁴  d¹ B-5L⁴ $2(-302) signed; 4L1,2 as 'L1', 'L2', 401, 2 as '01', '02', 3A2 as 'Aa2'], 421 leaves.

Press figures: a3r-4 c2v-2 B1v-1 C4r-1 D3v-4 E4v-4
F4v-2 G1v-4 H3v-4 I3v-4 K2v-1 M4r-4 N1v-4 02v-2
P4v-4 Q3v-1 R3r-5 S2v-5 T4r-1 U2v-5 X4v-3 Y3r-5
Y3v-3 23r-5 24r-3 2A1v-1 2B4v-5 2O1v-5 2O2v-3
2D4r-1 2E1v-3 2E3r-4 2F1v-3 2G1v-1 2G3r-3 2H2v-4
2I3r-3 2K1v-1 2L4r-5 2M2v-3 2N4r-2 2N4v-5 2O2v-2
2P1v-1 2Q3v-1 2Q4v-2 2R1v-4 2S3v-1 2T3r-2
2T4r-4 2U3r-2 2U4r-4 2X4r-4 2X4v-2 2Y4v-2 2Z4r-2
3A2v-4 3B3v-4 3C4v-2 3D1v-4 3E1v-5 3F3r-2 3G2v-1
3G3v-5 3H3r-4 3H3v-5 3I3r-1 3K1v-4 3K2v-1 3L3r-2 3L3v-5
3M4r-5 3N1v-5 3O4r-5 3Q3v-4 3R3v-5 3S3r-1 3T1v-1
3U1v-1 3U2v-5 3X2v-1 3Y3r-4 3Z2v-4 4A3v-5 4B1v-4
4C3r-4 4C3v-5 4D1v-4 4E3r-4 4F1r-5 4G3r-5.

vol. 2—4: a-c⁴ B-4M⁴ [$2 signed], 332 leaves, 6 half-sheets of plans inserted, 1 whole sheet, 1 plate.

Cut 25.5 x 20.1 cm.

EUL: D.S. b. 7.6(1-2); *V. 20.47-48.

Publication and price in Edinburgh. November 27, 1762, £1.16s.

for the two volumes bound, or £1.12s. in boards (CM).
1762 [dated 1763]

MONRO, Alexander, primus.


12°: x1 a 4 A-2L6 2M1 [§3(-a3) signed; C3 as 'A3'], 210 leaves. Hamilton and Balfour printing demy, with cypher. Cut 16.6 x 10 cm.


Publication and price. November 17, 1762, 3/- bound (CM).

1762

MONRO, Alexander, primus.


12°: x1 A-B6 C(3 leaves) [§3(-C2,3 signed], 16 leaves. Cut 17.5 x 10.3 cm. Fleur de lys/IV.

EUL: JA.514/1

Publication and price. By December 8, 1762, 4d, "printed so as it may be bound up with the Anatomy," 7th edition (CM).
1762

[NORLE, Charles Frederick.] [Strahan and Neill publish.]
A voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748. Containing an account of the islands of St. Helena and Java. Of the city of Batavia. Of the government and political conduct of the Dutch. Of the empire of China, with a particular description of Canton; and of the religious ceremonies, manners and customs of the inhabitants. Interspersed with many useful and curious observations and anecdotes; and illustrated with copper-plates. London: printed for T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, at Tully’s Head; and T. Durham, at the Golden Ball, near Norfolk-Street, in the Strand.
M, DCC, LXII.

8°: A-8 2⁴ [§4(-Z3,4) signed] [24 recto blank, Directions to binder on verso], 130 leaves, 11 plates.

Press figures: A2v-1 B5r-6 B8r-5 C3v-1 C4v-3
D4v-1 E4v-1 F7v-3 G6v-4 H6v-4 H7v-8 I2v-3
I7v-3 K7v-4 L3r-1 L8v-4 M7v-8 M8v-1 N7v-6 O6v-6
O8r-7 P7r-3 Q8r-1 R5v-2 S3v-2 S6v-3 T6v-8 T7v-2
U5v-3 X8v-6 Y7v-4 Z3r-2.

