

A History of the Walter Scott Publishing House

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Abstract

Sir Walter Scott of Newcastle upon Tyne was born in poverty and died a millionaire in 1910. He has been almost totally neglected by historians. He owned a publishing company which made significant contributions to cultural life and which has also been almost completely ignored. The thesis gives an account of Scott's life and his publishing business.

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Dec 2nd 1899

Walter Scott, aged 73, from *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 2nd December 1899, p 7.

Introduction

The most remarkable fact concerning Walter Scott is his almost complete neglect by historians since his death in 1910. He created a vast business organization based on building and contracting which included work for the major railway companies, the first London underground railway, the construction of docks and reservoirs, ship building, steel manufacture and coal mining. When he died his estate was worth nearly £1.5 million. He also owned a publishing house which made a significant impact on British cultural life.

At first the output of the publishing house was mainly reprints in their simplest form. These were famous books still in demand which were out of copyright and therefore in the public domain, the texts of which Scott issued without introductions or any other additional material. The next step was to publish series of selected editions from the works of famous authors, each volume with a critical introduction. There was one series for poetry and one for prose. Then came a series of original biographies, most of which were about authors from the poetry or prose series. There was thus a very gradual development of the publishing programme in which each new stage built on what was already in place. In all this time, too, the lists and the contacts with editors and authors were expanding. One success led to another and authors who had enjoyed good sales introduced their friends to Scott. Soon an important range of original books was being published which included Bernard Shaw's *Quintessence of Ibsenism* and his edition of *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, George Moore's *Esther Waters*, the first English translations by William Archer of Ibsen's plays, and early translations of Tolstoy's works. There was a series of original scientific works under the general editorship of Havelock Ellis which included more important works, like Karl Pearson's *Grammar of Science* and John A. Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, as well as translations into English of the works of leading European scientists. The general



editor of the prose series was Ernest Rhys who went on to do identical work for J.M. Dent as the editor of Everyman's Library.

The history of the publishing house, like the life of its owner, has also been almost totally neglected. In 1907 Walter Scott was made a baronet, but within ten years of his death he was just about forgotten, even in Newcastle upon Tyne where he had lived and where his business interests, including publishing, were centred. This thesis is an attempt to tell his story and particularly to uncover as much as possible of the history of the publishing house and to describe the nature and range of the publications.

Chapter 1 deals with Walter Scott's life and his business interests other than printing and publishing. Chapters 2 to 7 cover, more or less chronologically, the history of the publishing house, and Chapters 8 and 9 discuss its organization and financial aspects. Because the publishing house changed its name over the years from Walter Scott to Walter Scott Ltd to the Walter Scott Publishing Co Ltd, the single word 'Scott' has been used to refer to any of these three organizations. Appendixes follow the main text with a list of Walter Scott's known construction contracts, a list of commercial printers used by Scott besides his own printing department, and a transcription of the surviving company accounts. A complete bibliography of all known Scott publications is also included.

In tracking down the bibliography of Scott imprints, letters were sent to about 650 libraries, and copies of the books turned up mainly in Britain and North America, but also in Australia and New Zealand, South Africa, Norway, Denmark, Japan and Hawaii. I have been helped by such a large number of librarians that it would be unfair to single out any of them for special thanks. The Scott family, and particularly the present baronet Sir John Scott, have given assistance from the start, including finding and then allowing unrestricted access to family papers. I am grateful to the people who

sent replies to my request for information in the local Newcastle press; one reply was from Robert Gibson Graham who had been an apprentice in Scott's bookbinding department in the 1920s and who took me round the surviving factory building and explained its layout. Professor Matthew Bruccoli of the University of South Carolina has given a great deal of help with the bibliography and a great deal of encouragement with the historical study. The biggest debt of all, however, is owed to my supervisor, Mr David Stoker, who has read every word with the most painstaking attention. Without his critical comments the thesis would have floundered; he showed me where I should be going.

Chapter 1: The Life of Sir Walter Scott

On 15th August 1882 the *Publishers' Circular* announced:

Mr. Walter Scott has purchased the business hitherto carried on by the Tyne Publishing Company, Limited, London, 14 Paternoster Square, and Newcastle-on-Tyne.¹

Readers of the *Publishers' Circular* would have remembered The Tyne Publishing Co from the previous year when the business finally collapsed after a few hectic months of expansion which outstripped financial reality. It is unlikely that the readers would have heard of Walter Scott, a successful builder and contractor without formal education, without any previous connexion with the book trade, and despite his name, without the slightest connexion with literature. By this time Walter Scott was almost 56 years old and, seen from the point of view of his career up to 1882, the purchase of a publishing company was a very peculiar change of direction.

Scott was born at Abbey Town,² or Holme Cultram as it was sometimes known,³ a village about seventeen miles from Carlisle in Cumberland. Little is known of his parents. His father, Samuel Scott, was married to Mary Martin on Christmas Day, 1824, and Walter

1 *Publishers' Circular*, 15 August 1882, p 702.

2 Information about Walter Scott's early life is taken from his obituary notices and conversations with his great grandson.

3 In the 1821 census Abbey Town had a population of 758. The place-name varied at this time and besides Abbey Town and Holme Cultram it was also known as Abbeytown, New Abbey, Abbey Holme and Abbey Junction.

was born on 17th August 1826. Samuel was landlord of the Wheatsheaf Inn and possibly also a farmer, running the two occupations from the same premises. Walter's grandfather was probably simply a farmer. In any event, the family was anything but wealthy. Walter's childhood was hard and was to become harder. He soon had to learn to fend for himself and to earn his keep because less than two weeks after his seventh birthday his father was dead.

Walter's formal education consequently began and ended in the village school and by the time he was fourteen years old he was apprenticed to a stone mason. A printed application form survives, although from much later in Scott's lifetime, which gives a few further details. It is a proposal for membership to the Institution of Mechanical Engineers⁴ and states, 'Mr. Walter Scott served his time as a stone mason from 1840 to 1846 at the works of Mr. Jos. Relph, Wigton, Cumberland'. The statement is probably correct, despite being dated 6 June 1887 when Scott was 60 years old and had been out of his apprenticeship for more than 40 years. Wigton is the nearest town to Abbey Town, but it is still about six miles away so it is possible that Walter lodged with Mr. Relph,⁵ at least during the week. Scott had the right physique for work as a stone mason. He was naturally strong and well-built and grew to be over six feet tall. When he was only sixteen he became a champion wrestler in the local Cumberland and Westmorland style.

4 Copy now in the Institution of Civil Engineers. Incidentally, the proposer's signature on the form is that of Thomas Elliott Harrison who had worked with Robert Stephenson and carried out early railway work in the North-east. He was president of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1874.

5 Unfortunately Joseph Relph does not appear in the 1841 census nor in the local directories, however Scott would have been unlikely to forget the name of his first employer.

As soon as he was out of his apprenticeship in 1846 he found work helping to build the new Caledonian Railway. It was hard, physical work, carried out in all weathers. Scott moved with the line as it extended northwards until the Scottish border was crossed where he was made foreman for the construction of the station buildings at Gretna Green. Two years later in 1848 he was in Newcastle upon Tyne working on the Central Station buildings, and probably employed by the contractor, James McKay.⁶ It was in Newcastle the following year, at the age of 23 that he set up in business on his own as a builder and contractor.

To be singled out for promotion to foreman over a gang of itinerant building workers before he was 22 indicates something of Scott's character. From the start his trade as a mason set him above the other workmen and as Terry Coleman points out masons were the highest paid of all the men involved in railway construction. When Scott began work in 1846 masons were paid thirty-three shillings a week, bricklayers thirty shillings, navy pickmen twenty-four shillings, and navy shovellers twenty-two and sixpence.⁷ But of course, Scott worked alongside bricklayers and navvies and shared their way of life. They would all have lived rough and moved with the job as it progressed, often through remote country away from the restraints of society, and from law and order. Coleman has said of railway navvies in the 1840s, 'They were heathens in a Christian country, they drank, they had many women but few wives, broke open prisons, and were not received in good

⁶ The architect for the station was John Dobson who signed authorizations (now in the PRO at RAIL 509/79) for payment for building work to Messrs James McKay of Blackstock.

⁷ T. Coleman *The Railway Navvies*, p 61.

society ... They were compared to an invading army.⁸ They were unlikely to buckle down to work willingly and rather more would be needed from the foreman than appeals to their better nature. His ability to control such wild and unruly men must have helped Scott's survival as a businessman. But he was unstoppable. In many respects he was the epitome of a nineteenth century self-made man (he would have delighted Samuel Smiles) and he would have summoned every ounce of his energy to fight against the least sign of personal failure.

His business was soon winning large contracts for churches, hotels and all kinds of municipal buildings. For example, in May 1857 the foundation stone was laid for the Mechanics' Institute in North Shields⁹ which Scott completed, to the design of the architect John Johnston, on 12th August the following year.¹⁰ This is the earliest recorded contract undertaken by Scott so far discovered; there must have been earlier work to keep the business going but presumably not grand enough to warrant notice. There was no shortage of work after this date. In 1860 he began work on Dr. Rutherford's Church in Bath Lane, Newcastle, and on 2nd March 1864 he laid the foundation stone for St Stephen's Church in Carlisle.¹¹ Work on the Douglas Hotel in Neville Street, Newcastle, began in 1874.¹² Two years earlier Scott had made a start on Grainger Street West in

8 *ibid*, p 21.

9 *North and South Shields Gazette*, 21 May 1857, p 3.

10 *ibid*, 12 August 1858, p 3.

11 *Carlisle Journal*, 4 March 1864.

12 Building plans dated 1874 in Tyne and Wear Archives, T186/5077.

Newcastle city centre and he went on to erect most of the buildings in the street.¹³ The ceremonial opening of the New Tyne Theatre and Opera House took place on 23rd September 1867 at which the proprietor, Mr George Stanley said, 'To the enterprising contractors of the building, Messrs. T. and W. Lowry and Walter Scott, I am under deep obligations; not only for the substantial and workmanlike manner in which they have fulfilled their contract, but also for the energy and earnestness with which they have exerted themselves to enable me to keep faith with the public by opening to-night'.¹⁴

All this work constituted a substantial business but it was only part of Scott's activity. Railway and dock construction seems to have been his major interest and Scott never lost his original contact with railway work. In 1867 he began to extend a branch line to the Quayside in Newcastle for the North-Eastern Railway. The work involved tunnelling on a heavy gradient and building retaining walls seventy feet high. On 1st June 1872 the extension line from Saltburn to Brotton was opened; it was 3 1/4 miles long including a viaduct of eleven arches, about 150 feet high and 783 feet long, to take the line over Skelton Beck on the outskirts of Saltburn.¹⁵ This work was also carried out for the North Eastern Railway which, of course, supplied a large part of his work throughout his career, but Scott was also undertaking contracts for other companies. In 1877 he began the

13 Information supplied by Local Studies Libraries, Newcastle upon Tyne Central Library.

14 *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 24 September 1867, p 3.

15 K Hoole (ed) Tomlinson's *North Eastern Railway*, pp 659-60.

construction of a new line about seventeen miles long from Northampton to Rugby for the London and North-Western Railway.¹⁶

The firm was also involved in the construction of docks, sometimes over massive areas. In 1872 work began on Burntisland Docks in the Firth of Forth and was completed in 1875 at a cost of about £100,000.¹⁷ In 1876 an even bigger project began with the building of Hartlepool Docks covering over 25 acres.¹⁸ Still bigger were the docks at Ayr which covered about 30 acres. Ayr Docks were constructed using a method of land reclamation which first required the building of a wall to keep back the sea. There is a long and detailed account of the construction of the docks in the *Ayr Advertiser*¹⁹ from which an idea of what was involved in this kind of work can be gained:

The contract was signed in May 1874; in June the following year the first pile of the barrier to enclose the first section of the Dock from the sea was driven; in May, 1875, the first section of the Dock area was enclosed; in June following excavation began; and in November of that year ... the first stone of the masonry of the walls was laid, on the east side of the Dock. Building and excavating operations were carried on without interruption during the winter following. The Dock walls, which are of the height of 33 feet, are formed of heavy blocks of dressed freestone of various colours - a number of quarries having been laid under requisition for heavy blocks ... The contractor leased the Bell Rock quarry, and made a line of railway to it along the shore, which was worked by a small locomotive. The granite

16 Obituaries in *North Mail* and *Newcastle Chronicle*, 9 April 1910.

17 *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, 9 April 1910.

18 Robert Wood *West Hartlepool: the Rise and Development of a Victorian New Town*, p 147.

19 *Ayr Advertiser*, 18 July 1878, p 5.

blocks used for the coping, stairs, etc., of the Dock, were obtained from quarries in Cornwall. The contractor was fortunate enough to come upon a capital bed of white freestone in the Dock itself from which a large number of fine blocks were obtained. The getting of this building material at hand enabled the work to be gone on with more rapidly than might otherwise have been the case. The walls are splendid specimens of mason work. Sir James Fergusson, in a speech he delivered, bore testimony to this fact when he said that "he supposed that masonry of a more substantial kind, or composed on the whole of larger blocks, had never been seen." Others competent to form an opinion have given similar testimony.

The ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Dock took place on the 19th of September, 1876. By this time about three-fourths of the walls of the Dock proper had been completed, and a commencement had been made with the Entrance, where the masonry is of the most massive kind, to provide against the enormous strain at that point. At the place where the gates are hung the masonry is of solid [sic] granite blocks, some of them weighing as much as seven tons. One of these ponderous blocks, in the second layer on the east side, formed the foundation-stone. A cavity was made in this stone for the reception of local newspapers, coins, documents relating to the Dock, etc., and the cavity was covered with a stereotype plate, with letterpress on both sides, containing the names of the Trustees at the time, and a record of the circumstances connected with the laying of the foundation stone ... The floor at the part where the gates turn is built with solid masonry of enormous strength laid on a bed of concrete. In front of the gate on the Dock side is a level layer of heavy freestone blocks, called the platform, on which the gates turn as they open inwards, moving on rollers back into a recess built for them in the wall. Behind this platform is the sill, composed of solid granite blocks of the height of 3 feet 6 inches, - or 1 foot 6 inches higher than the platform, - against which the bottom of the gates rest. To sustain the enormous strain of the whole water in the dock, - often at a much higher level than the water outside, - the sill, in addition to its own strength, is supported behind by what is called an apron, composed of several courses of heavy blocks of freestone, radiated in form, so as to give the strength of an arch ... After the entrance, the

walls of the Tidal Basin, formed of masonry similar to that inside the dock, were proceeded with and completed, - the west wall being joined to the timber pier which now takes the place of the old north pier, and the east wall joined to the existing harbour wall. Before this point had been reached, operations had already been commenced for the removal of the old North Pier, which proved to be a work of considerable time. By the month of October, 1877, the interior and walls of the dock having been examined and passed, pumping was stopped and water allowed to accumulate inside the dock. On the 25th of that month, the water having risen to a height of 14 feet, the sluices were opened, and the water allowed to flow from the dock into the tidal basin. By the 27th sufficient water had run into the basin to admit of the dock gates being opened. This was done as a prevention against the tide breaking through the portion of the old pier and coffer dam across the entrance to the tidal basin then in course of removal. Nor was the precaution taken many days too soon; for on the 10th of November the tide burst through the coffer dam, and an immense volume of water rushed into the dock. Had the gates been closed at the time they would have inevitably have been burst open, and great damage might have resulted; but as it was, no harm was done.

The men on this project were lucky and the newspaper report found it unusual enough to comment:

It is very satisfactory to be able to add regarding a work of such magnitude that only one or two accidents of a not very serious character happened to the workmen employed at it. Its construction has not been associated with a single fatal mishap.

Scott was awarded the contract at £132,500, and in addition he was paid about £5200 for transporting material from Bell Rock Quarry to make up the northern embankment and about £3000 for building the foundations for hydraulic hoists, making a total of £140,700 for the job, about £4.25 million in today's values.

As with the building of the New Tyne Theatre the customers seem to have been completely satisfied with Scott's work:

The selection of a contractor proved a most fortunate one; for the work was carried through and completed by him in a most substantial and satisfactory manner, under the superintendence of his most able and energetic manager, Mr. J.T. Middleton ... Of the Dock Engineer, Mr. Meik, and the contractor, Mr. Scott, we will only say that the Dock will form a splendid and enduring monument of their skill and capacity.

Scott, too, was pleased with J.T. Middleton's work. Later, in 1882 Middleton and Scott's eldest son, John, became directors and soon after a new company, Walter Scott and Middleton Ltd., was formed.

By the late 1870s Scott would have described himself in a word as a contractor, and not long before contractors had acquired an atrocious reputation for themselves. By the middle of the nineteenth century nobody but their hangers-on would have praised their actions in the way that these reports praised Scott. The *Railway Times* in 1857 was calling them 'unscrupulous adventurers' and 'brigands' bent on 'nefarious attacks on established property'.²⁰ They had accumulated money and power and used both ruthlessly. It is true that the construction of railways and similar large projects throughout the nineteenth century had intermittently attracted a varied assortment of rogues and double-dealers. Unscrupulous contractors were not on their own. The railway companies were not without blemish and they were sometimes joined by financiers and land owners, all out to 'maximise' profits.

²⁰ *Railway Times*, 3 July 1857.

The economic problems of 1866, culminating in the collapse of the financier Overend and Gurney, also put most of the old style contractors out of business. New contractors, like Scott, took their place but, to begin with, lacked their predecessors' power base. There is certainly no evidence that Scott went in for any kind of sharp practice or was anything other than an honest businessman throughout his career. All his contracts appear to have been acquired in response to invitations to tender. Nonetheless, Scott understood how the system operated and always made it work in his favour. He had had the advantage of being surrounded by it as he developed. He began working in 1846 during the Railway Mania; set up in business as the Mania came to an end, in the same year as George Hudson, the Railway King, was ruined; and had steadily expanded through the aftermath when railway construction was 'very plainly a business of making money; and making it, only too often, by fraudulent means. The crash of 1866 discredited railways more than any other group of enterprises.'²¹ A further advantage for Scott was that a large part of his work came from the North Eastern Railway which was the most prosperous and stable company. Like Scott, the North Eastern had survived all the difficult times and both parties knew the realities of the business. It is unlikely that the North Eastern would have stood any nonsense from a contractor.

All the activity by Scott described above had taken place before 1882, and although it has a remarkable variety and there is a huge amount of it, yet it has an obvious cohesion. Building construction and civil engineering are the areas concerned, with the emphasis on railway and dock construction -- always on a large scale.

²¹ Jack Simmons *The Railways in England and Wales 1830-1914*, p 82.

Then on 15th August 1882 there was the sudden lurch sideways into printing and publishing. For the moment, though, the main line of Scott's later career will be described leaving how he became a printer and publisher to be discussed in the next chapter.

His earlier career, of course, was not abandoned. It was just that the two strands from now on ran side by side. What is more, building construction and civil engineering remained the chief contributors to Scott's overall business. He continued to build churches; the foundation stone for St James' Congregational Church, Newcastle, was laid on 4th July 1882 and the church was opened by Dr Joseph Parker on 12th February 1884.²² At almost exactly the same time (August 1882 to December 1884) he was building St George's Church, Cullercoats.²³ Municipal buildings continued to appear, for example, in 1886 work started on St George's Hall, Jesmond,²⁴ and in 1890 Scott rebuilt the workhouse at Gateshead which had originally been opened in 1841.²⁵ He built the bank in Collingwood Street, Newcastle, in 1888 for Hodgkin, Barnett, Pease, Spense and Co which became Lloyd's Bank in 1903 or 1904 and is now occupied by the Allied Irish Bank.²⁶ The building of hotels continued; he carried out extensive alterations to the Central Station Hotel, Newcastle, in 1889.²⁷ This was part of large alterations to the Central Station

22 Tyne and Wear Archives, TWAS PA702, and *St James' Past and Present*

23 David Lunn *A Guide to St George's Church, Cullercoats*

24 Tyne and Wear Archives, T186/11501.

25 Information supplied by Gateshead Public Libraries.

26 Tyne and Wear Archives, T186/12969.

27 *Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore and Legend*, October 1889, pp 464-5.

which included widening the line from two to four tracks and the reconstruction of the Dean Street arch; Scott was also employed on this work. By 1905 he had become the developer, rather than simply the contractor on someone else's behalf, for the Crown and Mitre Hotel, Carlisle.²⁸

Railway construction, as usual, remained the mainstay of the business. Contracts of every size and complexity were fulfilled for the North Eastern Railway (branch lines at Stockton, Bishop Auckland, Consett, Fighting Cocks, alterations at Darlington, reconstruction of the Ouseburn Viaduct), for the London and North Western Railway (branch lines at Huddersfield, Stalybridge, Daventry, Leamington), for the Great Eastern Railway (a new line to Cheshunt, widening of the main line at Stratford and Bow in London, the 40 mile long 'Essex line' to Southend, Maldon and Burnham-on-Crouch), and for the Great Western Railway (branch line at Honeybourne, the Aynho and Ashendon cut-off). For the period 1871 to 1914 Scott and Middleton Ltd completed at least 25 railway contracts, a total exceeded by only two other contractors.²⁹ It is estimated that during this time the company would have had a similar number of railway contracts overseas.³⁰ The firm is known to have completed a railway in Uruguay

One project for which Scott has received some recognition was the construction of the first electric 'tube' underground railway. London had had an underground railway since the opening of the Metropolitan Railway in 1863, but it was always near the surface and had usually been constructed using a 'cut and cover' method. The problems with cut and

28 *Carlisle in Camera 2*, Carlisle: Public Libraries, 1989, p 17.

29 L. Popplewell *Contractors' Lines*, p80.

30 By Dr Popplewell in correspondence, 15 February 1991.

cover were that it was expensive and, since whole streets had to be closed to traffic while the work was in progress, it disrupted everyday life. There had also been a tube subway under the Thames opened in 1870 which had operated for a short time with a carriage hauled by cable over rails. However, Scott built the first operational railway, bored and excavated using the 'Greathead shield' (perfected by J.H. Greathead and still the basis of modern tunnelling technique). The result was the City and South London Railway, opened by Edward, Prince of Wales, on 4th November 1890. The line ran from King William Street, under the river, to Stockwell, a distance of just over three miles. Excavating London's underground became another large source of income for Scott over the following years. He built several extensions to the system and the company was still employed on this work in the mid-1920s.³¹ The great number and variety of projects mentioned above are only a selection of the work carried out by the company and documentary evidence exists for many more undertakings (see Appendix 1).

Further developments in a business of this size naturally took place, but they were not unexpected developments like the move into printing and publishing. New interests grew almost organically from the existing business. The control of supplies of raw materials was one line of expansion and quarries, a brickworks and a saw mill were acquired. He had become a director of the Blyth Shipbuilding Co in 1883 and two years later the company launched a 621 ton steamer schooner, named 'Walter Scott'.³² Soon after he became a baronet a second ship, more than twice as big at 1465 tons, was launched, this time named

31 For a full account see J.R. Day *The Story of London's Underground*, pp 39ff.

32 *Blyth Weekly News*, 15 August 1885.

the 'Sir Walter Scott'.³³ Before long Walter Scott was collecting directorships in other companies and at the time of his death he had a seat on the boards of at least eighteen companies including iron and steel works, coal mines and shipyards.

Scott's personal life, of course, was developing alongside all this commercial activity. At the beginning of his career, when his business was established and he was confident that it would provide a livelihood, he turned his attention to domestic matters. He was married in 1853, not to any recent acquaintance or local Newcastle girl, but to Ann Brough of Bromfield in Cumberland. Bromfield was the next parish to Abbey Town where Walter was born so it is likely that he had known Ann for some time, possibly for most of his life.

On 23rd August 1854 their first child, John, was born. Five more sons and two daughters followed: Ann Mary born on 14th October 1856, Walter on 1st November 1858, Fanny Elizabeth on 30th July 1861, Joseph Samuel on 6th August 1863, Mason Thompson on 29th December 1865, Charles Thomas on 4th March 1868, and William Martin on 27th March 1870.³⁴ It seems that at least two of the sons had similar physiques to their father. Both Mason Thompson and William Martin were outstanding rugby players and both were capped for Cambridge University and England.³⁵

33 'Sir Walter Scott' was completed in August 1908; information from Northumberland County Libraries.

34 *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, London, 1913.

35 Mason Thompson played for England in 1887 against Ireland (when England lost), and in 1890 first against Scotland and then against Ireland for a second time. England won both the 1890 matches. William Martin played for England in 1889 against the New Zealand Natives -- a match which England won somewhat controversially. See J. Griffiths *The Book of English International Rugby 1871-1982*, London: Willow Books, 1982, pp 47, 53, 54, and 51.

All the children survived to adulthood, but two of the sons, Joseph Samuel and Walter, did not outlive their father. Joseph Samuel died of pneumonia in 1906 when he was 43 years old, possibly as a result of taking part in an attempt to rescue miners from a flooding mine. The younger Walter was present during the construction of the Northampton to Rugby line in 1880. On 23rd September he was standing beside the track as a locomotive was passing when without warning the engine toppled over, crushing Walter to death. For obvious reasons, Walter Senior found the sudden and violent death of his namesake at only 22 years of age particularly hard to bear. Later he arranged for a memorial stone to be erected at the spot where the tragedy happened.

Yet another blow fell on Walter (Snr) in 1890 when his wife Annie died. They had been married for 37 years. However, in 1892 Scott had come to terms with his loss and married again. His second wife was a widow, Mrs Helen Meikle.

Walter Scott also took part in public life. He was elected to Newcastle City Council on 12th December 1881 to represent Elswick North Ward for the Conservatives. He served on the council for many years although his heart never seems to have been in local politics and he resigned his seat in 1890.³⁶ However, he was still active enough in 1909 to be on the platform with the other celebrities when the foundation stone of the Northern Conservative Club, Newcastle, was laid.³⁷ Another public service was his work as a Justice of the Peace for Northumberland; he was magistrate for Tindale Ward and

³⁶ *Newcastle Chronicle*, obituary, 9 April 1910.

³⁷ *Daily Sketch*, 20 October 1909, p 10.

frequently sat on the Hexham Bench.³⁸ Finally in 1907 all his achievements were recognised and he was made a baronet in the King's Birthday Honours.

There are few published comments about Walter Scott's character and personality and almost all of them come from his obituary notices in which it is more difficult than usual for authors to be objectively critical. His appearance, according to the *Evening Standard* was striking, he was 'singularly handsome with a fine head and white hair and beard'.³⁹ There are a small number of portraits, all from his old age, but they confirm the impression of the *Evening Standard* and one in particular also gives an idea of his stature (see frontispiece)

The *Evening Standard* notice continues, 'he was a delightful companion, full of anecdotes and possessed a fund of humour and a shrewd knowledge of mankind' which seems to submerge the real Walter under the obituary writer's finer feelings. Nor do these remarks square with those which appeared in some earlier notices in newspapers from the north of England. There were hints then that Scott was not fond of talking for talking's sake, for example in comments made in connection with his service on Newcastle council. 'In the local parliament his remarks have been short and to the point' wrote the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*⁴⁰ while the *North Mail* agreed 'he did not intervene on many occasions in the debates'.⁴¹ Scott, clearly, did not find council meetings congenial, but other comments

38 *Hexham Weekly News*, obituary, 15 April 1910.

39 *Evening Standard*, 9 April 1910.

40 *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 12 January 1889.

41 *North Mail*, 2 December 1899.

suggest that he may have been naturally taciturn. The *North Mail* obituary said, 'He was a man of many parts and few words, who was seldom tempted into making a speech, though he never made a bad one; a brisk, brusque Cumbrian ...'⁴²

Reports from the north of England newspapers appear to provide the more reliable, albeit short, descriptions of Scott's character. The *Newcastle Chronicle* obituary said he was 'modest, unassuming and genial. He preserved through life much of the rugged characteristics of the Cumbrian, particularly the dialect of his native county; and his countenance bore always the evidence of shrewd good-humour.'⁴³ The best description of him was written by a journalist, and old friend, writing under the pen-name 'Whist' in the *North Mail*:⁴⁴

Most men are conquered by circumstances, but Sir Walter Scott was one of the strong men who conquer them ... his was the strong will, keeping the emotions under subjection. A hard and steady worker, he had the power of sticking to his purpose, as also the greatest of all powers of intellect which education, if it cannot actually give, can work upon and improve -- the power of concentrating attention so as to judge accurately ... In other words, he had a clear head.

Whist also says he had never known a better chairman of meetings, who always started the meeting exactly on time and who could 'get through so much work in so short a time'; he had 'punctuality, earnestness, method, humility, candour, benevolence, and cheerfulness'. Whist's tribute ends, 'He is a great man that we have lost, because he was a good man.'

⁴² *ibid*, 9 April 1910.

⁴³ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 9th April 1910.

⁴⁴ *North Mail*, 9 April 1910, in the column 'Looking around'.

Scott was also undoubtedly a generous benefactor and two local newspapers mention his contributions to charities and churches.⁴⁵ He donated a large amount of money for extensions and renovations to St James' Church, Benwell, near his home in Newcastle and 'other churches and undertakings for the benefit of the people received his hearty support.' Similarly, he seems to have followed with enthusiasm the custom of celebrating the completion of large projects. The company finished work on new docks at Silloth in Cumberland in early July 1885 and:

After the opening the contractors ... entertained at luncheon the leading railway officials and a few friends in the Queen's Hotel. The chair was taken by Mr. Walter Scott, and the vice-chair by Mr. J. Thomas Middleton ... The workmen ... who had been employed at the new dock work, along with their wives, to the number of about 200, were entertained to a knife and fork tea at the Solway Hotel, and in the evening a dinner was given by the contractors to about 90 of the workmen employed in the dock works at the Queen's Hotel, Silloth. At the close the contractors gave money prizes for a number of sports which took place on the Green.⁴⁶

Obviously as time went on Scott became a very rich man. He owned two large houses, one in town -- Bentinck House, Benwell, Newcastle, and the other in the country -- Beauclerc at Riding Mill, a village about twelve miles from Gateshead on the Hexham road. His life from middle age onwards, compared to that of his childhood and early manhood, had changed almost beyond what seems possible, even if he did remain a 'brisk, brusque Cumbrian'. Everything to which he turned his hand had been, not just a success,

⁴⁵ *Newcastle Journal*, obituary, 9 April 1910, and *Newcastle Chronicle*, report of the funeral, 12 April 1910.

⁴⁶ *Carlisle Journal*, 3 July 1885.

but an immediate, overwhelming, bonanza of a success. Such men who rose from nothing were not unknown in the late nineteenth century, but they were exceedingly rare. In his old age he began to take a holiday in the early spring each year at Menton on the south coast of France to the east of Monte Carlo. He was staying there at the Hotel du Cap Martin in 1910 when on Friday 8th April he was taken ill and died. He was 83.

His funeral took place at 11.30 am on 11th April in Menton while two memorial services were arranged for the same time, one at St James' Church, Benwell, and the other at St James' Church, Riding Mill. On the day after his death obituaries began to appear in newspapers and journals. Some idea of his importance and standing in contemporary society can be seen from the fact that these notices are found in 78 different publications ranging from the local papers in the North East to local papers throughout Britain such as the *Aberdeen Journal*, *Birmingham Post* and *Evesham Journal*, to national dailies such as *The Times*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Financial Times*, to trade journals such as *The Bookseller*, *Building News*, *Electrical Times*, *Engineering* and *Publishers' Circular*. The texts of several of the obituaries are similar because they were syndicated, but if there had been no interest in Walter Scott they would not have been syndicated at all.

The full extent of his wealth became known when his will was proved on 18th June 1910. The gross value of the estate was £1,424,130 3s 6d. As Jack Simmons points out there were only four contractors who died before the First World War and left over a million pounds: Thomas Brassey, George Wythes, Sir John Aird, and Sir Walter Scott.⁴⁷ But Scott's achievement is still more remarkable. There was a determination in society,

⁴⁷ Jack Simmons *The Victorian Railway*, p 119.

following Samuel Smiles, to see self-made men at every turn. Large numbers of biographies from full-length books to newspaper articles and obituaries, tried to prove, whatever the facts, that the subject rose from rags to riches. It is true there were great opportunities for entrepreneurs but people who created large fortunes almost invariably came from fairly successful families. A business was often started by the father or an elder brother so that it was inherited when many of the most difficult problems and the worst threats to survival had been overcome.⁴⁸ Even Sir John Ellerman who died in 1933 leaving £37 million inherited £600 at the start of his career. According to W.D. Rubinstein, in the whole history of Britain up to 1939 there have been 'only fifteen millionaires [who] could be described as self-made men', that is 'those who began in poverty or in the working class'.⁴⁹ Sir Walter Scott is one of Rubinstein's fifteen.

Despite this remarkable life, despite his work most of which is still visible today in railways, docks, public buildings and so on, despite the output of his publishing company, despite his massive success, within a few years of his death he was sinking from public memory. His various companies continued for a time but they soon began to falter when his drive had been taken away. R.K. Middlemas in *The Master Builders*⁵⁰ described contractors as 'the hidden men of history' and the description is perfectly correct for Sir

48 see for example Chapter 7 'The making of the self-made man', pp 182ff in T. Koditschek *Class Formation and Urban-Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850*.

49 W.D. Rubinstein *Men of Property: the Very Wealthy in Britain Since the Industrial Revolution*, pp 125-6.

50 R.K. Middlemas *The Master Builders*, p 19

Walter Scott. By the mid-twentieth century Walter Scott had disappeared into almost complete obscurity.

The fate of his publishing company followed a very similar path.

Chapter 2: Walter Scott's Start as a Publisher

During Walter Scott's first year as a publisher there were few changes to the régime he inherited from the Tyne Publishing Company. Then in September 1883 a full page advertisement appeared in the *Bookseller*¹ in which a new direction became apparent. Seventy titles were listed. The Tyne Publishing series of 'Children's Graphic Picture Books' was there, but some other Tyne titles were missing and new ones had been added. Of the remaining 57 adult titles, only eleven derived from Tyne Publishing. There were two new series, 'Bijou Books', six titles published and six more in preparation at sixpence each, and a series of 'Novels by Standard Authors', 27 titles with illustrations at 2/6d each.

The standard authors included Dickens, Smollett, Scott and Lord Lytton, and an assortment of popular writers, most now considered to have no literary merit.² All 27 titles were apparently in print and two more were promised for November. The books were printed by Scott so these reprints are therefore likely to have derived from stereotypes

¹ *Bookseller*, 5 September 1883, p 857.

² The full list of standard authors is: Dickens, *Pickwick Papers*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Oliver Twist*, Smollett, *Roderick Random*, *Peregrine Pickle*, Captain Marryat *Jacob Faithful*, Scott, *Ivanhoe*, *Kenilworth*, Lord Lytton, *Paul Clifford*, *Eugene Aram*, *Ernest Maltravers*, *Alice*, *Emily Grace Harding*, *A Mountain Daisy*, *Susan Ferrier*, *Inheritance*, *Mary Howitt*, *Wood Leighton*, *Mary Brunton*, *Self Control*, *Jane Porter*, *Scottish Chiefs*, [Henry Brooks Adams], *Democracy*, *Thomas Henry Lister*, *Arlington*, *Elizabeth Caroline Grey*, *Sybil Lennard*, *John Galt*, *Lawrie Todd*, *Robert Mackenzie Daniel*, *Cardinal's Daughter*, *Percy Bolingbroke St John*, *Alice Leslie*, *Eugene Sue*, *Refugees of Martinique*, *Catherine Grace Frances Gore*, *Man of Business*, *Thomas Colley Grattan*, *Heiress of Bruges*, and *George Robert Gleig*, *Katherine Randolph*.

acquired as a job lot (although from where has not been discovered).³ It was an easy way for a new publisher to make an impact, but obviously something needed to be done fairly quickly. The plan must have been to catch the attention of booksellers, to demonstrate that a new publishing house had arrived, and to revive the cash flow -- and all at as low a level of risk as possible. The plan was so successful that reprints in all varieties became the main source of income for the rest of the publishing company's history.

In order to explain how Walter Scott arrived at this point it is necessary to give some consideration first, to the history of the Tyne Publishing Company, secondly, to why and when Scott became involved with publishing, and thirdly to how Scott set his stamp on the new company.

The Tyne Publishing Company

The Tyne Publishing Company was not the originator of the business which Scott acquired. The whole enterprise began before 1866 with a firm known (appropriately enough for an originator) as Adam and Company. The earliest records so far discovered of Adam and Co are in the Public Record Office⁴ showing that a limited company was formed on 1st December 1866. This company resulted from the buy-out of an even earlier firm since one of the objects in the Memorandum of Association was:

³ The derivation of stereos for only one book (George Borrow's *Bible in Spain* from Ward Lock) has been traced and this book was published by Scott much later in about 1900.

⁴ PRO: BT31/1316/3407.

GRACE DARLING

THE HEROINE OF THE FARNE ISLES.



ADAM & CO

14 IVY LANE, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.



ADAM & CO

... to purchase the extensive Plant, Machines, Stereotype Foundry, Stereotypes, and Working Stock of Messrs. Adam & Co., Printers and Publishers of 7 Charlotte Square, Newcastle on Tyne ... for £5000.⁵

The new company, at least, was managed by David Christian Bowman Adam. The firm started with an office in Newcastle at 7 Charlotte Square but by 23rd March 1867 they had moved to 4 Clavering Place. The new address is found on their title-page imprints and entries in directories.⁶ By 1872 they had an agent in London,⁷ and by 1876 they had opened their own London office at 14 Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row⁸ and this address then began to appear in their imprints (see illus). The Newcastle office moved on two further occasions, to Grainger Street in 1876⁹ and to Neville Street the following year¹⁰ and in addition, in 1876 their entry in *Kelly's Directory of Stationers, Printers, Publishers,*

5 *ibid.*

6 See John S. Roberts *The Life and Explorations of David Livingstone*, copy in the National Library of Wales, *Ward's Directory Comprehending the Towns of Newcastle ...* Newcastle: R. Ward, 1869/70 to 1875/76, and *Kelly's Directory of Stationers, Printers, Publishers, Bookmakers and Paper Makers*, 1872.

7 *Kelly's Directory of Stationers, etc*, 1872.

8 *Kelly's Directory of Stationers, etc*, 1876, and an advertisement in the *Bookseller*, 3 July 1879, p 658.

9 *Kelly's Directory of Stationers, etc*, 1876.

10 Ward 1877/78.

Bookmakers and Paper Makers states that their 'works' were in Felling, just across the river from Newcastle.¹¹

On 20th June 1879 Adam and Co decided to wind-up voluntarily,¹² but this appears to have been at the prompting of the authorities because the PRO file contains a letter dated 7th August 1878 from Adam's solicitors stating that, 'In 1874 [Adam and Co] became defunct' and that 'Annulment of the Company was properly carried out.' A second letter from the solicitors on 14th August admits that the annulment was not properly carried out but the matter would be put right immediately. On 18th December the *Publishers' Circular* announced that Adam's affairs were in the hands of a receiver.¹³ On 31st December and again on 17th January 1880¹⁴ the receiver, Mr Frederick R. Goddard, was advertising the sale of the assets including the stock of seventeen publications as well as presentation plates, portraits, oleographs (*ie* lithographs made to look like oil paintings), birthday, Christmas, and New Year cards, Sunday reward cards and pictorial toy books. The advertisement also offered stereos, litho stones, letterpress and litho printing machines, and bookbinding machinery.

11 Felling became part of Gateshead in the local government reorganisation of 1974 and before that it was under the administration of County Durham. It was never part of Newcastle. Both Tyne Publishing and Scott print 'Felling, Newcastle-on-Tyne' in their imprints because that was the recognised postal address.

12 PRO BT31/1316/3407.

13 *Publishers' Circular*, 18 December 1879, p 1328.

14 *ibid*, 31 December 1879, p 1373, and 17 January 1880, p 64.

The first solicitors' letter shows that Adam and Co became 'defunct' due to financial problems, perhaps the manager's personal financial problems. The letter states:

Mr. D.C.B. Adam who was the principal shareholder ... with the consent of the other shareholders executed a Trust Deed transferring all his private effects as a Publisher and also that portion of the effects which belonged to the Limited Coy to Trustees on behalf of his Creditors.

It is difficult to understand why the manager would make such a sacrifice of his own assets if he was not personally at fault. The letter also states that the business continued after the agreement with Mr. Adam: 'The estate [= the business?] has been carried on since that date and 12/6d in the £ has been paid'.

Judging from the Memorandum of Association and the items of stock advertised by the receiver, Adam and Co were general printers and bookbinders who also supplied all kinds of printed material for presentations or gifts. Without further evidence, the business seems to have had a reasonably secure foundation with the specialization in gift materials providing income from a niche in the market but supported by jobbing printing and binding should the niche ever disappear. The publications on their own seem much less secure and would probably have provided only a small contribution to the whole income of the company. The titles advertised by the receiver (*History of Southern and Central Africa*, Bunyan's *Select Works*, *Brown's Self-Interpreting Bible*, *Douay Bible*, *Welsh Bible*, Hume and Smollett's *History of England*, 3 vols, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, *Life and Times of Garibaldi*, *Grace Darling*, *Life and Times of General Grant*, *Habberton's Helen's Babies*, *Fleetwood's Life of Christ*, *Rutter's Life of Christ*, *Life and Explorations of Livingstone* in a range of different formats and in a Welsh translation, *Wilson's Tales of the Borders*, 3 vols, and the *History of the Turko-Russian War*) are mainly religious or uplifting biographies, but Hume and Smollett, *Wilson's Tales*, and the *Turko-Russian War* do not

fit the pattern. The two items in Welsh do not fit either but are not too remarkable; in the nineteenth century the Welsh language market was sufficiently large for publishers outside the principality to become involved (probably the most notable example was Blackie & Son of Glasgow). The main problem with Adam's publications is that they were almost all very large and expensive books which could not be expected to sell in large numbers.

It may be that Adam were hoping to hang on to their Felling factory because they still had an entry in the 1880 edition of Kelly's directory in which they are no longer listed as publishers, only as printers, and their only address is the works at Felling.¹⁵ In any case, by September 1880 a new régime was established, as the *Bookseller* announced:

Newcastle-on-Tyne -- The business of the late firm of Adam and Co., including the buildings, machinery, plates, copyrights and printed stock, has been purchased by a joint-stock company formed for the purpose, who will trade as the Tyne Publishing Company, Limited. They will carry on business as general printers, lithographers, publishers, binders, and manufacturing stationers.¹⁶

Documents in the PRO¹⁷ show that Tyne Publishing was founded on 18th December 1878 to continue 'the business of Publishers, Printers, Lithographers, Bookbinders, Stereotypers, and Rim and Clasp Manufacturers, now carried on at Felling' and confirms

¹⁵ David C. B. Adam was still in Newcastle in 1882. There is a copy of a letter to him from the Newcastle MP, Joseph Cowen, in Newcastle Public Library (Cowen Collection F44, pp 3B-4B). Cowen agrees to subscribe to a portrait print of Sir Edward Baines which presumably Adam was selling and there is also a suggestion that Adam is in financial difficulties.

¹⁶ *Bookseller*, 3 September 1880, p 835. There was also a shorter notice in *Publishers' Circular*, 1 September 1880, p 678.

¹⁷ PRO: BT31/2478/12695.

the facts and implications found in the Adam and Co documents and their solcitors' letter because the business 'now carried on at Felling' came about:

under the provisions of a Deed of Arrangement dated 30th December 1874, made between Adam & Company (Limited) of the first part; David Christian Bowman Adam of Newcastle on Tyne Printer and Publisher, of the second part; David Burnett of the firm of Alexander Annandale & Sons of Dunbar ...; Oscar Frauenknecht of the firm of Kronheim & Co., Shoe Lane, London; John Jacob Flich of J.J. Flich & Son, Buslingthorpe, Leeds, and Benjamin Noble of Newcastle on Tyne Bank Manager, of the third part, [all those] being respectively Creditors of the said Limited Company of the fourth part; [all those] Creditors of David C.B. Adam of the fifth part.

The *Bookseller* notice implies that Tyne Publishing immediately occupied all Adam and Co's final premises (*ie* Felling, Neville Street in Newcastle, and 14 Ivy Lane in London), but this was not quite the case. Tyne Publishing's first advertisement appeared a few pages after the notice of their formation in the same 3rd September issue of the *Bookseller* giving the address as 'Newcastle-on-Tyne: Felling. London: 28 Budge Row, Cannon Street, E.C.'¹⁸ Then about six weeks later the *Publishers' Circular* announced that they had moved from 28 Budge Row to 14 Ivy Lane.¹⁹ In Newcastle it is possible that Tyne Publishing moved into the Neville Street office, but Ward's directory for 1881/82 (presumably compiled by early 1881) gives St Nicholas' Square as their Newcastle address. The only fixed point was the factory at Felling.

¹⁸ *Bookseller*, 3 September 1880, p 871.

¹⁹ *Publishers' Circular*, 15 November 1880, p 994.

Tyne Publishing was in business for less than four years,²⁰ formed at the beginning of 1879 and taken over by Scott in August 1882. There is also fairly clear evidence that they were struggling against inherited debts and were over-reaching themselves throughout their brief existence.

Two cases came up against them in Chancery,²¹ the first in May 1881 and the second in January 1882. The first case involved a Barnsley papermaker, Charles Marsden and Sons, who had bought one hundred Tyne Publishing shares. Presumably Marsden got their money back but they complained about their names appearing on the list of shareholders because they 'were induced to apply for the said shares by misrepresentations as to the subscribed Capital of the said Company'; they also claimed costs. The court agreed Tyne Publishing was at fault but added, 'this Court doth not think fit to make any order as to the Costs of the said application'. It seems, then, that Tyne Publishing were not seriously at fault. The second case in Chancery concerned a petition by Evan Rowland Jones, probably for outstanding contractual obligations since Jones was a Tyne Publishing author.²² On this occasion the court ordered, 'the costs of the Petitioner and of the said Company and of the said Liquidator of this application be taxed by the Taxing Master and be paid out of the assets of the said Company'.

20 Not long enough ever to have an entry in Kelly's directory, but to complicate matters further Kelly's directory lists a Tyne Printing Works in every edition from 1872 to 1939, but they were never in Felling and, despite the similar name, were a separate concern from either Adam, Tyne Publishing or Scott.

21 Papers in PRO BT31/2478/12695.

22 *The Emigrant's Friend*.

At the same time, Tyne Publishing appear to have been trying to spend their way out of trouble. Advertising started modestly but by November 1881 they were taking double-page spreads in the *Bookseller*, and at this time prosperous, long-established firms seldom took even a whole single page. Then, in addition to the flurry of addresses already mentioned, there was yet another move. In October 1881 the *Publishers' Circular* announced: 'The Tyne Publishing Company, Felling, Newcastle-on-Tyne, to meet the requirements of their rapidly-increasing business will shortly move to larger and more commodious premises, 14 Paternoster Square.'²³ A few days later the *Bookseller* announced that the move to 14 Paternoster Square had taken place.²⁴

The requirements of a 'rapidly-increasing business' include more than the provision of 'larger and more commodious premises' and it soon became clear that other important requirements had been neglected. Resources had been stretched too far and by January 1882 Tyne Publishing had 'been obliged to stop payment, and to call a meeting of the share-holders for the purpose of winding up.'²⁵ In February the company appeared in the *Bookseller* under the heading 'Voluntary Winding-up of Public Companies' with T. Bowden, Accountant, Newcastle-on-Tyne, as liquidator.²⁶ A further result of the Evan Rowland Jones case was a decision that the voluntary winding-up should continue, but under the supervision of Chancery.

²³ *Publishers' Circular*, 1 October 1881, p 798.

²⁴ *Bookseller*, 5 October 1881, p 881.

²⁵ *ibid*, 5 January 1882, p 5, and PRO papers.

²⁶ *Bookseller*, 1 February 1882, p 90.

Thus, Adam and Co were publishers and printers with offices in Newcastle and London and a factory at Felling. They were in liquidation in 1874 and ceased trading as publishers in December 1879 but may have continued as printers at Felling for a short time. Tyne Publishing were established in December 1878 specifically to buy out Adam and Co and continue the business. They had a succession of offices in Newcastle and London and kept the factory at Felling. Tyne Publishing went into liquidation in January 1882 and were acquired by Scott in August 1882.

Scott's Acquisition of Tyne Publishing

Besides the documentation above there is good evidence that the announcement in the *Publishers' Circular* for 15th August 1882 quoted at the beginning of Chapter 1 is correct:

Mr. Walter Scott has purchased the business hitherto carried on by the Tyne Publishing Company, Limited, London, 14 Paternoster Square, and Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Firstly, there is no mention in the book-trade press of Walter Scott before this date nor any advertisements by him. It is only after August 1882 that his name begins to appear. Secondly, Scott's early advertisements in 1882²⁷ list identical titles to the last advertisements from Tyne Publishing in 1881.²⁸ Finally, Tyne Publishing ended with offices in London at 14 Paternoster Square and in Felling and Scott began at these same

²⁷ *ibid*, 6 November 1882, p 1109, and 2 December 1882, p 1237.

²⁸ *ibid*, 5 October 1881, pp 968-9, and 5 November 1881, pp 1134-5.

addresses. However, Scott's acquisition of Tyne Publishing was not as tidy as this evidence suggests. There are two difficulties; one is that none of the statements goes any way towards explaining the sudden and unexpected addition to Scott's interests, and the second is a problem with the date when the acquisition took place.

Several accounts stress the unexpectedness of the move into publishing: 'he considerably astonished his friends when he took over a moribund printing concern',²⁹ 'Mr. Scott's energies have also found vent in a direction altogether unexpected',³⁰ 'The entry of a successful contractor into a business [publishing] which is understood to require a long and special training is without precedent.'³¹ Others mention that the take-over occurred because Tyne Publishing was in financial trouble, 'This business had ... been taken over as a bad debt',³² 'Accident in the form of a bad debt led [Scott] into the publishing world',³³ 'One of his feats was to take over a languishing local printing and publishing establishment.'³⁴ Yet nobody explains why Scott did it.

There is one other account which lacks proof but seems plausible and which is associated with the family of one of Scott's employees. John Inglis Lothian worked for the publishing company until July 1888 when he emigrated to Australia. There he worked as Scott's

²⁹ *Northern Echo*, report of the reading of the will, 18 June 1910.

³⁰ *Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend*, October 1889, p 465.

³¹ *Manchester Guardian*, obituary, 9 April 1910.

³² H. Ellis *My Life*, London: Heinemann, 1940, p 164.

³³ *Evening Standard*, obituary, 9 April 1910.

³⁴ *Western Mail*, obituary, 9 April 1910.

representative and gradually built up his own business which developed into the present-day Lothian Books, publishers' representatives and publishers in their own right. The archives of Lothian Books have been deposited in La Trobe Library at the State Library of Victoria. They include notes made by Mr. John P. Holroyd, a retired bookseller from Melbourne, which make more sense of the take-over. The notes state that Tyne Publishing arranged for Walter Scott to build a large new factory for them at Felling. Tyne Publishing, however, did not have sufficient capital to pay for the new building, but at this stage in his career Scott did. It was Scott therefore who agreed to act as mortgager, rather than a bank or a financier, and he put up the money for Tyne Publishing. The new building could only have exacerbated the financial difficulties into which Tyne Publishing were hurtling. They were unable to keep up their repayments to Scott and it seems he then decided to foreclose and repossess the Felling factory.

All the other accounts have Scott suddenly leaping into publishing in mid-career. The Holroyd explanation is far more satisfactory because in the beginning Scott was not behaving out of character, he was simply a builder accepting another contract. Presumably when he repossessed the Felling factory it had a staff and was full of printing and binding machinery. If all this is true, it seems that Scott thought it was less trouble to revive a going concern instead of trying to find a buyer for a business which had just failed.

A satisfactory explanation of Scott's take-over has now fallen into place but a small problem concerning the Felling factory remains. Holroyd's statement that Scott built a *new* factory for Tyne Publishing cannot be completely correct since the entry for Adam and Co in the 1876 edition of *Kelly's Directory of Stationers, etc.* shows there was already an operational printing and binding factory in Felling even before Tyne Publishing was in business. It is also possible that the Felling factory existed before Adam and Co was founded in 1866, and it may have been the location of the 'extensive plant' which Adam

and Co bought. Nevertheless, Holroyd could still be substantially correct, and the 'new' building for Tyne Publishing may have been a large extension or even have involved the demolition of the original Adam factory, especially if it had existed since before 1866. Holroyd's explanation, then, remains acceptable.

The problem over the date of Scott's entry into publishing is seen in James Clegg's *International Directory of Booksellers*,³⁵ which asserts that he began in 1875, not 1882. In compiling his directory Clegg would probably have followed the normal present-day procedure of directory editors of asking those wishing to be included to supply information for their own entries. It is possible therefore that the date 1875, rather than 1882, came from Scott himself.

A further complication arises from an account of the early history of Lothian Books. A history for the firm's centenary was issued in 1988 (S. Sayers *The Company of Books*) which states that the founder was born in Dunbar in 1851 and moved to Newcastle in December 1877 to work for Scott. 'When he left the Dunbar branch of the English Linen Bank to join Walter Scott's publishing company at Felling, outside Newcastle-on-Tyne, John Lothian was 26'.³⁶ Although there is no documentary evidence to confirm this story, the implication here is that Walter Scott's publishing company was already in existence in Felling in 1877.

³⁵ James Clegg *International Directory of Booksellers* ... Rochdale, 1910. Scott has an entry in the 1903 edition of Clegg's directory but a date of foundation is not included.

³⁶ S. Sayers *The Company of Books: a Short History of the Lothian Book Companies 1888-1988*, p 2.

The discrepancies over the date of Scott's acquisition remain but there are precise, documented dates for all the significant changes, none of which confirms 1875 as Scott's entry into publishing as stated in Clegg's directory. Adam and Co were in business in 1875 and continued for at least another three years. There is no known direct connexion between Scott and Adam. Furthermore, there are two lists of shareholders in Tyne Publishing for 1879 and 1880 and Walter Scott does not appear in either of them. Thus, there is no known direct connexion between Scott and Tyne Publishing until 1882. The entry in Clegg's directory therefore must be wrong, as must the statement in Sayers' *The Company of Books* that John Lothian joined 'Walter Scott's publishing company at Felling' in 1877. Lothian could have worked for Scott in 1877 but not in the publishing company.

Further evidence of the continuity from Adam to Tyne Publishing to Scott is clear from advertisements and publications. The similarity of the final Tyne Publishing advertisements to the first from Scott has already been pointed out. In addition, there are eleven pages of advertisements for Adam titles at the end of their edition of John Habberton's *Helen's Babies*.³⁷ Exactly the same titles were advertised in the Tyne Publishing edition of Lewis Apjohn's *Richard Cobden and the Free Traders*, although now at different (but not always increased) prices. These same titles again were all issued by Scott. Furthermore, of the seventeen titles offered for sale by Adam's receiver fourteen were later to be included on Scott's list.

37 British Library 12703.aa.11. The titles are: [John S. Roberts] *The Life and Explorations of Dr. Livingstone*, [Eva Hope] *Grace Darling, the Heroine of the Farne Islands*, Bunyan's *Select Works*, Fleetwood's *Life of Christ*, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Wilson's *Tales of the Borders*, *History of Southern and Central Africa*, Brown's *Self-Interpreting Family Bible*, and Hume and Smollett's *History of England*.

GRACE DARLING

THE HEROINE OF THE FARNE ISLES.

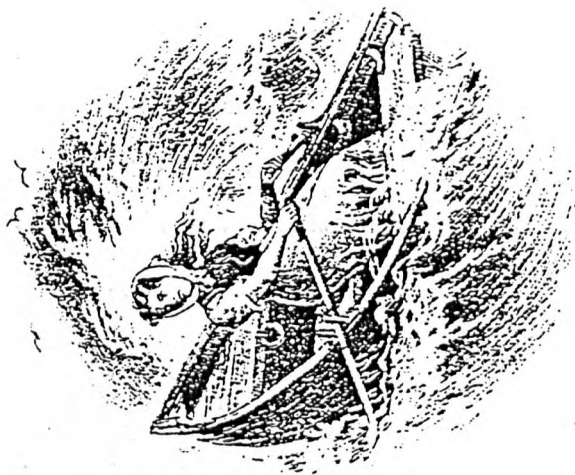


A. ADAM & CO.

14 IVY LANE, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

GRACE DARLING

THE HEROINE OF THE FARNE ISLES.



WALTER SCOTT & CO.

14, PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, AND NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

Occasionally copies of the same title from Tyne Publishing and Scott have been found printed from the same stereo plates, for example, the bulk of the text (pp 17-301) in Lewis Apjohn's *William Ewart Gladstone*.³⁸ Copies of the same title from Adam and from Scott also exist which are from the same plates, for example, the Adam edition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress and Other Works*³⁹ is substantially the same as the Scott edition of *Pilgrim's Progress and Holy War*.⁴⁰ Sometimes a title-page has simply been amended to accommodate the new publisher, as in Eva Hope's *Grace Darling* (see illus).

Reviving the Publishing Company

Tyne Publishing's list was not extensive or particularly impressive. They had a range of gift books 'suitable for birth-day and wedding presents, Sunday School prizes, etc.' which included several biographies. Among the biographies were books on Dr. Livingstone and Grace Darling, both available in six different binding styles at prices from sixpence to five shillings. The Livingstone biography was also available at twenty-one shillings and thirty shillings. The prices of the gift books carried on even higher with Brown's *Self-Interpreting Family Bible* at the top of the range at fifty-five shillings -- an extremely expensive book for 1880. A few miscellaneous titles, for instance Evan Rowland Jones *The Emigrant's Friend*, two novels and some children's books made up the rest of the list.

38 Copies of both in the British Library, Tyne Publishing edition: 10601.bbb.41; Scott edition: 012602.m.4/31.

39 British Library 3044.c.2.

40 British Library 1602.353.

Tyne Publishing appear to have made very few changes to Adam's business even though they knew it had already ended in failure. Despite their lavish advertising they added only a small number of titles which left the overall shape of the list unchanged. Besides the two novels and the work by E.R. Jones, they simply added more biographies and gathered four of them into a new series, 'Memorable Men of the Nineteenth Century'. They also continued to sell the same artists' prints, oleographs and lithographs, the same greeting cards, and carried on the same stationery and jobbing printing work.

It was not in Scott's nature to allow affairs to drift as Tyne Publishing had done. Having decided to keep the printing and publishing company it had to be made to succeed. One of Scott's talents was an ability to choose the right men to work for him, particularly as managers, and J. Thomas Middleton has already been mentioned in this respect. Middleton was often the site manager in charge of large contracts, such as Ayr Docks, in the early days. He was extremely good at the job and won Scott's appreciation to such an extent that a new contracting company, Walter Scott and Middleton Ltd., was formed in 1882. The same plan was adopted for the new business.

There is no doubt that in the beginning Scott knew nothing about printing and publishing, and the obvious solution was to hire somebody who did as general manager. The man chosen was David Gordon who appears to have been already employed by Tyne Publishing. The earliest surviving list of Tyne Publishing shareholders in the PRO is dated 1st December 1879 and shows that the firm had £30,000 capital divided into 3000 £10 shares. 'D. Gordon, Providence Place, Felling, Artisan' owned five of these shares. The second list of shareholders is dated 31st December 1880 and includes 'David Gordon' with his five shares, now of Cramer Street, Gateshead, and now described as a bookbinder. Information about Gordon is found in only two other sources. One is a passage in Havelock Ellis' *My Life*:

'[Tyne Publishing] had just been taken over ... by a great building contractor ... Walter Scott, an ignorant and uncultivated man but with an insight into business ability, and he had chosen a manager and given him fairly full powers. This manager, Gordon, of little education but whom Dircks once described to me as 'a Napoleon of business', quickly made the publishing house of Walter Scott a great success'⁴¹

The second source is Sayers' *The Company of Books* but the information is even briefer than in Ellis. It is reported that when John Lothian had read Ernest Rhys' autobiography *Everyman Remembers* he remarked to his brother that Rhys 'does not do justice to our old, forceful friend David Gordon, who gave him his first chance, and all the experience he gained in editing the Camelot Series'.⁴²

These descriptions of Gordon as a man 'of little education' fits with the shareholder's occupation as 'artisan' and then 'bookbinder', and the 'forceful' 'Napoleon of Business' who quickly 'made the publishing house ... a great success' agrees with the early development of Scott's business. Shares to the value of £50, which because of the financial state of Tyne Publishing, must have been paid for rather than coming to Gordon as a perk, was a substantial amount for a bookbinder to own. The shares demonstrate Gordon's faith in the business and his commitment to make it succeed.

The *Manchester Guardian* was the only contemporary commentator to understand what made the publishing department succeed. The obituary for Scott explained it 'was due to

41 Havelock Ellis *My Life*, p 164.

42 Sayers, *op cit*, p 7.

pure business instinct -- to the judicious expenditure of capital and the selection of shrewd and intelligent managers and advisers'.⁴³

It seems, then, that Scott rescued the business and provided new capital, and everything else was left to David Gordon. The paucity of surviving evidence, however, means that any account of the early history of the firm is largely speculative. Tyne Publishing's premises and their list of publications were taken over, but what about members of staff and production plant? The jobbing printing department survived, but what contribution did it make at this early stage, or for that matter, at any other period? Was Gordon in charge of the printing department? How many people worked in the publishing department?

In the publishing office, staff would be needed to take charge of editorial work, book design, liaison with production departments, marketing, accounts, and secretarial work. In the early days several jobs may have been done by the same person and in the beginning David Gordon may have done them all. Gordon did not remain alone for long because Will H. Dircks (see Chapter 4), a close friend of Ernest Rhys, became a full-time employee with editorial, and perhaps other, duties soon after Scott took over.

It is not known if there was a long-term publishing plan but the pattern that emerged shows a steady and logical development and gives every indication of having been carefully thought out. Each new phase of development built on what had already been achieved. Firstly the list and markets established by Tyne Publishing continued, then a collection of reprints of standard works was published. These were the most basic of reprints with nothing added to the original editions and they remained in Scott's list as the fundamental source of income for the rest of the firm's history. The reprints were soon

⁴³ *Manchester Guardian*, 9 April 1910, obituary.

arranged into series of titles. The next step was to branch out from simple unadorned reprints by the addition to each title of a critical introduction putting the work and its author into the perspective of cultural history. Two series, the Canterbury Poets and the Camelot Classics, followed this line. Finally original works were introduced but at first these too built on the earlier series. The first original publications made up the Great Writers Series of biographies of well-known authors, many of whose works were represented in Canterbury Poets, Camelot Classics or the reprints. The earlier publications were now well established and none were allowed to go out of print, so presumably they provided an increasing source of income. With steady finances behind it, the publishing company had now reached the stage at which greater risks could be taken and gradually more original works were issued. Each of these developments will be discussed in the following chapters.

Initially most of Tyne Publishing's titles became Scott's publications, which is understandable because business had to continue during the period of transition. After the first notice in August 1882 nothing at all was heard from Walter Scott's publishing company until November when a half-page advertisement appeared in the *Bookseller*.⁴⁴ This was repeated with slight amendments in December in both the *Bookseller*⁴⁵ and the *Publishers' Circular*.⁴⁶ Just four books were featured and all were biographies: Eva

⁴⁴ *Bookseller*, 6 November 1882, p 1109.

⁴⁵ *ibid*, 2 December 1882, p 1237.

⁴⁶ *Publishers' Circular*, 6 December 1882, p 1262.

Hope's *Our Queen*,⁴⁷ Howard Blackett's *Life of Garibaldi*, and William Walters' *Life of Robert Moffat* and *Life of C.H. Spurgeon*. The *Life of Garibaldi* went back to Adam and Co but the other three were Scott originals, although they were hardly extending Tyne Publishing's range of pious biographies designed to uplift their readers.

Silence fell again until the September 1883 advertisement mentioned at the beginning of this chapter with its seventy titles, indicating that the business was ready to grow out from its Tyne Publishing roots. It seems that Scott's new manager had taken charge.

⁴⁷ Scott's advertisements were coy about Eva Hope's authorship. A single advertisement in the *Bookseller* for 5 April 1884, p 411, includes, '*Life of General Gordon* by the author of *New World Heroes*, *New World Heroes* by the author of *Our Queen*, and *Our Queen* by the author of *Grace Darling*' All the books mentioned were written by Eva Hope.

Chapter 3: Reprints: the Back-Bone of the Business

Above all else Scott needed a return on his investment in his new publishing firm. Naturally the early stages had to be taken carefully and it seems likely that some time would be spent trying to discover why both Adam and Tyne Publishing had failed. During this initial period the outward form of the business was not changed. It may be that Scott or David Gordon decided that Adam and Tyne Publishing had had a fundamentally sound business which failed chiefly through lack of capital. In any case, the strategy was to continue with the Tyne Publishing list and slowly expand from that base.

David Gordon chose reprints as the first means of expansion from the original business. Reprints had been an easy option for all publishers since the idea of perpetual copyright was abandoned in 1774.¹ From then onwards copyright on a work ran for a limited time and there was free and unrestricted access to print and publish any book which was out of copyright. A further advantage for publishers was that there were no awkward authors to deal with, or to pay. Reprint series began to appear immediately after 1774 and continued throughout the nineteenth century. There was a slight surge in reprint activity between about 1880 and 1910 when Routledge and Cassell, as well as Scott, began series, and which, as J.M. Dent pointed out,² was due in part to the 1842 Copyright Act. The new terms which the 1842 act introduced were that the period of copyright should last seven

¹ For further details see, for example, J. Feather *A History of British Publishing*, pp 80-83.

² H.R. Dent (ed) *The House of Dent 1888-1938*, p 124.

years after the death of the author or 42 years after the date of publication. This last clause meant that the work of many of the great Victorian authors began to become available in 1884 (1842 + 42), just as Scott was starting and it was this new freedom which David Gordon immediately exploited. From September 1883 onwards the majority of titles in Scott's catalogue were reprints.

A reprint could take many forms: a duplication of an earlier edition, either by re-setting the type or printing from stereo plates, which added no new material; a duplication of an earlier edition with a new introduction or other new material; a compilation of several earlier works or parts of works, with or without new material; or a scholarly edition of a work with new introduction, notes and full apparatus. Scott's earliest reprints were the simplest form in which nothing new was added to the reprinted text.

In Scott's advertisement of September 1883 the reprints were not presented in any special way but it was not long before they began to be listed in series. Eventually there were ten series (Brotherhood, Cambridge, Emerald, Half-roan, Hero, Kenilworth, Million, Oxford, and Union Libraries, and Reward Books) and any individual title could be available in several of them simultaneously. Scott's catalogues sometimes list the titles once and then give references to the list from the headings for other series, for example, in the 1906 *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature* the entries for the Emerald, Half-roan and Oxford Libraries simply state, 'for list see Brotherhood Library'. Similar methods are used in advertising: on 7th March 1901 R.M. Ballantine's *Coral Island*, *Martin Rattler* and

Ungava, and Wilkie Collins' *Dead Secret* were advertised as new additions to the 'Emerald, Oxford and other crown octavo libraries'.³

In the books themselves there is seldom any indication of the series to which the particular copy belongs. The differences between series seem to have depended simply on the binding style and the presence of illustrations. However, accurate descriptions by Scott of the differences do not exist and this conclusion is based on partial and scattered information from the firm's publicity (see also Bibliography of the Walter Scott Publishing House, Books in Series section).

There is not much clear evidence as to who bought reprints although historians have reasonably assumed the main market was the newly literate who had received only a basic education. Scott deliberately aimed for this market as is clearly stated in some of his publicity (see the early advertisements for the Camelot/Scott series quoted below).⁴ Furthermore, people with little education tend to have little money and for several of the series it was Scott's deliberate policy to keep his prices low.⁵ Thus besides the opening up by the 1842 Copyright Act of a much wider range of literature for Scott to reprint, he benefitted from the education acts which came into force between 1870 and 1881 and which produced increasing numbers of young people who could read, who had heard of the famous works of literature, and who were eager to explore.

³ *Bookseller*, 7 March 1901, p 238.

⁴ Chapter 4, p 73 ff.

⁵ Canterbury Poets, Camelot/Scott, and Great Writers series were all advertised at 1s a volume and attention was drawn to their cheapness.

Scott also cultivated his own specialised markets. An important part of his marketing strategy for reprints was to sell the books to be subsequently given away as prizes.⁶ It is hard to imagine now that there was sufficient business to be found in such a narrow specialization, or even that it was worth a publisher's effort to draw up a list of titles suitable for giving as prizes. There was surely nothing to prevent any customer from choosing a book from a complete catalogue to be given as a prize, as a birthday present, or for any other of a multitude of purposes. Yet, Scott was not alone in the field and there were also specialist prize booksellers to complete the distribution. Judging solely by the numbers of publishers and booksellers involved, there was money to be made from prize books.

The main customers were the Sunday Schools. From the beginning of the Sunday School movement about 1780 the practice of rewarding pupils had been encouraged. Robert Raikes, the founder of Sunday Schools, was a keen advocate, mentioning 'rewards to the deserving' in a number of his letters,⁷ and from the earliest times some Sunday School accounts show expenses for 'diligences' or incentives. From the beginning, too, the prizes, apart from those given to the youngest pupils, were probably books and these prize books came to be known as 'rewards'.

Cards or 'tickets' were awarded for good attendance, good behaviour, the ability to recite a passage of scripture, and other small though worthy achievements, and a system of

⁶ The material which follows is largely taken from John R. Turner 'Books for prizes: an aspect of the late nineteenth century book trade' in *Studies in the Provincial Book Trade of England, Scotland, and Wales before 1900*, Aberystwyth, 1990, pp 1-12.

⁷ See, for example, Josiah Harris *Robert Raikes: the Man and his Work*, London: Sunday School Union, [1900], p 83.

accumulating credit was instituted. The 1812 report from a Birmingham Sunday School states, 'The tickets of reward ... shall receive a book or other useful article of the value of the whole amount of the tickets'.⁸

The awarding of prizes by Sunday Schools was also undertaken in a very benign spirit and was not seen as a method of rewarding a small number of high achievers, but as a method of encouraging all pupils to greater efforts. Of all the Christian denominations it was the Nonconformists who were the most zealous prize givers and the recipients were almost entirely from the working class. The middle class would probably have approved of the system because it promoted learning and piety in the poor and uneducated, with the implication that any prize winner was poor and uneducated and clearly not middle class. Each particular church also had its standards to uphold and wanted, if possible, to attract more pupils and to be seen as being more generous, not to say richer, than the church next door. All this, linked to a passion for self-improvement and self-education, meant that books in large numbers were given away.

The characteristics of rewards have little to do with their content but are found in the way the books were promoted and sold. The main distinguishing feature arises entirely from their presentation in publishers' catalogues. Rewards were always listed in series and probably never advertised as single titles. Each publisher usually had several series with a range of prices, just as Walter Scott did, and it was this simple announcement by publishers, setting prize books apart from the rest, which turned them into 'rewards'.

⁸ Quoted by Philip Cliff in *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England, 1780-1980*, p 78.

There were usually some exceptionally cheap titles which were not sold as single copies especially in the early years of the nineteenth century. The 1820 catalogue of the Religious Tract Society lists 'Children's Books. Particularly suited for Rewards in Sunday or other Schools' and includes prices, not for single copies, but only per one hundred copies, from 9d to 16 shillings to subscribers and one shilling to 21s 4d to non-subscribers. As late as 1921 the RTS had a 'Farthing Series' which sold in one shilling packets of 48 booklets of eight pages, each packet containing two copies of 24 titles. However, most of the reward titles had standard prices and there were expensive books to balance the farthing titles, for example, Nelson's 1893 catalogue had four rewards at one guinea and the majority at five shillings. Furthermore, although the commercial publishers issued some cheap titles, they usually left the cheapest of all, at one penny or less, to the religious publishers.

The commercial book trade had shown an interest from the start and, even though booksellers had relied for the most part on the religious organizations to publish rewards, general trade publishers increasingly joined in as the nineteenth century progressed. Established publishers, like Thomas Nelson (founded 1798), began to issue rewards, and so did new publishing houses, like Cassell (founded about 1850) and Ward Lock (founded 1854). In the second half of the nineteenth century the provincial book trade joined the London houses. The provinces were obvious centres for business since large numbers of Nonconformist children lived in the industrial cities of the north of England and south Wales.

Another commercial incentive was the size of the market; there were large numbers of Sunday School pupils. The Baptists alone in 1884 had 354,801 registered pupils in

England and this figure had risen to 357,910 by 1890.⁹ Sunday School membership figures in general went on rising until about 1910 with the highest recorded total for the Church of England in that year of almost 2.5 million and the highest recorded for Wesleyan Methodists in 1906 at just over one million. The total for all Nonconformists, the most important donors of rewards, at this time was about 3.25 million.¹⁰

Furthermore, Sunday Schools were probably the largest customers for rewards but they were not the only ones. There was an organization for adults alongside the Sunday Schools known as the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Association. One of the purposes of the PSA was to act as a kind of book subscription club. The members paid one penny each week and after six months or a year each member received a book to the value of his accumulated subscriptions.¹¹ The books which were awarded to PSA members were thus strictly purchases, but they were still referred to as prizes. The scheme therefore operated like the tickets or cards of reward in Sunday Schools, the more regularly you attended, the more tickets or penny subscriptions you accumulated and consequently the more valuable the book with which you were presented. It was for this reason that publishers often issued the same titles in different series or price groupings so that there would be a clear distinction in outward appearance between an award for, say, a few attendances by a second year pupil (perhaps *Robinson Crusoe* on cheap paper and in a plain binding), and a

⁹ *The Baptist Handbook*, London, 1884, p 246, and London, 1890, p 250.

¹⁰ Figures quoted by Philip Cliff in *The Rise and Fall of the Sunday School Movement in England, 1780-1980*, p 201.

¹¹ See *Bookseller*, 5 July 1893, pp 578-9.



second year pupil with no absences (*Robinson Crusoe* on laid paper in an elaborate gold-blocked binding with all edges gilt).

The trade in prize books was even more extensive because in addition to Sunday Schools and PSAs, ordinary day schools gave prizes at speech days, sports days, and so on, of which the publishers and booksellers were well aware. London County Council in 1908 issued a list of suitable prize books for elementary schools from which the most popular title sold 5877 copies.¹² All in all there was plenty of scope in rewards for the commercial book trade.

The content of typical rewards is quite predictable. For the very young there were alphabet books and nursery rhymes and then an increasingly demanding range of story books ending with the likes of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, and *Little Women* and, if you were lucky, Dickens and Scott. Besides fiction, biography was always well represented. The worst examples, as frequently pointed out by literary critics this century, were cloyingly pious, patriotic to the point of chauvinism, or had a heavy-handed moral blatantly and artlessly rammed home. But they were not all bad, of course, and given that they were Sunday School prizes, they were bound to have a message which would be fairly difficult to overlook. Nevertheless, as examples of children's literature from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there is little to distinguish rewards from the majority of other books.

It was not just twentieth century critics who found the content of some of these books deplorable; even contemporary booksellers were not impressed with PSA prizes:

¹² *Publishers' Circular*, 14 March 1908, p 328.

The selection, as a rule, does not do a very great credit to the literary tastes of the gentlemen who choose them. Weight avoirdupois and size in inches seem to be the main qualifications. The quality of the literary matter is of no consequence, hence the members are treated to gaudily-gilded volumes of the 'Three for 4s 5 1/2d' order. Then arises the question, What earthly (or heavenly) good can these 'Great Rulers,' 'American Presidents,' and books of that ilk do to the reader - if they ever *are* read.¹³

Three of Scott's reprint series in particular, the Reward Series, the Hero Library, and the Brotherhood Library, were aimed at this market. The title of the Reward Series shows that they were obviously prize books and within the series the titles were arranged in variously priced groupings, 1/- Rewards, 2/6d Rewards, and so on. In 1885 there were five titles in the 6d Reward Series which were all available at the same time in the 1/- Series.¹⁴ The Hero Library appeared in the *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature* for 1913, 1920 and 1921 as 'Hero Series of Reward Books: For PSA and other prizes'. The Brotherhood Library was also probably made up of rewards because the PSA often referred to themselves as 'the Brotherhood' and Scott's series title was presumably designed to tell PSA members that every book in the series was suitable for them. In addition, early advertisements for the Bijou Series of miniature books which first went on sale in December 1883 included the exhortation, 'For Easter or Birthday cards substitute the Bijou Books'. There were also occasional lists which do not seem to have been treated as regular series, such as the 'Elegant Presentation Books suitable for birthday presents and school prizes' in a 2/6d series (or with gilt edges at 3/-), and a 3/6d series in the *Reference*

¹³ Letter in the *Bookseller*, 7 April 1893, p 301.

¹⁴ *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature*, 1885: *Life of George Stephenson, Life of Robert Stephenson, The Foundling, The Covenanter's Bridal and Aunt Margaret's Courtship*.

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Catalogue for 1885. In fact, Scott's business went much further and he could supply a complete service; the 1885 *Reference Catalogue* includes nineteen packets of Sunday School Reward Cards at 6d a packet. Packet No 1, for example, contained '12 coloured hymn cards suitable for Rewards to Sunday and day schools; also with fly-leaf for letter-writing'. It seems likely that Scott would have supplied book plates and pre-printed certificates as well. An advertisement in the *Publishers' Circular* in 1890¹⁵ announced a 'List of School Examination Certificates Brilliantly printed in the best styles of Chromo-Lithography ... All these certificates can be supplied with blank centres ... [and] may be obtained from every School Stationer in the United Kingdom'. (illus) Scott was not a pioneer in any of this because books for prizes appears to have been the only form of publishing undertaken by Adam and Co and by Tyne Publishing and they too supplied all the paraphernalia of prize giving. Scott's predecessors did not publish reprints, but Scott was building on the foundations which they had laid by selling the titles which they had published along with his new 'standard novelists' from September 1883, the Reward Series from 1885, the Brotherhood Library from 1898, and the Hero Library from 1906. His bond with the firm's beginnings was never relinquished.

The remainder of Scott's reprint series (Cambridge, Emerald, Half-roan, Kenilworth, Million, Oxford, and Union Libraries) were not promoted as rewards, even though many of the titles were interchangeable. It is more than likely that sales as rewards would not have been turned away, but these series were presented purely as reprints not intended for any special market. It is clear that rewards were a somewhat artificial category and, although their collective listing probably assisted untrained, volunteer Sunday School officials to choose prizes, their main purpose was to make money for the book trade. In

¹⁵ *Publishers' Circular*, 15 August 1890, p 1026.

general, though, the book trade was not too happy about rewards because of the discounts which they attracted. Discounts were a specially sensitive area at this time and Frederick Macmillan and the other publishers had yet to issue their 'Terms and conditions of supply of net books' to solve the problem. It was the PSA, rather than the other reward customers, who upset the booksellers.

... the PSA have methods of their own. They do not obtain their supplies from the retail bookseller, but have arranged to get their books either direct from the publishers, or, which amounts to the same thing, through some selected agent. Very large orders are given and very large discounts are demanded, discounts which the country bookseller can never hope to obtain. One or two names have been mentioned of well-known houses who, in their greed to become rich, have thrown over the traditions of the trade, and have freely supplied their books on terms much below those which the bookseller has already paid. ... Several names have reached us of publishers who have been guilty of supplying the PSA on extravagantly low terms, but we believe that others are implicated, and it would be invidious to mention the names of one or two, whilst perhaps the chief offender of all was omitted from the list. If, however, any of our readers will take the trouble to compile a duly authenticated list of offenders we shall be very pleased to print it in the next number of *THE BOOKSELLER* in order that the country trade may know definitely who are their friends.¹⁶

Needless to say, such a list was never printed. Whether the *Bookseller* was bluffing and whether Scott was one of the 'well-known houses' guilty of greed, or even the 'chief offender of all', remains unknown. Certainly by 1895 Scott was advertising the Million Library as 'THE BEST, and, in view of their quality, THE CHEAPEST in the market' while adding, 'Booksellers stocking this line need have no fear of competition from outside

¹⁶ *Bookseller*, 5 May 1893, p 389.

the regular trade'.¹⁷ Perhaps the warning shot from the *Bookseller* had done the trick. By 1906 Scott was still selling books to the PSA, and was also still openly supporting the publishers' party line. Scott's name was there on the very first list of signatories to the 'Terms and conditions of supply of net books' (which was the original form of the Net Book Agreement) which was published in September 1906.¹⁸

Provincial booksellers as well as provincial publishers sold rewards and Scott had direct dealings with some of them. Samuel Waterhouse was a bookseller in Bradford who retired in 1886 and was bought out by W.H. Matthews, a former assistant, in partnership with a Mr. G.H. Brooke. On the occasion of Matthews' jubilee in bookselling a short account of his early career was published in which working conditions under Samuel Waterhouse are described. Matthews worked a twelve-hour day from 8.0 am to 8.0 pm from Monday to Friday ('with no half days off') but had to put in fifteen hours on Saturdays from 8.0 am to 11.0 pm.

On Saturdays the staff were not allowed to leave the premises from morning till night as it was the busiest day of the week, especially during the winter season, when as many as six committees have been in the shop selecting books for their respective libraries or for Sunday School rewards.¹⁹

Perhaps the most specialized rewards bookseller was another provincial, James Askew of Preston, the founder of what is now one of Britain's best-known library suppliers. James

¹⁷ *ibid*, 10 October 1895, p 1029.

¹⁸ *Publishers' Circular*, 22 September 1906, Supplement p iii.

¹⁹ *Publishers' Circular*, 26 September 1936, p 452.

THE POEMS OF SAMUEL
TAYLOR COLERIDGE,
WITH A PREFATORY NOTICE,
BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITI-
CAL, BY JOSEPH SKIPSEY.

LONDON:
MUDIE'S SELECT LIBRARY, LIMITED.

Askew entered the book trade in 1872 and is described in the local directory as a 'book canvasser', and then as a bookseller. He worked as a library supplier from the beginning, but the mainstay of his trade was the sale of rewards.²⁰ His business flourished and he was soon employing a travelling salesman in south Wales. He was also a convinced non-conformist, a lay-preacher and a Sunday School teacher.

Part of Scott's complete service on rewards was the printing of personal title-pages for customers to be inserted in Scott's own publications.²¹ The imprint on these title-pages was that of the particular customer who had bought the copies and made it appear that the book was published by the customer. The title-pages were printed by Scott, the firm's own Walter Scott title leaf was cancelled, and was replaced by the customer's title leaf. However, apart from the cancelled title leaves the rest of these copies was identical with the standard Scott copies, the books had Scott's colophon and could even include advertisements for other Scott publications. Copies were sometimes re-bound by the buyer but the books were also available complete in a standard Scott binding.

He provided this service for both Matthews and Brooke and James Askew and for several other booksellers for which copies survive, nor was it restricted to rewards since one example has been discovered for Mudie's Library (see illus). The procedure of issuing books with tailor-made title-pages seems to have begun with Adam and Co. There are two

20 Information about James Askew was kindly provided verbally by one of the present directors of James Askew & Son Ltd and also obtained from an unpublished typescript belonging to the company.

21 For a full account see John R. Turner 'Title-pages produced by the Walter Scott Publishing Co Ltd' in *Studies in Bibliography* 44, 1991, pp 323-31.

Original edition from Tyme Publishing



W. H. T. S.

W. H. T. S.

MEMORABLE MEN OF THE NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

I.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE:

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

BY

LEWIS APJOHN.

LONDON:

THE TYNE PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED,

14 IVY LANE, PATERNOSTER ROW,

AND NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.



Dent's title-page in a Tyne Publishing copy

W. H. Dent

*MEMORABLE MEN OF THE NINETEENTH
CENTURY.*

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J. M. DENT,

ALDINE BOOKBINDING WORKS,

124 EAST ROAD, LONDON. N.

WILLIAM EWART

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BY

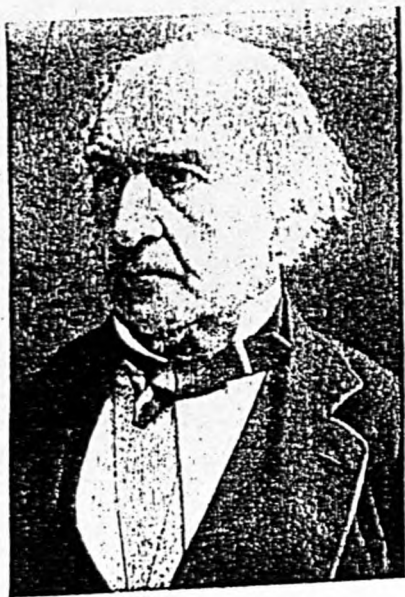
LEWIS APJOHN.

LONDON:

WALTER SCOTT, 4 PATERNOSTER SQUARE

(pp. i- xv, 17- 3.28)

Askew title-page in a Scott copy



The London Stereoscopic and Photographic Co.

WILLIAM EWART
GLADSTONE:

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

BY

LEWIS APJOHN.