BM: 280.i.10

Publication and price. November 10, 1761, at London and Edinburgh, 5/- bound. "Booksellers in Scotland may have this book upon the same terms as from the London booksellers, by directing their
commissions, to Patrick Neill, Printer in the College of Edinburgh, he having a number of copies from London for that purpose" (CM).

RE-ISSUED in 1765 with a new title page:

A voyage to the East Indies. Containing . . . copper-plates.

[the description of contents is as before.] By Charles-Frederick Noble, Esq; late Lieut-Governor of Marlbro' Fort. London: printed, and sold by all the booksellers. M.DCC.LXV.

NLS: K.178.o

Printing. Produced by William Strahan for himself and Patrick Neill. Strahan's printing account (BM: Add.Mss.48805A f.100v) reads:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1761</td>
<td>Voyage to the East Indies, 22½ sheets</td>
<td>No 1000</td>
<td>£1</td>
<td>£20.5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Extra Corrections in Do</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.9</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paper 45 Reams @ 14s</td>
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<td>31.10</td>
<td>31.10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paid for Engraving the Cutts 10 Octavo and one 4to Page</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.12</td>
<td>12.12</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Paper for Do 3 Reams</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Printing off Do at 2/6 p 100, the whole making 3 Plates</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£73.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1762

April 8
Received of Mr Becket for 94 sold
@ 3s. £14. 2.
Deducted for Adv. 7. 8.

Decr. 26
Received of Durham for 18 sold
@ 3s. £2.14
Deducted for binding 16. 1.18.

Received of Becket for 34 sold
@ 3s. £5. 2
Deducted for Shipping 11. 4.11.

Sold 25 myself
3.15.

1765

July 4
By 250 of the Voyages, @ 1/6 (at Becketts) 18.15.

By 1/2 Charges of Suit with McLlwraith 5.

By 1/2 transporting Books to Scotland 11.

By 1/2 Charges of Advertising 2.10. 6

By 218 B. Dict. @ 2/9 [i.e. copies of Bailey's An Universal Etymological English Dictionary, 20th edition (1764), sent down by Neill?] 29.19. 6 £73.14.

1762

[RICCALTOUN, Robert.]

12°: π+ A-P6 Q-2 [$3(-B2,H2,L2) signed; B3 as "B5", C2 as "B2"] [Q2 advertisement for Voyage to the East Indies, sold by Patrick Neill], 96 leaves.

NC: F.14/a3

ANOTHER ISSUE:
The imprint is changed to read "Glasgow. Printed for John Orr in the Salt-market. MDCCLXII."

NC: C.b/23(1)

ANOTHER ISSUE:
The imprint is changed to "London. Printed for E. Dilly in the Poultry. MDCCLXII." Signature 'B5' is corrected to read 'B3'; Neill's advertisement, leaf Q2, has been excised in the copy examined.

NLS: ii.6/1.14

Copyright. The whole share was entered at Stationers' Hall on January 8, 1762, for "Patrick & Neal," in error for "Patrick Neill" (Stationers' Register [1746–73] 220).

1762

STENHOUSE, James. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de peripneumonia vera. . . .
Jacobus Stenhouse, Scoito-Britannus. Ad diem 19 Junii. . . .
Edinburgh: apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill, Academiae
Typographos. M D C C L X I I.
8°: x² A-G⁴ D² [$1 signed], 16 leaves.
Common-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 11.5 cm.

BUL: Att.74.7.15/8

1762

STEVENSON, William. [Edinburgh University medical thesis]
Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de diabete. . . . Gulielmus
Stevenson, Hibernus. Ad diem 10 Augusti. . . . Edinburgi:
apud Hamilton, Balfour, et Neill, Academiae Typographos.
M D C C L X II.
8°: x(3 leaves) A-G⁴ H² χ¹ [$1 signed] [x1 half-title,
χ¹ errata], 34 leaves.
Fine-paper state. Cut 19.2 x 11.5 cm. Strasbourg lily.