PRESTON:

JAMES ASKEW, 96 FISHERGATE HILL.

copies of *Brown's Self-Interpreting Bible* in North America²² printed by Adam but without Adam's name in the imprints, but it is impossible to be certain how the books were printed without seeing them. Tyne Publishing, however, did use the procedure before Scott took over. Lewis Apjohn's *William Ewart Gladstone* was published by Tyne Publishing but a copy exists²³ with the imprint of J.M. Dent on the title-page. The Tyne Publishing title leaf is normal but Dent's is a cancel and in all other respects apart from the bindings the two copies are identical. They have similar frontispieces and texts from the same setting, including the text on the upper parts of both title-pages above the imprints. Even a list of Tyne Publishing agents is present in both copies. (illus)

The title leaf in the Dent copy has been cancelled by the usual method, not by binding the cancellans in with the sheets, but by removing the cancellandum (presumably an original Tyne Publishing title leaf) and pasting the Dent cancellans onto the stub. In all the examples of books with cancelled title leaves it is this method of pasting the cancellans onto the stub of the cancellandum which has been used.

Apjohn's *Gladstone* was one of the titles inherited by Scott after the acquisition of Tyne Publishing. There is then the standard Scott issue with a normal title leaf conjugate with one of the text leaves. There is also a copy with a cancelled title leaf bearing the imprint of James Askew of Preston and the remaining sheets printed from the same plates as the Scott issue. (illus)

²² One is in McMurry University, Texas, with the imprint, Leeds: Edward Slater, and one in the University of British Columbia, with the imprint, Accrington: Daniel Chadwick.

²³ In the Department of Information and Library Studies, University of Wales, Aberystwyth.

H. C. A. Williams 1900.

TWENTY YEARS
AFTER
A HISTORICAL ROMANCE

By
Alexandre Dumas

A New Translation by HENRY L. WILLIAMS

LONDON: WALTER SCOTT, LTD.
PATERNOSTER SQUARE

*This Series may be had only of the leading Booksellers
in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales*

SHIRLEY
A TALE

By
Charlotte Bronte

MATTHEWS & BROOKE,
BOOKSELLERS,
BRADFORD.

TWENTY YEARS
AFTER
A HISTORICAL ROMANCE

By
Alexandre Dumas

A New Translation by HENRY L. WILLIAMS

LEEDS:
JOSEPH DODGSON,
PUBLISHER.

Three title-pages printed by Scott

A few other pairs of titles have been discovered which share these characteristics. One of the pair is printed and published by Scott and has a normal title leaf while the other is printed from the same plates and has a cancelled title leaf with the imprint of someone other than Scott. All the copies have Scott's printer's colophon and two non-Scott copies²⁴ include advertisements for Scott publications after the main text.

As far as the printing of the cancelled title leaves is concerned it is clear that this was done by Scott and not by his customers. Apart from the imprints, the title-pages of Scott and non-Scott pairs are from the same settings of type. There are also three title-pages which match each other in type, ornaments and layout (see illus).

In addition, copies exist in which not only the sheets and the cancelled titles derive from Scott, but also the bindings. The Scott issue of Dumas' *Twenty Years After* in the Emerald Library in the standard series binding is half-bound with dark green cloth spine-strip and corner pieces on light green cloth boards, and gold tooling has been applied to the front, spine and back. The binding on a copy of Charlotte Bronte's *Shirley* with a Matthews and Brooke title-page is exactly the same except for the colour of the cloth which is dark red on the spine and corner pieces and light red on the boards. The binding on a copy of *Twenty Years After* with a title-page from Joseph Dodgson of Leeds is in a different style but, despite Dodgson's title-page, even has the name 'Walter Scott' blocked at the foot of the spine. Yet more significant, the paper used for the linings of the hollow backs in *Shirley* and Dodgson's *Twenty Years After* is exactly the same. Waste paper has been used and it is possible to see down the hollows that the paper is printed or written on by hand in

²⁴ An issue of Eva Hope *Life of General Gordon* from John Harrop of Manchester and an issue of Charlotte Bronte *Shirley* from Matthews and Brooke.

the same brown ink and in the same style of lettering. The non-Scott copies must have been supplied, if required, ready bound by Scott.

Without surviving documentation it is not possible to reconstruct Scott's exact working practices. In any case the procedures were likely to vary according to circumstances, but in all probability the following would have taken place in Scott's day to day work. The type for a particular title would have been set, stereotype plates made from it and the sheets printed from the stereotypes. Part of the print run would be bound for stock and the remainder stored as sheets until the bound stock ran low when more copies would be bound from the sheets in stock. This process would continue until the sheets in stock ran low and then a reprint would be considered. If an order was received for copies with a bespoke title-page the Scott title leaf would be removed from sufficient copies to fill the order, the customer's title-page would be printed, and the new leaf pasted into the books. If required, the customer could be supplied with sewn book blocks, rather than bound books, to which the customer's own binding case could be added.

Adam, Tyne Publishing and Scott were not the only publishers who allowed their books to be sold in this way, although they do seem to have been the first. Similar pairs of copies have been discovered which originated from Cassell, Hodder and Stoughton, George Newnes, and Ward Lock. The publishers must have seen the method merely as a way of selling more books. They must have discounted keeping their own names before the public on the title-pages and regarded sales by James Askew, Matthews and Brooke and the others, quite rightly, as just more sales. Yet, it seems doubtful that the booksellers would have sold more copies simply because their names appeared on the title-pages; it seems equally doubtful that Walter Scott or Cassell or the other publishers would have sold more by taking their names off the title-pages.

Presumably there would have been a minimum order below which a publisher would not supply tailor-made title-pages but this must have been fairly low. It is hardly conceivable that even a bookseller like Matthews and Brooke who had a well established and profitable trade could have taken thousands of copies of Charlotte Bronte's *Shirley*. It is difficult to understand how the publishers found the system worth-while, but perhaps it was seen as little more than including a bookseller's label (such as 'Bought from Matthews and Brooke's Bookshop'). Labour costs were low and although the amount of work involved in printing and inserting individual title leaves in only a few copies at a time was considerable, the system was clearly thought to be advantageous.

As already mentioned reprints were always important to Scott and they always formed the major part of his list. There were also plenty of other reprint publishers. Reward books and bespoke title-pages were more unusual, although Scott was not alone in either of these dealings. The extent of Scott's business in rewards is impossible to determine but, judging from the attention given to rewards in his advertising, it appears to have contributed significantly to his turnover at least in the years before about 1900. Bespoke title-pages were much less significant and were probably regarded as a service to customers, may be as a concession on large orders.

All the reprints mentioned so far were editorially as simple as possible since Scott merely supplied the text with no introduction or any other editorial comment. The only additions to the basic texts were frontispieces in some series and occasionally a few more illustrations in the text. There were two further series, the Canterbury Poets and the Camelot/Scott Library which were also strictly reprints, but which had a more scholarly approach. They will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Editors and Series

Thus far everything since Scott's acquisition of Tyne Publishing was the work of David Gordon; he was undoubtedly an outstanding manager with the ability both to see what had to be done and to make it happen. When he arrived the business needed a kick-start and this is precisely what reprints were designed to do. Gordon had to organise the whole reprint programme but the advantage to him was that, once started, individual titles could almost be left to look after themselves. No editorial work was required and reprint titles could be published in any convenient order as soon as the initial plans were settled. His main effort must have gone into working out production schedules, marketing policy and distribution. The extent of Gordon's control over production is not known but publishing, printing and binding departments had to work harmoniously so he probably had some responsibility there. His most impressive achievement, apart from general management, was in marketing and distribution. Havelock Ellis understood this and said of him, 'he flooded the whole country with good cheap editions of the English classics in prose and verse'.¹

Having put the company back on its feet Gordon knew the business had to progress and in the next phase something a little more sophisticated was needed. Reprints alone were acceptable in the beginning and could then be left to provide a regular income, but new

¹ Havelock Ellis *My Life*, p 164.

projects would require more than a kick-start. At the same time it was preferable for new developments to grow from what was there already, so improved or enhanced reprints could be tried. Gordon himself had no time for detailed editorial work, and thus the answer was to appoint editors for new projects. The first to be appointed was Joseph Skipsey.

Skipsey was a local Newcastle man, born near North Shields in 1832. His life, even by the standards of the nineteenth century working class, was one of dreadful hardship. He was the youngest of eight children and when he was only four months old his father was shot dead trying to intervene between the police and striking miners. As already mentioned, Walter Scott was sent out to work at an early age, but Joseph Skipsey was working by the time he was seven years old - for twelve to fourteen hours a day in a coal mine.

The letters of the alphabet were about the extent of his knowledge when he started work and, since he had nothing else, he set about building on that foundation. Part of his job in the mine was the opening and closing of a trap door in the ventilation system. He obtained a piece of chalk and by the light of candle ends he used the door as a blackboard to practice his alphabet and teach himself to read and write. Against all these odds, he succeeded. At first he copied any scrap of printing he chanced upon. Later when he could read he managed to borrow the works of Milton and Pope's translation of the *Iliad*. It took him until he was seventeen years old to save enough to buy himself a complete Shakespeare, which he said, 'altered the aspect of the world to me'.² Then he was inspired to write verse himself, his first collection, *Lyrics*, was published in 1859, and by 1880 his work had been reviewed in the *Spectator* and the *Athenaeum*. His writing had already

² R.S. Watson *Joseph Skipsey: his Life and Work*, p 19.

made him well known in Newcastle and now brought him to the attention of William Morris, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edmund Burne Jones.

The Canterbury Poets Series

It must have been an easy decision for David Gordon to choose Skipsey to oversee the first of the new projects, the Canterbury Poets Series. Exactly how he was appointed is unknown but there is an account³ written while Skipsey was still alive which states 'he was invited' to become an editor. Whatever the details of the appointment, it was surely Skipsey, in view of the subject matter, who put together the list for the new series. The first announcement appeared in the *Bookseller* on 4th September 1884⁴ with a plan to produce editions of the work of famous poets. One title would be published every month and each would include a critical and biographical introduction. Hence the scheme was an extension of the reprint series since the basic texts were out of copyright, while the selection and introduction added material unique to the Canterbury Poets.

Other publishers adopted the principle of publishing reprints at regular intervals; according to Richard Altick:

Thus book publishers exploited the habit of regular purchase which became increasingly prevalent as cheap periodicals won the allegiance of the mass public. If a reader was used to buying a favorite paper each Saturday, why should he not acquire the custom of buying the latest issue in a certain reprint series at the same time? This was the reasoning behind the weekly or monthly issue of series like Walter Scott's Camelot Classics and

³ A.H. Miles (ed) *The Poets and Poetry of the Century*, 10 vols, Kingsley to Thomson, p 516. The entry on Joseph Skipsey runs from p 515 to 528.

⁴ *Bookseller*, 4 September 1884, p 960.

Canterbury Poets, Routledge's Universal Library, and Cassell's National Library. Like the yellow-backs that had won immense popularity a generation earlier, the classic reprint series of the nineties, priced at 3d., and 1s., used the newsagents' stalls to reach a large public that never ventured inside a regular bookshop. Then as now (at least in certain outlets) classic reprints were displayed alongside soft-bound copyright reprints and mass-circulation weeklies.⁵

Altick offers no evidence that this was the reasoning behind regular publishing programmes and nothing along these lines has been discovered for Walter Scott, nor any evidence that Scott sold through newsagents.

Coleridge was the first volume in Canterbury Poets, published on 25th September 1884 with an introduction by Skipsey himself. The normal policy was to choose a different person to edit and introduce each volume although Skipsey was responsible for a further five volumes (Shelley, published October 1884; Blake, March 1885; Poe, April 1885; and two volumes of Burns, both published July 1885). The introductions on average ran to about twenty pages.

Skipsey's general editorship must have been part-time because he was soon forced to give up the work due to 'want of proper leisure'.⁶ Unfortunately this was the pattern of his whole working life. On several occasions he found what appeared to be congenial work, for example, in 1863 he became a librarian at the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, and in 1889 he was appointed Curator of Shakespeare's Birthplace on the

⁵ Richard Altick 'From Aldine to Everyman: Cheap Reprint Series of the English Classics 1830-1906' *Studies in Bibliography*, 11, 1958, p 12.

⁶ Miles, p 516.

recommendations of a remarkable list of supporters including Robert Browning, Tennyson, Burne Jones, D.G. Rossetti, William Morris, Theodore Watts-Dunton, Andrew Lang, Austin Dobson, Bram Stoker, Edmund Gosse, Lords Leighton, Carlisle and Ravensworth, and Professor Edward Dowden. All came to nothing however as Skipsey was constantly forced to return to coal mining, usually because he could not afford to live on the wages for any other kind of job. In the case of the Stratford-on-Avon appointment there were the additional problems of homesickness and the never-ending chore of showing visitors round the house. It seemed to Skipsey that a disproportionate number of these visitors arrived with a firm conviction of Bacon's authorship of the plays -- a point of view with which Skipsey had no patience.

Skipsey was replaced as general editor of the Canterbury Poets Series by William Sharp. The dates of Skipsey's resignation and Sharp's appointment are unknown but Sharp probably took over in 1885. Skipsey's name is mentioned for the last time as general editor in an advertisement in April⁷ and his final published contribution, the two volumes of Burns' poems, appeared in July 1885. William Sharp's name is found for the first time in Scott's list in March in an announcement for an edition of (the other) Walter Scott's poems. Sharp's first publication was an edition of Shakespeare's poems in November 1885. But it was not until January 1887⁸ that Sharp was mentioned in an advertisement as the general editor of the series.

Apart from an interest in poetry the two editors could not have been more different. Some of their differences were due to their upbringing. Unlike Skipsey, Sharp came from a

⁷ *Bookseller*, 4 April 1885, p 400

⁸ *ibid*, 8 January 1887, p 43

reasonably wealthy middle class family in which education was assumed to continue through to university.⁹ Other differences were due to their temperaments. At the end of his second year at university Sharp joined a group of gypsies and travelled with them for several weeks. Already, while still at school he had run away on three occasions, once with a view to stowing away on a ship. Skipsey could not have contemplated running away with the gypsies or anyone else -- there would have been no one to take him home when he had had enough, and besides, the simple reality of earning a living had been part of his daily life since he was seven. It is not that Sharp did not know hardship. He was impulsive in the extreme and a few of his exploits brought him close to starvation. But, perhaps because of his background, he had the faith that everything would turn out right, in the end he would be rescued.

Still, few people could have had much in common with William Sharp. As a young man he had some difficulty in deciding on a career but after returning from a visit to Australia in 1877 and then being dismissed from a job in a bank he gradually resolved to devote himself to writing. It has never been easy to earn a living entirely from authorship and, in particular, to survive the time taken to establish a decent reputation. Sharp refused to compromise. He was prepared occasionally to live in the depths of poverty (and always assumed that his wife was equally prepared) but he had boundless optimism and enthusiasm and the ability to persuade publishers that his schemes would be profitable.

⁹ Information on William Sharp's life is found in a biography by his wife, Elizabeth A. Sharp *William Sharp (Fiona Macleod): a Memoir*, London: Heinemann, 1910; an article in *DNB*; and F. Alaya *William Sharp - "Fiona Macleod" 1855-1905*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970.

The editorship of Canterbury Poets must have helped to bring some stability to his affairs and although the remuneration was probably small, at least it was regular.

He also had a passion for travelling and throughout his adult life he was either on a journey or planning the next one. Consequently he needed more cash than the average person in order to finance his trips. As F. Alaya says, 'Sharp spent an incredibly large part of his lifetime in motion.'¹⁰ Nevertheless, although it must have caused great difficulties, travel never interrupted his output of work.

There was an even greater obstacle to his work which, like travelling, Sharp created for himself. By the late 1880s he was managing to survive in the literary world. Then in 1890 he invented a new persona and began to write under the name of Fiona Macleod. Apart from his wife it seems that for the rest of Sharp's life nobody knew the real identity of Fiona Macleod. It was more than a case of Sharp keeping the fact secret. Fiona became his *alter ego* to such an extent that 'she' sent letters through the post to William Sharp and presented signed copies of 'her' books to him.¹¹ The result of his two identities was that Sharp's output was doubled because he now had to write his own work and Fiona's.

Despite all these self-imposed barriers to stable working conditions, Sharp was a good editor of Scott's series. His approach was more scholarly than Skipsey's, simply because he was better educated and had more time to prepare the books. He was also in his element in literary or artistic company and never had inhibitions about introducing himself to unknown authors. A significant influence at the beginning of his career was a friendship

¹⁰ Alaya, p. 211.

¹¹ Elizabeth A. Sharp, p. 411.

with Dante Gabriel Rossetti who, in turn, introduced him to many other authors and artists. Such contacts must have eased the task of finding editors for new volumes.

One of Sharp's innovations was to include occasional anthologies in the series which brought variety to the stream of editions of the work of single poets. The first of the anthologies was *Sonnets of this Century*, 1886, which Sharp himself compiled and for which he wrote an extended essay on the sonnet as an introduction to the volume. The book was a great success, being issued in several formats to capitalise on sales.¹² It remained in print for so long that eventually the title had to be changed to *Sonnets of the Nineteenth Century*.

Like Skipsey, Sharp edited a few volumes himself, his final contribution being an edition of Eugene Lee-Hamilton's work in 1903. Sharp also produced work for other Scott series; he edited two volumes in the Camelot Series and wrote three biographies for the Great Writers Series. He died in December 1905 but the Canterbury Poets continued until 1917 probably without a general editor and under the control of the publishing manager, Frederick J. Crowest. The last volume to be published was *Contemporary Flemish Poetry* edited by Jethro Bithell, bringing the total to 111 titles. Jethro Bithell appears to have made an attempt to revive the series on his own. All except one (*Green and Strange Angel at the Loom*, 1911) of the last five titles were edited by him. Bithell also wrote a biography of Maeterlinck for the Great Writers Series which was published in 1913.

The Romantics and nineteenth century authors form almost the whole of the series. There are a few examples from most of the other major schools of poetry although the Metaphysicals are not represented at all. British or Irish authors occupy seventy volumes

¹² See below Chapter 8, p. 196.

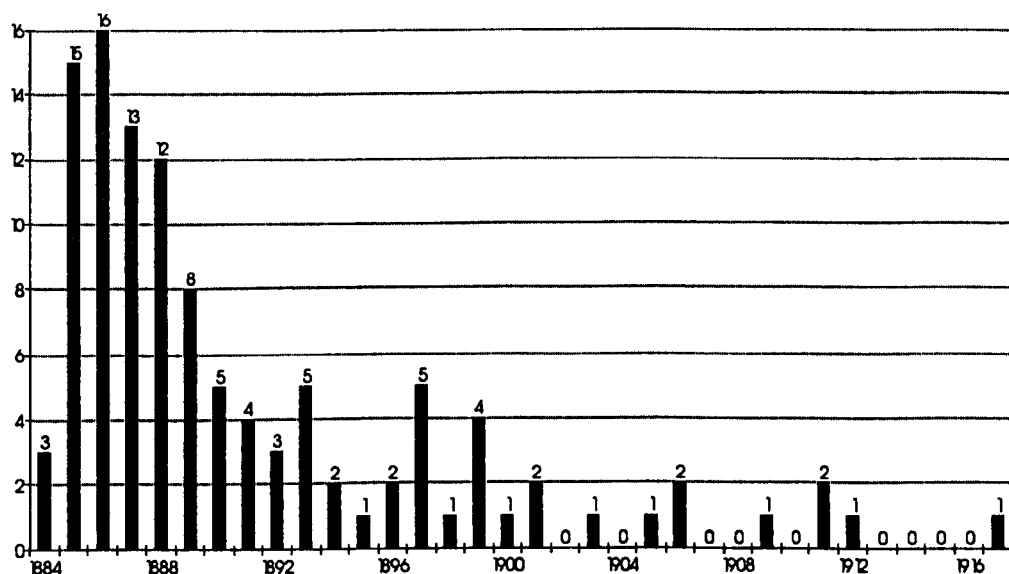
and there are 24 completely non-British volumes. Despite the titles being fundamentally reprints eight living authors are represented¹³ and a further seven volumes were published shortly after the death of their authors.¹⁴ There are 38 anthologies, four volumes of plays and two others containing both poetry and plays. The original intention had been to publish one title each month and for 1885, '86 and '87 this target was exceeded. Twelve titles appeared in 1888, but subsequent years never came near this total. The pattern of publication with the number of titles for each year was as follows:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|------|---|------|---|------|---|------|---|
| 1884 | 3 | 1891 | 4 | 1898 | 1 | 1905 | 1 | 1912 | 1 |
| 1885 | 15 | 1892 | 3 | 1899 | 4 | 1906 | 2 | 1913 | 0 |
| 1886 | 16 | 1893 | 5 | 1900 | 1 | 1907 | 0 | 1914 | 0 |
| 1887 | 13 | 1894 | 2 | 1901 | 2 | 1908 | 0 | 1915 | 0 |
| 1888 | 12 | 1895 | 1 | 1902 | 0 | 1909 | 1 | 1916 | 0 |
| 1889 | 8 | 1896 | 2 | 1903 | 1 | 1910 | 0 | 1917 | 1 |
| 1890 | 5 | 1897 | 5 | 1904 | 0 | 1911 | 2 | | |

13 Alfred Austin, 1886; Helen Green and Home Strange, 1911; Eugene Lee-Hamilton, 1903; Earl Lytton, 1890; George E. MacKay, 1887 and 1897; Roden Noel, 1892; and Walt Whitman, 1886.

14 Matthew Arnold died 1888, published 1896; Robert Browning died 1889, published 1897; Dora Greenwell died 1882, published 1889; Henry W. Longfellow died 1882, published 1884; Lord Lytton died 1873, published 1890; Philip B. Marston died 1887, published 1888; and Lord Tennyson died 1892, published 1898 and 1899.

Canterbury Poets: 1884-1917



After 1917 it was, strictly, the publisher rather than the series which came to an end, but these figures show that between 1889 and 1899 the publishing programme was barely ticking over, whilst after 1899 the series was as good as finished. It seems that William Sharp's enthusiasm in the early years did not survive for long.

In 1888 a collection of twelve anthologies was advertised as the Windsor Series of Poetical Anthologies, all except one taken from Canterbury Poets. In most cases the Canterbury Poets edition was enlarged and the title was slightly changed, for example, *Border Ballads* became *Ballads of the North Countrie*, *Australian Ballads* became *A Century of Australian Song*. The completely new title was *Sacred Song* edited by Samuel Waddington. The books were printed in a larger format on good quality paper, with title-pages in red and black, and in a good quality binding with bevelled boards. A thirteenth title, *Songs of the Great Dominion* from *Canadian Poems* in the Canterbury Poets, was

added in 1889. The Windsor series is a good example of a publisher making the most of their list with the minimum of effort and expense; in Scott's case it is also a modification of his rewards technique of putting out one title in a variety of bindings. The Windsor series sold at 3s 6d each, against 1s each for Canterbury Poets. In 1893 the Windsor series changed its name, without explanation or warning and without changing the contents of the list, to the Library of Poetry.

Alexander Brown & Co., an Aberdeen bookseller, published a house journal with the title *Brown's Book-Stall* in the early 1890s. Issue 26 for February 1894 contained an article on Walter Scott's career and his entry into publishing which includes the statement that in the ten years since the launch of the Canterbury Poets series on 25th September 1884 'about a million volumes have been sold, and new volumes are still being added to the series'.¹⁵

The Camelot and Scott Library Series¹⁶

The early success of the Canterbury Poets appears to have convinced David Gordon that his policy of enhancing the simple reprint programme was working. The natural development of the firm's output was to add another field of literature to the poetry of Canterbury Poets. He decided on prose, and already had somebody in mind as the general editor.

It was probably David Gordon and a colleague who called on Ernest Rhys in early January 1886 to offer him the job. Shortly before the offer was made Rhys had edited and

¹⁵ *Brown's Book-Stall*, 26, February 1894, p 31.

¹⁶ Parts of this section have been published as 'The Camelot Series, Everyman's Library, and Ernest Rhys' *Publishing History*, 31, 1992, 27-46.

introduced the George Herbert volume in *Canterbury Poets* (published in early October 1885) and he was working on the Walt Whitman volume which came out on 25th February 1886. This may have brought Rhys to Gordon's attention, but it still did not prevent some initial confusion. Rhys describes¹⁷ how he received an unexpected visit from Scott's representatives, 'two prosperous-looking men in top hats'. They offered him the editorship of a proposed new series of reprints of major prose works, a counterpart to *Canterbury Poets*. However, in the course of conversation it became clear that the visitors thought they were talking to Professor John Rhys, a well-known Celtic scholar. Nevertheless when Ernest enlightened them they did not withdraw their offer and so it was Ernest rather John who accepted the post.

Rhys obviously told the story against himself¹⁸ but it also contains an element of disparagement of Scott's competence which is apparent again in his account of the publisher's reception of his early proposals. Scott's representatives came only with the idea for the series; no details had been worked out because before his visitors left Rhys set about drawing up a list of prospective titles and trying to decide on a name for the series. At some later stage he had decided the very first volume should be an edition of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and consequently the name of the series would be the Camelot Classics.

17 Ernest Rhys *Wales England Wed*, p 87. Gordon's colleague may have been John Inglis Lothian (see above Chapter 2, pp 35 ff)

18 The story is also a little difficult to believe. Rhys had only recently left Newcastle and besides the publication of George Herbert he was still working on the edition of Walt Whitman. He was a friend of Joseph Skipsey and it is also possible that his old school friend Will H. Dircks was at this time employed in Scott's Newcastle office (see below p 60). It does not seem unreasonable to assume that Scott's representatives would have known Rhys by sight.

The decision to begin with *Morte d'Arthur* 'had caused the publishers many misgivings - for they had never even heard of Malory!'¹⁹

There were two other possible disadvantages to the editorship. Rhys had only recently left his home in north-east England for London to try to make a career for himself as a writer. But publishing was still a relatively new departure for Walter Scott, and he was based back in the north-east, in provincial Newcastle. These simple facts proved too much for Edmund Gosse. Rhys asked him to write an introduction to the series but he refused to work for 'your Tyneside publishers, of whom nobody has heard'.²⁰

Rhys, however, was not deterred and set to work with enthusiasm -- despite his slightly condescending remarks about Scott which were, after all, written some 45 years after the event. He wrote the introduction to the series himself, after Gosse's refusal, and the introduction to the edition of *Morte d'Arthur*, published as *Romance of King Arthur and the Quest of the Holy Grail*. Altogether over the years he wrote introductions to a further eleven volumes.²¹

Ernest Rhys' family had moved to Newcastle when he was a small boy. He grew up and was educated there apart from two unhappy years at a school in Bishop's Stortford. He formed a boyhood friendship with Will H. Dircks and both became interested in writing

19 Ernest Rhys *Everyman Remembers*, p 80

20 *ibid*, p 79

21 Besides *Romance of King Arthur* the other titles were Carlyle's *Essays on the Greater German Poets* and *Sartor Resartus*, Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, Gosse's *Northern Studies*, Lamb's *Essays of Elia*, Lowell's *Biglow Papers*, Malory's *Book of Marvellous Adventures*, Mitford's *Our Village*, Poe's *Fall of the House of Usher*, Shelley's *Essays*, and Sydney Smith *Selections*.

and literature. There was a literary circle of young people in Newcastle in which Joseph Skipsey was one of the mentors and Rhys and Dircks began to attend the meetings while they were still teenagers. Rhys decided he would become a mining engineer rather than going to university although his real ambition was to be a professional author. His passion for writing was coupled with a conviction that literature could change the world, above all it could improve the condition of the working class almost without limit. Soon after starting work in mining he found an empty cottage and persuaded the mine owners to allow him to use it to house a library and literary discussion group for the miners.²² Gradually the attraction of a literary life became irresistible and in January 1886 he left Newcastle for London determined to make his way as a writer. The editorship of Camelot Classics must have seemed a perfect opportunity to him since it involved writing, meeting other writers, and producing good, cheap literature which he thought could transform the lives of working people.

The series, first announced in early February 1886,²³ was planned to follow the same publishing pattern as the Canterbury Poets in issuing one volume each month at one shilling. A short prospectus was included in the first advertisements which was presumably also written by Rhys. It stated:

The main idea [of the series] is to provide the general reader with a comprehensive Prose Library after his own heart; ... that is to say, cheap, without the reproach which cheapness usually implies, comprising volumes

²² Rhys *Wales England Wed*, pp 56-7.

²³ *Bookseller*, 3 Feb 1886, p133, *Publishers' Circular*, 1 March 1886, p 233.

of shapely form, well printed, well bound, and thoroughly representative of the leading Prose-writers of all time. Placed thus upon a popular basis, making the principle of literary selection a broadly human rather than an academic one, [the series] will, the Publisher hopes, contest not ineffectually the critical suffrages of the democratic shilling. ... In the First volume a General Introduction by the Editor will appear, explaining more fully the bearing of the Series which, in course of time, it is hoped, will form

A COMPLETE PROSE LIBRARY FOR THE PEOPLE.

The general introduction in *Romance of King Arthur* continues the same theme of books for the people:

... it is clear that there are many books of surpassing interest which are hidden away from the everyday reader, but which, by being brought again to light by sympathetic hands, having the right word spoken to put them in touch with the time, can hardly fail to gain new popular vogue. The same holds with many foreign authors, old and new, whom translation would bring familiarly home to us all. By combining these less-known books with others which are already popularly accepted, but which some suggestive word of introduction, showing clearly their contemporary bearing, would do much haply to make more potent in our midst, it might be that we shall be able to help a little in making the higher literature really responsive to everyday life and its needs.²⁴

The series was to be books for the people with a vengeance, and scholars had better keep clear:

... *The Democracy!* -- this is the shape that stands ominously at the gates of Academe, demanding irregular entrance. Well may those to whom the old

²⁴ Thomas Malory, *Romance of King Arthur*, p xxviii.

traditions are sacred tremble somewhat at what to them seems a threatened desecration of the beloved groves!²⁵

Romance of King Arthur was published on 25th February 1886 and by 6th April Scott was advertising the 'second edition now ready'²⁶ (meaning, of course, that a reprint, and not a new edition, had been necessary). The original print run is unknown but at least this statement shows the book was doing well and sales had exceeded Scott's expectations.

On 5th March the *Bookseller* gave *Romance of King Arthur* a very favourable review but, being a trade paper, this was true of almost all their reviews:

A more fitting introduction to a new series of English prose-writers than this book of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table could not well have been selected ... The 'Camelot Classics', of which the volume before us forms the first instalment, are intended to form a companion series to the 'Canterbury Poets' issued from the same press. As in these excellent volumes, the idea is to provide, at a popular price, a comprehensive edition of the leading prose-writers of all periods ... Judging from the appearance of the [volume] now under our notice, we shall look for a wide popularity and success for the 'Camelot Classics'. The volume, which is crown octavo, contains about 400 pages, clearly printed on good paper, and strongly bound in cloth, the cost being one shilling.²⁷

The *Athenaeum* was also very pleased with the series, 'The *Morte Darthur* has been well chosen to head the series 'representative of the leading sections of prose literature' which Mr. Walter Scott publishes under the designation of 'Camelot Classics' ... Another volume

²⁵ *ibid*, p viii.

²⁶ *Bookseller*, 6 April 1886, p 365.

²⁷ *ibid*, 5 March 1886, p 229.

of the same remarkably cheap series contains the *Religio Medici* and other writings of Sir Thomas Browne'²⁸ and in their review of Shelley's *Essays* on 13th November they added, 'Mr. Rhys's selection from the essays and letters of Shelley, edited for the 'Camelot Classics', may be recommended to 'the million' as one of the best shillings-worths ever offered to the public'.²⁹

The series worked exactly as planned for one reader, even if he was not thoroughbred working class. After leaving King's School, Warwick, John Masefield joined the navy, and then realised it was not the right career for him. He relates in his autobiography, *So Long to Learn*, how the problem came to a head in 1886 when his ship had docked in New York. He was aware that his reading had been neglected but did not know how to put the matter to rights.

Anyhow, I went into Mr. Pratt's book-store on Sixth Avenue (near Greenwich Avenue) and bought the first volume of a *Morte d'Arthur*, then issued in the Camelot Classics under the editorship of the late Ernest Rhys. I was then just seventeen ... [He did not know much about the Arthurian legends] Certainly it was something about which my ignorance had to be lessened. I soon added to my books a complete Malory ... To myself, then, [Malory] was pure joy: a British tradition, that had passed into the imagination of the world.

It is fitting to give thanks to those American and English publishers who made so much fiction possible to the poorest students ... Those were reading days.³⁰

28 *Athenaeum*, 7 August 1886, pp 173-4.

29 *ibid*, 13 November 1886, p 630.

30 Masefield *So Long to Learn*, pp 89-92.

The 25th of each month seems to have been regarded as publication day for the series and a regular flow of titles followed *Romance of King Arthur*. All the volumes were to have an introduction and the second title, published on 25th March, was De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* introduced by William Sharp. Several of the authors of introductions for the early volumes were Rhys's personal friends. As he says, 'naturally I thought first of my own friends. Among them I turned to Will Dircks, Havelock Ellis, Percy Chubb, Arthur Symons, and W.B. Yeats'.³¹

As the series progressed he began to look for editors for specific titles who had special knowledge or interest in the work, although he continued to find employment for his old friends. He even took a trip to the United States where he met Walt Whitman, James Russell Lowell and Oliver Wendell Holmes and persuaded all three to allow their work to be published in the series. Whitman must have been especially enthusiastic about the idea; the title-page of *Democratic Vistas* stated that the book was 'Published by arrangement with the Author' while he wrote new material for *Specimen Days in America* which was 'newly revised by the author, with fresh preface and additional note'. Lowell appears to have been less keen to tack on any new material to his reprints but he did reluctantly supply 'An Apology for a Preface' for *English Poets: Lessing, Rousseau: Essays*.

There were a few changes to the series over the years which remain unexplained since no original records appear to survive. There were two changes to the series title, the first in May 1887³² from Camelot Classics to Camelot Series, and the second in February 1892³³

³¹ Rhys *Wales England Wed*, p 88.

³² *Bookseller*, 5 May 1887, p 497.

³³ *ibid*, 4 February 1892, p 164.

when the title became The Scott Library. The first change of title in 1887 was just that, and the individual volumes remained the same, listed in the same numbered order and available in the same styles of binding at the same prices. There was no special announcement or comment in Scott's advertisements -- one day it was Camelot Classics and the next it was Camelot Series.

The change from Camelot Series to Scott Library was treated differently. The advertisement announcing the Scott Library gave the impression that a completely new series was being launched. The aim of books for the people was still there but without the vehemence of the early Camelot advertisements; the 'PEOPLE', for example, have been replaced by 'the large class of readers':

The Scott Library

Mr. Walter Scott has pleasure in announcing that, under the above title, he intends issuing a New Series of Prose Volumes. These will consist mainly of well-known Works of English Literature, of Translations of Eminent Works of the Literature of the Continent, and of Translations of Classical Works.

Besides including well-known works which every reader desires to possess in a handy and pleasant form, the SCOTT LIBRARY will present in a cheap form many works hitherto, owing to rarity or high price, practically inaccessible to the large class of readers; it will also be the object to include in the new Library works of which the literary, historical, or other value is known to the critical and the few, but which have only to be thus made better known to become more widely sought after. Each Volume will be carefully Edited, with an Introduction (and Notes if needed) by a capable Editor ...³⁴

³⁴ *ibid.*

This advertisement added that the 'first volume ready 25th February' would be Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, to be followed on 25th March by an edition of John Dunton's *The Athenian Oracle*; neither title was in the old Camelot series and no others were mentioned. Monthly advertisements in the *Bookseller* continued this pattern and simply announced the new titles in the series so that by the end of July 1892 there appeared to be just five titles (nothing was published in July) in the new Scott Library. The *Publishers' Circular* also believed a new series had started and in reviewing *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* added, 'the 'Scott Library', if it maintains the high standard of the opening volume, should certainly prove a success'.³⁵

Suddenly in the *Bookseller* for 6th August³⁶ a complete list of the Scott Library was printed which contains, not five or six, but seventy-four titles, made up of all the old Camelot series together with the five new Scott Library titles. The binding style had been changed for the Scott Library but the texts and introductions were the same as before and were printed from the same plates. The only other minor alteration was that the Scott Library rearranged the serial numbers which from the start of the Camelot series had been given to each volume and which roughly followed the order of publication. (The volumes in the advertisement of 6th August 1892 were not numbered but soon numbers appeared again in lists of the series.) However, the reason for altering the sequence is not at all clear; some authors are brought together in the new Scott Library sequence but just as many others are separated. A comparison of the first fourteen volumes illustrates the problem:

³⁵ *Publishers' Circular*, 5 March 1892, p 277.

³⁶ *Bookseller*, 6 August 1892, p 763.

| | Camelot | Scott |
|---|---------|-------|
| Malory <i>Romance of King Arthur</i> | 1 | 1 |
| Thoreau <i>Walden</i> | 2 | 2 |
| Thoreau <i>Week on the Concord</i> | 42 | 3 |
| Thoreau <i>Essays</i> | 66 | 4 |
| De Quincey <i>Confessions of an Opium-Eater</i> | 2/3 | 5 |
| Landor <i>Imaginary Conversations</i> | 4 | 6* |
| Plutarch <i>Lives</i> | 5 | 7 |
| Browne <i>Religio Medici</i> | 6 | 8 |
| Shelley <i>Essays</i> | 7 | 9 |
| Swift <i>Prose</i> | 8 | 10 |
| Lowell <i>My Study Windows</i> | 9 | 11 |
| Lowell <i>English Poets</i> | 34 | 12 |
| Lowell <i>Biglow Papers</i> | 75 | 13 |
| Cunningham <i>Great English Painters</i> | 10 | 14 |

*The three Thoreau and three Lowell titles are brought together; however the series included three Landor titles which were moved but not brought together (*Imaginary Conversations* 6, *Pentameron* 37, and *Pericles*, 55).

Rhys was aware in mid-1891 that changes were in hand. He had been trying to arrange with Sidney Hartland for an English translation of the Mabinogion to be included in the series, and on 24th June he wrote to Hartland, 'The Mabinogion', in view of the curtailing of the Camelot Series, becomes less and less possible, I am sorry to say'.³⁷ Output of new titles after the change to the Scott Library was slower, but the series continued, and with Ernest Rhys as general editor.

There were other unexplained occurrences beginning in May 1893 when monthly publication ceased for a time. Publication resumed in September 1893, was suspended again from March until September 1894, and suspended for a third time from March to August 1895. The start of the first two interruptions was announced in the *Publishers' Circular*,³⁸ but the third occurred without warning. Similarly, the resumption of publication was not announced after the first break, although it was after the second and third in Scott's advertisements³⁹ and after the third break the *Publishers' Circular* welcomed the 'resumed monthly issue of the excellent 'Scott Library''.⁴⁰

In 1896 Ernest Renan's *The Poetry of the Celtic Races* was published to become the one hundredth volume and the occasion, naturally, was used to publicise the series. Interest was kept up by organizing a 'plebiscite' to find which title readers wanted as Volume 101; the result was reported in the *Publishers' Circular*:

37 Hartland MSS in National Library of Wales, 16885C-16891C.

38 *Publishers' Circular*, 13 May 1893, p 506, and 3 March 1894, p 233.

39 *ibid*, 29 September 1894, p 312.

40 *ibid*, 3 August 1895, p 94, and 24 August 1895, p 203.

The Scott Library Plebiscite for the work to form the 101st volume resulted in extensive voting, the suggestions of readers being interesting as well as numerous. By far the largest proportion of the votes (some eight to one) were given for a volume of Critical Papers by Goethe; the next in popularity being a volume of 'Selected Essays of Schopenhauer'. Both these volumes were mentioned on the voting paper originally sent out by the Publishers.⁴¹

In addition to discovering the most popular title of those printed on the voting papers there would also have been some indication of the numbers of people who were likely to buy it and similar information would have been provided for every other title on the list. It is also quite likely that readers would have made many suggestions for other future publications as well as those printed on the voting papers.

At some point in the 1890s, and apparently while he was still employed by Scott, Ernest Rhys began to work for J.M. Dent. Very few firm dates are mentioned in either of Rhys' autobiographies and Dent's memoirs are no better, but it seems that Rhys first edited Dent's Lyric Poets series,⁴² according to *Who's Who*,⁴³ from 1894 to 1889. None of the Lyric Poets volumes is dated but the British Library catalogue conjectures that publication began in 1895 which would agree with these dates.

The main problem, though, is the date when Rhys stopped working for Scott because it seems his relationship with Scott did not come to an end in 1894 when he started with

41 *ibid*, 23 October 1897, p 482. There was an earlier, shorter announcement of the result in a Scott advertisement in *Publishers' Circular* for 4 September 1897, p 242.

42 Rhys *Wales England Wed*, p 142.

43 Ernest Rhys' entry in *Who's Who*, 1945.

Dent and for some years he worked for both Scott and Dent at the same time. There is a letter from Thomas Hardy reprinted in *Letters from Limbo*⁴⁴ and dated 29th June 1894 which Rhys explains was in answer to 'a Camelot request', and in 1896 Rhys edited a selection of Arthur Hugh Clough's poems for the Canterbury Poets. In fact, the Scott connexion appears to have gone on for much longer until 1907. *Everyman Remembers* describes Rhys' acquaintance with Frank Podmore, his neighbour on Hampstead Heath, a Scott author and for many years an employee of the Post Office. One day Podmore called unexpectedly to see Rhys and came straight to the point:

'I heard you were giving up the editorship of 'Camelot' -- Do you think there'd be a chance of my taking it on?'

'But your Post Office berth? ... you're not old enough to be retired yet.'

'I have left the Post Office!'⁴⁵

Podmore's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* puts a date on this meeting: 'In 1879 he was appointed to a higher division clerkship in the secretary's department of the post office. This position he held till 1907, when he retired without a pension.'⁴⁶

The evidence, though, is contradictory. Firstly Rhys almost always refers to the 'Camelot' series, even though the name changed to the Scott Library in 1892, suggesting that he left about this time; nevertheless, this could be because Camelot was Rhys' own choice of name from the start of the series. There is, however, one instance, in his introduction to

⁴⁴ Ernest Rhys, *Letters from Limbo*, p 149.

⁴⁵ Rhys *Everyman Remembers*, pp 206-7.

⁴⁶ *DNB Supplement* January 1901 - December 1911, Oxford: OUP, 1966 reprint.

The Reader's Guide to Everyman's Library, where he refers to his 'Camelot Series and Scott Library'.⁴⁷ But most telling is his entry in *Who's Who*⁴⁸ which in connexion with Scott mentions only 'Camelot Series, 1886-1891'. It may be, once again, that Rhys could not accept the change of name, or perhaps he simply gave up the formal editorship then, because he almost certainly had contact with Scott after 1891. Secondly the stopping and starting of the publication programme for the Scott Library between 1894 and '95 mentioned above occurs just at the start of Rhys' contact with Dent for the Lyric Poets and the interruptions at Scott's may have been caused if Rhys left at that time.

Ernest Rhys' fame, of course, rests on his editorship of *Everyman's Library* for Dent and there is no doubt that the first volumes of *Everyman's Library* were published in February 1906. Working back from then it is possible to deduce that Rhys was considering such a series in 1904. One November evening he spoke to his wife about reviving 'my old Camelot Series' and then he 'often went to Dr Williams's Library and the Reading Room of the British Museum and plotted out lists of books on enormous blue sheets'.⁴⁹ After Christmas in the same year the family moved to the Isle of Wight because of his wife's poor health, where 'I worked over my blue sheets, outlining the ambitious plan of a world library, and then sent a copy to old J.M. Dent'.⁵⁰ After some delay Dent took up the idea and the Rhyses moved back to London, which must have been in 1905 in order prepare for

47 R.F. Sharp, *The Reader's Guide to Everyman's Library*, London: Dent, 1932, Introduction by Ernest Rhys, p ix.

48 *Who's Who*, 1945.

49 Rhys *Wales England Wed*, pp 163-4.

50 *ibid*, p 165.

publication early the following year. There was no continuity between his first work for Dent on the Lyric Poets and *Everyman's* because Dent speaks of 'renewing my friendship with Mr. Ernest Rhys' in 1905,⁵¹ which once again makes it more likely that Rhys stayed with Scott in the interim.

Most of what Rhys says about the start of *Everyman's* is confirmed by J.M. Dent.⁵² Both agree the planning of the series was a combined effort and even the original idea had occurred to them both independently at about the same time in 1904. Dent, naturally, makes more of his own part and never mentions Rhys' lists sent from the Isle of Wight. According to Dent, he was the one who 'laid the scheme before [Rhys]'. However, Dent agrees it was Rhys who thought of the name for the series. After a number of rejected suggestions:

... just as we were beginning to grow anxious, one day Mr. Rhys came saying, 'Eureka,' and quoting the old lines from the play - 'Everyman, I will go with thee, and be thy guide.' Thereupon he suggested the title, now known all the world over -- EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY.⁵³

(Incidentally, despite Rhys' explanation, the name may have been suggested to him from another source. When *Everyman's* plans were well advanced in March 1905 Methuen announced the first of their Standard Library in a full page advertisement in *The Athenaeum*⁵⁴ headed, in the largest type on the page, 'Everyman's Library'.)

51 H.R. Dent (ed) *The House of Dent, 1888-1938*, pp 124-5.

52 *ibid*, p 123f.

53 *ibid*, p 125.

54 *Athenaeum*, 25 March 1905, p 357.

Thus it seems Rhys began working for Walter Scott on the Camelot series in 1886 and he first undertook editorial work for J.M. Dent in 1894. He started planning a new series of reprints in 1904 which became Everyman's Library in 1906. He continued to work for Scott and the arrangement did not cease until 1907.

These dates are difficult to believe, of course, because although it is possible for an editor to work for more than one publisher at the same time, the work which Rhys was doing for Scott and Dent between 1904 and 1907 would have brought about a quite unacceptable conflict of interest. However, besides the certainty of the commencement of Everyman's in 1906, it is unlikely that *DNB* would make a mistake in the date of Podmore's dismissal from the Post Office. It is equally unlikely that Podmore would have asked Rhys about taking his job at any time before his dismissal because part of Rhys' aim in telling the story was the unexpectedness of the event to everybody concerned. Nothing is certain, but on balance it seems Rhys did remain with Scott until 1907, perhaps taking less and less of an active part as time went by.

One more hint that Rhys remained with Scott until 1907 is found in an announcement in the *Publishers' Circular* on 20th May 1905:

The Walter Scott Publishing Co. Ltd., are publishing a cheaper issue of the 'Scott Library' containing over one hundred and twenty of the world's best books. The price is one shilling per volume, and the size and quality of the paper and printing will remain as heretofore.⁵⁵

Camelot/Scott volumes were first priced at one shilling each and were then increased to one shilling and sixpence, probably in 1900. By May 1905 Rhys had had his plan for

⁵⁵ *Publishers' Circular*, 20 May 1905, p 571.

Everyman's accepted by Dent and he was working on the first volumes. In less than one year from Scott's announcement of the reduced price Everyman's would be published at one shilling each, undercutting Scott's 1/6d by a third had it remained unchanged. Scott's price reduction therefore looks as though it could have been based on inside information.

Even before this date, however, the pricing strategy seems to have been flexible. When Stanley Unwin, who was born in 1884, was at school,

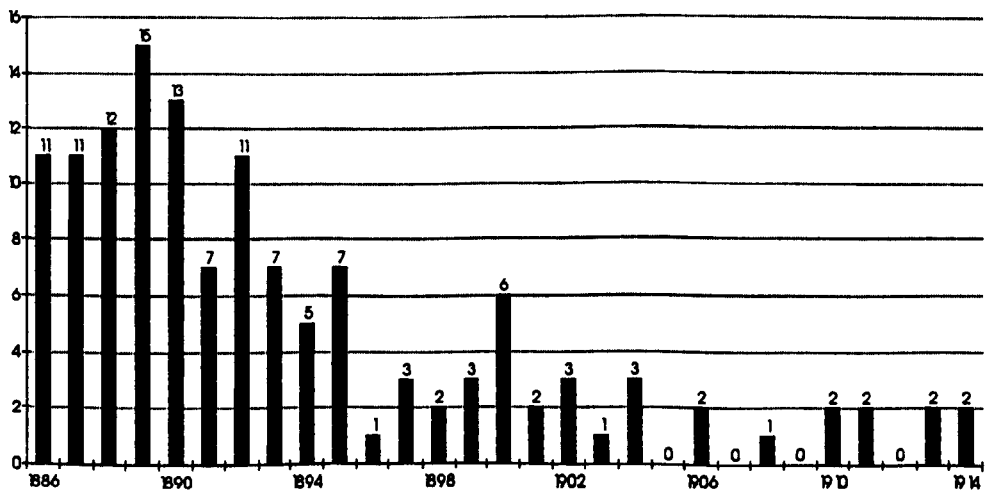
... it was compulsory for every boy to build up his own library by the purchase each term of what became known as a 'term' book for private reading. There was a wide list of 'approved' books, from which each boy could make his own selection, and I still possess volumes thus acquired, as well as a shelf full of Canterbury Poets and Scott classics, then issued, cloth bound, at 1s and 1s 6d respectively by the Walter Scott Publishing Company, whose publications, by some special dispensation, I was able to buy at half price.⁵⁶

Whatever the date of Rhys' departure from Scott, publication of the Scott Library continued after 1907 although at a much reduced rate. As with the Canterbury Poets series, there was probably no general editor during the final years and Frederick J. Crowest, the successor to David Gordon, appears to have taken personal charge of all the publications. Only two titles were published in 1914 (*Pellico Prison Memoirs* and *Cowley Essays*) and these appear to have been the last. Altogether a total of 133 volumes had been published since 1886. The pattern of publication with the number of titles for each year was as follows:

⁵⁶ Unwin *The Truth About a Publisher*, p 54.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----|------|---|------|---|------|---|
| 1886 | 11 | 1894 | 5 | 1902 | 3 | 1910 | 2 |
| 1887 | 11 | 1895 | 7 | 1903 | 1 | 1911 | 2 |
| 1888 | 12 | 1896 | 1 | 1904 | 3 | 1912 | 0 |
| 1889 | 15 | 1897 | 3 | 1905 | 0 | 1913 | 2 |
| 1890 | 13 | 1898 | 2 | 1906 | 2 | 1914 | 2 |
| 1891 | 7 | 1899 | 3 | 1907 | 0 | | |
| 1892 | 11 | 1900 | 6 | 1908 | 1 | | |
| 1893 | 7 | 1901 | 2 | 1909 | 0 | | |

Camelot/Scott Series: 1886-1914



There were 65 volumes from British or Irish authors, fourteen American, thirteen from Classical authors, twelve French, ten German, four Italian, three Russian, two Norwegian, and one each from Swedish, Belgian, Persian and Indian authors. Like *Canterbury Poets*, the majority (71 titles) were nineteenth century works, and there were twenty from the eighteenth century, nine from the seventeenth, three from the sixteenth, two from the fifteenth and thirteenth, one each from the fourteenth and sixth centuries, and three volumes of traditional material in addition to the thirteen from Classical authors. Fifty volumes contained essays on a range of subjects and there were twenty works of fiction, fourteen on philosophy, eleven containing plays, eight biographical works, seven on politics, six collections of letters, five on history, four on natural history, two on visual art and one each on music and education. Most volumes contained the work of one author but there were eight anthologies, and regardless of the *Canterbury Poets* series, there were two volumes of verse. There was even a Camelot calendar for 1890 with 365 'tear-offs, each with an appropriate maxim, quotation or piece of verse, taken from the Camelot Series, the *Canterbury Poets*, or the *Great Writers*'.⁵⁷ Nine authors were living when their volumes were published and eight had died shortly before publication.

Thus, there were remarkable parallels between the Camelot/Scott series and Everyman's and Rhys was undoubtedly learning the business of editing with Scott. Rhys' career can now be seen to have been all of a piece in moving from his library and literature classes for miners, to editing reprints for Scott, to the same thing on a much larger scale for Dent. He worked for Everyman's for a much longer period than for Scott which may have helped to keep Camelot in obscurity, and in the same way, the greater numbers of Everyman's

⁵⁷ There is a small advertising leaflet for the calendar, but unfortunately no calendar, in the John Johnson Collection.

volumes may have overshadowed Camelot. Nevertheless, it is difficult to explain why a series of cheap, well-produced reprints of important prose works appearing immediately before *Everyman's* and edited by Ernest Rhys has suffered such neglect by bibliographers.

Will H. Dircks

There was a Newcastle connexion linking some of the people involved with Scott in the early years. Joseph Skipsey was born and lived in the area for most of his life and Ernest Rhys moved there as a young boy. Soon after he arrived Rhys formed a close friendship with a local boy, Will H. (William Henry) Dircks. They grew up together and both developed an interest in literature which stayed with them for the rest of their lives. According to Rhys in later years, 'There was in Newcastle, too, a band of young journalists and writers ... Occasionally they met at the home of the only real poet among them, old Joseph Skipsey'.⁵⁸ Rhys and Dircks belonged to this band.

Editors of series, like Skipsey and Rhys, could be based anywhere provided they were backed up by a permanent office staff to oversee the whole publishing programme. Scott's publishing and editorial offices appear to have remained in Newcastle throughout the firm's history. Surviving letters from the Publishing Manager invariably originate from there. David Gordon was Scottish but he worked in the Newcastle office⁵⁹ and at some stage, possibly from the beginning in 1882, Will H. Dircks was employed there.

Will H. Dircks was an editor, probably working under David Gordon. It may be that Dircks was the only editor while Gordon concentrated on general management and the

⁵⁸ Rhys *Wales England Wed*, p 32.

⁵⁹ According to John Inglis Lothian, Chapter 2, p 41.

business and commercial aspects of publishing. Still, Bernard Shaw assumed that Dircks had some non-editorial responsibilities when he wrote about *Fabian Essays* which was to be reprinted by Scott. Shaw was complaining about almost every aspect of the reprint, but particularly about the proposed selling price. Nevertheless, he was not certain that Dircks was responsible since he began his letter, 'Dear Dirckes [sic] (it is you, isn't it?)' and continued, in typical Shavian style, 'Tell the London house finally to go to blazes.'⁶⁰

Dircks certainly acted as editor to George Moore and was closely involved during the writing of *Esther Waters*. Moore obviously respected Dircks' editorial ability and in one letter he wrote, 'There is another alteration I think I should like to make, but I am not quite sure about it and would like to have your opinion'⁶¹ and he goes on to explain the change in detail. Later in the same letter he writes, 'You take a gloomy view about the middle of the book, I know;' and then proceeds to defend himself.

Furthermore, after the rejection by Frank Marzials of W.B. Yeats' idea for a biography of John Mitchel, Yeats wrote again, in 1890, with a new proposal for the Great Writers Series:

My friend Edwin J Ellis and myself have made a special study of the mystical philosophy and poetry of William Blake ... We wish therefore to write a short life of him & I thought that perhaps such a book would suit Scotts "Great Writers Series". Mr Rhys tells me that you are the best person to write to about it.⁶²

60 Letter dated 3 September 1890 in G.B. Shaw *Collected Letters 1874-1897*, ed Dan H. Laurence, p 259.

61 E. Rhys *Letters from Limbo*, pp 74-5.

62 W.B. Yeats *Collected Letters*, Vol I, 1865-1895, p 213.

The letter is addressed to Will Dircks, the 'best person' to make a decision according to Rhys. It made no difference and the Blake biography, like Mitchel's, was rejected. Yeats being turned down twice for Great Writers was not as perverse or misguided as it might seem. Most of the authors in Great Writers had special knowledge of the subject or were established academics, rather than literary people at the start of their careers. It is not as though Yeats was refused all employment by Scott since he had edited *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* in 1888, which was only his second published book, and William Carleton's Irish stories the following year -- work for which he was perhaps better fitted. It was Bernard Quaritch in 1893 who brought out the work to which Yeats' letter to Dircks refers, as a three volume edition of Blake edited by Yeats and Edwin J. Ellis.

Dircks also made contributions to the series;⁶³ in the Camelot/Scott Series he produced three volumes from Thoreau's works (*Walden*, 1886, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*, 1889, and *Essays*, 1891) as well as Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Autobiography*, 1888, and Coleridge's *Passages from the Prose and Table Talk*, 1894. In the Canterbury Poets he edited *Cavalier and Courtier Lyrics*, 1891, with E. Sharwood Smith. In addition he acted as general editor for the 'Library of Humour' series. There were eight titles in the Library of Humour, published between 1892 and 1895. Each volume was a compilation of humorous pieces from one particular country, with original illustrations. They were aimed at the popular gift-book market and they were featured in regular pre-Christmas advertising every year from 1892 to 1896.

Dircks eventually left Scott and then replaced Edward Garnett as a full-time reader for T. Fisher Unwin,

⁶³ His brother Rudolf and Rudolf's wife also edited works for the Camelot/Scott Series.

Edward Garnett had left, and had been replaced by Will H. Dircks, who had previously done valuable editorial work for the Walter Scott Publishing Company, publishers of 'The Canterbury Poets' and pioneers in the reprinting of the classics.⁶⁴

but exact dates for these moves are not known. Garnett joined Unwin in 1887 and 'after about ten years'⁶⁵ he left to join Heinemann, so Dircks could have left Scott by 1897 if he immediately replaced Garnett. Many of Dircks' reader's reports have survived⁶⁶ and the earliest is dated 1890 when he was still a full-time editor for Scott. Dircks' address on the reports remains in Whitley Bay at least until September 1902 but by February 1904 he was writing from West Ealing in London. Just as Ernest Rhys worked for Dent at the same time as he was working for Scott, it would have been possible for Dircks to act as a part-time reader for Unwin or a part-time editor for Scott, but it is still not known when he made the complete break with Scott. Edward Garnett is generally acknowledged to have been one of the best ever publishers' readers, not just in his ability to give the right advice to both publishers and authors, but in his conscientiousness and the amount and range of work he got through. In order to follow Garnett, Dircks must have had a great deal to recommend him.

Other Series

There were a number of other series which began during the early stage of the firm's history and for which there was no named editor. Perhaps they were the responsibility of Will Dircks. The Bijou Books consisted of miniature books measuring about 88 x 60 mm

64 Stanley Unwin *The Truth About a Publisher*, p 85.

65 Philip Unwin *The Publishing Unwins*, p 43.

66 In the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

(3.5 x 2.25") which were all on religious themes. The series was first mentioned in the September 1883 advertisement and since six titles were already published it may be that Scott bought them as a package within the book trade. A total of eighteen titles were published.

The Everyday Help Series began in 1885 with six titles, four of which had previously been published by the Glasgow firm of Marr and Sons. These six titles remained in the list and then in 1894 another batch was announced. Over the next few years 31 titles were added to the original six, fifteen of which had previously been published by Hardwicke and Bogue of London in their Health Primer Series. At least two other titles were reprinted from editions by other publishers. There were 27 titles on health care; four each on the home and housekeeping, and the use of English; and one each on etiquette and the organisation of a commercial business. The pattern of publication was as follows:

| | | | | | |
|---------|---|------|----|------|---|
| 1885 | 4 | 1894 | 17 | 1898 | 1 |
| 1886 | 1 | 1895 | 5 | 1899 | 3 |
| 1887 | 1 | 1896 | 2 | | |
| 1888-93 | 0 | 1897 | 0 | | |

One each of the three remaining titles was published in 1902, 1906 and 1913.

The Elswick Science Series began in 1887 and although several titles were announced only three were published. The three titles were textbooks for technology students on

trigonometry, geometry, and steam and other sources of power. Elswick is a district in Newcastle upon Tyne and another series, the Novocastrian Novels, made reference to Scott's location. Eleven Novocastrian Novels were published in all, five in 1888 and six in 1889. The authors are either totally unknown or very famous, the famous being Arthur Conan Doyle and George Bernard Shaw. Conan Doyle's *Mysteries and Adventures* was a collection of early stories some of which he wanted to suppress and which Scott published against Conan Doyle's wish.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the book remained in the series and was reprinted in 1892, changing its title to *The Gully of Bluemansdyke*. As so often with Scott's affairs, no documentation survives showing the progress of the dispute with Conan Doyle. Bernard Shaw's *Cashel Byron's Profession* had first been serialised in *To-Day* and then published in book form by the Modern Press before appearing in the Novocastrian Novels. Shaw's dealings with Scott will be discussed more fully later (see Chapter 5, p 102 ff).

There were five European Conversation Books (French, German, Italian, Spanish and Norwegian) issued between 1889 and 1891. The series was among the most frequently advertised of Scott's publications and in most years advertisements appeared in spring and summer, presumably to attract people planning to go abroad on holiday.

The New England Library was launched in 1893 and consisted of 21 works by American authors. Some of the titles had appeared in the Camelot/Scott series (Thoreau's *Walden*, *Week on the Concord*, and *Essays*, and Oliver Wendell Holmes' *Autocrat*, *Poet*, and *Professor at the Breakfast-table*), some in Brotherhood and other reprint series (Hawthorne's *House of Seven Gables*, *Scarlet Letter*, and *Tanglewood Tales*, Oliver

⁶⁷ Green and Gibson A4a.

Wendell Holmes' *Elsie Venner*, and Theodore Winthrop's *Cecil Dreeme*), and the rest (Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance*, *Legends of the Province House*, *Mosses from an Old Manse*, *New Adam and Eve*, *Our Old Home*, *The Snow Image*, *True Stories*, *Twice-told Tales*, and *A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys*, and Oliver Wendell Holmes' *Mortal Antipathy*) were published for the first time by Scott. A second series, the Hawthorne Library was introduced and ran in parallel to the New England Library. After 1906 some changes were made to the lists, but the reasons for the changes remain obscure; the three Thoreau titles were dropped from New England but were kept in Hawthorne, and seven other titles were dropped from Hawthorne (Arthur Sherburn Hardy *But Yet a Woman*, Oliver Wendell Holmes *Mortal Antipathy*, Washington Irving *Christmas* and *Sketch Book*, and Theodore Winthrop *Canoe and Saddle*, *Edwin Brothertoft*, and *John Brent*) but kept in New England.

The World's Great Novels began in 1896 with 21 titles, some taken from other series, for example, *Jane Eyre* and *John Halifax, Gentleman*, and others appearing in Scott's catalogue for the first time, for example, *Lorna Doone* and Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. Finally, there were four titles in Manuals of Employment for Educated Women, three published in 1900 (*Elementary Teaching*, *Sick Nursing* and *Secondary Teaching*) and one in 1901 (*Medicine*).

Great Writers Series

Scott's take-over of Tyne Publishing occurred in August 1882 and the Canterbury Poets was first advertised on 4th September 1884 with the first volume published on 25th September. Within eighteen months, in February 1886, the Camelot/Scott Series had been

advertised and launched. Before the end of 1886 a third new series, *Great Writers*, was announced and the first volume was ready.⁶⁸ David Gordon had got into top gear.

Furthermore, the new series broke with the firm's reliance on reprints since all the volumes in *Great Writers* were to be original works. In other respects *Great Writers* followed the pattern of *Canterbury Poets* and *Camelot/Scott*. A new volume was to be published each month aimed at a wide readership by selling at one shilling. As the first advertisement claimed, 'No student of literature can afford to be without them. Few need grudge the monthly Shilling that will suffice to purchase them'. Each volume would be a critical biography of a famous author, mainly from English or American literature, although foreign-language authors would occasionally be included. Every volume would also contain a bibliography. According to the advertisement, 'these Biographies will be the **Cheapest Original Works ever produced** in this or any other country' -- a statement which was probably not far from the truth.

The general editor was Professor Eric Sutherland Robertson who was born in 1857 and graduated MA from Edinburgh University in 1878. In 1901 he became Vice Principal at Government College, Lahore.⁶⁹ He had planned the publication schedule for the first year by the time of the December 1886 announcement and some of the books must have been

⁶⁸ First advertisement: *Bookseller*, 16 December 1886, p 1369; first volume published 1st January 1887.

⁶⁹ Information supplied by Edinburgh University Library.

written already. Twelve prospective authors were listed⁷⁰ and all except D'Arcy Thompson produced a book before December 1887. D'Arcy Thompson failed to publish anything.

Unfortunately the plans do not seem to have extended beyond the first two years and it soon became clear that publishing original works to a strict monthly time-table was far more difficult than for reprints. Even for reprints the target of one each month soon proved to be too ambitious; for original works it was quite unrealistic. The plans ran fairly smoothly until January 1889 when the twenty-fourth title was published. Volume 25 appeared in March but this was followed by a seven month gap and Volume 26 was not published until November. The gap was acknowledged in one of Scott's advertisements in early October which announced that 'the regular Monthly Issue of this Series will shortly be resumed'⁷¹ and monthly issues, in fact, continued until March 1890. The next volume came in June followed by an announcement that 'the issue of this series is now bi-monthly'.⁷² As if to underline how disjointed the programme had become, the new bi-monthly scheme began with a volume in August and another immediately after in September. New titles continued to appear until January 1891 but after that the series was almost at an end. And yet optimism, or confusion, about the series continued; there was a

70 *The following Gentlemen have agreed to write the Volumes forming the First Year's Issue:*
William Rossetti, Hall Caine, Richard Garnett, Frank T. Marzials, William Sharp, Joseph Knight, Augustine Birrell, Professor D'Arcy Thompson, R.B. Haldane, M.P., Austin Dobson, Colonel F. Grant, and the Editor.

71 *Bookseller*, 9 October 1889, p 1137.

72 *ibid*, 5 July 1890, p 757.

run of repeated advertisements in January and February 1892 which still spoke of the 'monthly volumes'.⁷³

Eric Robertson was joined by Frank Thomas Marzials to share the general editorship, and perhaps to try to keep the series on target, although it is not known when this happened. Marzials' main career was as a civil servant at the War Office which he joined straight from school and where he rose to become Accountant-General to the Army from 1898 to 1904. He contributed two biographies to the series, *Dickens* was published in February 1887 and *Victor Hugo* in April 1888, but there is no mention of his editorial involvement in either of these volumes and the first advertisement for the series which mentions him as an editor is not until 1895.⁷⁴ However, by November 1888 Marzials was involved. There is a letter from W.B. Yeats to Katharine Tynan in which he discusses his plans for the future. The letter is dated 14th November 1888 and tells how William Ernest Henley had been helping to find work for Yeats:

he tried to get me the writing of a life of Mitchell [*ie* John Mitchel] in the "great writers" series of Scotts but the editor Marzials (a very poor writer and a shallow man judging by his life of Hugo) thought nothing of Mitchell.⁷⁵

⁷³ *Publishers' Circular*, 16 January 1892, p 50; 23 January, p 99; 30 January, p 122; and 6 February, p 147.

⁷⁴ *ibid*, 2 August 1895, p 740.

⁷⁵ W.B. Yeats *Collected Letters*, Vol 1, 1865-1895, p 107.



For the total of 45 titles the annual figures were as follows:

| | | | | | |
|------|----|------|---|------|---|
| 1887 | 13 | 1891 | 2 | 1895 | 1 |
| 1888 | 10 | 1892 | 1 | 1896 | 1 |
| 1889 | 4 | 1893 | 2 | | |
| 1890 | 8 | 1894 | 0 | | |

After that nothing at all was published until one title appeared in 1910 followed by one in 1913 and one final title in 1914. The 1913 title was Jethro Bithell's *The Life and Writings of Maurice Maeterlinck* which therefore appeared during the period when he was editing his four titles in the *Canterbury Poets*. All this activity by Bithell came about when the publishing company was almost moribund so perhaps he had more than an author/editor connection with the firm.

There were 38 biographies of literary authors, six of philosophers and one of a scientist. Twenty-nine of the subjects were British or Irish and 16 were non-British. Besides all the volumes being new, original works, most of the subjects were contemporary and several of them had died within ten years of the publication of their biographies. Maurice Maeterlinck was still alive when his biography was published. Bibliographies were included in all volumes except the last two; they were compiled by John P. Anderson of the British Museum Library except for that in Ashmore Wingate's *John Ruskin*, 1910, which was compiled by the author. The series was still of sufficient interest in 1972 for a facsimile reprint to be issued by the Kennikat Press.

The gaps in the publication programmes of the Canterbury Poets, Camelot/Scott series and the Great Writers do not coincide and the reasons for the interruptions are therefore internal to each series rather than the result of crises in the company as a whole.

Great Writers helped to strengthen Scott's list because biographies of authors complemented reprints of their works in Canterbury Poets and Camelot/Scott. Perhaps the series was conceived by David Gordon and his colleagues although it is equally likely that it was offered to Scott as a package by Eric Robertson. Whatever the background history, by putting the series into print David Gordon and the publishing office demonstrated they were as dynamic as ever and were still seizing every opportunity.

Contemporary Science Series

The dynamism continued with a fourth new series in 1889. At least the general editor of this series had no doubts about its origin -- it was entirely his idea and was offered to Scott as a package. The new series was Contemporary Science and the general editor was Henry Havelock Ellis.⁷⁶ Like Great Writers these were all original works and in this case they took Scott's list into new subject areas.

Ellis came into contact with Walter Scott Publishing by being a member of the Fellowship of the New Life, an intellectual left-wing group from which the Fabian Society developed. Through the Fellowship meetings Ellis became friendly with Percival Chubb who in turn introduced him to Ernest Rhys and Will H. Dircks. The Society of the New Life was an important source of Scott authors. After meeting Rhys and Dircks, Ellis began to edit and

⁷⁶ Information about Ellis is found in his autobiography, *My Life*, 1940, and in Phyllis Grosskurth *Havelock Ellis: a Biography*, 1980.

write introductions for Camelot books beginning in May 1886 with a selection from Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*. He continued to produce work for the Camelot/Scott Series and *Imaginary Conversations* was followed by Heine's *Prose* in 1887, an edition of Ibsen's plays in 1888, Landor's *Pentameron and Other Imaginary Conversations* in 1889, and Vasari's *Lives of Italian Painters* in 1895.

Ellis was something of a polymath, interested in science as much as in European literature. Not surprisingly, his wide interests and publications delayed his progress in any single direction and in 1889 when he was thirty years old he was still a medical student. In the previous year, a few months before his final examinations, he sent his plan for the Contemporary Science Series to David Gordon. Gordon knew nothing about science but got on well with Ellis and consequently the plan was promptly accepted.

Contemporary Science was first advertised in the *Bookseller* in October 1889.⁷⁷ Regardless of Scott's experience with Great Writers and the other series it was planned to publish one title every month but as usual this schedule was impossible and was abandoned before the first year was out. Even though the subject matter was new and unknown to Scott Contemporary Science had one feature in common with all the other publications in being aimed at a popular readership. The first advertisement stated:

The Contemporary Science Series will bring within general reach of the English-speaking public the best that is known and thought in all departments of modern scientific research. The influence of the scientific spirit is now rapidly spreading in every field of human activity. Social progress, it is felt, must be guided and accompanied by accurate knowledge -- knowledge which is, in many departments, not yet open to the English

⁷⁷ *Bookseller*, 9 October 1889, p 1136.

reader. In the Contemporary Science Series all the questions of modern life -- the various social and politico-economical problems of to-day, the most recent researches in the knowledge of man, the past and present experiences of the race, and the nature of its environment -- will be frankly investigated and clearly presented.

The books were to be popular but they were not cheap, at 3/6d each they were not 'the cheapest original works ever produced' like Great Writers less than two years earlier.

The advertisement also included a list of authors who were 'preparing volumes for the series'. The process of signing up prospective authors had begun much earlier. Ellis wrote to Sidney Hartland on 23rd November 1888, on Contemporary Science letter-headed note paper, suggesting a possible book and mentioning that Laurence Gomme was already at work:

Dear Sir,

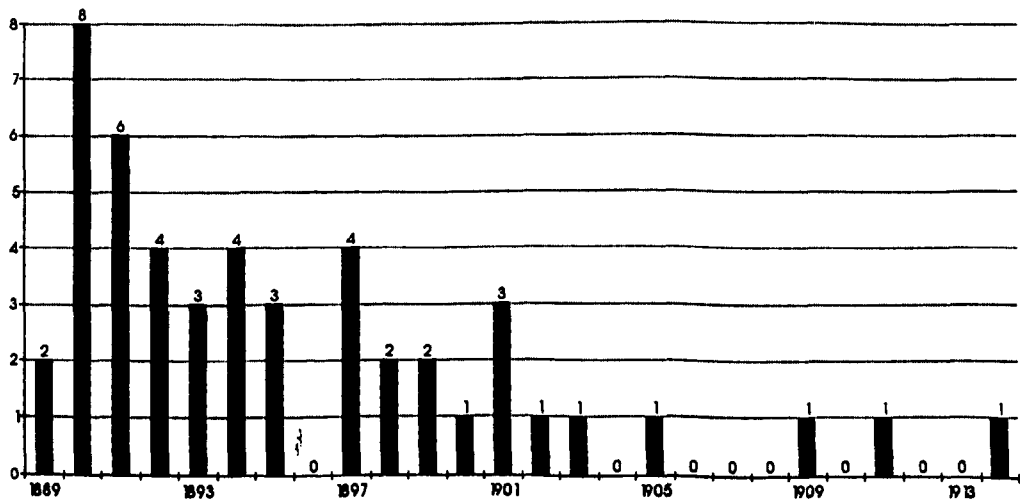
I propose to have a volume on the 'Science of Fairy Tales' (or whatever we may decide to call it) for the above (forthcoming) Series. Mr. Lang, to whom I applied, says that he has nothing fresh to say on the subject, and Mr. Gomme -- who is doing a volume for the Series on Village Communities in Britain -- has recommended me to apply to you. I should be glad to know if you are disposed to consider the matter.⁷⁸

One of the few conditions which David Gordon stipulated for the series was that the project would continue beyond twelve volumes only if these twelve proved to be profitable. Success was achieved and a total of 48 titles were published. The annual output was as follows:

⁷⁸ Edwin Sidney Hartland correspondence in the National Library of Wales.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|------|---|------|---|
| 1889 | 2 | 1897 | 4 | 1905 | 1 | 1913 | 0 |
| 1890 | 8 | 1898 | 2 | 1906 | 0 | 1914 | 1 |
| 1891 | 6 | 1899 | 2 | 1907 | 0 | | |
| 1892 | 4 | 1900 | 1 | 1908 | 0 | | |
| 1893 | 3 | 1901 | 3 | 1909 | 1 | | |
| 1894 | 4 | 1902 | 1 | 1910 | 0 | | |
| 1895 | 3 | 1903 | 1 | 1911 | 1 | | |
| 1896 | 0 | 1904 | 0 | 1912 | 0 | | |

Contemporary Science: 1889-1914



The output, as with all Scott's series, began well and then gradually declined, but Contemporary Science had a more even distribution over the years than the other series. Only Contemporary Science had continuity while Scott's other series ran out of steam, either because the editor left and could not be replaced, like Camelot/Scott and Ernest Rhys, or the editor began well but lost impetus, like Canterbury Poets and William Sharp or Great Writers and Eric Robertson. Ellis himself admitted that Contemporary Science, while it lasted, was his main source of income.⁷⁹

Ellis wrote two of the volumes, *The Criminal*, 1890, and *Man and Woman: a Study of Human Secondary Characters*, 1894, and he also translated the whole of Lombroso's *The Man of Genius*, 1891. In his autobiography he claimed, 'In one form or another I had to go through each volume several times, I usually made the index, and several of the foreign volumes I wholly or in part translated'.⁸⁰ His edition of Heine for the Camelot Series had already included some of his own translations.⁸¹ There was certainly plenty of translating to be done because a high proportion of the Contemporary Science authors were not British.

The definition of science was broad with the stress on human questions. There were twelve titles on human biology, eleven on anthropology, ten on sociology, six on

⁷⁹ Ellis *My Life*, p 170.

⁸⁰ *ibid*, p 171.

⁸¹ '... some of the translations were my own, especially the *Florentine Nights*, which I had done for my own instruction when I was learning German ...' *ibid*, p 164.

psychology, three on geology, and one each on bacteriology, chemistry, zoology, electricity, meteorology, and scientific method. Some barely fall within science at all, for example, *Manual Training*, *Evolution in Art*, and a few of the anthropological and sociological titles.

The claim in the original advertisement for the series that topics would be 'frankly investigated' was Ellis' way of warning readers that sex would be openly discussed. Even at this early stage of his career the study of sex had become of great importance for Ellis. At this time in Britain, of course, the mere mention of the word, never mind frank investigation of the subject, was enough to cause genuine embarrassment, distress and outrage to most of society. Contemporary Science and the publisher were undaunted and began as they intended to continue. The very first title was *The Evolution of Sex* by Patrick Geddes⁸² and J. Arthur Thomson. As Ellis admitted, 'To place such a subject at the forefront of the scheme seemed daring to many people, but Gordon had made no objection'.⁸³

All the same, there were limits. In 1892 John Addington Symonds enquired, through Arthur Symons, about the possibility of including a book on sexual inversion in the series. Symonds then suggested joint authorship with Ellis. Ellis replied, 'I am very glad that you think of writing a book on this matter; the question of its suitability for the C.S.S. [Contemporary Science Series] will require some consideration. Personally I should much

82 Patric Geddes had his own publishing company in Edinburgh which in 1896 published Ernest Rhys's *The Fiddler of Carne: a North Sea Winter's Tale*.

83 Ellis *My Life*, p 170.

like to have it, but the difficulties are clearly serious.⁸⁴ and in a later letter:

Publication in the C.S.S. will, I fear, not be feasible. Several of the volumes approach various forbidden topics as nearly as is desirable, and I am inclined to agree with the publisher that there is too much at stake to involve the Series in any risky pioneering experiment. From the point of view of the book, also, I doubt if it would be the wisest mode of publication.⁸⁵

Karl Pearson, the author of *The Grammar of Science*, 1892, found Ellis' notion of science insufficiently rigorous and an unfortunate disagreement followed the publication of Ellis' *Man and Woman* in 1894. Pearson thought Ellis' theories on the differences between men and women were unscientific and he took the matter seriously enough to withdraw his book from the series in 1897. There was a second edition of *Grammar of Science* in 1900 but this time published by A. and C. Black. It was a pity to lose Pearson since he was an important and influential scientist. However he was not the only one and the series easily survived without him. As R.C.K. Ensor remarked, Ellis 'succeeded in getting the best people to work for him; many volumes in the series became famous text-books; and the effect of the whole in popularizing scientific progress was outstanding'.⁸⁶

The practice of publishing books in series was very important for Scott and it always seems to have been the preferred option if a number of titles could be linked together. Even so, impossible schedules were set time and again, usually one new title every month, and no-one ever learned to aim for a more achievable target. Sometimes the plan was not

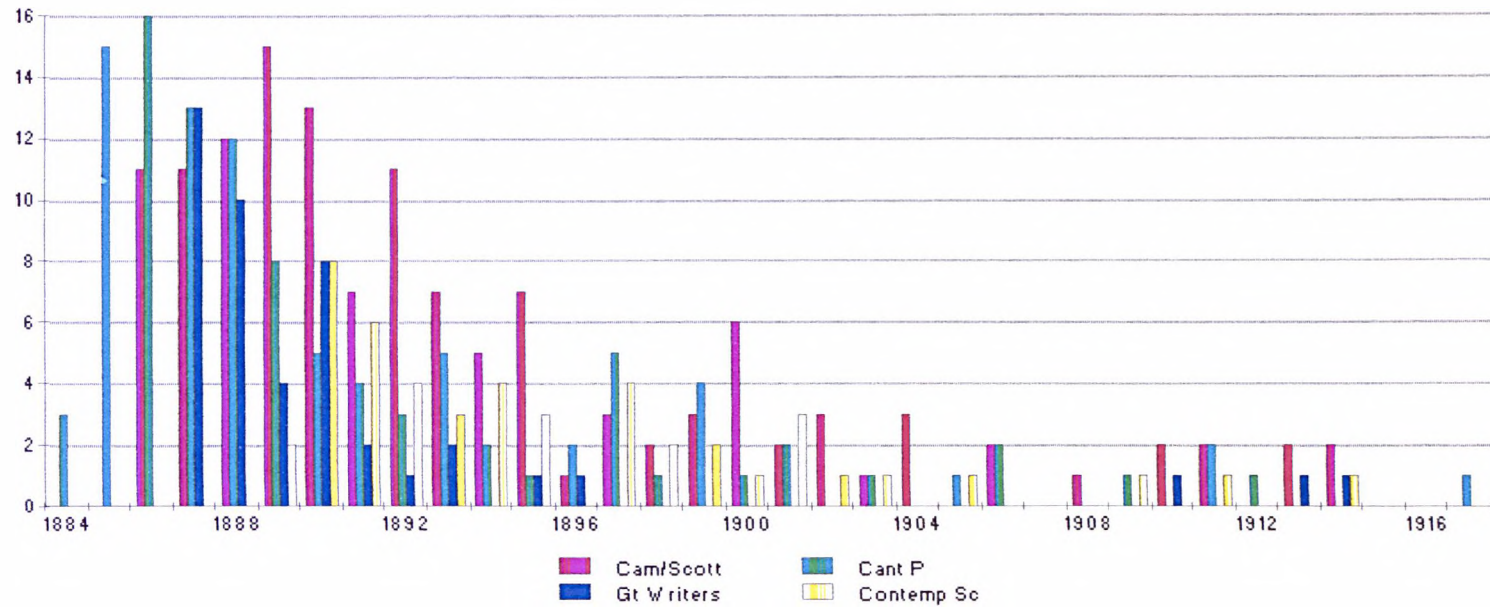
84 Original, dated 18 June 1892, in Bristol University Library.

85 *ibid*, 1 July 1892.

86 entry in *DNB, 1931-1940*, OUP, 1949.

fully developed and the projected titles never appeared, as happened with Elswick Science. Nevertheless, the three titles which were published in Elswick Science were kept in the list until 1913 and were always advertised as part of the series. Small series, like European Conversation Books with only five titles, could be very successful since presumably the frequency of advertising each year for this series meant that it sold regularly to tourists going abroad. The four most successful series were Canterbury Poets, Camelot/Scott, Great Writers and Contemporary Science (see graph). Probably the main advantage for Scott was that a successful series spread the burden of publishing. A general editor was appointed who acted for the series in the same capacity as a staff editor and took care of the day-to-day organization. On the whole, the general editors were remarkably competent and this enabled David Gordon to keep the permanent staff to a minimum and to rely on general editors to find new titles and new authors.

Four Main Series Output: 1884-1917



Chapter 5: Progressive Ideas

The previous chapters have tried to show that David Gordon developed the publishing programme with great care. New series were introduced regularly but changes came one step at a time and the innovations were logical extensions of what had gone before. The early stages could even be seen as unadventurous, but apart from the simplest reprints, this was not so. Even the Canterbury Poets and Camelot/Scott series were designed to sell to people with the most rudimentary education, and to change their lives. The great mass of the people would be introduced to literature and philosophy, at a shilling a time. Their lives would progress and their interests would broaden. Yet wider interests were offered with the Contemporary Science Series, each volume giving the opportunity to understand the outlines of a complete subject and to be introduced to some of its latest developments. More forward-looking, progressive themes became evident with other publications which can be divided into works of literature and works on socialism.

English Translations of Ibsen

Several of the editors and authors of introductions to reprints were young people at the start of literary careers. Some of them were friends and they moved in the same literary circles. The publishing programme was influenced by their views and an early manifestation of this is found in translations of Ibsen's plays -- the one achievement for which Scott has received a little recognition by modern commentators.

The nineteenth-century theatre was dominated by performances which appealed to a popular audience. More subtle and complex themes were introduced in the second half of the century by Tom Robertson, W.S. Gilbert, Arthur Pinero and a few others, but by the early 1880s not much had been achieved to loosen the grip of farce and melodrama. Drama in Britain was at a low ebb concerned mainly with trivia and there was often active hostility to anything intellectual, or a refusal to stage plays in which the audience might be presented with moral or social problems. Literature as a whole was not in a much healthier condition. Naturally there were groups of people who were dissatisfied with this state of affairs and tried to change it.

A small minority had discovered the work of Henrik Ibsen and productions of the plays and translations into English began to take place. Interest in Ibsen sprang from a number of articles by Edmund Gosse in the early 1870s and Gosse kept up a steady output of articles and reviews through the remainder of the decade. The first complete play to be translated, *Emperor and Galilean* by Catherine Ray, appeared in 1876.¹ Gosse revised several articles, including some on Ibsen, which resulted in the collection *Studies in the Literature of Northern Europe*, 1879 (later to be reprinted in the Camelot/Scott Series as *Northern Studies* in 1890). After that Gosse's interest in Ibsen seems to have lapsed for a time.

Besides Gosse, the other major critic to support Ibsen was William Archer and, as Brian Downs remarked, it was fortunate that Archer 'took up the common cause almost exactly

¹ London: Samuel Tinsley, 1876.

when Gosse's interest was slackening'.² Archer was responsible for the first public performance of a complete play -- however, this was only a single matinee performance during the afternoon of 15th December 1880 of Archer's translation of *Pillars of Society* at the Gaiety Theatre in London. It was not until 1889 that a full public performance took place with a three-week run from 7th June at the Novelty Theatre of Archer's translation of *A Doll's House*.

In the meantime interest in Ibsen had been very gradually increasing, but the publication of *The Pillars of Society and Other Plays* in the Camelot Series in August 1888 could not have been in response to public demand because public demand did not yet exist. Presumably the book came about because Ibsen enthusiasts (in this case Havelock Ellis and William Archer) were sympathetically received at Walter Scott's by Ernest Rhys. The book was the first significant publication of Ibsen translations in Britain. It was performances of the plays and reviews by the critics, rather than publications, which started the great controversy and turned people into Ibsenites or Anti-Ibsenites. Nevertheless, once the controversy had started, this Camelot volume provided the only widely available text and sales soon exceeded fourteen thousand (see Chapter 8). The book also managed to break down the reluctance of people in Britain to read, or even to publish, plays. Several contemporary commentators, including Henry James and William Archer, had noted a dearth of printed drama going back fifty years.