BUL: Att.74.7.15/9
Although the partnership was dissolved by August 26, 1762, Balfour continued to use Hamilton's name in books published during 1763, and in connexion with the bookshop until 1764.
List of manuscripts and printed sources

A. Manuscripts

Act and Decree Charles Crokat John fferguson and the pro[curato]r fiscales against Mr James MoEwan &o [i.e. James Davidson, Robert Fleming and Gavin Hamilton] 24 March 1732. Edinburgh City Archives: Moses' Bundle 172, no. 6769.


Advocates' Register. Register of the proceedings of the Curators & Keeper of the [Advocates'] Library in Relation to their Office Beginning Anno 1725. NLS: MS. Faculty Records 118.


Balfour, John. Two letters to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. April 13, 1751, saying he has enclosed Montesquieu's Considerations sur les Causes de la Grandeur des Romains and other books. April 25, 1751, with books. SRO: GD 18/5478/1 and 2.

Balfour, John. Three letters to Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, August 28, 1752, February 24, 1753, and July 10, 1757. 
SHO: GD 110/1025/1-3.


Balfour, John. John Balfour v. Mr. Dundas, 1771. [Balfour, after refusing to pay a special town tax, had a warrant served against him; he is petitioning to have the warrant suspended.] SHO: Bill Chamber process no. 53,728.


Balfour, John. Ten letters to Richard Cough, of London, January 12, 1772, to December 20, 1774. NLS: in Adv.Ms. 29.5.7, vol. 1. [The volume includes letter from Dr. W. Cuming of Dorchester, introducing Cough to Balfour, July 31, 1771; Cough's draft letters and replies to Balfour; various other references to Balfour.]
Balfour, John. Letter to William Strahan, February 27, 1773, relating to Andrew Stuart and the Douglas Cause. NLS: MS.5368, f.82.


Balfour, John. Petition for George Inglis, Nov. 19, 1777. Answers for John Balfour Bookseller in Edinburgh to the Petition of George Inglis of Redhall, Nov. 29, 1777. SRO: Bill Chamber process no. 43809. [Relates to Bogsmill paper mill.]

Balfour, John. Letter to the Earl of Buchan, asking for support to make his son bookseller to the Society of Antiquaries, December 28, 1780. EUL: La.II.588. [Balfour had a "paper war" with William Creech over the appointment.]

Balfour, John. Bond of caution and surety (by Elphinston Balfour) on behalf of John Balfour, William Gibson, merchant, and Mrs. Orr, relict of Alexander Orr, Writer to the Signet, October 3, 1782. [Concerns a Town Council levy against Balfour and the others for repairing damages, pretended to have been sustained by and in consequence of the burning of a Popish Chapell &c in the City of Edinburgh.] SRO: Bill Chamber process no. 23,646.


Balfour, John. 19 May, 1795, application by James Dickson, Elphinston Balfour, John Paterson, and William Creech, for appointment as Printers to the University of Edinburgh; enclosed, John Balfour's resignation, 1794. Edinburgh City Archives: McLeod's Bundle 184, Bay D, no. 42. [This MS was missing from its place when I called for it.]


Bogsmill paper mill. See above under Balfour v. Inglis, 1777.


Copyright. For MSS in the copyright disputes see Chapter IV.


Donaldson, Alexander. For MSS in his proceedings against, i, Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, and, ii, against John Reid, see above p. 172 n.

Dulany Papers. See under Hamilton, Alexander.

Edinburgh City Archives. Stent book 1759-69, northwest district. [Taxes of the Hamilton and Balfour bookshop.]
Edinburgh City Archives. Town Council minutes.

Edinburgh University. College Matriculation Roll.

Edinburgh University. College Minutes, I (1733-90). There are papers relating to the University, including faculty minutes of 1732, in Doc.1.4/1.


Hamilton, Gavin. Reference to appointment, May 16, 1729, by General Assembly as Collector in Scotland for the reformed German Protestant congregation at Copenhagen. NLS: MS.3431, f.30.