The volume contained three plays by three different translators: *Pillars of Society* by Archer revised from his 1880 version; *Ghosts* by Henrietta Frances Lord, revised by

² B.W. Downs, 'Anglo-Norwegian Literary Relations 1867-1900' *Modern Language Review* (47) 4, October 1952, p 479.

Archer; and *An Enemy of Society* (now usually translated as *An Enemy of the People*) by Karl Marx's daughter, Mrs Eleanor Marx-Aveling. Even though Havelock Ellis edited the volume it was Archer who was the driving force behind Ibsen translations.

Archer was born in Scotland in 1856 but, as a child, spent much of his time with his uncle who lived in Larvik in Norway. He soon became fluent in Norwegian. Before going to Edinburgh University to study in the Faculty of Arts he had become fascinated by the theatre and while he was still a student his drama reviews were published in a number of periodicals. Once he had graduated he wanted to earn his living by continuing with his theatrical journalism and eventually by writing plays. He went to London in 1878 ostensibly to train as a lawyer but spent most of his time writing articles for the press and going to the theatre. The following year he became the drama critic for the *London Figaro*. After five years of half-hearted study of the law he decided to resolve the matter, sat his law examinations, and was finally called to the bar in 1883. By this time the theatre had taken over and he abandoned law for a career as a writer and drama critic.

After the success of the Camelot/Scott volume Archer managed to persuade Scott that a complete edition of Ibsen's plays was needed and an agreement was reached in November 1889 for Archer to provide translations of eleven plays to be issued in four volumes. The plays were to be published as a series (Ibsen's Prose Dramas) in chronological order. The danger with this chronological plan was that once publication had begun it would have been possible for any other publisher to bring out a translation of a later play before Scott had reached it in his series. In order to forestall such an occurrence it was decided to bring out all four volumes as quickly as possible, which meant that Archer had to work under tremendous pressure. Volume 1, containing *The League of Youth*, *Pillars of Society* and *A Doll's House*, and volume 2, containing *Ghosts*, *An Enemy of the People* and *The Wild Duck*, came out in March 1890; volume 3, containing *Lady Inger of Ostrat*, *The Vikings*

of *Helgeland* and *The Pretenders* in May; and *Emperor and Galilean* as volume 4 in November. Besides editing the volumes, Archer translated all the plays except *The Wild Duck* (translated by his wife) and *Lady Inger of Ostrat* (translated by his brother). *Ghosts* was based on Miss Lord's translation, *Enemy of the People* on Mrs Marx-Aveling's, and *Emperor and Galilean* on Miss Ray's, but these plays were all revised by Archer. As he explains, in the case of *Ghosts*:

The Editor of the 'Camelot Series' volume of Ibsen's plays, having obtained Miss Lord's consent to the republication of her version, requested me to revise it. I did so, very carefully; and I have since re-revised my revision, so that scarcely a phrase of the original translation remains unaltered.³

By this time a fifth volume was required, advertised on 6th November 1890,⁴ to contain *Rosmersholm*, *The Lady from the Sea* and 'a new play'. The new play was *Hedda Gabler*, first announced without a title presumably because Ibsen himself had not yet decided on one. *Hedda Gabler* brought the very problem which Scott and Archer were trying to avoid by rapid publication.

William Heinemann started his own publishing house in 1890 and from the beginning he appears to have been adept at manipulating copyright law. A standard had been agreed for most European countries at the Berne Convention in 1886, but Ibsen's work was not protected. His Norwegian nationality was immaterial; the difficulty was due to the first publication of all his work having taken place in Denmark and Denmark had not signed the convention. Heinemann discovered that a work, and subsequent translations, would be

³ H. Ibsen *Ghosts, An Enemy of the People, The Wild Duck*, London: Walter Scott, [1890], p iv.

⁴ *Bookseller*, 6 Nov 1890, p 1313.

covered if the first edition in the original language were published in a country which had signed the convention. He therefore arranged with Ibsen and his usual Danish publisher for Heinemann to issue the first edition of *Hedda Gabler* in Norwegian in a small number of copies and to follow this with an English translation by Edmund Gosse.

Archer was kept informed and had gone along with the plan at Gosse's request, and both Ibsen and Archer assumed that Heinemann had now negotiated first publication rights. Then it became clear that Heinemann was in possession, not just of first rights, but of exclusive rights to the play. Ibsen had already agreed to Archer's collected edition with Scott and he was delighted with the progress of the series. The absence of *Hedda Gabler* would obviously destroy the possibility of the planned 'collected' edition.

Events were moving quickly. Heinemann had published twelve copies of the Norwegian text on 11th December 1890 and Ibsen's Danish publisher, Gyldendal, had published the main Norwegian edition in Copenhagen on 16th December. Ibsen took up Scott's case but received no reply to his letter of 8th January 1891 to Gosse and Heinemann explaining Scott's problem and asking for a relaxation of the rules in this one instance. On 20th January Heinemann published Gosse's translation.

Archer was outraged and in the *Pall Mall Gazette* denounced the book as 'one of the very worst translations on record' which was 'so inconceivably careless and so fantastically inaccurate as to constitute a cruel injustice to Henrik Ibsen'. He explained:

Some months ago I waived in Mr. Gosse's favour a position of advantage which I held in regard to *Hedda Gabler*. This I did out of pure courtesy, and on the explicit understanding that the privilege I thus transferred to him could not and would not be used to impede Mr. Walter Scott in completing his edition of Ibsen's Prose Dramas under my editorship. In flat contravention of this understanding ... Gosse now asserts a monopoly in the play. To find a parallel for Mr. Gosse's conduct in this matter, I need go

no further than the play itself. Yet the parallel is not exact. It was by chance, not through an act of courtesy, that Hedda became possessed of Lovborg's manuscript; and having become possessed of it, she did not deface, stultify and publish it -- and then claim copyright. She did a much less cruel thing -- she burned it.⁵

Heinemann was at last moved to reply although he claimed that he was innocent. Archer agreed that it was not Heinemann but Gosse who had behaved badly. Gosse remained silent.

Before the end of January the American actress, Elizabeth Robins, who already knew Archer, informed him that she intended to produce *Hedda Gabler* on the stage and asked Archer to help.⁶ Archer showed little enthusiasm and pointed out all the copyright difficulties now that Heinemann owned the British rights. Nevertheless, he began work on his own translation and also discovered the full extent of the complexities of copyright. He found that Ibsen and not Heinemann still held the performance rights which meant that Heinemann could not prevent a performance from taking place provided Gosse's translation was used. Furthermore, a new translation could be performed with Heinemann's permission if there was no indication that Gosse's translation was not being performed.

Archer left it to Elizabeth Robins to negotiate with Heinemann because he naturally assumed, with his *Pall Mall Gazette* outburst fresh in everyone's mind, it would be better if he remained in the background. She requested permission to use Gosse's translation for a performance on the understanding that there would inevitably be alterations to the text

⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 January 1891, p 2.

⁶ See also P. Whitebrook *William Archer: a Biography*, London: Methuen, 1993, pp 119-20.

as rehearsals progressed. Heinemann passed the request on to Gosse who gave his consent and apparently added that the best person to give advice was William Archer. As J.O. Baylen has shown⁷, long before this incident Archer had a low opinion of Gosse's intellectual ability and perhaps Gosse himself was aware of his own short-comings. Whatever the reasons, Gosse's response is still surprising but it goes some way to explain the opinion of Archer's brother Charles that the settlement came about 'amicably'.⁸ In any event, Elizabeth Robin's production took place in a week of matinee performances from 20th to 25th April 1891 using Archer's translation of the whole play, the programme announcing that it was 'By Special Arrangement with Edmund Gosse and W.H. Heinemann'. According to Peter Whitebrook, Volume Five of Scott's Collected Edition, also with Archer's translation, was published in late August 1891 on the understanding that an acknowledgement to Heinemann was made on the title-page.⁹ There is no acknowledgement on the title-page of Volume Five, only a small footnote on the Contents page stating that *Hedda Gabler* was 'Published by arrangement with Mr. William Heinemann'.

In 1889 while Archer was arranging the details of his collected edition with Scott, Gosse was making his own arrangements with the New York publisher John W. Lovell. Gosse had agreed to edit a three-volume collection in which, by the time of the argument over *Hedda Gabler*, he had already used Archer's translations or revisions of *Pillars of Society*,

7 J.O. Baylen 'Edmund Gosse, William Archer, and Ibsen in late Victorian Britain' *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 20, 1975, pp 124-37.

8 Charles Archer *William Archer, his life, work and friendships*, p 174.

9 P. Whitebrook *op cit*, p 120.

A Doll's House and *Ghosts*. After their reconciliation, or perhaps as part of it, and even though Gosse had just published his own translation of *Hedda Gabler* with Heinemann, he chose to issue Archer's translation of *Hedda Gabler* rather than his own in his New York edition.

There had been plans for a translation of *Brand* to be included in the Camelot/Scott series after the success of the first Havelock Ellis edition. An agreement had been reached between Ernest Rhys and C.H. Herford but this was abandoned after Archer's collected prose edition was agreed, even though *Brand*, a verse play, was not to be part of Archer's edition. Herford had already started work and he wrote to Archer in November 1889 offering his translation for the collected edition.¹⁰ Between November and the following March Herford sent parts of his translation to Archer who revised and returned them,¹¹ but there were no further developments, presumably because publication of the collected edition had started and Archer was too busy. Almost a year later, in February 1891, Herford wrote to Archer suggesting, 'I may now possibly ask Walter Scott whether he would now care to publish my version of *Brand*'.¹² Herford's suggestion was turned down and in March he told Archer he would offer the play to Isbister and Son.¹³ This, too, came to nothing but Herford's translation was finally included in Heinemann's 1906 collected edition of Ibsen. Even then events did not run smoothly for poor Herford because in some

10 British Library Add MSS 45292, fo 156.

11 *ibid*, fo 160, 162, 166 and 172.

12 *ibid*, fo 178.

13 *ibid*, fo 180.

copies of the 1911 reprint of Heinemann's edition Herford's name was omitted by mistake from the title-page.¹⁴

The final addition to Scott's collected edition was the verse play *Peer Gynt*, despite the title of the collection remaining as 'Ibsen's Prose Dramas'. The work was translated by Charles Archer and versified by William and was published in 1892. A North American edition of the six volumes was published by Scott and Charles Scribner's Sons between 1901 and 1902. Scott also issued the plays separately incorporating more revisions by Archer after Ibsen's death in 1906.

Archer's immediate plans with Scott were complete in 1892 and, as there was no opportunity to extend them because of the actions of William Heinemann, Scott lost both Archer and Ibsen. In Charles Archer's opinion, his brother's reconciliation with Gosse and Heinemann was most important for 'the happy result of bringing Archer into relations with the firm which was eventually to publish, under his editorship, the complete standard edition of the poet's [Ibsen's] works'.¹⁵ Heinemann's collected edition was published in eleven volumes between 1906 and 1912.

The problem for Scott was that Heinemann was able to continue laying claim to each new Ibsen play as it was written by following a similar scheme as he did with *Hedda Gabler*. However, instead of publishing a very small edition, Heinemann now found all he had to do was hold a 'copyright reading' in public in Norwegian (the size of the audience can easily be imagined), which he usually did at the Haymarket Theatre. Scott could not add

¹⁴ *ibid*, fo 216.

¹⁵ P. Whitebrook *op cit*, p 174.

to his six volume collected edition. It is difficult to see why Scott could not have beaten Heinemann at his own game. Ibsen was well disposed to Scott and would presumably have agreed to the first Norwegian 'edition' or copyright reading being granted to him rather than Heinemann. Similarly, Archer does not appear to have been dissatisfied with Scott. It may be that Heinemann with *Hedda Gabler* had signed up Ibsen in perpetuity so that he had publication rights on all new plays, but there is no documentary evidence of this.

The only evidence which does survive is a letter dated 24th July 1905 from Heinemann to Frederick Crowest, Scott's general manager at this time:

Dear Mr. Crowest

In confirmation of our conversation to-day, it is agreed that I shall pay you £120 for the right to print a revised version of Mr. Archer's translation of Ibsen's Plays which you have hitherto published, I to make arrangements with him for his work of revision. This arrangement includes the unchanged use of the text in the case of the eight plays you have printed in paper covers, viz.-

1. League of Youth.
2. Pillars of Society.
3. A Doll's House.
4. Ghosts.
5. An Enemy of the People.
6. The Wild Duck.
7. Rosmersholm.
8. The Lady from the Sea.

You undertake not to reduce the price of your edition as long as the price per volume of my edition is higher than yours.

Will you kindly send me a formal acceptance of this.¹⁶

On the same day Crowest indicated his acceptance of all Heinemann's terms and on 14th August Crowest sent a receipt for the payment of £120.

When William Archer reached the first agreement with Scott in November 1889, as his brother remarked, he was 'plunged in the work of translation, revision, and editing which was to occupy so great a share of his time and thought for the next sixteen years'.¹⁷ Despite the immense amount of work he put in and his bilingualism in English and Norwegian, the few people who have been equipped to judge have found his Ibsen translations accurate but stilted. According to Michael Meyer, 'The knifethrusts of Ibsen's dialogue are absent; so is the humour, so is the poetry.'¹⁸ Yet Archer's translations remained the standard, and for the most part, the only ones available until those of Michael Meyer and J.W. McFarlane published in 1959. Archer's translations may not be perfect but, coupled with his zeal to promote Ibsen's cause, they changed the course of drama in the English-speaking world. Archer was extremely industrious and alongside his work on Ibsen he kept up his journalism and drama criticism. He left the *London Figaro* to become drama critic for the *World* in 1884, and later he wrote for many newspapers and periodicals including the *Nation*, *Tribune* and *Manchester Guardian*. Some of his

16 The originals of these documents are now in the Heinemann archives in the library of Reed Consumer Books, Rushden, Northants.

17 Whitebrook *op cit*, p 169.

18 Quoted by P. Whitebrook *op cit*, p 241.

journalism became Scott publications and five annual volumes containing his work appeared as the *Theatrical World* between 1894 and 1898. He also edited, with Robert W. Lowe, three volumes of drama criticism by William Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, John Forster and George Henry Lewes all published by Scott.

Archer not only moved to Heinemann but he ousted Gosse soon after he arrived. The next play to be published by Heinemann was *Master Builder* translated by both Archer and Gosse but after that Gosse disappears and translations are usually by Archer alone. Nevertheless, when *Hedda Gabler* appeared in Heinemann's collected edition in 1906 Archer was gracious enough to declare the translation to have been done jointly with Gosse.

There is a small problem with Archer's departure from Scott similar to that with the departure of Ernest Rhys. Archer began working for Heinemann on the translation of *Master Builder* before it was published in 1893 and he stayed for many years translating, revising and editing Ibsen. Yet he did not leave Scott in 1893 but went on doing identical work on Ibsen at least until 1906 when Scott published the series of revised editions of separate plays. The situation is not as difficult to understand as that with Rhys because, except for *Hedda Gabler*, Scott never published any of the plays for which Heinemann had the copyright. Heinemann, however, published all the plays and presumably there would have been an agreement for those which Scott had already published, but as usual, no documentary evidence survives.

English Translations of Tolstoy

Havelock Ellis' edition of Ibsen in the Camelot/Scott volume was not the first of Scott's translations from foreign literature, but previously they were mainly from classical works and there was nothing by a living author. After the Ibsen Camelot volume in 1888, the first

of a separate series of translations of Tolstoy appeared. The Tolstoy series was announced on 15th October¹⁹ with *A Russian Proprietor and Other Stories* translated by Nathan Haskell Dole as the first title. Scott was obsessed as usual with issuing the Tolstoy series in monthly instalments but the task was a little easier here because most of the volumes had already been published in New York by Thomas Y. Crowell.

Thomas Young Crowell²⁰ had entered publishing in 1876. Twenty years earlier he had started working in the book trade as an assistant to Benjamin Bradley, a Boston bookbinder. Bradley died in 1862 and by this time Crowell had become the manager of the firm. The business continued after Bradley's death with Crowell remaining as manager. He became a partner in 1865 and when Bradley's widow retired in 1870, Crowell bought her share to become the sole owner, trading as 'Thomas Y. Crowell, Successor to Benjamin Bradley'. He managed to survive the financial crisis of 1873 while many of his customers were going bankrupt. In 1875 a New York publisher, Warren and Wyman, were in difficulties and eventually Crowell bought them out. Crowell soon allowed the bookbinding business to run down as he concentrated his attention on publishing. Warren and Wyman had specialised in religious titles and Sunday School books, and Crowell expanded the range by acquiring the plates for a series of reprints of British Poets which became 'Crowell's Red Letter Poets'. Then, in 1885 he began to issue translations of Tolstoy.

19 *Publishers' Circular*, 15 October 1888, p 1289

20 Information about Crowell is found in several reference works including J. Tebbel *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, Vol II: *The Expansion of an Industry, 1865-1919*, New York: R.R. Bowker, 1975, pp 365 ff; J. Tebbel *Between Covers: the Rise and Transformation of Book Publishing in America*, Oxford: OUP, 1987, pp 154-5.

It is not known how Scott first contacted Crowell nor the terms of the agreement between them²¹ but the similarity of their publishing programmes (Sunday School books and a reprint series of British poets) should have helped to bring them together. The publication of Tolstoy in English seems to have been entirely Crowell's idea. He is said to have read an account of the enthusiastic reception in Paris of *My Religion* in a French translation and immediately ordered two copies from France. He arranged for Huntington Smith, the editor of *Literary World*, to translate the work, and it was published before the year was out.

Crowell then arranged for a translation from the original Russian of *Anna Karenina*, which he published in 1886. The translator was Nathan Haskell Dole, music editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, who went on to produce English versions for Crowell of a remarkable number of works over the next three years: *The Invaders and Other Stories*, *Ivan Ilyitch and Other Stories*, *A Russian Proprietor and Other Stories* and *Where Love is There God is Also*, all published in 1887; *The Cossacks*, *Family Happiness*, *The Long Exile and Other Stories* and *What Men Live By*, all in 1888; and, as a fitting climax, *War and Peace* in 1889. By this time Dole had been appointed as Crowell's literary adviser, a post which he held until 1901.

Huntington Smith also continued as a translator and produced *Physiology of War and Power and Liberty* in 1888. Other translators were occasionally employed for single works, but Isabel F. Hapgood had several titles to her credit: *Childhood*, *Boyhood*, *Youth* in 1886, *What to do?* in 1887, and *Life and Sevastopol* in 1888. Isabel Hapgood was as

21 The surviving Crowell archives are kept in Syracuse University, New York, but the bulk of the papers are post-1930. No references to Tolstoy or Scott are included.

prolific as Nathan Dole and besides these works by Tolstoy she translated, for example, Gogol and all the novels and stories of Turgenev. She wrote books and many periodical articles and became very influential in publicising Russian literature in America.

All these Tolstoy titles, in the same translations and often using the same plates as Crowell, were published in uniform bindings by Scott. The series included Georg Brandes *Impressions of Russia* which had been published by Crowell in 1889, translated from the original Danish edition of 1888. Scott did not publish any other Crowell translations of Russian or European authors except for Rudolph Baumbach's *Summer Legends* translated by Mrs Helen B. Dole. Scott's edition was published in 1889 and a reprint appeared the following year using the same translation but changing the title to *Tales from Wonderland*.

Not all Scott's Tolstoy translations were first published by Crowell and one of these gave rise to another unfortunate clash with William Heinemann, but this time neither publisher was at fault. Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God is Within You*, translated by Mrs Aline Delano, was published by Scott in 1894.²² Scott had made no secret of his intention to publish and he first advertised the work in the *Bookseller* on 7th February.²³ The advertisement stressed that this was a new translation containing a preface written by Tolstoy himself 'for this edition'. When the book was published the title-page announced that this was an 'Authorised translation from the original Russian MS'. Nevertheless, just before

22 Crowell also published an edition using the same translation but it appears not to have been issued before it was included in their Collected Edition in 1899. Mrs Delano was a Russian who married an American in 1867, but it seems that Scott was the first to publish her translation.

23 *Bookseller*, 7 February 1894, p 167.

publication, it was discovered that William Heinemann was about to publish the same work translated by Constance Garnett. The *Publishers' Circular* commented:

When authors turn philanthropists they are apt to cause their publishers trouble. Count Tolstoi is a shining light in philanthropy, but unhappily for those who are associated with him his notions of business are a trifle hazy. Mr. Walter Scott and Mr. William Heinemann have both prepared editions of his latest work on what they considered authentic authority; one by the consent of Tolstoi himself and the other by arrangement with his Russian publisher. Naturally there is confusion. At the present stage of the matter we cannot presume to offer any opinion, beyond saying that it is a pity Count Tolstoi could not be more methodical in the management of his affairs.²⁴

The matter became a little clearer the following month:

In view of the trouble that has arisen over the English translation of Count Tolstoi's new book, to which we referred a few weeks ago, it is interesting to read a letter which Tolstoi himself has written, in which he says, explicitly enough: 'I do not consider it right on my part to receive money for my literary work. I therefore grant the right, without any exception of difference, to all who wish to print or reprint, in the original or from translations, in their entirety or in the newspapers, my works that have appeared or are about to appear, commencing from the year 1881.'²⁵

²⁴ *Publishers' Circular*, 10 February 1894, p 154.

²⁵ *ibid*, 10 March 1894, p 262.

Tolstoy had given permission to both Scott and Heinemann to publish *The Kingdom of God* and he had no further interest in the affair. Both publishers issued their translations in 1894.²⁶

Scott was later involved with John C. Kenworthy, the 'Honorary Pastor' of the Brotherhood Church in Croydon. The Brotherhood Church controlled the Brotherhood Publishing Company whose first objective was 'to issue, with the Author's special sanction, good, cheap, and reliable editions, in English translation, of the Social and Religious Works of Leo Tolstoy.'²⁷ Tolstoy's *Four Gospels Harmonised* was published jointly with Scott in two parts (although three parts were advertised) in 1895 and 1896, and *The Gospel in Brief* in 1896. Scott alone published *Master and Man*, [1895], which Kenworthy translated with S. Rapoport, and *Patriotism and Christianity*, 1896, to which Kenworthy added a note; Scott also published Kenworthy's *From Bondage to Brotherhood*, [1894], and *Tolstoy: his Life and Works*, 1902.

26 The Society of Authors took an interest in the problem and asked for a legal opinion. The reply was published in the *Times*, 9 March 1894, p 4, by Sir Frederick Pollock for the Society quoting W. Blake Odgers, Q.C., that legally nothing could be done. According to Odgers Tolstoy had disclaimed his rights and therefore the work was in the public domain and there could be no exclusive translation right. Odgers admitted that Tolstoy probably did not understand the implications of his attitude in English law or under the terms of the Berne Convention.

27 Prospectus bound with Tolstoy's *Four Gospels Harmonised*, 1895 and 1896, in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

George Moore

George Moore was another of Scott's most important authors whose work was published in the 1890s. However, Moore seems to have joined Scott independently; he was not part of the socialist or the Ibsen groups of Scott authors and, although he was a friend of W.B. Yeats, the friendship did not begin until after 1894. Moore's move to Scott took place in 1893 with the publication of *Modern Painting* and *The Strike at Arlingford*. He did write to William Archer about *The Strike at Arlingford* but only after the play was published,²⁸ so it is unlikely that Archer introduced him to Scott. In the same year Scott also published reprints of *Drama in Muslin*, *A Modern Lover* and *A Mummer's Wife*. *A Modern Lover* had originally been published by Tinsley Brothers in 1883, and *A Mummer's Wife* and *Drama in Muslin* by Henry Vizetelly in 1885 and '86.

Moore's formative years as a writer had been spent in Paris and he returned to London confirmed in his views that literature should follow the French school of realism, or naturalism. Novels should be free to deal with all aspects of modern life -- an attitude which complemented the views of Ibsen and the Ibsenites for drama. Before Moore was involved with Scott, the circulating libraries had restricted their stocks of *A Modern Lover* then published by Vizetelly because of its 'realism', and specifically because of a passage in which an artist is described painting a nude. Moore had responded with a vigorous defence of his position and a denunciation of the power of the circulating libraries. He continued to speak out publicly and, when Vizetelly was imprisoned in 1889 following the

28 BL Add MSS 45293, fo 250: Walter Scott tells me that he has sent on my play. I hope you will let me know what you think of it either verbally, by letter or through the newspapers.

publication of an English translation of Zola, he openly supported Vizetelly. In 1893 Scott knew exactly what he was taking on.

Trouble was not long in coming. In 1894 Scott published *Esther Waters* and soon found that the circulating libraries were refusing to stock the book. This was exactly the kind of opposition which goaded Moore to fight back -- he had previously taken the unheard-of step of asking W.H. Smith for an explanation for the small number of copies they had ordered of *A Modern Lover* in 1883. Moore once again confronted W.H. Smith about their attitude to *Esther Waters*. He was met by Smith's Mr Faux who, according to Moore, explained, 'we are a circulating library and our subscribers are not used to detailed descriptions of a lying-in hospital'.²⁹ Later Faux told the press the ban on *Esther Waters* was, 'For certain pre-Raphaelite nastiness that Mr. Moore cannot keep out of his writings'.³⁰

Moore had a reputation for embroidering the truth but his version, including the suggestion that Faux was conducting a vendetta, is probably correct. Before Smith's ban the *Westminster Gazette* had reported that Gladstone himself had read and approved of the book. Moore then wrote to the directors of W.H. Smith pointing out that their refusal to stock *Esther Waters* had cost them about £1500. The directors immediately capitulated and, again according to Moore, instructed Faux, 'that it would be well in the future to avoid heavy losses by banning books, especially books that Mr. Gladstone was likely to read and to express his approval of in the *Westminster Gazette*'.³¹

29 G. Moore *A Communication to My Friends*, pp74-5.

30 *ibid*, p 77.

31 *ibid*.

Walter Scott was taking a risk in publishing anything by Moore at this stage in his career when he was engaged in a crusade against the libraries. But the whole episode with *Esther Waters* -- a book approved by a prime minister and banned by a national institution -- could not fail. Twenty-four thousand copies were sold within a year of publication.

Scott also intended to publish a book by Moore entitled *Impressions and Opinions*. The work was listed in the *English Catalogue* in April 1895 and was advertised, first in the *Bookseller* in June 1896,³² and then in both the *Bookseller* and *Publishers' Circular* from May to July 1898; it was also listed in the *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature* for 1898 and 1902. Nevertheless, the book does not appear to have ever been published by Scott and Edwin Gilcher never located a copy with a Scott imprint.³³ The fate of the title is yet more mysterious because the text was set and stereo moulds were made for Scott. Moore's *Vain Fortune* and *Celibates* were published by Scott in 1895 and were printed by T. and A. Constable in Edinburgh. Constable also composed the text and made the moulds for *Impressions and Opinions* but a letter survives from Constable to Scott dated 23rd February 1898 which states:

"Moore's Impressions and Opinions"

The moulds of the above were sent from here by Globe Express on February 7th

32 *Bookseller*, 4 June 1896, p 619.

33 E. Gilcher *A Bibliography of George Moore*, p 33.

addressed to 1 Paternoster Buildings, London, as per instructions from Mr. Mott [?]. We cannot understand how they have not been delivered but are making inquiries.³⁴

Nothing more is recorded.

George Bernard Shaw and Other Socialists

In 1883 William Archer met George Bernard Shaw in the British Museum Reading Room and almost immediately they struck up a friendship which was to last until Archer's death in 1924. Shaw had arrived in London in 1876 and was still without any regular income. By 1883 Archer was well known to several London newspaper editors and he eventually arranged for Shaw to review books for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and to write music criticism for the *Magazine of Music* and the *Dramatic Review*.

As already mentioned in Chapter 4 (p 72) it was partly through meetings of the Fellowship of the New Life and the Fabian Society that Havelock Ellis came into contact with Ernest Rhys and Will Dircks. W.B. Yeats also attended Fellowship meetings through his acquaintance with Ernest Rhys. Yeats first met Rhys in 1887 and wrote to Katharine Tynan,

There is a society ... It is called the "Society of the New Life" and seeks to carry out some of the ideas of Thoreau and Whitman. They live together in a Surrey village -
- Ernest Reis is to bring me to a meeting!³⁵

34 National Library of Scotland, MS 23258, fo 319.

35 J. Kelly and E. Domville (eds) *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats*, vol 1, 1865-1895, p 18.

Shaw began to attend Fabian Society meetings in the Spring of 1884. Neither Rhys nor Dircks were members of the society, but they seem to have been sympathetic fellow travellers, and advertisements for Scott publications often appeared in Fabian Society publications.

These people belonged to a group of close friends, like Rhys and Dircks not all Fabians, although it was the ideals of early socialism which helped to unite them. There was a multitude of other socialist organisations to which they could subscribe. They were also drawn together, for example, by interest in vegetarianism, women's rights, and opposition to vivisection. They were all 'progressive' thinkers. Another possible link between them may have been *The Savoy*, edited by Arthur Symons, in which many of them published articles. Like any other group of people some were more permanent members than others, but as well as Ellis, Archer and Shaw, they included Arthur Symons, W.B. Yeats, 'Fiona Macleod', Percival Chubb, Frank Podmore, Frederick Wedmore, William Clarke, Henry Salt, Edward Carpenter, George Moore, Edmund Gosse, Mathilde Blind, Sergius Stepniak and Olive Schreiner. All these people also had one other thing in common -- they were all Walter Scott authors. All, that is, except Olive Schreiner, but at least she had been invited to be one and the invitation changed her whole life. Ernest Rhys asked her to write the introduction to Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* for the Camelot Series, which she agreed to do. However, the book took such a hold of her and she put so much work into it that she wrote to Rhys:

It will take me still two months of night and day work *at least* to bring Mary Wollstonecraft to an end. It has cost me already about four times as

much labour as *An African Farm* did, but in *one* sense immeasurably more because I have really gathered it into the result of my whole life's work.³⁶

Schreiner's Camelot introduction was never finished and the book was eventually published with an introduction by Elizabeth Robins Pennell.

There was a certain amount of mutual encouragement in the group for individuals to undertake projects in which they all had some interest. It was Olive Schreiner who suggested to Havelock Ellis that he should edit a volume of Heine's prose, and in this case the book did come to fruition in the Camelot Series. Havelock Ellis asked Bernard Shaw for a volume on political economy for the Contemporary Science Series. Shaw promised the book for June 1889 but unfortunately the plan went the same way as Olive Schreiner's and Shaw wrote to Ellis, '... the time has come for me to confess that I see about as much prospect of having 'Production & Exchange' ready by June as of establishing the millenium ... There is no use in my pretending to go on at this rate'.³⁷ By the end of 1889 the work had been abandoned.

However, 1889 saw the first of Shaw's publications in print from Scott. This was an edition of *Cashel Byron's Profession* -- hardly a scoop since it had been first published as a serial in *To-day: a Monthly Gathering of Bold Thoughts*, from April 1885 to March 1886. *To-day's* printer, H.H. Chapman, then used stereotypes from the magazine formes to issue the first separate edition from his own Modern Press in March 1886. Shaw tried very hard to persuade Swan Sonnenschein³⁸ and then Fisher Unwin³⁹ to bring out a new edition

36 Rhys *Letters from Limbo*, p 85.

37 M. Holroyd *Bernard Shaw*, Vol 1, London: Chatto & Windus, 1988, p 197.

38 Bernard Shaw *Collected Letters, 1874-1897*, ed D. Laurence, pp 167, 180 and 181.

but neither showed much immediate interest. Shaw then revised the text and it was this which Scott published in the Novocastrian Novels Series.

Shaw later complained to Grant Richards that in the case of *Cashel Byron's Profession*, 'I have never seen an advertisement, never met a human being who had ever seen one, never expect to meet one'.⁴⁰ He was not looking in the right places because Scott advertised the novel in six issues of the *Bookseller* in 1889⁴¹ and in the *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature* for 1894 and 1898. It is not surprising that Shaw did not read either of these, nor that he was unaware of publishers' advertising, then as now, being aimed almost exclusively at booksellers rather than readers. On Shaw's admission the book was still selling in March 1897:

It is my private belief that half the bookselling trade in London consists in the sale of unauthorized Cashel Byrons. However, I presume Scott has some copies of his stock left. I shall ask him how many presently.⁴²

All this was long after he had withdrawn *Cashel* from Scott ('I shut up my agreement with Scott when the term expired and made no fresh arrangements'⁴³) in the hope of a further reprint from John Lane.

39 *ibid*, p 193.

40 Holroyd *op cit*, p 120.

41 *Bookseller*, 5 June 1889, p 633; 5 July, p 732; 5 September, p 940; 9 October, p 1137; and 8 November, p 1290.

42 Letter to Grant Richards, Shaw, *Collected Letters*, p 740.

43 Shaw, *op cit*, p 550.

Round about the same time that *Cashel Byron's Profession* was going through the press at Scott's the Fabian Society had decided to bring out a collection of essays and they were content for Shaw to edit the volume and to negotiate with a publisher. As early as October 1888, using Havelock Ellis as intermediary,⁴⁴ he had tried to persuade Scott to take the book. No other publisher appears to have been interested and perhaps Scott prevaricated too long, but the outcome was that the Society took the matter into its own hands. *Fabian Essays in Socialism* was published in December 1889 in an edition of a thousand copies under the Society's own imprint, and a second impression of a further thousand was needed in March 1890.

Although he was not publishing the book Scott was acting as agent and in April confirmed with Edward Pease, the Secretary of the Fabian Society, that copies had been sent to Scott's own agent in New York.⁴⁵ Negotiations between Scott and the Fabians continued and the surviving correspondence, since most of it was written by him, is very revealing about David Gordon's character and ability.

The 1889 Fabian edition sold at six shillings bound in green cloth and by August 1890 Gordon had permission for Scott to publish a paperback edition. On 21st August⁴⁶ he asked Pease for a list of 'Radical, Liberal, and other such clubs in London' to inform them of the forthcoming cheap edition. He sent a second letter to Pease on the same day:

44 *ibid*, p 201.

45 The following correspondence from Scott is in the Fabian Society archives in Nuffield College, Oxford; this letter ref Nuffield 110/2/1.

46 Nuffield 110/2/2.

Fabian Essays

I want to sell cloth-bound copies of this book at 2/- and shall be glad to have your permission to do so ... The publication of an edition at 2/- in cloth will increase the circulation of the book, as there are a number of people who would buy the book bound in cloth who wouldn't buy it in paper. In any case you cannot prevent a cloth edition being sold, as anyone in the trade can buy 1000 copies from me and bind and sell them in cloth. The only point is will you give me permission to do what anyone else may do without your permission or mine?

Bernard Shaw sent a telegram to Scott which has not survived in which he seems to have suggested a royalty to the Fabians of 4d per copy from Scott. On 23rd August Gordon replied to Shaw:

I have your telegram ... It will cost me $3\frac{1}{2}^d$ to bind the book in cloth, and to sell the book in cloth while there is a paper edition in the market the trade will require extra terms. I shall make only a penny and a fraction more on the cloth than the paper edition. I could not possibly give you fourpence royalty as that would mean my selling the cloth copies at a loss, but I am willing to give you 2^d p copy. In producing cloth copies I am taking extra risk, it should be remembered; and it seems an anomaly that I should pay you any extra royalty at all seeing that anybody can buy a quantity of the book from me, bind and sell it without being required to pay you a royalty.

Please ... [send the] earliest possible reply, as the cloth edition should be brought out immediately.⁴⁷

Gordon had prepared an advertising leaflet for the paperback edition and sent 1000 copies to Pease who, in turn, seems to have sent one on to Shaw. Gordon explained to Pease that

⁴⁷ Nuffield 110/2/19.

the leaflet was intended for Scott's use, but 'I am of course quite ready to print you a special handbill [underlined in red]. I just sent on at once a stock of such as I was using myself.⁴⁸ Gordon also pleaded his case for a two shilling cloth edition by mentioning to Pease that Scott's London office was reporting there was a demand for such an edition.

Gordon wrote again to Shaw on 2nd September:

It is really a great pity that this trifling matter of the cloth covers can not be settled. This is what my London house writes this morning:- "What is stopping the 2/- edition Fabian Essays? People are waiting; they say they wont have the paper one as a cloth edition is sure to follow. In these circumstances somebody else will bind them, if we dont." -- This is just what I told you. At present you are doing the very thing you dont want to do, -- impeding the circulation of the book. Moreover you are taking out of my hands a profit which rightly belongs to me, and wrong-headedly losing an extra royalty for yourselves. Can you not take the matter into your own hands and settle it.? It is serious to block the sale of a book just when there is a demand for it. If you regard the matter from the point of view of circulation only, you should remember that my organisation would enable me to distribute many more copies than any outsider who took up the binding. Altogether I think it is a stupid step you are taking in preventing my binding copies, which means at the present time a stultification of my efforts to push the book. And all this it would seem because of the impossibility of making a body of political economists understand that it does not inevitably follow as a matter of pure reason that two shillings should always realise double the royalty of one.⁴⁹

48 Nuffield 110/2/4.

49 Nuffield 110/2/20.

For some reason Shaw thought he was dealing with Will Dircks and replied:

Dear Dirckes (it is you, isn't it?)

Tell the London house finally to go to blazes. If people want a copy of the Essays in cloth, tell them to send Pease four and sixpence,⁵⁰ and they shall have one by return of post. The body of political economists understand perfectly that you cannot, in the face of the competition of speculative binders with no royalty to pay, afford them any royalty whatsoever; and they now see that they should have listened to the voice of Shaw, who maintained that it was possible to get a royalty of twopence on the shilling edition from you by standing out for it. **THE EXTRA HALFPENNY WHICH YOU NOW OFFER IS NOT A ROYALTY ON THE TWO SHILLING EDITION AT ALL, BUT THE IDENTICAL HALFPENNY WHICH YOU SHOULD HAVE GIVEN US ON THE PAPER COPIES.** However, we magnanimously make you a present of this, bearing no malice, and desiring your speedy enrichment. But when you propose a perfectly new arrangement as if it were a mere incident of the old one -- when furthermore, it is an arrangement which we dont desire and never contemplated -- when it is expressly devised to kill the edition which we reserved our right to run for ourselves, then you get to the end of the Fabian patience, and we refuse with objurgations. If you want to run a library edition of the Essays, make us a proposal to that effect. We might not object to allowing you to print a half crown edition on large paper, provided you gave us sixpence a copy or so. Dash it all, do you take the Fabian for a sheepfold?

Personally, I have lost all faith in you because I believe the artistic sense to be the true basis of moral rectitude; and a more horrible offence against Art than what you have put above Crane's design on the cover of

⁵⁰ The price of the cloth edition published by the Fabian Society was six shillings and not 4/6d as Shaw states. (see D. Laurence BB7 and E.R. Pease *The History of the Fabian Society* p 88)

the Essays, has never been perpetrated even in Newcastle. I reject your handbill with disdain, with rage, with contumelious epithets.

Shaw then begins a detailed criticism of the typography and layout of Scott's leaflet (presumably one of the 1000 copies Gordon had sent to Pease) and ends:

Some time ago, you mentioned something about changing the cover of "Cashel Byron," and introducing a design of some pugilistic kind. This is to give you formal notice that if you do anything of the sort without first submitting the cover to me, I will have your heart's blood.

yours respectfully

G. Bernard Shaw⁵¹

Will Dircks replied to Shaw:

Much obliged by the objurgations. I read 'em over to the head printer here, who is Scotch, hence has plenty of morals but no aesthetics. The enclosed is the result; please say if it will do.

It is no good your cherishing that four-and-sixpenny edition to your heart; it is quite irretrievably knocked on the head already by the shilling edition. However I shall see if the firm of Scott cannot make you a new proposition in regard to cloth covers.

Simpkin are taking 14,000 of the other leaflets with their imprint; this would look as if they intend going in very wholesale for the book.⁵²

51 Shaw *op cit*, pp 259-60.

52 Nuffield 110/2/18.

On 16th September Gordon made one more attempt to persuade Pease:

Here is a last forlorn proposition!

I offer you 3^d per copy to allow me to issue a cloth edition.

My profit will be fractional, (if any) but I shall benefit owing to people who are hesitating about buying the paper edition until the cloth edition has been issued having no further reason for not taking up the paper edition at once. I shall thus increase the sales of the paper edition.

If you allow me to issue a cloth edition you will reap an extra profit, and you will increase the circulation of the book; while if you don't allow me ... you will still not destroy the competition of a cheap cloth edition against your own expensive one, ... such a cheap cloth edition will be issued by outsiders (paper copies have, in fact already been bought up for the purpose)

It is a mistake on your part clinging to the expensive edition; you really cannot hope to sell more than a few occasional copies. as a matter of fact I know that orders for your edition were crushed as soon as the trade became aware that a cheap edition was to be issued. I thought that circulation was your great idea; and here you are showing all the "rapacity of disinterestedness" that Mr. Shaw, I think, talks about; and showing it mistakingly, too.⁵³

There was to be a Fabian Society Committee meeting on 23rd September to decide on Scott's request for a cloth edition. Shaw was unable to be present at the meeting and the day before he sent his final instructions to Pease, still mistaking Gordon for Dircks:

I write to urge the Committee tomorrow not to make an idiot of itself about those Essays. If they accept that threepence, and sanction a two

53 Nuffield 110/2/5.

shilling cloth edition, the shilling edition is done for. What has happened is this. When Scott made the original arrangement, he did not suppose that the book was important enough to tempt people at a higher price than a shilling. He then found that it was a much bigger thing than that, and that it would bear two shillings easily. The two shillings of course would shorten the circulation; but still it would pay better, as obviously ten copies sold for £1 leave a bigger margin for profits than fifteen sold for 15/-. The country booksellers will make exactly the same calculation; and the result of our consenting to the change will be that our paper edition will disappear from the market, and be replaced by a cloth edition of comparatively limited circulation. The explanation of Dircks's repeated assertions that our refusal will cripple the circulation is simply that Dircks, though an estimable person in his private capacity, has succumbed morally to the economic influences of his Barabbassian trade. And even if he were so far forgetting his duty to Scott as to tell us the truth, the royalty is ridiculously small. True, there is the alleged competition of the outside binder; but to that I say, Let him bind away; and let us compete with him by shoving the paper copies as well as we can. I do not myself believe much in the outside binder. If it were a real danger, Scott could not afford to give us any extra royalty at all in competition with people producing bound copies free of extra royalty. I therefore urge that we tell Dircks flatly and finally that we refuse a two shilling edition on any terms whatsoever; but that if he would care to try a half crown edition on rather larger paper ("Great Writers" fashion) and to give us a royalty of sixpence, we might entertain it. But we must not bind ourselves to accept it. In my opinion it would be better to have no cloth edition except our own; and I regard the half crown suggestion as an extreme concession to Scott, & one of doubtful wisdom from a Fabian point of view.⁵⁴

54 Shaw *op cit*, pp 263-4.

The committee ignored Shaw's opinion, sent a telegram to Scott, for which Gordon thanked them and added, 'I am accordingly proceeding to get up a cloth edition'.⁵⁵

Shaw was mortified, but not struck dumb:

Unless the committee has concluded a secret profit sharing arrangement with Scott, it certainly deserves the cake for gratuitous folly. I can only say that if they had had as much trouble over the book as I, they would have thought twice about making a present of half our cloth edition rent to a publisher who has done less for us than any publisher ever yet did for an author of repute since the world began. What an ass Scott was not to stick to his original position that he ought not to be expected to pay a royalty at all! And I -- I! -- with a reputation for knowledge of character to lose, told this wily tradesman that the Fabians were not sheep! We have supplied the brains, the money & the advertisement; and he, without an effort, humbugs us into an agreement that would not impose on Miss Brooke [a member of the Society]. Ass that I was to trust my copyright to a council of pigeons! And what moral right, in Satan's name, had Bland, Olivier & Wallas to indulge their magnanimity without ascertaining whether Mrs Besant & Clarke were on their side or on that of Webb & myself? By the Lord, I have a mind to join the [Social Democratic] Federation -- I can hear Scott & Dircks roaring with laughter at our greenness even at this distance from Newcastle. Idiots! Gulls! Tapioca heads!⁵⁶

Shaw was obviously enjoying himself, but he must have been galled by the Society ignoring all his advice. He was worried that the two shilling cloth edition would take away sales from the Fabian's six shilling edition, and it is interesting that he could not generate more opposition from the Fabians on this. He also liked to think he could outwit

⁵⁵ Nuffield 110/27.