Hamilton, Gavin. Commission Mr Robert Henderson Bibilothecare to


Hamilton, Gavin. Express letter to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, December 30, 1735, referring to enclosure from Mr. Horsley. SRO: GD 18/5409/2.


Hamilton, Gavin. "Unto the Right Honourable the Lord Provost Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh the Petition of Gavin Hamilton (October 26, 1743)." [Relates to stones he bought for the proposed Observatory.] Edinburgh City Archives: Moses' Buildle 202, no. 7287.

Hamilton, Gavin. Seven letters to Lord Milton (Andrew Fletcher), the Lord Justice-Clerk, from Innerwick, September 25, 1745, and from Edinburgh, January 31, 1746, February 4, 1746, February 22, 1746, June 25, 1746, August 22, 1746, and January 18, 1748. NLS: Saltoun Correspondence.

Hamilton, Gavin. Letter to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, April 23, 1747. SRO: GD 18/5103/3. [With two letters from Thomas Ruddiman to Clerk at GD 18/5105/1-2.]

Hamilton, Gavin. Memorandum, undated, regarding Scottish weights and measures. SRO: GD 18/5989.


Hamilton, Gavin. "Unto the Right Honourable the Lord Provost Magistrates and Town Council of the City of Edinburgh the Petition of Gavin Hamilton Bookseller there (March 1, 1757)." [Relates to his purchase of a tenement on behalf of the city.] Edinburgh City Archives: McLeod's Bundle 105, no. 97.


Hamilton, Balfour and Neill vs. Alexander Donaldson. For MSS in this court case see above p. 172 n.

Hamilton, John, of Maryland. Two letters (later copies) to Gavin Hamilton, Maryland, May 7 and October 6, 1755. NLS: MS.6506 pp. 18-22.


Home, Francis. Letter [to Andrew Millar], June 20, 1758, regarding the sale of the property of his work. Royal Society of Edinburgh, Hume MSS VIII no. 16.
Johnston, John, apprentice printer. Indentures of apprenticeship with Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, effective May 23, 1750; signed by the three partners. Edinburgh City Archives: Moledod's Bundle 113 no. 12.

Johnson, Thomas. Letters to Professor Charles Mackie of Edinburgh University. From The Hague, October 13, 1719; August 6, 1720; August 23, 1720; January 21, 1721; January 23, 1722; May, 1722; July 31, 1725. From Rotterdam, October 19, 1728; June 19, 1731; December 11, 1731; August 12, 1732; July 24, 1733; December 22, 1733. BUL: in La.II.91 [Letters to Charles Mackie].


Lamb, Ebenezer, servant to John Balfour and Company. Witnesses protested bill, April 2, 1754. SHO: Register of Deeds, Dalrymple, 175.

MacBuen, James. See above under Act and Decree, 1732.

Maitland, William. For MSS relating to the Bailie Court case and his History of Edinburgh, see above pp. 264-6 and n.


Millar, Andrew. For MSS relating to his copyright prosecutions see Chapter IV.


Registers of Deeds. Scottish Record Office.


Reid, John, vs. Alexander Donaldson. For MSS relating to this court case see above p. 172 n.


Rochead, Bailie James. Refers to John Balfour's zeal at end of letter from Lord Provost George Drummond to Lord Milton, September 28, 1754. NLS: Saltoun Correspondence.


Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Minutes of general meetings, vol. 4, January 11, 1736, to November 15, 1759. SRo: GD 95/1/4. The contemporaneous "directors' minutes" I consulted are at GD 95/2/7.

Stationers' Company. Registers of the Copies of Books. i, 1710-46 (I consulted a xerox research-copy of the MS that was in private hands). ii, 1746-73 (microfilm of the MS in Bodleian Library).

Strahan, William. Ledgers. The two I used were Folio ledger, 1739-68, BM: Add.Mss.48800; and Small ledger and commonplace book, 1752-68, BM: Add.Mss.48803A.


Strahan, William. Letter to William Robertson, Principal of Edinburgh University, December 6, 1776. NLS: MS.3942, fols. 229-300. [There are other Strahan letters in this collection.]


B. Printed sources

An Act for Erecting Several Public Buildings in the City of Edinburgh; and to Impower the Trustees Therein to be Mentioned to Purchase Lands for that Purpose; and also for Widening and Enlarging the Streets of the said City, and Certain Avenues Leading Thereto. n.p., 1753.

Analecta Scotica. 2nd series. Edinburgh, 1837.


Articles of Agreement by the Journeymen Printers of Edinburgh, for Raising a Fund for the Supply of their Insigent Members, Widows, and Children. Edinburgh, 1758. [Copy in Edinburgh City Archives.]


The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer. Wednesday, August 21, 1793.


The Caledonian Mercury. 1720—.


Carnie, R. H. "Scottish Printers and Booksellers: a study of source-material." The Bibliothec, 4 no. 6 (1965), 213-27.


Copyright. For the Session papers, Decisions, Judges' reports and the House of Lords appeal, etc., see Chapter IV.


Donaldson, Alexander. Some Thoughts on the State of Literary Property, Humbly Submitted to the Consideration of the Public. London, 1764. [Copy in SL.]

Donaldson, Alexander. For printed sources in his law suits with i, Hamilton, Balfour and Neill, and ii, John Reid, see p. 172 n.

Drummond, Mrs. William. Memorial Concerning the Property of the Edinburgh Medical Essays. [Edinburgh, 1756.] [Copy in SL.]


The Edinburgh Evening Courant. 1718—.

The Edinburgh Evening Dispatch. March 16, 1903.


Foxon, D. F. "Oh! Sophonisba! Sophonisba! Oh!". Studies in Bibliography, 12 (1959), 204-213.

Foxon, D. F. Thoughts on the History and Future of Bibliographical Description. Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1970.

Gaskell, Philip. "The Early Work of the Foulis Press and the

Gaskell, Philip. A New Introduction to Bibliography. Oxford,
1972.

The Library, 5th series, 12 (1957), 34-42.

Gaskell, Philip. "Printing the Classics in the Eighteenth Century."
Book Collector, 1 (1952), 96-111.

Cough, Richard. British Topography. Or, an historical account
of what has been done for illustrating the topographical antiquities

Grant, Sir Alexander. The Story of the University of Edinburgh
During its First Three Hundred Years. 2 vols. London, 1884.


Gray, W. Forbes. "The Royal Exchange and Other City Improvements."
The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, 22 (1938), 1-27.


[Hamilton, Elizabeth.] Short Memoir of Gavin Hamilton, Publisher
and Bookseller in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century. Aberdeen
(printed for private circulation), 1840.

Hamilton, Gavin, and John Balfour. A Vindication of Hamilton &
Balfour Booksellers in Edinburgh, from the Charge Brought against
Them in A Memorial Concerning the Property of the Edinburgh Medical
Essays. Edinburgh, 1756. [Covers in SL, RE.]

Hamilton, Balfour and Neill. For the printed papers in the dispute
with Donaldson see p. 172 n.


Howard, Alison K. "Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau in Eighteenth Century Scotland; a check list of editions and translations of their works published in Scotland before 1801." The Bibliotheca, 2 no. 2 (1959), 40-62.


Lawrence, R. M. Burns’s School Reading Book. Aberdeen, 1931.


Neill, Patrick. For printed papers in the *Edinburgh Chronicle* libel case, in which Neill was defender, see above pp. 389–90 and n.


Reid, John vs. Alexander Donaldson. For the printed sources see above p. 172 n.


The Scots Magazine. 1739—.

Sharp, L. W. "Charles Mackie, the First Professor of History at Edinburgh University." The Scottish Historical Review, 41 (April, 1962), 23-45.


The Woodhouselee MS: a narrative of events in Edinburgh and district during the Jacobite occupation, September to November 1745, ed. A. Francis Steuart.