⁵⁶ Shaw *op cit*, p 265.

businessmen, and especially publishers, at their own game. At the same time, he realised he was unlikely to have it all his own way; in the first letter to Havelock Ellis about *Fabian Essays* he had admitted, 'Of course he [Scott] will accept a reasonable agreement; but I want to make an unreasonable one'.⁵⁷ Gordon's letters, if nothing else, confirm John Lothian's opinion of him as a 'forceful' man (Chap 2, p 41) and he had no difficulty in preventing Shaw from reaching an unreasonable agreement. He was also behaving like all good publishers ('It is serious to block the sale of a book just when there is a demand for it.') in trying to take full advantage of a title which is selling.

David Gordon was involved in further negotiations with the Fabians about a proposed Fabian Library. The earliest letter to survive is from Gordon to Pease dated 13th October 1893⁵⁸ declining to increase the royalty to the Society on the new series to more than they were already receiving on *Fabian Essays*, and continuing:

We should like to have further particulars of the proposed various volumes -- how soon they are likely to follow each other etc. If we think that the first volume or two would constitute the first of a certain number which would appear within a definite time we should be able to take up the thing on a longer basis altogether.

Kindly send us down the copy ... of the first volume. We shall then go into the matter further.

⁵⁷ *ibid*, p 201.

⁵⁸ Nuffield E111/1/1.

A letter from Gordon of 17th November⁵⁹ shows that the Society accepted the same royalty as for *Fabian Essays* and goes on to stress that the first volume of the series should be 'a strong one'. The letter adds that the interval between volumes will be determined by the success of the first volume, a very successful one being followed up rapidly. The series was mentioned in the Fabian's annual report for 1894;⁶⁰ each volume would retail at one shilling and would be a collection of essays and papers by society members. Gordon sent details of production, sample paper and a sample setting to Pease⁶¹ (see Chapter 8). All appeared to be going well until on 15th March 1894 Gordon wrote to Pease:

We don't think that Mr. Shaw's book (of which we have the copy) would do well as a first volume. We should have something fresher. Mr. Shaw's book is a réchauffé of old stuff. We think too that it would be better not to start with a jeu d'esprit. You had better let us see the copy of the other volumes which are ready.⁶²

The Fabian's annual report for 1895 mentioned that the Fabian Library had 'not been abandoned; but the proposed authors have not yet found time to prepare the necessary matter for the press'.⁶³ Nevertheless, it appears that David Gordon's opinion of the material on offer was soundly based and the series was not heard of again.

59 Nuffield E111/1/4.

60 Fabian Society annual report, 31st March 1894, p 11.

61 Nuffield E111/1/5 and 6.

62 Nuffield E111/1/10.

63 Fabian Society annual report, 31st March 1895, p 10.

It was inevitable that this group of Scott authors should include among their progressive ideas an enthusiasm for Ibsen, and Shaw's most important contribution to Scott's list was *Quintessence of Ibsenism*, published in October 1891. The book grew from a lecture on Ibsen which Shaw delivered to a meeting of the Fabian Society at St James' Restaurant on 18th July 1890. From Scott's point of view the book came at exactly the right time immediately following volume five of Archer's translations. Shaw discusses the plays down to *Hedda Gabler* and since he had no Norwegian his analysis is based entirely on Archer's translations. On 19th March 1891, before the manuscript was finished, Shaw wrote to Fisher Unwin:

I have actually attacked the Ibsen essay -- put in 14 hours work on it last Monday. When ready for the press it will contain at least 25,000 words. Scott is immensely on to it: I have just received a postcard from him to say that a formal proposal will come tomorrow for its publication.⁶⁴

For all Shaw's blustering attitude with publishers, he admired Scott and in another letter to Fisher Unwin discussing *Quintessence of Ibsenism* he wrote:

The MS is at present in his [Scott's] hands to enable him to estimate the cost of manufacture &c. We have come to no agreement as yet; but I have no doubt we shall soon do so. I am in a certain degree bound to Scott, provided he offers me no worse terms than anyone else: partly because he has behaved handsomely to Ibsen in the *Hedda Gabler* difficulty, and partly because he published *Cashel Byron*.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Shaw *op cit*, p 286.

⁶⁵ *ibid*, p 293.

Some of the most ardent Ibsenites found too little Ibsen and too much Shaw in the book and in Michael Meyer's opinion it is, 'one of the most misleading books about a great writer that can ever have been written. Had it been entitled *Ibsen Considered as a Socialist*, or *The Quintessence of Shavianism* ... one would have no quarrel with it'.⁶⁶ With the friendship between Shaw and William Archer going back to 1883 it was inevitable that Shaw was indebted to Archer for far more than the translations. But Archer was dismayed that Shaw had concentrated almost entirely on his own political interpretation of the plays. Archer wrote a review for the *New Review*⁶⁷ accusing Shaw of ignoring both the dramatic and literary qualities, and Ibsen's understanding of human nature. Even Ibsen himself, as a result of misrepresentation in a *Daily Chronicle* article claiming he was opposed to socialism, was drawn into the dispute about Shaw's interpretation of his views. Ibsen had to point out that he was sympathetic to the ideas of socialism but he could never belong to any political party. Nevertheless, *Quintessence of Ibsenism* was Shaw's first extended exploration of his own ideas and, as Michael Holroyd stated, 'The joy of his book is that of feeling Shaw's agile and ingenious mind working with such vitality on material so sympathetic to him'.⁶⁸

Progressive works, which nowadays would probably go unremarked, included books specifically directed at women. Jane Ellice Hopkins, an important feminist whose *Power of Womanhood: or Mothers and Sons*, 1899, made an impact on contemporary thought, published *The Story of Life for the Use of Mothers of Boys* with Scott in 1902. There

66 Michael Meyer *Henrik Ibsen, 1883-1906*, London: Hart-Davis, 1971, p 149.

67 *New Review*, November 1891.

68 Holroyd, *op cit*, vol 1, p 199.

were four volumes in the Manuals of Employment for Educated Women Series on elementary teaching, secondary teaching, sick nursing (in 1900), and medicine (in 1901); and Miss F.J. Erskine's *Lady Cycling* in 1897. There were a few other general works on cycling which at this time would have appealed to women.

Other left-wing authors, none of them conventional socialists or Fabians, were John Atkinson Hobson, William Edwin Adams and Sergius Stepniak. After leaving university John A. Hobson found work as a school-teacher and then as a university extension lecturer, but his hopes of an academic career collapsed with the publication of, what were at that time, his unorthodox views on economics. He then became a journalist and moved to London where he met several influential left-wing thinkers including William Clarke and Ramsay MacDonald. William Clarke encouraged him to write a work on the capitalist system which Scott published in the Contemporary Science Series in 1894 as *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*. Hobson became a prolific author but this was probably his most successful book; it was reviewed by Lenin and widely read in Russia; it was also widely read in the United States and there were several joint impressions from Scott and Charles Scribner's Sons of New York (see next chapter). Altogether, after the first 1894 edition, there were three revised editions and at least nineteen impressions.

William Edwin Adams was a staunch republican, rather than a socialist, influenced by William J. Linton (whose *Life of John Greenleaf Whittier* was published by Scott in 1893 when Linton was 81 years old). In 1862 Adams began working for the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* which had been rescued from financial ruin by Joseph Cowen about two years earlier. Cowen, yet to become the MP for Newcastle, then transformed the paper into the source for radical ideas in Durham and Northumberland, and soon its reputation and influence spread throughout Britain. In 1864 the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* was founded in order to publish extended articles; W.E. Adams was appointed editor. Along

with Cowen, Adams was an important influence in local politics in the North-east. Under the pseudonym Uncle Toby he also founded the Dicky Bird Society, to encourage children to be kind to animals, and particularly to dissuade young boys from bird nesting. The club was very successful and in consequence he was awarded a medal by the RSPCA. Scott published his *Our American Cousins*, 1883, *The History of the Dicky Bird Society* and *Uncle Toby's Birthday Book* in 1889, and an introduction to James Robertson Anderson's *An Actor's Life*, 1902. Scott also published Cowen's daughter Jane's *Tales of Revolution and of Patriotism*, 1884, and William Duncan's *Life of Joseph Cowen*, 1904 (Cowen died in 1900). Although Scott did not publish many works by Joseph Cowen and his circle, there appears to have been fairly close contact between Scott and the *Chronicle*.

Like Adams, Sergius Stepniak (his real name was Sergei Mikhailovich Kravchinsky) was not a true socialist. He was born in Russia but in 1878 he assassinated General Mezentsov, the head of the political police in St Petersburg, and fled the country, eventually settling in London. He became well known to members of the Fabian Society and spoke at their meetings. He had a flamboyant personality and enjoyed attracting attention and as a result his books and writings sold well. His death, like his life, was sensational; in 1895 he was killed by a railway engine at a level crossing near his home in Chiswick. Scott published his autobiographical novel, *The Career of a Nihilist* in 1889 and an introduction to *The Humour of Russia* in 1895.

There were a few other socialist works on Scott's list and, like many other commercial publishers, the firm was not exclusively partisan and occasionally published opposing views. Works more or less in favour were Rev. William Moore Ede *Cheap Food and Cheap Cooking*, 1884, which advocated the provision of school meals at one penny, a theme taken up by 'A North-Country Woman' in *Christian Socialism Versus State Socialism: the Penny Dinner Problem*, 1887. William Ede was Rector of Gateshead and

presumably A North-Country Woman was also a local author. Ede published two more pamphlets with Scott which proposed a scheme of national insurance: *National Insurance Necessary and Possible*, 1889, and *German Insurance Laws*, 1891. There was also Sidney Webb and Harold Cox *The Eight Hours Day*, [1891], H. Broadbent *Wealth and Want: a Social Experiment Made and Described*, 1885, Edward C.K. Gonner *The Socialist State*, 1895, and William Hill *Socialism and Sense: a Radical Review*, 1895. Works against socialism included Elijah Copland *State Socialism: a Latter-Day Tyranny*, 1887, Marsden Gibson *Seven Pillars of Socialism: an Indictment*, 1888, and William Beanland *The Case Against Socialism Plainly Stated for the Man in the Street*, 1909 (reprinted in 1911 as *Fallacies of Socialism*). There was one other important socialist organization, however, which had an agreement with Scott. This was the *Clarion*, master-minded by Robert Blatchford.⁶⁹

Blatchford began working as a journalist in Manchester in 1887 on Edward Hulton's *Sunday Chronicle*. The people he met in Manchester and the conditions of their lives gradually converted him to socialism and his political opinions began to invade his journalism. Blatchford was not the only socialist on the *Sunday Chronicle* but when he became the Independent Labour Party candidate for Bradford East in 1891, Hulton decided his newspaper had moved too far to the left and the progress must be reversed. Hulton ordered that in future left-wing views must be kept out. Blatchford resigned and was followed by four fellow journalists, Alexander M. Thompson, Francis Fay, his elder brother Montagu Blatchford, and William Palmer. Together they founded a newspaper, the *Clarion*, in which they could write without hindrance. The paper was a great success

⁶⁹ Information about Blatchford is found in J.M. Bellamy and J. Saville *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, Vol 4, 1977.

with a circulation over the years ranging between about 34,000 and 83,000. According to Margaret Cole:

There never was a paper like it ... It was not solemn; it was not high-brow; it did not deal in theoretical discussion ... It was full of stories, jokes and verses -- sometimes pretty bad verses and pretty bad jokes -- as well as articles. It was written in a language that anyone could understand ... it believed that anyone whatever his condition or education, who could read plain English could be made into a Socialist, and that Socialism was not a difficult dogma, but a way of living and thinking which could make all men behave like brothers.⁷⁰

Once the newspaper was established the organisation broadened its field of interest and several left-wing social clubs were founded, for example, the Cinderella Clubs, Clarion Scouts, Clarion Vocal Union, Clarion Handicraft Guild, National Clarion Cycling Club.

The arrangement between the Clarion and Scott seems to have started in 1894 (as usual no documents survive) with the publication of Blatchford's *Merrie England*. Blatchford joined the Fabians, the contact point for many of Scott's left-wing authors, in 1890 and helped to found a branch in Manchester but in his case the contact with Scott may not have come through the society. Blatchford was never part of the London Fabian circle, probably because he was never comfortable with their intellectual approach to socialism or their latent puritanism, preferring to address working people directly in his *Clarion* style to persuade them to his views.

Merrie England was first serialised in the *Clarion* and then Scott became involved with the separate edition, issued as a joint publication with the *Clarion*. There was a cloth

⁷⁰ M. Cole *Makers of the Labour Movement*, 1948, p 195.

edition at a shilling, a paperback edition at a penny, and in 1896 an edition in cloth on better paper at half a crown. The book was even more successful than the newspaper and the *Dictionary of Labour Biography* describes it as 'Blatchford's most successful piece of writing, and one of the most effective pieces of propaganda, perhaps the most effective, in the history of the British labour movement'.⁷¹ In later years the *Manchester Guardian* claimed that 'for every British convert [to socialism] made by *Das Kapital* there were a hundred made by *Merrie England* ... For every hundred converts, moreover, there were a hundred more unconverted who ... thought there was 'a great deal in it,' and opened their minds and their hearts a little to Socialists'.⁷²

Between 1894 and 1901 ten more Clarion and Scott joint publications followed.⁷³ Another three Robert Blatchford titles (*Julie*, [1897-1900], *Dismal England*, 1899, and *The Bounder*, 1900) appeared under Scott's imprint alone. The reason for joint or single imprints is unknown. Two opposing views were published by Scott in *Labour and Luxury: a Reply to "Merrie England"* by the pseudonymous Nemo in 1895, and in Frank G. Jannaway's *A Godless Socialism; or or the "Hanging of Haman with His Own Rope"*, 1908, which then changed its title to a more explicit, *A Godless Socialism: or Robert Blatchford and 'The Clarion' at Bay*, 1909.

71 *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, Vol 4, p 37.

72 Quoted in the entry on Robert Blatchford in *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol 4, p 37.

73 Robert Blatchford *Bohemian Girl*, 1898, *Impressionist Sketches*, 1897, *Mingled Yarn*, 1897, and *My Favourite Books*, 1900; *Contraptions*, [1894] an anthology of *Clarion* pieces; *Forecasts of the Coming Century*, 1897; *The Labour Annual*, 1896; and Alexander M. Thompson *Dangle's Mixture*, 1896, *Dangle's Rough-Cut*, 1897, and *Haunts of Old Cockaigne*, 1898.

In the years from about 1886 to 1900 Scott was clearly a significant and influential publisher. The management was bright and alert and the company had a sense of precise direction. Its authors were of the highest calibre, important not just in Britain but throughout the world. The books sold in thousands. David Gordon and Will Dircks were in their element. David Gordon's patient, gradual approach had paid off and all his plans had succeeded. The essence of Gordon's scheme, whether he fully realised it at the beginning in 1882 or not, lay in finding efficient general editors for series of books. The general editors then found the individual authors and were responsible for making sure the authors delivered manuscripts on time. This left Gordon and Dircks free to look after the overall management and when the system was running well, as it did with Ernest Rhys, Havelock Ellis, William Archer, Bernard Shaw, and a few others, each person involved worked as a member of a team, developed ideas together, and the result was a profusion of possible new publications.

Chapter 6: Overseas Trade

The export trade in British books was established in the eighteenth century¹ and gradually expanded throughout the nineteenth century. Most sales were to English-speaking countries, increasing as emigration increased in the late nineteenth century. Publishers developed a new category of books, known as 'colonial editions', to sell to settlers in the British Empire. As the *Bookseller* commented in 1895, 'All our readers in India, Australia, and the colonies are well acquainted with the cheap series of standard works now issued in the colonial libraries of the leading London publishers', and went on to claim that Macmillan issued the first 'Colonial Library' in January 1886.² The idea, as Mumby and Norrie explain,³ was partly to combat the large numbers of pirated editions on sale in the colonies where British authors had no copyright protection.

Scott was always aware of the importance of the export trade and put plenty of effort into overseas sales. A few titles were specifically aimed at foreign markets, or at least, at people who were about to leave Britain. There were two books for emigrants by Waldemar Bannow (*Emigrant's Handbook* and *A Guide to Emigration*) and five foreign

1 J. Feather *A History of British Publishing*, pp 104-5.

2 *Bookseller*, 6 November 1895, p 1073.

3 Mumby and Norrie, 1974, p 249.

language phrase books for tourists in the European Conversation Series. Because of Newcastle's maritime connexions with Scandinavia there were guide books to Copenhagen and Norway which went through several revised editions and, like the European Conversation Series, were regularly advertised in spring and early summer to catch the tourist trade. It may even be that Scott regarded the Ibsen translations as part of their Scandinavian interests.

These books, however, were only a minority and Scott took every opportunity to export as many titles as possible from the complete catalogue. The books which were sold in the British Empire may have been regarded as 'colonial editions' and lists occasionally appeared under this heading in Scott's advertisements. Besides direct export sales Scott made several agreements over the years with overseas publishers and distributors, although scarcely any documents giving details survive. There were agreements with firms in India, North America, and Australia and New Zealand;⁴ no special agreements have been discovered with firms in South Africa.

There was only one arrangement in India, with the firm of A.H. Wheeler and Co of Allahabad.⁵ Wheeler had an entry in every issue of *Thacker's Indian Directory* between 1891 and 1960 showing their main interests to have been advertising agents for the Indian

4 For some reason Scott does not appear to have had any special arrangements with firms in South Africa or other English-speaking parts of the Empire.

5 Several recent biographies of Kipling (eg M. Seymour-Smith *Rudyard Kipling*, Macdonald, 1989; H. Orel *A Kipling Chronology*, Macmillan, 1990; Lord Birkenhead *Rudyard Kipling*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1978) refer to A.G. (rather than A.H.) Wheeler, but this seems to be a mistake.

railways and railway bookstall proprietors. They were also the publishers of four newspapers, the *Pioneer*, *Pioneer Mail* and *Week's News* from Allahabad, and the *Civil and Military Gazette* from Lahore. *The Pioneer* was one of India's most influential English-language newspapers. During 1890 and 91 William Archer contributed a regular column of London drama news to the *Pioneer*⁶ so the arrangement with Scott may have come about through him. Rudyard Kipling also began his career as a journalist writing for these papers and it was Wheeler who first published some of Kipling's fiction.⁷

Wheeler hit upon the idea of combining their publishing and railway interests and in 1888 they launched the 'Indian Railway Library' which was to be a collection of fiction designed to sell to railway travellers. Number one of the series was Kipling's *Soldiers Three*, followed by five other Kipling titles. There were at least 23 volumes altogether but Kipling's standard could not be maintained and later books have little of interest for present-day readers.

Scott published and printed seven titles from the series (none by Kipling) between 1892 and '93 with a joint Wheeler and Scott imprint in which Wheeler's name appeared first. He also included the books in his own advertisements but still listed them as 'Wheeler's Indian Railway Library'.⁸ These titles, then, were joint publications and this is confirmed by a

6 P. Whitebrook *William Archer*, 1993, p 101.

7 Lord Birkenhead *Rudyard Kipling*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1978, pp 57ff.

8 For example, *Publishers' Circular*, 13 August 1892, p 149, *Bookseller*, 5 September 1892, p 848 'just ready', and the *Reference Catalogue* for 1894 and 1898.

note in the *Publishers' Circular*,⁹ but Scott appears to have been acting more as the British agent for Wheeler publications rather than as a full partner. Whatever the exact nature of the agreement, it obviously was not successful and no more Wheeler titles were issued by Scott.

Scott took a more positive role in his dealings with North America and Australasia. Still, the North American arrangements remain vague. From the evidence of title-page imprints, colophons and advertising, the first arrangement was with Thomas Whittaker of New York and W.J. Gage of Toronto. The names of Whittaker and Gage begin to appear on Scott's title-pages in 1888 and, from the dates of advertisements for the titles, the agreements were settled before March. These were two separate firms and Scott seems to have arrived at an agreement with both of them simultaneously. Some of the 1888 title-pages mention only Gage alongside Scott while others have both Gage and Whittaker but the reason for this is not obvious; for example, Emerson's *Select Essays* has Gage only, while Venables' *Life of Bunyan* has both Gage and Whittaker, and yet these two titles were advertised in March 1888 and appear to have been published together on 25th.

The firm of Thomas Whittaker had a long history but even so hardly anything is now known about the business. J. Tebbel mentions¹⁰ that by 1911 the firm had existed for at least sixty years and there are entries in the New York directories from 1869 to 1914. The directories list Whittaker as an 'agent', in the business of 'books', an editor, and a publisher.

⁹ *Publishers' Circular*, 3 September 1892, p 253.

¹⁰ J. Tebbel *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, 1975, Vol 2, p 20.

The address is always given as 2 or 3 Bible House and Tebbel adds¹¹ that Bible House 'where many religious publishing houses had their headquarters' was at the centre of the New York book trade around Astor Place.

The Chace Act did not come into force in the United States until 1891 and in 1888 all titles exported to Whittaker would therefore have been in the American public domain. Even after the Chace Act the books would have had to be printed in the United States to qualify for copyright protection.¹² Scott never manufactured books in the United States and presumably took the view that none of the titles would be sufficiently popular to be of interest to an American pirate. Even so, the Whittaker/Gage titles included the Camelot/Scott Library Ibsen and there were a few titles later to be exported to Charles Scribner's Sons which were in sufficient demand to require several reprints, for example, J.A. Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, and A. Moll's *Hypnotism*.

Much more information survives about W.J. Gage and Co. The original educational bookselling business was founded in 1844 by Robert and Adam Miller. They dissolved their partnership and divided their interests in 1863, leaving Adam with a bookshop in Toronto. William James Gage began working for Adam Miller in 1873 and became a partner the following year. Adam died in 1875 and left his business interests to his wife, but she finally sold her share to Gage in 1878. Within a few years of taking sole control Gage expanded the business in all directions and was remarkably successful. He concentrated on textbook printing, publishing and selling, and then moved into stationery

¹¹ *ibid*, p 17.

¹² see James L.W. West 'The Chace Act and Anglo-American literary relations' in *Studies in Bibliography*, 45, 1992, 303-11.

and established his own paper mill, the Kinleith Paper Co. It has been suggested that just three publishers, Gage, along with Copp, Clark and the Methodist Book and Publishing House, 'by their aggressiveness and their political connections in the largest city in the most populous English-speaking province ... had virtual monopolies in some regions of the country on textbooks, discounts, and retail prices. Their activities made Toronto the printing and publishing centre of Canada'.¹³ Gage's business still exists today as part of the Canada Publishing Corporation.

Walter Scott and William Gage had much in common. Both were high achievers and after making his own business secure Gage, like Scott, began to collect directorships -- in the Traders' Bank, the Imperial Bank, the Ontario Sugar Co, and the Anglo-American Fire Insurance Co. Again like Scott, in 1918 he received a knighthood, mainly in recognition of his charitable work, particularly in helping to establish the first tuberculosis sanatorium in Canada.

Scott's agreements with Whittaker and Gage did not remain in force for long, less than a year for Whittaker and about eighteen months for Gage. The evidence from advertisements shows that both names disappear from imprints after 1889. Whittaker was the first to go since his name does not appear after January 1889. Then Gage continues alone from Toronto as before, but now with a New York office (as 'New York and Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co'). This new imprint was used between March and September after which Gage too disappears. There were 31 Whittaker and Gage titles and a further

¹³ G.L. Parker *The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985, p 202.

GREAT MUSICAL COMPOSERS:
GERMAN, FRENCH, AND ITALIAN.
BY G. T. FERRIS. EDITED BY
ELIZABETH A. SHARP.

London: Walter Scott, Ltd.,
24 Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row.

THE HISTORY OF

MALORY'S HISTORY OF KING
ARTHUR AND THE QUEST
OF THE HOLY GRAIL.
[FROM THE MORTE D'ARTHUR.]
EDITED, WITH GENERAL INTRO-
DUCTION TO THE "CAMELOT
SERIES," BY ERNEST RHYS.

LONDON:
WALTER SCOTT, 24 WARWICK LANE.
NEW YORK AND TORONTO:
W. J. GAGE & CO.

THE
STORMY PETREL

AN

Historical Romance

*(of the Civil War & the years
immediately preceding)*

BY

COL. JOHN BOWLES

NEW YORK
A. LOVELL & CO.
LONDON
WALTER SCOTT

POEMS OF OWEN MERE-
DITH (THE EARL OF
LYTTON). SELECTED, WITH
AN INTRODUCTION, BY M.
BETHIAM-EDWARDS.

AUTHORISED EDITION.

"Und so da ist der Dichter zugleich Lehrer, Wahrsager,
Freund der Götter und der Menschen."—WILHELM MEISTEN.

NEW YORK :
A. LOVELL & CO.,
3 EAST 14TH STREET.

27 titles with Gage alone; almost all the titles are from the Canterbury Poets, Camelot Series and Great Writers series

Although Whittaker and Gage were involved with Scott before March 1888, Scott entered into another agreement with a New York publisher, White and Allen, probably in May the same year. White and Allen were an offshoot from the Frederick A. Stokes Co¹⁴ which began business as a partnership between Stokes and Joel P. White. In 1883 a third partner joined and the firm became White, Stokes and Allen, but when Stokes' brother entered in 1887 White and Allen resigned to form their own company. White and Allen issued a few books of poetry, all published by Scott and taken mainly from the Windsor series of anthologies which was first advertised in May 1888. The imprints have White and Allen's names only but the sheets are from Scott plates and have his colophon. None of the title-pages is dated but the arrangement appears to have gone no further than this one issue of titles.

The form of the imprint in books for overseas markets, as can be seen above, could vary and although not all surviving copies of a title have been examined, the possible variations appear to be as follows. Within one Scott impression there could be (see illus):

1. Scott's imprint alone
2. a joint imprint with Scott's name first
3. a joint imprint with Scott's name second
4. a cancelled title-leaf with the imprint of someone other than Scott.

¹⁴ J. Tebbel *op cit*, p 375.

Wheeler's Indian Railway titles take form 3, Whittaker and Gage form 2, and White and Allen form 4. The following reasons for the use of different imprints seem plausible, but they are all conjectural. There were no special circumstances in the sale of books with Scott's imprint alone (form 1). Copies of the current Scott edition would be supplied from stock in response to orders as they were received, either from the home market or from overseas. In books with a joint imprint Scott's name would appear first (form 2) if the title had originated from Scott, or with Scott's name second (form 3) where the title had originated from Scott's partner. For both forms 2 and 3 sales which derived from the territory of Scott's partner (India for A.H. Wheeler, Canada at first for Gage and later the whole of North America, and so on) would be credited to the partner; sales from the rest of the world would be Scott's. Books printed by Scott with a cancelled title-leaf (form 4) were either for the opening stages of an agreement when the future was still uncertain, or, as with the prize books mentioned in Chapter 3, for arrangements which covered a small number (sometimes only one) of titles.

By 1890 Scott had found a new agent in New York in A. Lovell and Co of 3 East 14th Street.¹⁵ The company was founded by Aaron Lovell in about 1877, and was mainly concerned with the publishing of school textbooks. Before this Lovell's career had run alongside that of the subsequently more successful publisher, Edwin Ginn. Both were students together at Tufts and then Ginn had worked for Clark and Maynard, a New York publisher. In 1867 Ginn founded his own publishing house specializing in educational textbooks and in 1870 Lovell became a partner in Ginn's firm. After about two years Ginn

15 3 East 14th Street is the site of the present School for Social Research.

bought out Lovell's interest and Lovell then went to work for Ginn's old employer, Clark and Maynard, until he too set up his own publishing business.¹⁶

Once again, Scott's agreement with Lovell was short-lived and involved only a few books issued between 1890 and 1892 which represent a very small proportion of the titles published by Scott during those years. On 18th April 1890 David Gordon referred to Lovell and Co as 'my agents in the states' who 'work Boston and all large towns'¹⁷ but the exact nature of the agreement is not clear from the books themselves. Copies from one impression could have a joint imprint with Scott's name appearing first (form 2), a joint imprint with Lovell's name appearing first (form 3), or a cancelled title-leaf with Lovell's imprint (form 4). (see illus) It seems that the arrangement began, as mentioned above, with some copies of a Scott impression being issued with Lovell's name alone on the title-page; for example, *Poems of Owen Meredith* and *Poems of Walter Savage Landor* from the *Canterbury Poets*.¹⁸ The first stage of the agreement was thus like that with White and Allen. This was followed between 1890 and 1892 with books with joint imprints. The second stage of the Lovell agreement was like that with Whittaker and Gage because these Lovell imprints and all the Scott/Whittaker/Gage imprints are found in all copies of a particular impression of a title. In two instances, John Bowles *Stormy Petrel* and Albert P.

16 J. Tebbel *op cit*, p 409; and T.B. Lawler *Seventy Years of Textbook Publishing: a History of Ginn and Company*, 1937, pp 19-20.

17 Fabian Archives, Nuffield 110/2/1.

18 *Poems of Meredith*, copy in Colby College Library, Waterville, Maine; *Poems of Landor*, copy in University of Virginia Library.

Southwick *Wisps of Wit and Wisdom*, it was Scott acting as the distributor for Lovell (as he did for A.H. Wheeler) because both are clearly American books, printed in America, and have Lovell's name appearing first in the imprint.

Despite its brief existence covering a small number of titles, the arrangement with Lovell was important in providing Scott with a New York address in the publishers' district. Lovell continued in business as a publisher until he died in 1902¹⁹ but his name is not mentioned in Scott imprints after 1892. The address alone appears occasionally between 1892 and 1902, as for example: London: | Walter Scott, Ltd., | 24 Warwick Lane | New York: 3 East 14th Street. Then in 1903 Scott began to use the address regularly in imprints and it is still found, for example, on the title-page of Scott's 1920 reprint of the *Arabian Nights*. Presumably 3 East 14th Street was used by Scott to collect North American orders and perhaps to carry a stock of the more popular titles.

Lovell's company continued for a year or two after his death and then it began to trade as Parker P. Simmons. The changing imprints of one book, Rudolph Baumbach *Tales from Wonderland* translated by Helen B. Dole, illustrate the changes to the firm. In the year following Aaron Lovell's death, *Tales from Wonderland* appeared with a Lovell imprint (New York, 1903 | A. Lovell & Company) and the following year there was a second issue with the imprint, New York, 1904 | Parker P. Simmons, Successor to | A. Lovell & Company. In 1908 Scott was still referring to the New York office as his agent; there is a letter in the Fabian Society Archives from Frederick Crowest, who replaced David

¹⁹ Obituary: *New York Times*, 17th April 1902, p 9.

Gordon (see Chapter 7), which mentions 'our New York agent, Mr. Parker P. Simmons, 3 East 14th Street'.²⁰

None of these agreements was exclusive and in the same way that the White and Allen arrangement ran alongside that of Whittaker and Gage, negotiations took place in 1891 with C.P. Somerby of New York, not just alongside the arrangement with Aaron Lovell, but using him as intermediary. Somerby was interested in selling *Fabian Essays in Socialism* in America and David Gordon passed on his proposal to the Fabian Society:

I enclose a letter to hand this morn^g from Somerby, who you will see wants to purchase duplicate plates of the book, or to purchase sheets at 10 cents. If you are willing in this instance to reduce your export royalty to 1/2d per copy, I could print a special edition to sell at the above price to Somerby.²¹

The Fabian Society suggested a compromise royalty of three-farthings a copy and Gordon accepted and wrote to confirm:

I ... note that you are willing to reduce your Royalty on the above volume to 3/4d per copy for an export edition to Mr. Somerby. I have accordingly written to my American Agents offering to supply such an edition at the price named by Mr. Somerby, viz 10 cents per copy.²²

The most significant of all Scott's overseas agreements was with one of the most successful and well known publishers in North America, Charles Scribner's Sons of New

20 Fabian Society Archives, Nuffield E 110/4/8.

21 Nuffield 110/2/10.

22 Nuffield 110/2/11.

York.²³ No documents survive, apart from one letter:

October 26, 1892

Dear Sir

We write to acknowledge the receipt of the first 128 pages of 'The Germ Plasm' according to your letter of the 14th. The previous 64 pages which you sent are already in type but we will compare them with the new pages and make such changes as are necessary. Of course it is impossible for us to fix the date of publication until we have all the copy; we can only promise to proceed with the type-setting as rapidly as possible, and this you may rely upon our doing.

We are glad to hear of the early shipment of the first two volumes in 'The International Humour Series.'

Yours very truly,

[signed 'Charles Scribner's Sons']²⁴

August Weismann's *The Germ Plasm* was one of the Contemporary Science titles and, because of the new Chace Act, the book had to be type-set in the United States in order to qualify for copyright protection. The letter hints at some complication with *Germ Plasm* which was preventing Scott from following the normal practice of delivering the complete text. The finished book, published in Britain in March or April 1893, had 24 pages of preliminaries and 478 pages of text and so Scribner's had received less than half at the time of this letter.

23 For a history of Scribner's see R. Burlingame *Of Making Many Books*, 1946.

24 Original in the Charles Scribner's Sons Archives in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Scribner's appear to have been mainly interested in joint publication for complete series from Scott. Although there was no blanket agreement covering all Scott's publications, Scribner's were also the distributors for many individual Scott titles. Contact began with one title in 1890 when Scott published James K. Hosmer's *Short History of Anglo-Saxon Freedom*. Like Bowles' *Stormy Petrel* and Southwick's *Wisps of Wit* from Lovell impressions, *A Short History of Anglo-Saxon Freedom* was published by Scribner's, also in 1890, and Scott's issue is from the same Scribner's impression, printed by Berwick and Smith of Boston, USA, but with the imprint: LONDON | WALTER SCOTT, 24, WARWICK LANE. Then, sometime before 1892, co-operation on Scott's series began with joint publication for Contemporary Science, Library of Humour, and Ibsen's Prose Dramas, and was followed by Makers of British Art and Music Story Series (see Chapter 7). A second Scribner's title, Thomas N. Page *Among the Camps*, was published by Scott in 1892 and as before the book was printed in America but with Scott's imprint.

The agreement appears to have been worked out in three stages. The earliest volumes are found, as usual, with imprints either from Scott, or with cancelled title-leaves with Scribner's, or Scribner and Welford imprints (form 4). Scribner and Welford was a separate firm established specifically for the importation of British books,²⁵ but the imprint is used only rarely on Scott books. One copy of Charles Letourneau's *Property: Its Origin and Development* has been discovered²⁶ in which the original imprint has a printed label pasted over it which reads 'IMPORTED BY | CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, | NEW

²⁵ See R. Burlingame *passim*, and James L.W. West 'Book-publishing 1835-1900: the Anglo-American connection' in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 84, December 1990, p 364.

²⁶ In the library of Oregon State University.

PROPERTY:
ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

BY

CIL LETOURNEAU,

GENERAL SECRETARY TO THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF PARIS,
AND PROFESSOR IN THE SCHOOL OF ANTHROPOLOGY.

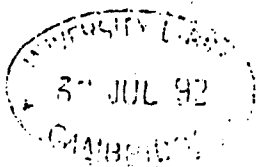
IMPORTED BY
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS,
NEW YORK.

VOLCANOES:
XXII. 36. 40
PAST AND PRESENT.

BY
EDWARD HULL, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.,
Examiner in Geology to the University of London.

WITH 41 ILLUSTRATIONS AND 4 PLATES
OF ROCK-SECTIONS.

LONDON:
WALTER SCOTT, LIMITED,
24, WARWICK LANE, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1892.



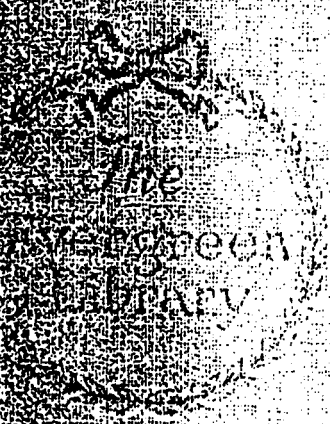
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LONDON:
WALTER SCOTT, LTD., 24 WARWICK LANE.
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS,
743 & 745 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.
1892.

TALES
AND
ADVENTURES
OF
LEIGH HUNT



PR 4812
13

SIMPSON

STANDARD BOOK
PUBLICATIONS
U.S. LIBRARY

YORK.' It is possible that books with labels preceded those with cancelled leaves. In any case, there was a British issue and a North American issue. The second stage, with examples found in later reprints of early titles, most of the titles in Contemporary Science and Library of Humour, and all the Ibsen volumes, consisted of a British issue, with just Scott's name on the title-page (form 1), and a North American issue, with both Scott and Scribner's names on the title-page (form 2). In the third stage which involved Makers of British Art and Music Story the books were not printed in separate issues but all copies had uniform title-pages with both names. The arrangement seems to have worked very well for Scott and for those titles with separate British and American issues there are usually more reprints for North America than for Britain. In Scott's final years it seems that his main income was from reprints sold by Scribner's.

There may also have been an agreement for distribution in North America between Scott and Simpkin Marshall. Several copies of Scott books which survive in North American libraries are catalogued as belonging to the 'Evergreen Library'. There appears to be nothing in the printed sheets of these books to indicate that they are part of the Evergreen Library and the series name is found only on the binding. Scott never advertised the Evergreen Library and no copy has yet been discovered outside North America. The front board is blocked 'Evergreen Library' and, in one copy at least, Leigh Hunt's *Tales* in the University of British Columbia Library, despite Scott's title-page and colophon, the foot of the spine carries the name 'Simpkin' (see illus). It seems therefore that Simpkin Marshall

bought the sheets from Scott to be bound by them and then sold in North America as the Evergreen Library.

The most extensive evidence of Scott's overseas involvement comes from Australia and, although some of it is based on oral tradition, for the most part it supports other sources. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (pp 35-36) one of Scott's employees, John Inglis Lothian, emigrated to Australia in July 1888. Lothian began to work for Scott in Newcastle in December 1877 and at some later date transferred to the publishing department. Lothian did well in the publishing office, family tradition even crediting him with the creation of the Canterbury Poets, Camelot Classics and the Million Library.²⁷ According to Lothian²⁸ Scott had had a New York office since 1884, not 1888 as the title-page imprints suggest, and he was keen to take his business into other countries. Scott therefore encouraged Lothian to go to Australia and to represent the firm there. 'Do well for yourself, and you will do well for us,' he is said to have told Lothian.²⁹

Lothian settled in Melbourne, called his house 'Camelot', and became the first publisher's representative resident in Australia or New Zealand. British publishers had previously relied either on local booksellers acting as wholesalers, or on infrequent visits, perhaps once every two years, by their overseas representatives. Wholesale branches, for example, had been opened by Collins in Sydney in the 1870s, and Cassell and Ward Lock in

27 S. Sayers *The Company of Books*, pp 5-6.

28 *ibid*, p 9.

29 *ibid*, p 10.

Melbourne in 1884, while OUP, Hodder and Stoughton, John Murray, A. & C. Black, Chapman and Hall, and others were sending out their own representatives.³⁰

Lothian remained an employee of Walter Scott until 1900, with the sale of Scott publications as his main activity. Being the sole publisher's representative in the whole of Australasia, Lothian was inevitably asked for information about British publishers in general and soon began to collect orders from booksellers for publishers other than Scott. Scott, however, retained firm control. Copies of agreements survive between Scott and Cambridge University Press and Blackwood of Edinburgh. The agreement with Cambridge University Press, dated 10th August 1892, allowed Scott 7 1/2 % 'on all orders received by Mr. Lothian from Australia and New Zealand Houses for books published by Messrs. C.J. Clay & Sons [the managing partners of CUP]'.³¹ The agreement with Blackwood, dated 19th November 1897, allowed Scott a commission of 10% on orders obtained in Victoria and 11 1/4 % on orders from the rest of Australia and New Zealand.³²

It must have been clear to Lothian that the commission which Scott was collecting (more than eleven thousand miles away) derived entirely from his efforts. He would also have been able to compare his salary with the commission and, at some stage, to arrive at a simple conclusion. If he could persuade Scott to release him as an employee and to allow

30 C. Close, *The House of Lothian: nineteenth century beginnings* in E. Morrison and M. Talbot (eds) *Forum on Australian Colonial Library History: Books, Libraries and Readers in Colonial Australia*, p 80.

31 *ibid*, p 15, original copy in the State Library of Victoria, Australia.

32 Sayers, *op cit*, p 18, original copy in the State Library of Victoria, Australia.

him to retain the representation of other publishers he would be his own master. Lothian made return trips to Britain in 1897 and 1900. On his second visit he persuaded Scott to go along with his proposition and an agreement was drawn up between them on 26th November 1900.³³ It was in Scott's interest to maintain contact with Lothian but, even so, the terms were more generous than they strictly needed to be. A commission of 7¹/₂ % would be paid on the net value of most orders for Scott publications³⁴ and it was agreed 'that all the firms represented by Mr. Lothian ... will in future deal with him direct as to commissions earned'.³⁵ After negotiating his new relationship with Scott Lothian did not waste his time in Britain and went on to arrange direct contracts with his other publishers.

Scott was being generous but the provisions of the agreement made good business sense. The immigrant populations of Australia and New Zealand were still small³⁶ but they were English-speaking with strong British ties. They also bought large quantities of books supplied by a few enterprising booksellers from well stocked shops. Even in 1900 the potential market for a publisher, especially one with a list of reprints of standard works, must have been very attractive. Thanks to Lothian's pioneering work Scott's publications were already easily available there. Allowing Lothian his head would ensure that he continued to feel well disposed to his old employer -- and there would now be Scott's

33 *ibid*, p 21, original copy in the State Library of Victoria, Australia.

34 Clause 1, the exclusions were 'job lines ... at reduced prices'.

35 Clause 6, the exceptions were 'Messrs Nister, Orrock and Stirling Tract Depot'.

36 In the 1901 census the total population of Australia was 3,373,801, and of New Zealand was 815,862.

commission to spur him on. It was still a case of 'Do well for yourself, and you will do well for us'.

Lothian had plans for his son, Thomas Carlyle Lothian, in the book trade and before Thomas was fourteen years old he was sent to work in Cole's Book Arcade in Melbourne. Melbourne was the centre of the book trade and Cole's Book Arcade was a remarkable organization which by this time had become a tourist attraction for visitors to the city. The Arcade was a large bookshop, said to have one of the most extensive stocks in the world. The shop had been founded and was owned by Edward William Cole.

Scott had already established a place in the Australian market before John Lothian left Newcastle and he had done this through dealings with E.W. Cole. Cole 'had a flair for what would catch the public imagination and he brought the magic of bookselling to the public in a way nobody else had yet done'³⁷ -- even if he had started his career in retailing by selling pies and cider from a barrow in the street.³⁸ Something of his pies and cider origins stayed with him in the book trade and his aim seems not to have been as high brow (or as stuffily European?) as Scott's, but small differences between them would have been submerged in the zeal they shared to encourage ordinary people to read.

In common with many Australian bookshops at this time, besides bookselling, Cole published a few titles for himself. Occasionally he was also the author of these books. The manager of the Book Arcade was William Thomas Pyke and he too was an author and editor of books published by Cole. Scott began to print for Cole, for example, the fourth

37 R. Page *Australian Bookselling*, p 6.

38 Sayer, *op cit* p 19.

edition of Arthur Keyser's *An Exile's Romance*, was published by Cole but has the colophon, 'Printed by Walter Scott, Felling, Newcastle-on-Tyne'. Occasionally Scott also published Cole titles, for example, Pyke's *Australian Heroes* and *Conduct and Duty*, and Cole's *The Funniest Book But One* appeared with Scott's imprints.

By 1897 or '98 Thomas C. Lothian had left Cole to join the family business and he took full control when his father retired in 1912. In 1905 Thomas branched out into publishing, somewhat against his father's wishes since he thought that publishers' representatives should not publish their own books. Even after John Inglis retired the publishing was kept as a separate business under Thomas C. Lothian's name.

At this time the close links between Scott and Lothian were still in place and, almost inevitably, Scott was involved in Lothian publishing. The arrangements were formalised in 1908 during a visit to Britain by Thomas C. Lothian.³⁹ However, soon after 1908 relations between the two firms began to go wrong. In April 1912 Thomas Lothian wrote in confidence to one of his contacts, Mr. H. Aris, at Butler and Tanner, the British printer,

to ask you to help me in a little matter that has cropped up between myself and the Walter Scott Publishing Co. When I was away, my people here published a book by one of the University Lecturers, a Mr. A.T. Strong, called "Peradventure", published at 4/6n. Mr. Sinclair [Scott's London manager] thought it best on account of trouble with his firm, not to send out the review copies, nor to put the book on sale ... Mr. Sinclair also warned me against the possibility of trouble because of the amount of

³⁹ *ibid*, p 37.

copyright matter that was in the book ... I think the idea that trouble may arise from copyright is quite ridiculous.⁴⁰

In exasperation Lothian had offered the book to Simpkin Marshall and if they accepted he would withdraw it from Scott. He wanted Aris to act as intermediary but such was his disillusion with Scott that his letter continued, 'May I also ask if you can recommend me to any other firm who would give my books a fair sort of chance amongst the trade of England.'⁴¹ The immediate outcome was that *Peradventure* was accepted and published by Simpkin Marshall.

The slightest hint of dissatisfaction with Walter Scott would have come as a shock to Thomas' father. When John had decided to retire he wrote to inform Scott and added,

I have to thank you sincerely for all the kindness and consideration you have shown to me during the long years I have had the honour of being your Australian Representative. To work together as we have done, for over twenty years without a single break of the amicable friendly statist [sic] between us, is a record which speaks well for both sides, and upon which I will always look back with pleasure.⁴²

However, Thomas' rift with Scott was caused by more than a son's desire to make changes to his father's regime. It may have been loyalty to a lifetime's relationship or just blindness to the failings which prevented John Lothian from seeing what was happening to Scott, but there were real failings and Thomas had reason to complain.

40 Lothian Papers, State Library of Victoria, Box 36, letter dated 3 April 1912.

41 *ibid.*

42 *ibid.*, Box 27, letter dated 21 December 1910.

By 1913 Thomas had had enough. He had acquired the rights to all Kathleen Watson's works including *Litanies of Life* which he estimated had sold 50,000 or more and which was now in its fourth edition as a joint publication between Lothian and Scott. There was also an unpublished work, *Later Litanies*, which he had decided would not be offered to Scott at all. He wrote to a London agent asking him to take *Later Litanies* to Heinemann but should Heinemann decline the offer:

If you can get a Publisher to take up not only "Later Litanies" but also "Litanies of Life", then I shall be very glad. I wish you to keep in the hands of a good Publisher who will be prepared to advertise it in the more important papers ... All my other books can be had from The Walter Scott Publishing Co., but as they are so slow, it is impossible to put any fresh business proposal before them. I gave them "Litanies of Life" to print in the hopes that it would stimulate their activity, but after sending out my thousand copies here, they actually forgot to bind any more for their own review copies and home trade until a few weeks ago. They do not hold any rights on any of my books, and "Litanies of Life" could taken [sic] out of their hands at a moment's notice.⁴³

Heinemann, like Simpkin Marshall with Strong's *Peradventure*, accepted Lothian's offer and published *Later Litanies* in 1914. As Lothian had threatened in his letter, he also withdrew *Litanies of Life* from Scott; the 1913 edition with a Scott/Lothian imprint was followed by another edition in 1914 with Heinemann's imprint. Even the printing was taken away from Scott and the Heinemann editions of *Litanies of Life* and *Later Litanies* were printed by Richard Clay.

43 *ibid*, Box 3, Folder 6, letter dated 15 May 1913.

The above events, particularly Lothian's dissatisfaction with Scott, accusations of inefficiency and falling standards, are still to be placed in context. The problems at Scott's were long-term ones which seem to have begun with the departure of David Gordon. These problems will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Final Years

For at least ten years from Walter Scott's acquisition of Tyne Publishing his printing and publishing business had seen continuous growth and had been remarkably successful. Then the original employees began to leave, other changes began to occur and, although the successes continued and there was no sudden cataclysm, perhaps the undermining of the secure foundations had also begun. The successful phase of the business was followed, from about 1895 to 1910, by a period which was much less dynamic than the early stage. The old series continued and new titles were published but not as frequently as before. The slowing down became more noticeable after about 1900 so that, if the decline was to be reversed, proportionately more effort would need to be expended. Sir Walter Scott died in 1910 and almost immediately the decision was taken not to attempt to revive the firm, but to sell it. A few new publications were issued from time to time perhaps to give the impression to any prospective buyer that this was still a going concern, but the life had gone out of the company. A buyer could not be found, the company went into liquidation and negotiations dragged on until the end finally came in 1931.

The reasons for any of the changes of direction or of policy no longer survive and it is not certain if the final outcome was the result of gradual decline or of specific decisions or accidents. The one event which does appear to have undermined the company was the death on 8th April 1910 of Sir Walter Scott, who had always kept his distance and who, nine years before, had handed over even his nominal control of the business to his son. The only original documents which survive from Sir Walter's lifetime are the business

records in the Public Record Office and the application form for membership to the Institution of Mechanical Engineers mentioned in Chapter 1. Much more survives after his death;¹ the documents with relevance to the publishing and printing business are a copy of the will, the Estate Duty Affidavit and Schedules (which list all his possessions and their value at the time of his death), the minutes of his executors covering their meetings from 13th April 1910 to 17th May 1933, and nineteen copies of Walter Scott Publishing Co balance sheets.

The will is important to the publishing company only in a negative sense. Sir Walter was generous in his old age and a large number of beneficiaries are mentioned in his will. The beneficiaries extend beyond Scott's immediate family, several were employees, but none appears to have been connected with the publishing and printing business. This seems to confirm, once again, that he had no particular interest in the business and did not regard it as central to his concerns.

The Estate Duty Affidavit and Schedules show that at the time of his death Sir Walter owned 39,865 ordinary £1 shares in the Walter Scott Publishing Co which were valued at twelve shillings each.² The shares were therefore worth £23,919 and represent only 1.68% of his total wealth. Since the formation of a separate company in 1901 when he received 66,600 shares, Sir Walter had disposed of 26,735 shares. Once again, there is an apparent lack of interest by Sir Walter and perhaps, because of his disposal of about a third of his holding, even a withdrawal of support.

1 All surviving records from after Sir Walter's death are in the possession of the present baronet, Sir John Scott.

2 Estate Duty Affidavit and Schedules, p 23.

Sir Walter's apparent lack of interest in publishing and printing is contradicted later in the affidavit where it is shown that he owed the company £45.3.10d for 'publications'.³ This is a substantial sum of money and could mean that Sir Walter was receiving a copy of all new books as they were published (not an unusual arrangement for the proprietor of a publishing company). If this was so, an obvious question is where are the books now, since not a single copy appears to survive. The disappearance of a whole collection of books in private hands, however, is not uncommon; the same fate has occurred to books in public collections. In 1888 Scott donated one copy of every title, both in print and to be published, to the Newcastle upon Tyne Public Library. The donation is noted in the annual report of the library adding that:

To mark their sense of this donation, the Committee have decided to shelve the books as a distinct section of the Reference Department, to be called the "Walter Scott Library".⁴

The library acquisition ledgers for 1889 onwards are now in the Central Library in Newcastle and show that 379 copies of Scott publications were received free of charge between 7th March 1889 and August 1894. The library still possesses a few Scott publications but none of their present holdings corresponds to the donated titles listed in the ledgers. It seems that every copy of the Walter Scott Library has disappeared.

The most extensive posthumous records are found in the executors' minutes. The original executors were Sir Walter's sons, Mason Thompson, Charles Thomas and William Martin

3 Estate Duty Affidavit and Schedules, p 85.

4 City and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne *Eighth Report of the Public Libraries Committee, 1888-89*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1889, pp 9-10.

Scott; the company secretary, George Linklater, and the company accountant, James Lorrimer Oliver. Their minutes provide a fairly detailed account of the break up of Scott's commercial empire and of the last years of the Walter Scott Publishing Company. The publishing and printing business had certainly fallen off by 1910 but the company was still healthy and its affairs could have been revived with a determined effort. It comes as a surprise, therefore, that immediately after Sir Walter's death the executors decided to dispose of the publishing and printing business. Up to this point there had been no indication that any such decision was in prospect. At a meeting on 5th May 1910 it was minuted:

Mr. Lee Hudson, Solicitor, mentioned that Mr. Sidney Reid, in conversation, said he wanted to extend his business and Mr. Hudson referred to the Felling Printing Works as likely to suit him. The Executors expressed their willingness to dispose of the business, if a reasonable figure could be obtained, and Mr. Hudson was to arrange for Mr. Reid to visit and inspect the Works, and invite him to make an offer.⁵

Sidney Reid was the son of Andrew Reid, the founder of one of the most prosperous jobbing printers in the North-east. After his father's death in 1896, Sidney ran the business with his brother Philip.⁶ Nothing came of this offer to sell the Felling works and Reid is not mentioned again in the executors' minutes, but the fact that they were actively seeking buyers is striking.

With his business confined to printing, Reid would have been interested only in Scott's manufacturing plant, but the executors wanted rid of the whole company and were

⁵ Executors' Minutes, Vol 1, p 12.

⁶ M. Sharp *Andrew Reid & Co Ltd: a Famous North-Country Printery*, pp 37 f.

prepared to sell it in its entirety or piecemeal. The disposal of the company was considered again in June 1913 when it was noted that Frederick Crowest, the general manager of publishing and printing at this time, had 'intimated that he might be able to find a buyer' for the complete Walter Scott Publishing Co 'in the course of time' and it was decided to offer him 'a commission of 2¹/₂%, if he succeeded in introducing a buyer on terms satisfactory to the shareholders'.⁷ Among the employees Crowest at least, then, was aware of the executors' intentions. The problem for Crowest was to find a buyer without losing his job, and his efforts, in spite of the inducement of a commission, were not successful. Whether this was because the terms were not satisfactory to the shareholders, or to Crowest and his staff, or to the prospective buyer, is not known.

There were earlier changes which may have thrown the publishing department off course. A major organizational change in Walter Scott's commercial interests took place in 1892. Scott's civil engineering and contracting business traded as Walter Scott and Middleton, while all the other concerns, coal mining, cement manufacture, dealing in timber, and ship building, as well as printing and publishing, traded as Walter Scott. In March 1892 limited companies were formed keeping the same division of interests. This meant that one of the objects of Walter Scott Limited was:

To carry on the business of Printers generally; and also of Proprietors, Manufacturers, Producers, Editors, Publishers, and distributors of, or dealers in newspapers, journals, periodicals, books, pamphlets, prints, pictures, drawings, or other written, engraved, painted, or printed productions; and generally of Advertising Agents, Contractors, Stationers, and Newsagents, and any other

⁷ Executors' Minutes, 24 June 1913, Vol 1, p 131.

businesses that in the opinion of the Company can be conveniently carried on in connection therewith.⁸

There was one more organizational change which took place between 1900 and 1901 and which may have disturbed the stability of the firm. An extraordinary general meeting of Walter Scott Limited was called for 15th November 1900 to split off the publishing department as a separate company. This would require the voluntary winding-up of the whole company and then re-forming it without the publishing department.⁹ Then on 19th December 1901 a Certificate of Incorporation as a private limited company was issued to the new Walter Scott Publishing Company. The directors were Walter Scott, his sons Joseph Samuel and Mason Thompson Scott, his daughter Mrs Annie M. Rutherford, and George Linklater (Scott's company secretary), Simon Tate and James L. Oliver (Scott's accountant), and the purpose of the company remained very similar to that set out in 1892.¹⁰ The new company had a nominal capital of £70,000 in £1 shares. The directors owned one share each and the company was 'bought' from Walter Scott for £66,600, paid to him in shares. Mason Thompson Scott was Managing Director.

8 Object 4 in the Memorandum of Association, PRO BT31/5286/36095.

9 PRO BT31/5286/36095.

10 PRO BT31/16746/72224: To carry on the business of printers and publishers generally, and of proprietors, manufacturers, producers, editors, printers publishers, and distributors of or dealing in newspapers, journals, magazines, periodicals, books, pamphlets, prints pictures, drawings, or other written, engraved, painted or printed productions, and generally of advertising agents, contractors, stationers, newsagents, and photographers, and any other business which in the opinion of the Company can be conveniently carried on in connection therewith.

Ernest Rhys left Scott, as a full-time editor at least, soon after 1894, Will Dircks had gone by 1897, and David Gordon probably by 1900. The dates are speculative and there is no evidence as to why these people left. They may have gone as a result of one of the organisational changes, or their departure may have been followed by an organisational change. The individual reasons for their departure are probably entirely unrelated but there could have been a common cause despite the departures being spread over six years.

In 1892 the shareholders in Walter Scott Ltd were restricted to Scott himself and his six children and the original wide business interests of the company remained unchanged.¹¹ The managers of all the concerns within Walter Scott Ltd were excluded as directors, but perhaps David Gordon felt dissatisfied since he had been a Tyne Publishing shareholder, his commitment after Scott arrived had been faultless, and he had been an outstanding success as a manager. On the other hand, Scott's creation of a limited company was part of a national movement and came at a time when the number of large firms quoted on the London stock exchange increased from only sixty to almost six hundred.¹² But Scott also seems to have used the reorganization as an opportunity to make internal alterations in the publishing division. In the month previous to the formation of the limited company the Camelot Series had been transformed into the Scott Library and the public had been given the impression that a brand new series was being launched with no connexion to the old Camelot Series. As was suggested in Chapter 4, this may have unsettled Ernest Rhys. If nothing else, it shows that Walter Scott liked having his name on his possessions.

11 PRO BT31/5286/36095: Walter Scott and his sons Joseph Samuel, Mason Thompson, Charles Thomas and William Martin, and his daughters Annie Mary Rutherford and Fanny Elizabeth Brook.

12 L. Hannah *The Rise of Corporate Economy*, 1983, p 43.

There could have been another cause of unrest. One of the abiding puzzles surrounding the publishing department is that at the same time as Walter Scott was sitting as a Conservative on the Newcastle council (from 1881 to 1890, and he was still an active Conservative in 1909), there was a group of left-wingers and progressives working for him and publishing whatever they wished. The whole factory under David Gordon employed trade union members, as Bernard Shaw mentions in a letter to Fisher Unwin in March 1891 when he refers to Scott as 'a fair house';¹³ a later letter from Shaw explains his conditions for engaging a printer, 'the printer shall be "a fair house" in the Trade Union sense'.¹⁴ All this is the most telling proof that Walter Scott's overriding interest was a good return on his investment and that he put complete trust in his managers as long as they were successful, but perhaps by 1892 he was becoming concerned that the publishing department was getting out of hand. Giving managers a free rein had proved itself in the past, but paying them to publish views which are entirely opposite to your own on such matters as how your own business is conducted and how your own workers should behave, must have been hard to accept. Particularly hard to accept at a time of increasing trade union activity nationally, and to one of the most successful capitalists in Britain well on his way to becoming a millionaire. It was certainly more than Edward Hulston could watch with equanimity at almost exactly the same time when Robert Blatchford and his colleagues turned the *Sunday Chronicle* into a left-wing journal. Perhaps the limited company and Scott Library are only the surviving evidence of greater changes in the publishing department.

13 Shaw *Collected Letters, 1874-1897*, p 285.

14 *ibid*, p 550.

Yet, there was no sudden exodus of staff at this time and Rhys, Dircks and Gordon all stayed long after 1892. There is documentary evidence that Rhys was still producing new material for Scott in 1896;¹⁵ Dircks was signing letters in October 1895;¹⁶ Gordon signed the agreement with John Inglis Lothian in November 1900 and Gordon's replacement was not appointed until 1901. Eight years is a long time to bear a grudge. In addition, there was no marked change in the publishing programme after 1892 and left-wing or progressive material continued to appear. The Ibsen series came to an end in 1892 but there were revised reprints in 1901, 1902 and 1906; John A. Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism* was first published in 1894; E.C.K. Gonner's *Socialist State* in 1895; the arrangement with Robert Blatchford and the Clarion ran from 1894 to 1901; and the publication of George Moore's works began in 1893 with *Esther Waters* in 1894. For that matter, works *against* socialism had appeared before 1892; Elijah Copland's *State Socialism* in 1887, and Marsden Gibson's *Seven Pillars of Socialism* in 1888. The pattern remained the same after 1892 as before.

On balance, then, it seems that the only important changes to the publishing department in 1892 were the formation of the parent organization into a limited company, and the relaunching of the Camelot Series as the Scott Library. The managers, editors, and the rest of the publishing programme continued as before.

David Gordon seems to have left at about the same time as the 1900 reorganization, but it is impossible to say whether Gordon felt snubbed by his omission from the board yet

15 He edited Arthur Hugh Clough's poems in *Canterbury Poets*.

16 There is a letter dated 16 October 1895 to Oscar Browning in King's College, Cambridge which Will Dircks has initialled on behalf of David Gordon, Oscar Browning Papers: 1447.

again, whether Gordon left before or after the creation of the new company, whether it was this change which destabilized the publishing department, or whether the publishing department was destabilized at all. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that there was some connection between Gordon's departure and the formation of the separate company. Although there is no evidence for the exact date of Gordon's departure he had certainly been replaced by a new General Manager and Editor by 1901.

The new man was Frederick James Crowest and news of his appointment was announced in the *Publishers' Circular* on 19th October 1901:

Mr. Frederick J. Crowest has accepted the entire management of the publishing and printing business of Messrs. Walter Scott at London and Newcastle, and will have the control of both branches. Mr. Crowest is the author of 'The Great Tone Poets'.¹⁷

Like many of Scott's employees Crowest appears to have had little formal education and his entry in *Who's Who* (where most entries give the names of schools, colleges and universities, with the dates attended) gives the vaguest, non-committal information, 'Educ: London and in Italy'.¹⁸ In the same way, details of his early career are not provided. His whole working experience had been in publishing, but the simple statement, 'Served early life with Messrs. Cassell, Petter and Galpin', presumably means that he began with them at an embarrassingly low level. However, he prospered at Cassell's and gradually rose up the hierarchy. Dates and job titles then begin to be mentioned, 'joined their [Cassell's] Editorial staff in 1886; assistant-editor and editor of *Work*, 1889-93; general editor and reader,

¹⁷ *Publishers' Circular*, 19 October 1901, p 423.

¹⁸ *Who's Who*, 1926, 1927, *Who Was Who*, 1917-1928.

1893-1900'. Then 'General Manager and Editor of the Walter Scott Publishing Company, Limited, 1901-17'.

Crowest's main qualification for the job with Scott was obviously his successful career in publishing. He had several other advantages. Firstly, Cassell was a very successful firm and prospective employers would probably assume that Cassell's success would have rubbed off on their general editor and reader. During Crowest's years with Cassell the company had grown at a healthy rate, for example, there were five hundred employees in 1865 and 1200 in 1888. Secondly, Cassell, like Scott, had their own production plant and half the work-force was employed there. It was becoming increasingly common for publishing offices to be separated from printing offices and so Crowest's experience with printers and binders would have been an attraction to Scott. Thirdly, from the beginning Cassell's list had been devoted to popular self-help and self-education; they published the 'Red Library of English and American Classics' which became 'Cassell's Red Library' in 1884 and which corresponded to the Camelot/Scott series. In addition Crowest himself had an active interest in popular education which would also have appealed to Scott. It was sufficiently important to him to include in his *Who's Who* entry, 'for many years engaged in East London educational and polytechnic work'. Crowest, then, seems to have had a similar background and attitude to Scott's early editors and he would have been in sympathy with the overall aims of the publishing programme.

Because Crowest was appointed after Dircks and Gordon had left, the decision to employ him presumably came from Scott's son, Mason Thompson Scott, soon to become (if not already) the Managing Director. In any event, Crowest's appointment demonstrates that there was a consistent policy being applied and the line of development followed by the publishing house from the beginning, initiated and nurtured by David Gordon and his editors, was still being pursued. The 1901 changes also show that the Scott family were

taking a more active interest in publishing. It may be that Walter Scott, conscious of his lack of education, did not feel competent to interfere, whereas his son, educated at Cambridge University, did not share his father's inhibitions.

Crowest was fifty years old when he joined Scott and until then he appears always to have lived in London (apart from his claim to have been educated in Italy). Presumably, had it been possible, it would have been more convenient for him to have remained in London based at Scott's office in Paternoster Buildings. In fact, Crowest moved to a house in Low Felling not far from Scott's factory, which shows that the editorial offices were still in Felling and the London premises were probably no more than a warehouse and a contact point for the London book trade.

In addition to general management and editorial work Crowest's responsibilities included the editorship of the Scott Library, since a replacement for Rhys was never appointed. After William Sharp's death in 1905 he took over the Canterbury Poets as well. By this time few titles were being published in either series. The last Scott Library title was published in 1914 and from 1901 when Crowest took charge there were never more than three titles published in any one year. In four of these years nothing at all was published in the series. From the beginning of the series in 1886 to 1900, 113 titles had been published, but only twenty from 1901 to 1914. Similarly in Canterbury Poets there were never more than two titles within a year and nothing in seven of the years from 1905 to 1917 when the series ended. From 1884 to 1900 there had been a hundred titles published, but only eleven from 1901 to 1917.

Like the earlier editors Crowest occasionally wrote material for publication. One of his eleven books on music, the two volume *A Book of Musical Anecdote*, originally published by Richard Bentley in 1878, was reprinted by Scott in 1902 as *Musicians' Wit, Humour*

and Anecdote, this time in one volume. Crowest also wrote the introductions for Sicard de Plauzoles *Consumption* in the Useful Red Series in 1903, and Tolstoy *Short Stories* and Silvio Pellico *Prison Memoirs* both in the Scott Library in 1913 and 1914.

Once Crowest had settled in, despite his links with his predecessors, changes of direction begin to occur. Even absence of action on his part is revealing in that he made no attempt to revive either the Scott Library or Canterbury Poets. Although little was being published these were still two of Scott's most famous series. All the titles were kept in print, but perhaps Crowest thought they had had their day. More positively, but still a break with the past, there was a weeding-out of the back list. The *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature* for 1902 lists 750 titles and by the next issue of the *Reference Catalogue* in 1906, 69 of these are not included. There is a clear pattern in these weeded titles because almost all of them are of local Newcastle interest, either about local topics, for example, John R. Boyle *The Cathedral Church of St Nicholas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, and Richard Welford *Chronological History of Newcastle and Gateshead*, or by local authors, for example, William E. Adams and Robert C. Clephan. Incidentally, some of the topographical material is now highly valued and, because of Crowest's actions, is rarer than it might have been. The reason for the weeding is not clear. It was not that Crowest, with his London background, saw this material as too parochial and something of an embarrassment because new local titles were soon being published again. For example, there are new works on local topics: Archibald Reed *Bruce's School With a Peep at Newcastle in the 'Fifties*, 1903, and William Duncan *Joseph Cowen, MP for Newcastle*, 1904; and by local authors: James Robertson Anderson and Robert C. Clephan. The essence of the problem is seen in the case of Robert C. Clephan; his *Defensive Armour ... of Mediaeval Times*, 1900, was dropped from the catalogue after 1902, but then a new

work, his *Outline of the History and Development of Hand Firearms*, was published in 1906.

Although the old series were neglected, new series were introduced and the first of these under Crowest's regime was *The Makers of British Art*. Each volume was an illustrated biographical and critical study of a painter under the general editorship of James Alexander Manson. The first volume on Landseer was written by Manson and published in May 1902. Manson's only other publication at this time was an edition of Burns which had appeared in 1896, and he later produced a few popular books on such subjects as bowls, indoor amusements, and a work on daily sea trips. Only the *Makers of British Art* was published by Scott. His interest in art appears to have been amateur but besides the series for Scott he influenced his eldest son, James Bolivar Manson, who became a painter and, from 1930 to 1938, was the Director of the Tate Gallery. There was a total of fourteen titles in the series, four of which appeared in 1902, two each in 1903, 1904 and 1905, and one each in 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909. Each volume had twenty full-page reproductions of paintings and a photogravure frontispiece printed by Walker and Cockerell.

It is not known how much editorial responsibility or how much of the day-to-day management of the company was taken by Mason Thompson Scott. The *Publishers' Circular* announcement of Crowest's appointment is unambiguous, showing that Crowest took over all David Gordon's responsibilities. In addition, evidence from letters surviving from Crowest's period as manager support this since they are all signed by him. Nevertheless, the extent of Mason Thompson Scott's involvement remains in doubt because his position was new and did not correspond to that of his father.

Crowest was certainly in charge of the next series, *The Music Story Series*, since he was its general editor. Music was one of Crowest's chief interests and before he joined Scott he

had written eleven books on the subject. He was also a practising musician and was important enough to rate an entry in J.D. Brown and S.S. Stratton's *British Musical Biography*, 1897, which states that he was an experienced organist and choirmaster and at that time was organist at Christ Church, Kilburn, and choirmaster at St Mary's, Somers Town. He had been a professional singer (using the name Arthur Vitton) and had composed church music and songs. The first volume in the Music Story Series, Annie W. Patterson's *Story of Oratorio*, was published in October 1902. A total of fifteen titles appeared, one in 1902; two each in 1903, 1904 and 1905; one each in 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909; two in 1911; and one each in 1914 and 1916. As with the Makers of British Art, the quality of production was stressed in advertising for the series by mentioning 'illustrations in photogravure, collotype, line and half-tone'.

Another new series, the Useful Red Series, appears to have been launched by cobbling together five titles already in the catalogue. The first advertisement for the series is found in the 1906 *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature*, and as is fairly obvious from the series name, all the titles were bound in red cloth. However, one title, C. Stennett Redmond's *Plain Facts About Infant Feeding*, had been in print since 1886 and copies were bound in blue cloth. In addition, the series included all four titles from the Manuals of Employment for Educated Women published between 1900 and 1901. New titles were then added after 1901 and besides the five titles already mentioned, there was one in 1902, three in 1903, two in 1904, one each in 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909, and two in 1910. A range of topics was covered including recreation (for example, *New Ideas on Bridge*, *All About Trout Fishing*), popular medicine (*Indigestion: its Prevention and Cure*, *How to Preserve the Teeth*), and a few miscellaneous titles (*On Choosing a Piano*, *Business Success*, and *Petroleum*). The series ran alongside the Everyday Help Series (see Chapter 4) which had started in 1885 and it is difficult to understand why a separate Useful Red

Series was thought necessary. Both series covered similar subjects (Everyday Help: *The Gentle Art of Nursing the Sick, Everyday Ailments, Home Cooking, Flowers and Flower Culture*) at a similar popular level.

There was a series of foreign language textbooks, the Rational Study of Modern Languages, which began in 1904. The general editor appears to have been Jacques Coquelin although this was never stated in the advertising. Six titles were published between 1904 and 1910 on French, German and Italian. Two other series, the Two Readings Series and the White Robe Library, were started but never developed. The Two Readings presented parallel texts of a foreign language work, but only two titles were published, Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* in 1905, and Silvio Pellico's *Prison Memoirs* in 1914. Dante's *La Divina Commedia* was announced but never published. The White Robe Library fared even worse, the only title published in the series being Sarah Doudney's novel, *Silent Strings*, in 1904.

Whether these series were successful or not, the idea of publishing in series was in the Scott tradition and was one of Scott's great strengths. Crowest oversaw other developments which broke with the series tradition. As mentioned above, many of Scott's series were neglected under the Crowest regime, but this neglect was balanced by publishing a much larger number of original titles, many of them fiction or poetry. Fiction and poetry, of course, had been published from the beginning, but most of the titles were reprints and several original fiction titles were collected into the Novocastrian Series. From 1882 to 1900 a total of 749 titles were published and of these 134 were not in series. After 1901 only 318 titles were published of which 176 were not in series. As percentages, before 1901 17.88% were not in series against 55.34% after 1901. Furthermore, before 1901 twenty of the 134 titles were fiction and 16 were poetry

(14.92% and 11.93%); whereas after 1901, 48 of the 176 titles were fiction and 37 poetry (27.26% and 21.01%).

The policy met with some success and at least one novel sold well. In August 1903 the *Publishers' Circular* noted:

So great has been the demand for *Six Chapters in a Man's Life* (Victoria Cross's new novel) that the first large edition was quickly over-subscribed. Another edition will be ready in a few days.¹⁹

Despite the concentration on works of the imagination the output was popular rather than literary and there was nothing in the later period which could match Ibsen, Tolstoy, Bernard Shaw and George Moore. However, an important sociological/scientific writer from the Crowest period was Gustave le Bon whose *Evolution of Matter* was published in 1907. The book appears to have sold reasonably well with reprints in 1909 and 1914 and North American editions for Scribner's. Following the success of *The Crowd*, which was first published in English in 1895 by Fisher Unwin, Le Bon was an extremely influential author, and as John Carey has indicated was 'admired by Sigmund Freud, Ortega y Gasset and, it seems, Hitler'.²⁰

Crowest was involved in unusual negotiations in 1905 concerning a magazine, *Eastward Ho!* Correspondence survives²¹ between Crowest and the publisher, Swann Sonnenschein, about the transfer to them of ownership of the magazine from 'Mr Wills'. The negotiations

19 *Publishers' Circular*, 29 August 1903, p 196.

20 J. Carey *Intellectuals and the Masses*, p 26.

21 *The Archives of Swann Sonnenschein & Co, 1878-1911*, Bishops Stortford: Chadwyck-Healey, 1975, Vol 3, pp 764-5, 803, 831 and 870.

were unusual, of course, because Crowest was employed by Scott and yet he was dealing with Swann Sonnenschein on behalf of Mr Wills. Presumably Mr Wills first approached Scott to publish *Eastward Ho!* Crowest himself would then have decided against the deal, but agreed to approach Swann Sonnenschein. The magazine was probably *Eastward Ho! the Hobby Horse of the P & SSA* [Poplar and Stepney Sick Asylum] and was therefore not likely to have had a large sale, but Swann Sonnenschein considered it seriously for several weeks before they also turned it down. Scott had already embarked on periodical publishing but without much success; *The Naturalists' Monthly* had run from September 1887 to February 1888, *The Art Review* from January to June 1890, and more successfully, the *Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend* from February 1887 to December 1891, and *The Health Messenger* from January 1892 to August 1898.

Crowest's fifty years in London did not prevent him from taking part in the life of the North-east. In 1907 he was elected President of the Newcastle and Gateshead Master Printers' Association²² and he was re-elected the following year.²³ The election to this office shows Crowest's interest in the production as well as the editorial aspects of publishing, and the respect in which he was held by local printers. It is further proof that he was in charge of the whole enterprise at Felling.

Another local involvement, and one which sets him apart from previous editors, was his presidency of the Jarrow Division of the Tariff Reform League.²⁴ Supporters of the Tariff

²² *Who Was Who; Publishers' Circular*, 16 March 1907, p 298; and *Bookseller*, 6 April 1907, p 283.

²³ *Publishers' Circular*, 28 March 1908, p 389.

²⁴ *Who Was Who*.

Reform League did not divide along political party lines. Joseph Chamberlain could not have realised when he founded the league in 1903 the havoc it would cause to his Conservative-Unionist Party. The league split the party and was a major factor in the defeat of Balfour's government in the general election of 1906. Nevertheless, in broad terms, the league was supported by Conservatives and opposed by Liberals and the left. But on the left, too, the opposition was not unanimous -- Robert Blatchford for one was a supporter, although Blatchford was never a typical left-winger. Even Chamberlain himself admitted that tariff reform would result in a tax on food and it is fairly safe to assume that the Fabian Society and their sympathisers would be opposed to the league. Electoral defeat did not deter Crowest and in 1910 he was still an active supporter. In November of that year he addressed a meeting at the Jarrow Conservative Club on 'Tariff reform as it affects paper and print' attempting to show that in all branches of the printing and publishing trades foreign untaxed materials were undercutting British materials and were threatening British jobs.²⁵ Crowest also made it clear that he had no sympathy for socialism:

For years and years past [trade] has been growing worse and worse. There never was a time when there was so much unemployment as at the present day ... During a residence of forty years in London he had never heard Socialism mentioned. Now, after 10 or 15 years, we had the results, despite cheap and free education, free libraries.²⁶

-- unusual sentiments for a publisher of cheap texts aiming to provide 'a complete library for the people'.

²⁵ *Bookseller*, 18 November 1910, p 1580.

²⁶ *Jarrow Express*, 11 November 1910.

Ideas in politics, the arts and sciences are never current for very long and it would have been remarkable if Crowest had been a replica of any of Scott's editors from twenty years earlier. The political implications of Crowest's support for tariff reform, though, was a break with the past and there are other signs that his differences from the original editors were fundamental rather than evolutionary. In 1907 Aleister Crowley's *Konx om Pax* was published followed by *777* two years later. An agency of some kind was also arranged in which Scott sold Crowley's publications and the *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature* for 1910 lists Crowley's works as though they were all published by Scott, but this was true only of *Konx om Pax* and *777*. Bernard Shaw, William Archer and Ernest Rhys appear to have remained silent on Crowley but it is most unlikely that any of them would have agreed with his views or beliefs; David Gordon and Will Dircks are just as unlikely to have been impressed by Crowley's magick.

In one instance it is possible to compare directly how David Gordon and Crowest dealt with a situation. David Gordon's negotiations with the Fabian Society have been set out in Chapter 5 and in 1908 the Fabians were considering a reprint of *Fabian Essays* with Scott for which the correspondence survives. Crowest's first letter to Edward Pease suggests that the implications of not owning North American copyright should be checked with Scott's New York agent, Parker P. Simmons, and the letter ends:

May I at the same time say that we shall be glad to quote you for any of your Society's printing that you can put in our way. You will see from the enclosed circular from our Commercial Printing Department that we have resources here for doing anything in this way.²⁷

²⁷ Nuffield College Fabian Society Archives: E110/4/8 of 20th October 1908.

This is not the kind of salesmanship which David Gordon would have employed and the Secretary of the Fabians was probably not too impressed by it. During the negotiations over Scott's first edition of *Fabian Essays* David Gordon had become one of Pease's personal friends and one of his letters begins 'My dear Pease' and includes:

Been constantly intending to send a friendly line, but never found time.
Please remember me to your wife, (to whom, by the way, I owe an apology) -- Yours ever²⁸

All Gordon's dealings were robust and businesslike. He had thought the matter through, knew what was necessary for Scott to make a profit, and stuck to his guns, with never any hint of smarminess. Crowest, too, had to fight his corner with the Fabians. Eric Gill was designing the reprint and sent Crowest his comments on a proof of the title-page.²⁹ Then Gill decided on a new design and a new title, to which Crowest replied to Pease:

The news in your note of yesterday is very unfortunate. However, we must all do our best. I shall therefore await Mr. Gill's new design for side and back of the cover. And, the new title is to be "Essays in Socialism"

Yours sincerely

P.S. The whole of the Edition is printed off, and enclosed is a [voucher?] of the result -- please return it. You could cancel the titlepage, if you wished - and paste on a new one -- but, we would rather not.³⁰

28 Nuffield 110/2/14, 31 August [1891].

29 Nuffield E110/4/10, 30 October 1908.

30 Nuffield E110/4/12, 10 November 1908.

Crowest gets his point across, but Gordon would probably have let fly a little more vigorously, perhaps with some comment about the inability of 'a body of political economists' to understand the expense involved in a change of title after the book was printed, may be even an intimation that somebody had been 'stupid'.

A serious failing in Crowest was that he seemed to lack any sense of urgency. As already noted, Scott's total output to 1900 was 749 titles, an average of about 41 titles per year. From 1901 to 1917 (the year in which Crowest left) the total output was 311, down to an average of about 18 titles per year. Successful series, especially the Canterbury Poets and the Scott Library, were allowed to decline. There was hardly any advertising. Advertisements appeared regularly in every monthly issue from 1884 to 1901 in the *Bookseller* and in every weekly issue from late 1891 to the end of October 1900 in the *Publishers' Circular*. There were only thirteen advertisements in total in the *Publishers' Circular* after November 1900 and none at all in the *Bookseller* from 1902. There was still a certain amount of good will because both the *Bookseller* and the *Publishers' Circular* continued to notice new publications in their own columns, but Scott was not returning the compliment by paying for space advertisements. Slipshod control is also apparent under Crowest's regime in that a far larger number of forthcoming titles were announced which never appeared in print.

Two examples of this dilatory attitude are found in the Scott Library editions of Pellico's *Prison Memoirs* and Tolstoy's *Short Stories*. Pellico was first announced on 24th September 1904³¹ but the book was not published until 1914 as shown by the date of the

31 *Publishers' Circular*, 24 September 1904, p 353.

Introduction and a note in the *Publishers' Circular*.³² The Tolstoy did not have to wait so long between announcement and publication but the situation was just as lackadaisical. The book was first announced on 14th October 1911,³³ Scott's printer's colophon is dated '1.12' so the sheets were run off by January 1912, but the Introduction is dated 'Autumn 1913'. The introductions to both these books were written by Crowest and in the case of Tolstoy, since the contents were all reprints, there was nothing to do to prepare the text except assemble the collection of stories from Scott's previous Tolstoy publications. Yet, after the sheets were printed and all the costs of publication had been incurred, it took him about eighteen months to finish writing the introduction.

According to his *Who Was Who* entry Crowest left Scott in 1917. He retired to Fladbury in Worcestershire, but it is not known if he had any previous personal or family connections with the place, and he died when he was 79 at his son's house in Birmingham on 14th June 1927.³⁴

In summary, the early period of highly successful expansion included the formation of the parent company into a limited company in 1892. Ernest Rhys left and then Will Dircks. This was followed by the separation of the publishing and printing business from the parent company to form a new limited company in 1900 and 1901. Mason Thompson Scott became managing director. David Gordon left and Frederick Crowest was appointed. Sir Walter Scott died in 1910 and his executors immediately decided to sell the Walter Scott Publishing Co. Ltd.

³² *ibid*, 14 March 1914, p 345.

³³ *ibid*, 14 October 1911, p 571.

³⁴ *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, obit, 16 June 1927.

More problems arise from the decision to sell the business. The firm was stagnating, but did the executors think it was past recovery? Three of the executors were Sir Walter's sons, including the managing director Mason Thompson, so had the decision been taken before their father's death? Was Sir Walter more attached to publishing than it seems, had the decision been taken without him, and were his sons waiting until after his death to sell? Publishing was a desirable business to own, especially for a Cambridge educated man like Mason Thompson. Why did Mason Thompson not want to revive his company? There may have been a reason external to the Walter Scott Publishing Co. because the old parent company, Walter Scott Ltd., was in financial trouble and did not pay a dividend on its ordinary shares in 1910 or 1911.³⁵ The executors may have thought they could raise capital by selling the publishing company.

The meaning of the letter from Thomas C. Lothian on 3rd April 1912 already quoted in Chapter 6 now becomes clearer in the light of the executors' decision in 1910 to sell the business. Lothian complains to Mr Aris of Butler and Tanner about the publication of one of his books in Britain by Walter Scott and adds, 'Mr. Sinclair thought it best *on account of the trouble with his firm* [my italics], not to send out the review copies, nor to put the book on sale'. Mr Sinclair was the manager of Scott's London office and just three days after Lothian's letter the *Publishers' Circular* announced:

Mr. Archibald Sinclair, who has been with the Walter Scott Publishing Co. for over 24 years, is shortly leaving for Melbourne to join Mr. Thomas C. Lothian, publishers' representative there. He will afterwards proceed to Sydney, and will open a branch there which will be under his management.³⁶

³⁵ *The Times*, 31 July 1914, p 17b.

³⁶ *Publishers' Circular*, 6 April 1912, p 474.

Lothian's letter blames Sinclair in person and a harmonious working relationship side by side in Australia is clearly going to have a difficult start, especially as Lothian's letter continues, 'Mr. Sinclair also warned me against the possibility of trouble because of the amount of copyright matter that was in the book ... I think the idea that trouble may arise from copyright is quite ridiculous'. But Scott's public relations, and for that matter the editing of the *Publishers' Circular*, was in confusion because on the very same page as the announcement of Sinclair's move to a new career in Australia, was this second separate announcement:

In consequence of the resignation of Mr. Archibald Sinclair, through ill health, the Walter Scott Publishing Co. have appointed Mr. Duart Trowsdale (late of Messrs. Sampson, Low, Marston and Co. Ltd.) as their London manager and representative. All editorial and production business will be conducted from the works at Felling-on-Tyne, as heretofore.

The sale of companies as going concerns was obviously just as difficult for the employees in 1912 as it is today with the same uncertainties as to the best way to protect livelihoods and incomes before the job losses strike. It is not known how long Mr Trowsdale remained with Scott.

It is probably coincidence but Frederick Crowest was followed as general manager at Felling by William Sinclair although it is not known if he was related to Archibald. This information was supplied by Robert Gibson Graham (see Chapter 8, p 212) who worked at the Felling factory from 1921 to 1928.

Whatever the reason, the executors took the decision to sell and efforts were made to find a buyer, but without success. The situation never changed and the company remained up for sale year after year. After about six years of these unsuccessful attempts the company

officially went into liquidation in 1916 with Frank S. Oliver as liquidator.³⁷ Trading still continued during this time and for many years to come. Crowest did not retire until 1917 (perhaps there was a connection with the liquidation, although he was 69 years old) and staff were still employed until 1928.³⁸ New publications were also issued, for example, T. Stenhouse *Lives Enshrined in Language* in 1922, reprints from Scott presses were still appearing in 1927, for example, John A. Hobson *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, and company stationery was headed 'The Walter Scott Publishing Co. Ltd. (in Liquidation)'.³⁹

The executors did not consider the firm again until their meeting in March 1921 when the liquidator presented a balance sheet and the meeting decided that if a buyer for whole company could not be found within two months 'the works were to be closed and plant sold to the best advantage'.⁴⁰ On 29th June the executors agreed they had waited long enough and instructed the liquidator immediately to 'close down and wind up these works'.⁴¹ Once again nothing happened and by January 1922 a letter had been received from the liquidator stating that it was 'impossible for them to have the accounts ready' for the January meeting. The executors asked Mr Oliver 'to do his best' to have the accounts ready for their next meeting on 22nd February.⁴² By July the executors were still waiting

37 PRO BT31/16746/72224.

38 See below, Chapter 8.

39 A compliments slip with this heading is tipped into the National Library of Wales' copy of Richard Duncan Taylor's *Mystery of Life*, 1919.

40 Executors' Minutes, 30 March 1921, Vol 1, p 192.

41 *ibid*, 29 June 1921, Vol 1, p 197.

42 *ibid*, 24 January 1922, Vol 1, p 205.



and wrote to the liquidator for a report to be delivered on 31st August on the progress of the winding up.⁴³ Nothing had changed by March 1924 when the liquidator was again apologising for not being able to present the accounts at the executors' meeting,⁴⁴ and the following month the executors decided to 'press the liquidator to get the business wound up'.⁴⁵ A report from the liquidator was at last received in October 1927:

With regard to your enquiry as to the present position of the liquidation of the above Company, I hope to be in a position to finally close the business about the 6th December, which will leave the Works entirely free for any likely purchaser who I may get in touch with.

After several years of constant negotiation with the leading firms of Publishers in London and Scotland, I finally sold the Crown 8vo Series to Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton Kent & Co. Ltd. over a period of 12 months, delivering them between 110,000 and 120,000 bound books. They also purchased 15 Sets of Stereo Titles, and I was compelled to sell the remainder as scrap metal.

With regard to the other Libraries, negotiations were entered into with various Houses, in the end owing to the age of the quires and the titles, and the general change in the public taste for literature, I was compelled to sell between 50 and 60 tons of quires to the mills as pulp.

In order to avoid the heavy expenses of Auctioneers charges, printing of catalogues, &c. most of the machinery has been sold by private treaty. Owing, however, to its age, the prices realised are very much lower than the book value, and it is probable that the total receipts from realisation of the stocks and machinery will little more than cover charges and costs of handling.

⁴³ *ibid*, 25 July 1922, Vol 1, p 215.

⁴⁴ *ibid*, 26 March 1924, Vol 1, p 248.

⁴⁵ *ibid*, 29 April 1924, Vol 1, p 253.

With regard to the Land and Buildings, I have had a report made by Anderson & Garland, who inform me that after taking into account the cost of putting the roofs, gullies &c. into a sound condition and further taking into account the heavy local rates and the restricted market in property of this class, they estimate the value at something like £5000, but advise that a smaller sum than this should be accepted if a suitable purchaser can be found, rather than keep the Works empty and deteriorating. ... In the meantime, however, endeavours are being made to find likely purchasers, and I hope at the end of the year to be in a position to report further.

I may, however, state the results of the continual negotiations with the big publishers have proved most disappointing. Most of these Houses were extremely keen on the Series, but when it finally came to the point and the amount of old stocks was disclosed, all offers were withdrawn.

I may further emphasise the fact that since the strike in 1921 the trade of the district has been in such a terrible state that even our excellent connection in the Stationery Department gradually disappeared and the cost of running same became so formidable that I was compelled to close down.

Had there been any signs of a revival in trade, I have little doubt that we might have disposed of our connection at a fairly reasonable figure. These adverse conditions have affected the printing trade generally.

(signed) Frank S. Oliver,

Liquidator.⁴⁶

The twin problems of the economic depression and Scott's vast stock must have been obvious to everyone. It was normal for publishers to keep their back-lists in print and in David Gordon's time there are indications that Scott's London warehouse had no spare

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 29 October 1927, Vol 2, pp 67-8.

capacity.⁴⁷ But in this 1927 report the size of the stock was quite phenomenal and shows an absolute absence of managerial control, probably by Frederick Crowest even though it was now ten years since his retirement. Allowing a high average of 2lb of paper in a bound book, the 50 to 60 tons of printed sheets sent for pulping represent about 60,000 volumes. Add this to the 110,000 to 120,000 bound books sold to Simpkin Marshall and at the very least 170,000 to 180,000 volumes were being stored in Scott's warehouse. If they were all bound books set out on library shelves they would take up about 8,500 metres of shelving.

The liquidator's report in 1927 did not advance the winding up but the effective end was not far off, although it was not until 1931 that the company finally ceased to exist. In April 1928 another report from the liquidator was received which stated that the factory had at last closed down and all the stocks and machinery had been sold 'at prices which have left a small margin, and no expenses for auctioneers' charges or advertising'. The stock of the Music Story series was sold to William Reeves Ltd at some time in 1928. The buildings remained to be sold and the executors themselves were asked to consider the advisability of taking over the site 'at a valuation to allow a claim for repayment of overpaid death duties'.⁴⁸ It was ironic that this same meeting received a petition from an ex-employee, Mr W.H. Lambert with over 36 years service, for an honorarium (presumably because he was now unemployed), 'but it was decided that this could not be granted'.

⁴⁷ On 22nd September 1890 Gordon wrote to Edward Pease, 'I regret that I couldn't take up the agency [for Fabian Society publications], -- if only on the score that I have no spare room at Warwick Lane'. Nuffield 110/2/6.

⁴⁸ *ibid*, 26 April 1928, Vol 2, pp 84-6.

The meeting in November was informed that a tenant had been found for part of the factory building but 'under the present circumstances there will be very little possibility of selling the land and buildings for some time'.⁴⁹ At the same time the executors were pursuing the claim for overpaid death duties on the value of the site and this matter was discussed again at their meeting in April 1929. The problem was that they had two possible courses of action which were in conflict. The premises could either be sold in order for the company to realise all its assets and be finally wound up, or the premises could remain unsold in order to claim a death duty rebate from the Inland Revenue. It was decided to accept £2000 or more for the premises if an offer was received 'within a few weeks' and then to abandon the sale to follow up their claim with the Inland Revenue.⁵⁰ It proved impossible to sell the premises and a claim was prepared,⁵¹ all possible assets had been realised by October 1930,⁵² a final dividend of 6.843d per share was declared,⁵³ and at last on 29th April 1931 the liquidation of the Walter Scott Publishing Co was complete.⁵⁴ The claim for overpaid death duties lingered on until April 1932 when it was

⁴⁹ *ibid*, 1 November 1928, Vol 2, pp 98-9.

⁵⁰ *ibid*, 25 April 1929, Vol 2, p 110.

⁵¹ *ibid*, 31 October 1929, Vol 2, p 123.

⁵² *ibid*, 30 October 1930, Vol 2, pp 141-2.

⁵³ *ibid*, 29 April 1931, Vol 2, p 146.

⁵⁴ *ibid*, p 150.

reported that no further progress had been made. The meeting agreed 'that the matter should be let drop'.⁵⁵

After Frederick Crowest became manager the company lived through some difficult years and the First World War and the depression must have taken their toll. The effects of the depression were particularly severe in the North-east, but books sold throughout Britain, the book trade was international and Scott had a well developed export business. It should have been possible to survive. The general economic difficulties seem to have been only part of the problem for Scott and the chief fault lay with the management. There was no urgency, the whole publishing programme was allowed to run down, and at the same time stocks were left to accumulate in the warehouse. Mason Thompson Scott, as Managing Director, must have known what was happening, but the main culprit appears to have been Frederick Crowest. Perhaps publishing was not Crowest's chief interest, despite his years with Cassell; he gave his attention to printing with his presidency of the Master Printers, to music, and to politics. At the same time, the decision of the executors of Sir Walter's will to sell the business appears to have been totally unexpected. Even if there was an attempt to keep news of the decision from the staff, that kind of information has a tendency to leak out. Crowest knew by 1913 and presumably so did the rest of the staff. It could only have been demoralising when it was discovered that jobs were not safe. The First World War, the depression and bad management did for the Walter Scott Publishing Co.

Yet another mystery remains in the neglect of Walter Scott's publishing by modern scholars. The long, drawn out death of the company should not have detracted from the remarkable achievement of the early days. Why should the publisher of Ibsen, Tolstoy,

⁵⁵ *ibid*, 26 April 1932, Vol 2, p 170.

Shaw, W.B. Yeats, William Archer, George Moore, Havelock Ellis, Karl Pearson, John A. Hobson, Cesare Lombroso, Gustave le Bon, Robert Blatchford, have sunk without trace? Why should the employer of David Gordon, Will Dircks, Joseph Skipsey, and above all, of Ernest Rhys before he was employed on exactly the same work by J.M. Dent, be forgotten so completely? The moment they ceased to exist both Walter Scott himself and his publishing company disappeared from the records.

Chapter 8: Book Production

There is ample evidence of the nature and scope of Scott publications in surviving copies of the books and in the firm's advertisements. The general editors of series and several of the authors are well known and details of their lives are documented. It is equally clear that the authors and titles published had an impact on British, and often on international, cultural and intellectual history.

At the same time, in order to change society's ideas and opinions, Walter Scott operated as a commercial organization in which profitability was a daily preoccupation. Publishing, printing and bookbinding all shared the responsibility of making contributions to profits. There is a major difficulty in describing the interrelationship between the publishing and manufacturing departments because, unlike the finished books, very little evidence survives. It is not possible to compile a detailed and comprehensive account as it was for the publications. There are a few unconnected pieces of information, some from printed sources and some from oral accounts by members of the Scott family and former employees. There is also rather more detailed evidence of production and sales for certain individual titles, but of course, these titles may not have been at all typical. What follows therefore is a general description filled out where possible with extra detail.

The Organization of the Company

As mentioned in Chapter 7 the publishing and printing business at first was part of the Walter Scott organization which became a limited company in 1892. Then between 1900 and 1901 publishing and printing was separated from the rest to form the Walter

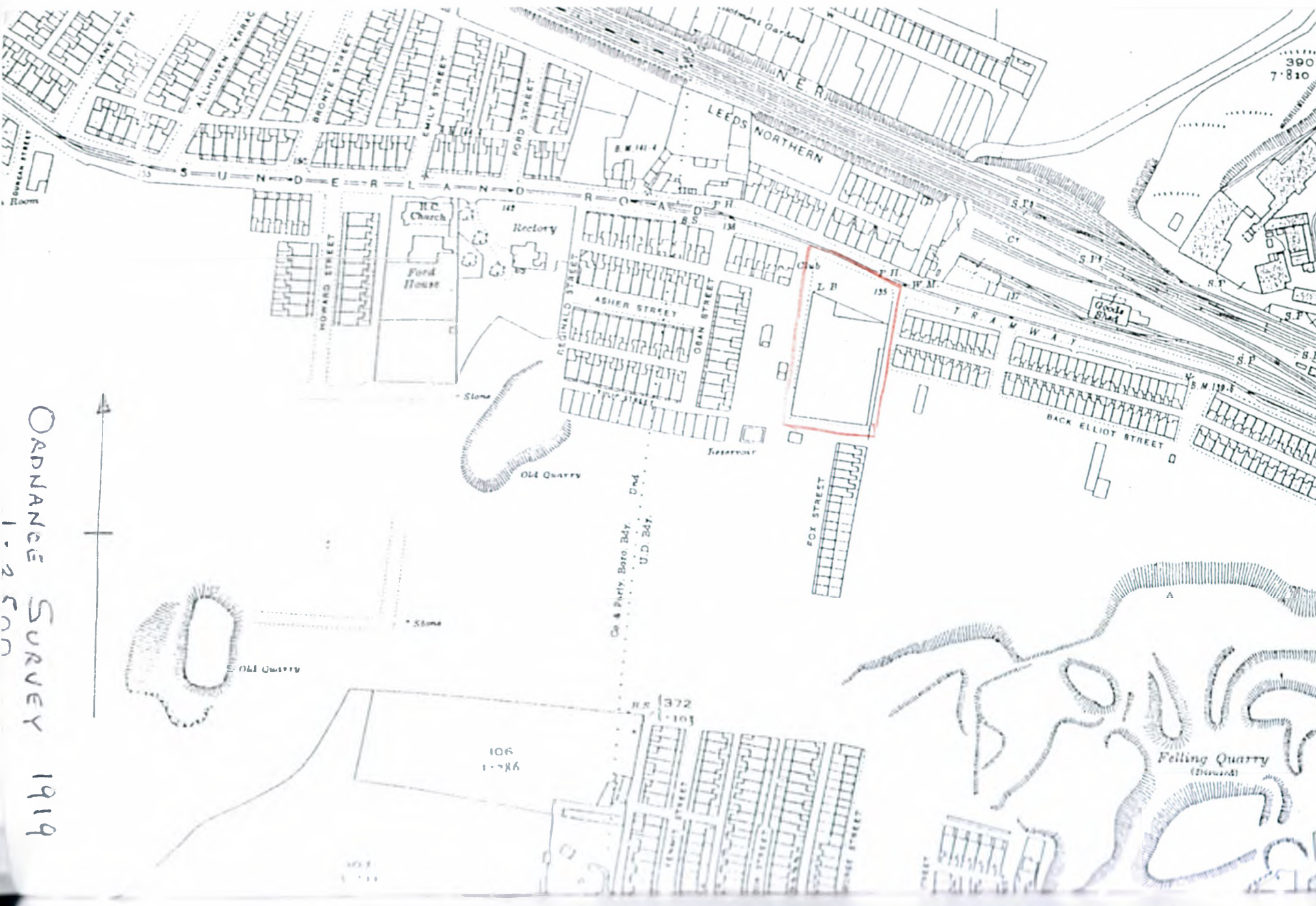


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ORDNANCE SURVEY 1919
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Ch & Party, Boro. Bd. D. & D.
 U.D. Bd.

Felling Quarry
 (Disused)

BASED ON C.L.L. ROAD INSURANCE
VOL 1, 1886, SHEETS 9 AND 10

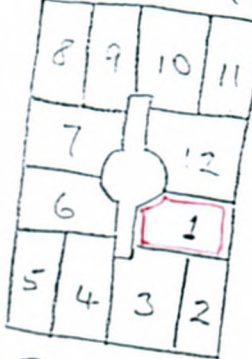
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FARWICK
SQUARE

WARWICK
LANE
WHITE HART ST.

PATERNOSTER
SQUARE



SQUARE

13 14 15

PATERNOSTER ROW

AVE MARIA LANE

LUDGATE
HILL

PAUL'S
CHURCHYARD

ST. PAUL'S
CATHEDRAL

NEWGATE
STREET

THREE
PASSAGE

IVY
LANE

Scott Publishing Co Ltd under the direction of Walter Scott's son, Mason Thompson Scott.

The head office remained at Felling for the whole of the company's existence. There was also a London office which occupied several addresses over the years, but always in the publishing district near St Paul's Cathedral. The London office seems to have acted merely as a post office and small warehouse for the London trade. Both Adam and Tyne Publishing had had a London office at 14 Ivy Lane. Tyne Publishing moved to 28 Budge Row, Cannon Street, in February 1881,¹ and then to 14 Paternoster Square in October 1881.² Scott took over the office at 14 Paternoster Square and stayed there until July 1885 when he moved to 24 Warwick Lane.³ In October 1894 Scott moved to 1 Paternoster Buildings⁴ and at some time in 1922 the office moved to 10 and 12 Ivy Lane⁵ where it remained until the final winding up. There was a New York office at 3 East Fourteenth Street.

Walter Scott entrusted the management of the business to David Gordon until about 1900 when he was replaced by Frederick Crowest. Gordon was assisted in editorial matters by Will Dircks until about 1897 but Frederick Crowest appears to have run the business on his own.

1 *Bookseller*, 2 February 1881, p 162.

2 *ibid*, 5 October 1881, p 881.

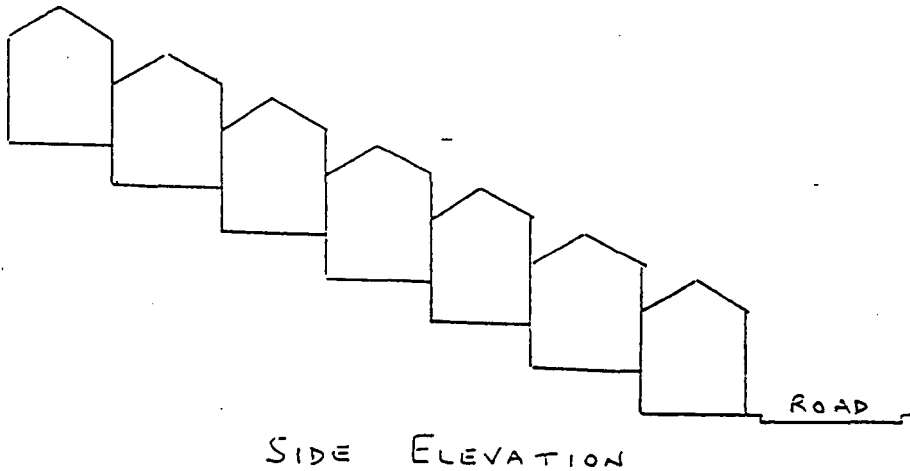
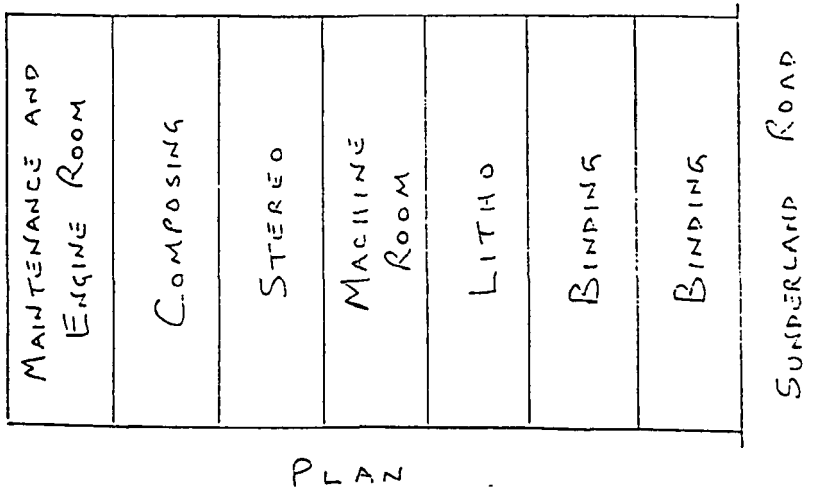
3 *ibid*, 4 July 1885, p 647.

4 *ibid*, 10 October 1894, p 812.

5 *English Catalogue*, 1922-30, list of publishers' addresses.

The Factory

Most of the factory building which was purpose-built by Walter Scott for the Tyne Publishing Co and which launched him into publishing, still remains intact. The site is on Sunderland Road, Felling, and measures about 42 x 85 metres on land which rises steeply from the main road. The factory consisted of seven interconnecting stone-built and slate-roofed blocks running parallel to the main road, five of which survive and are still in use today.⁶ In 1939 a fire broke out and the two blocks nearest to Sunderland Road which originally housed the Binding Department were destroyed.



⁶ In 1991 the front of the site on Sunderland Road was occupied by the Save Service Station and the building to the rear by Fox Street Mill.

One man, Robert Gibson Graham, who worked for the Water Scott Publishing Co from 1921 to 1928 has been traced. He lives in Felling and he explained on-site the layout of the building. The engine in the Maintenance Room ran all the machinery in the factory from a shaft and belt drive. There were cellars under each of the seven blocks which were used as the warehouse. One Binding Room was used for sewing and the other for all other binding operations. There would also have been editorial and administrative offices but Mr Graham could not remember where they were located.

General editorial policy, decisions to begin new series or single titles, was the responsibility of Gordon or Dircks, or later of Crowest. The planning of books in series was left to the general editors of the series. Once the manuscript was delivered and editorial work was complete, each book would begin its progress through the production departments, down the hill from composition to stereotyping, to printing, to binding. Nothing is known about the machinery in the factory except that the binding department (from evidence of wire-sewn books) had a Brehmer wire sewing machine. Methods of production would be the same as those described in Gaskell's *New Introduction to Bibliography* or Dooley's *Author and Printer in Victorian England*.

Book Production

From MS to Publication

After the successful publication of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* in Canterbury Poets it was agreed that a selection of his prose works should be published in the Camelot series. Whitman suggested to Ernest Rhys that the Camelot edition should appear in two volumes, one entitled *Specimen Days in America*, and the other *Democratic Vistas*.⁷ Whitman sent a marked up copy 'with emendations' and on 8th

⁷ Whitman *Correspondence*, vol 6, p 36.

March 1887 he sent 'a little Preface' for *Specimen Days in America* to Rhys.⁸ *Specimen Days* was published on 25th May 1887. Whitman sent the Preface proof for *Democratic Vistas* to Rhys on 17th January 1888⁹ and *Democratic Vistas* was published on 25th May 1888.

Ernest Rhys asked W.B. Yeats to edit *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* sometime before 12th February 1888 and asked for the complete manuscript by the end of July.¹⁰ In a letter of 27th July Yeats wrote to John O'Leary, 'I am so buisy over Folk lore I have no time to write a letter, merely this note ... I have to get my book into Walter Scot and Co's hands by Monday or Tuesday'¹¹ and on 28th July Yeats hinted that the writing was finished, 'Walter Scott is going to print my Fairy book at once so it will be out in a month or two -- it has been a very laborious buisness but well worth doing'.¹² But on 6th August he wrote to Douglas Hyde, 'I shall be desperately hurried about them [the proofs] especially as my general introduction has yet to be written. The introductions to sections are of course finished and with the printer.'¹³ The book was published on 25th September 1888 with a ten page introduction by Yeats.

8 *ibid*, p 38.

9 *ibid*, p 47.

10 Yeats *Collected Letters*, Vol 1, letter to Katharine Tynan, p 70.

11 *ibid*, p 86.

12 *ibid*, p 88.

13 *ibid*, pp 88-9.

On 13th July 1889 Yeats wrote to Matthew Russell, 'By the by I have just finished editing a volume of tales from Carleton for Walter Scott'.¹⁴ The book was published at the end of August 1889.

Ernest Gomme wrote to Sidney Hartland on 5th February 1890 mentioning, 'I am in the midst of my proofs for Scotts book'.¹⁵ *The Village Community* was published shortly before 5th April 1890.

Havelock Ellis wrote to Sidney Hartland on 23rd November 1888,¹⁶ before the Contemporary Science Series had been launched, to ask if Hartland would be prepared to write a book about fairy tales for the series. Hartland agreed and Ellis received the complete manuscript of *Science of Fairy Tales* in September 1890. On 16th September he wrote to Hartland, 'I have been looking through the MS and can see what a delightful book it will be'. The book was published on 10th December 1890 and Hartland sent a copy to Ernest Gomme who thanked him on 16th December. Ellis wrote on 17th February 1891 that it 'is no doubt going satisfactorily, though I have not yet heard anything definite about the sales'.

Ernest Rhys asked Sidney Hartland for an anthology of English folk tales for the Camelot series in April 1889, after he was contracted for *Science of Fairy Tales* for the Contemporary Science series. The anthology was planned to complement W.B. Yeats's *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*. On 10th April 1890 Rhys wrote:

This volume of 'English Folk Tales' promises to have many associations for both of us hereafter. Little could one foresee -- when it was first broached -- what

14 *ibid*, p 183.

15 Hartland MSS in National Library of Wales, 16885C to 16891C.

16 Edwin Sydney Hartland's correspondence is in the Manuscript Department, National Library of Wales, 16885C -16891C.

would happen ere it finally appeared ... In fact, a very interesting Bohemian fairy-tale of 1890 might be concocted out of my adventures during the process of this book of fairy and folk tale through the press. The happy ending is not yet.

This morning brought a final batch of proofs, and no doubt you have a similar batch.

The book was published on 25th April 1890.

Bernard Shaw finished the manuscript of *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* just before 22nd April 1891,¹⁷ it was published in September 1891 and Shaw received an advance copy on 15th August¹⁸ and thus printing was complete by this date.

Summary of Time in Production

| Author | Title | Copy sent to Scott | Proofs ready | Published |
|----------|-----------------------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Whitman | <i>Specimen Days</i> | 8 March 1887 | | 25 May 1887 |
| Whitman | <i>Democratic Vistas</i> | | 17 Jan 1888 | 25 May 1888 |
| Yeats | <i>Fairy and Folk Tales</i> | after 6 August 1888 | | 25 Sept 1888 |
| Carleton | <i>Tales</i> | before 13 July 1889 | | end of August 1889 |
| Gomme | <i>Village Community</i> | | after 5 Feb 1890 | before 5 April 1890 |

¹⁷ Shaw *Collected Letters, 1874-1897*, p 293.

¹⁸ Laurence *Bernard Shaw: a Bibliography*, p 17.

| Author | Title | Copy sent to Scott | Proofs ready | Published |
|----------|---------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| Hartland | <i>Science of Fairy Tales</i> | September 1890 | | 10 December 1890 |
| Shaw | <i>Quintessence of Ibsenism</i> | about 22 April 1891 | | Sept 1891 (ready August) |

Printing and Binding

Scott's own printing and binding plant was used for most of the publications, as can be seen from the colophons which usually appear on the final page of text in the books. Some books however were printed by other firms, a fairly normal occurrence for all publishers when pressure of work overwhelms their own plant or their usual commercial printer. See Appendix 2 for the printers employed by Scott.

If a title went through more than one impression printers could change for each printing, for example, Edwin Starbuck *Psychology of Religion* was first printed by Colston in 1899 and changed to Scott in 1901, Henry Cockton *Valentine Vox* was first printed by Unwin Brothers in 1887 and changed to Scott in 1904, Frederick Marryat *Jacob Faithful* was printed by Scott in 1890 and changed to Turnbull & Spears in 1902, and Charlotte Bronte *Jane Eyre* in the reprint series (Brotherhood, Emerald, etc) started with Scott in 1892, changed to C.L. Wright in 1900, and back to Scott in 1903, alongside the Camelot/Scott Library edition with three impressions all from Scott from 1889 to 1894. Some of the titles printed by others fall into groups, for example, Constable printed three Tolstoy booklets, but the reason was probably that having started a project, it was thought the outside printer might as well continue; the Tolstoy booklets had an unusual format and were stab sewn with ribbon. The engagement of another printer by Scott was therefore simply to meet the exigencies of a particular

time and was not caused by any problems in their own plant other than pressure of work.

The first of the Tolstoy booklets which Constable printed contained *The Godson* and *Where Love Is* and a letter of 26th May 1894 from Constable states:

The amount incurred for composition is £4.10.8; but as we have expended nearly £20 on new material ... we should be glad if you could use the type in some of your other books ... No. 1 will make about 144 pages, No. 2 about 120, and No. 3 about 112 pages.¹⁹

At this stage Scott had ordered only the composing of *The Godson/Where Love Is* and through June, July and August further orders were sent for the following books to be composed, *The Four Gospels Harmonised*, *What Men Live By/What Shall It Profit a Man*, *Two Pilgrims/If You Neglect the Fire*, and Charles J.S. Thompson's *Cult of Beauty*. Constable sent repeated requests to Scott for instructions on print runs but it was not until 17th August that details for *Cult of Beauty* were supplied and they were able to order thirty reams of paper.²⁰ At the end of August Constable reported that the paper was arriving crinkled and they had supplied ten shillingworth of paper themselves but had 'made halves of the defected sheets'²¹ so that as much as possible could be saved. Print orders for the Tolstoy booklets were received in September; presumably Scott had been holding fire so as to have a better idea of potential sales. There is no further mention of Tolstoy's *Four Gospels Harmonised* and although composed by Constable the book was printed by Morrison and Gibb. On 24th September Constable were hoping to despatch the sheets of *Godson/Where Love Is* during the same week and were pressing ahead with the printing of the other

19 National Library of Scotland, MS 23257, fo 466.

20 National Library of Scotland, MS 23257, fo 975.

21 National Library of Scotland, MS 23258, fo 55.

booklets.²² *Cult of Beauty* was published in October 1894, the three booklets, *Godson/Where love Is, What Men Live By/What Shall It Profit a Man*, and *Two Pilgrims/If You Neglect the Fire*, were published together in December 1894, Part 1 of *Four Gospels Harmonised* in May 1895 and Part 2 in February 1896.

Orders to compose Tolstoy's *Ivan the Fool* and, after a specimen page was approved by Scott, a book containing Anna Leffler's biography of Sonia Kovalevsky and an autobiography, were received on 2nd May. Proofs of *Ivan the Fool* were sent to Scott on 21st May²³ but the order to print and mould was not received until 14th August.²⁴ On 26th August²⁵ Constable hoped to deliver the sheets in ten days time and the book was published in September 1895.

Another translation of the same two parts of the Kovalevsky book was published by T. Fisher Unwin in 1895 and it seems that Scott had found out this book was in progress because Constable's letter of 3rd May adds, 'Sonia Kovalevsky: We have your telegram and will lose no time over this'. On 13th May there was a promise to 'send you proofs every day until finished' and a hope 'to complete it in a week'.²⁶ An order to stereotype the Kovalevsky book was received on 27th May²⁷ and on 7th June one complete

22 National Library of Scotland, MS 23258, fo 192.

23 National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 846.

24 National Library of Scotland, MS 23260, fo 410.

25 National Library of Scotland, MS 23260, fo 518.

26 National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 794.

27 National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 903.

stitched copy was sent to David Gordon and one to Scott's London office.²⁸ The book was published later in June.

Type and Ornaments

Many of the books produced in the early years of the company used Old Style type and included head and tail pieces. Some of the type and ornaments came from the typefounder, Miller and Richards of Edinburgh. Examples of ornaments are found in Allan Cunningham *Great English Painters*, 1886, p [1] ornament No 472 in Miller and Richards catalogue;²⁹ George T. Ferris *Great Composers*, 1887, p [1] ornament No 292; George Herbert *Poems*, 1885, p 250 ornament No 238; [Eva Hope] *Our Queen* [1882-85], p 328 ornament No 260.

Stereotype Plates

A letter from Constable on 28th September 1894 states of the Tolstoy booklets, 'We are printing these from type and then taking moulds'.³⁰ The sequence of events reported for the production of Tolstoy's *Master and Man* also suggests that stereotypes were made after printing. Constable reported that bound copies had been dispatched to Scott and a review copy sent direct to *The Scotsman* on 3rd May 1895³¹ and on 8th May that about five hundred copies had been sent to booksellers.³² It was not until

28 National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 1001.

29 *Miller and Richards Typefounders Catalogue [for 1873]: printed in facsimile*, Owston Ferry, Lincolnshire, 1974.

30 National Library of Scotland, MS 23258, fo 192.

31 National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 741.

32 *ibid*, fo 766.

21st May that Constable reported that *Master and Man* had been stereotyped.³³ If printing preceded stereotyping, the moulds must have been made from papier maché.³⁴ However, later in the letter of 21st May Constable suggests that the few corrections which had been discovered 'could easily be made on the plaster if you like'. If the moulds were made from plaster and not papier maché, printing could not have taken place before the plates were made because the spaces used for composing for plaster moulds were too high not to clog with ink in printing.³⁵ Papier maché was widely used by 1894 and would be the most likely method at that time. There does not seem to be any explanation for the reference to 'plaster'.

In October 1903 Frederick Crowest contacted Constable to enquire about the plates or moulds for some of the books they had printed in the 1890s. Constable's reply states:

The moulds of the following books were sent to Felling (RSO), Co. Durham, on October 27th, 1894 --

"Where Love is"

"What Men Live by"

"The Two Pilgrims"

"The Three Parables" [*Ivan the Fool*]

We stereoed "Master and Man" in May 1893 [sic, a mistake for 1895] and printed 9000 copies. The 9000 were sent to you and we have the stereos (of "Master and Man") Do you wish these sent to you?³⁶

33 *ibid*, fo 846.

34 See A.C. Dooley *Author and Printer in Victorian England*, pp 68-9.

35 *ibid*, p 60.

36 National Library of Scotland, MS 23282, fo 765.

Crowest wrote to Constable again in 1905 to which they replied on 1st December:

Celibates: we have stereos only of Celibates which we will send by Leith Steamer³⁷ to Newcastle to be called for, carriage forward, and shall advise you in due course.

We think the following belong to you

"The Cult of Beauty" moulds

"Master and Man" stereos

"Sonia Kovalevsky" stereos

"Ivan the Fool" moulds³⁸

It seems that this material was sent to Scott because on 15th February 1906 Constable acknowledged receipt from Scott of ten empty packing cases 'used in the conveyance of plates'.³⁹

Scott had an unusual system for numbering gatherings in some books which they printed and which was probably connected to a system of storing stereotype plates. The normal method at this time was to store stereos after the plate for each page had been mounted on a 'letter board' (a flat wooden board to which the plate was nailed and which brought the stereo up to type height). There appears to have been no standard method of cataloguing and arranging stereos in the store room and the system adopted would depend on the individual store keeper, the amount of space available,

37 It is interesting that goods were transported by sea as a matter of course. The situation had not changed in the 1920s because Robert Gibson Graham, when he was an apprentice bookbinder at Scott's, was allowed as a special treat to take consignments of books to Newcastle Docks for shipment to London via the Newcastle Steamship Co.

38 National Library of Scotland, MS 23288, fo 597.

39 National Library of Scotland, MS 23289, fo 216.

and similar factors unique to each printing house. Obviously, plates for complete books had to be kept together and, provided the store keeper could retrieve plates efficiently whenever required, the details of the system would be left to him.

The problems for the store keeper could be immense. There are two descriptions of warehouses, one from the 1840s and the other from the 1880s. In the 1840s the printer, Clowes and Co., had hundreds of thousands of stereotypes in store where, 'The plates are all wrapped separately in paper (each page of the book having a distinct plate), and then stored away in a warehouse, properly marked and labelled'.⁴⁰ In the 1880s a visit to an unnamed London printer revealed:

One store house is a large chamber some thirty feet long, divided into five alleys, giving access to the sets of pigeon holes which reach from floor to ceiling -- some fifteen feet -- each of which contains one sheet, in stereotype or electrotype plates ... Of these pigeon holes there are reckoned to be seventy thousand.⁴¹

In most of Scott's books gatherings are signed in the normal way with letters of the alphabet or arabic numbers, each book being treated as an entity. A new system seems to have started with the Camelot Classics of signing gatherings with numbers consecutively from one title to the next, for example, (all the books are octavo) Heine *Prose Writings* has signatures [a]⁸ b² 358-377⁸ 378⁶, Reynolds *Discourses* [a]⁸ b⁸ 379-396⁸, Steele and Addison *The Lover* π¹⁰ 397-418⁸ 419⁶, and so on. In each case the first numbered signature is the beginning of the text and the preceding gatherings contain the preliminaries. The same system was applied to certain titles in *Canterbury Poets*, *Novocastrian Novels*, and the Tolstoy series, and in each series the numbering begins again and runs in parallel sequences, thus, in *Canterbury Poets* alongside the

⁴⁰ George Dodd *Days in the Factories*, London: Knight, 1843, p 358, quoted by Allan Dooley in *Author and Printer*, p 72.

⁴¹ Percy Russell *The Literary Manual; or, a Complete Guide to Authorship*, London: London Literary Society, 1886, p 128, quoted by Allan Dooley in *Author and Printer*, p 72.

above examples from about 350 to 400: Thomas Moore [a]⁸ (a8+1) b⁴ 350-368⁸ 369⁴, *Border Ballads* [a]⁸ b⁸ c⁴ 370-384⁸, *Marston Song-Tide* [a]⁸ b-e⁸ [385]⁸ 386-403⁸ 404⁴. There are fifty titles from the Camelot/Scott series with consecutive signatures ending with *Sainte-Beuve Essays* b*¹⁰ 916-932⁸ published in 1892, 36 titles from *Canterbury Poets* ending with *Poems of the Scottish Minor Poets* [a]⁸ b⁸ c⁶ 792-811⁸ 812⁶ published in 1890, five titles from *Novocastrian Novels* ending with *Layard Witness from the Dead* [73]⁸ 74-82⁸ 83⁶ (83(1) + 1) published in 1889, and eleven titles from the Tolstoy series ending with *What to Do?* [220]⁸ 221-235⁸ published in September 1889. The system appears to have been Scott's own and no other examples have been found from other publishers or printers. In the Tolstoy titles which were all first published by Crowell in the United States, the Crowell editions do not have consecutively numbered signatures, for example, *My Religion*, the Crowell gatherings are unsigned, Scott [86]⁸ (± 86(3)) 87-103⁸ 104². There appear to have been three mistakes where two titles share the same numbers, *Burns Songs* [101]⁸ 102-122⁸ 123² and *Praed Poems* [101]⁸ 102-118⁸ 119⁴ (119(1) + 2); *Landor Pentameron* π¹⁰ 594-612⁸ 613⁶ and *Poe Fall of the House of Usher* [a]⁸ b⁸ 593-612⁸; and *Tolstoy Cossacks* 23⁸ (23(1) + 2) 24-44⁸ and *Sevastopol* [24]⁸ 25-40⁸.

Dated Printer's Colophons

Most, but not all, Scott publications carry a printer's colophon on the final page of text. Colophons in some books printed by Scott between 1901 and 1921 have an abbreviated date, for example:

THE WALTER SCOTT PUBLISHING CO., LTD., FELLING-ON-TYNE | 12.06

A sufficient number of books are found with both dated colophons and dated title-pages to prove that the colophon figures represent dates. Dated colophons tend to be used in second or later impressions, but again not in all cases, of books which were reprinted by Scott, rather than in first impressions.

Binding

Scott took full advantage of their ownership of a bookbinding department and it was relatively easy to introduce new binding styles. Besides accidents, binding variants can arise because of manufacturing needs, or because of marketing strategy. Variants due to manufacturing needs were caused by the utilization of old stock. In all probability only part of the total number of sheets printed of each new title would be bound. The remaining sheets would be stored until stocks of bound volumes ran low when more copies would be bound from the stored sheets. (This standard method of working was confirmed by Robert Gibson Graham). Occasionally, with slow-moving titles, changes were made to the general style of the series to which the title belonged before all the sheets of the first impression had been bound. Measures then had to be taken to salvage the unsold sheets. When, for example, the Camelot Series became the Scott Library it was possible to bind the old sheets in the new style and to hide the evidence simply by removing the Camelot Series half-title leaf. This is what happened with the National Library of Wales copy of Samuel Johnson's *Essays*. The first leaf has been removed and pagination begins at page [iii]. Furthermore in this case, the advertisements which had been printed on the final sheet also had to be cancelled because they too would have revealed that old sheets were being used. The advertisements were originally printed as part of the final gathering on the three leaves following the end of the text. Consequently three disjunct text leaves now remain, held in place by paste alone. After examining copies of other titles made up in a similar way it seems certain that the leaves were removed before, and not after, binding took place.

In a similar category, but more difficult to explain, are copies which survive with binding styles earlier than the enclosed printed sheets. Examples can be found in the National Library of Wales copy of Malory's *History of King Arthur*, 1887, and the Kent State University copy of Tacitus *Reign of Tiberius*, [1904]. The Malory has a Camelot Series half-title and a title-page dated 1887 but a spine label printed 'Camelot Classics' and dated 1886; the Tacitus has a spine label printed 'Camelot Series' (the

Series changed its name to the Scott Library in 1892) but a colophon dated 1904. Both these books have printed spine labels and perhaps the reason for the anachronistic bindings is that more spine labels were printed than were required for binding copies of the first impressions. It was then thought necessary to use the labels on bindings for later impressions. There are two objections to this explanation. First, with spine labels little more than the size of postage stamps, the decision to use old stock was remarkably parsimonious. Second, in the case of Tacitus, the organisation of the warehouse had to be faultless in order to find spine labels at least twelve years after they were printed. An alternative explanation is that cases were made up in advance with spine labels already in place, but the second objection that cases had to be found after twelve years, still applies.

Variants resulting from marketing strategy can be seen, for example, in Robert Browning's works in the Canterbury Poets. The poems were published in three separate volumes which were sold singly like any other volumes in the series in the standard series bindings. In addition, the Browning volumes were available with photogravure frontispieces either bound in green roan and supplied in a box at two shillings and sixpence, or bound in art linen or white linen at two shillings. Sets of volumes in slip cases could also be bought: any two volumes for four shillings, or all three volumes at six shillings, with frontispieces and bound in brocade.

In general, the factory seems to have fulfilled its function very well. The interconnecting blocks of the building would have kept the departments separate but would not have interrupted the work flow. The original Tyne Publishing building appears not to have been extended and to have served Scott's needs throughout the life of the firm.

In the same way that ownership of the bookbinding department brought greater control and flexibility to the work-flow and output, ownership of the whole production plant brought benefits to all aspects of production. Work could be varied to suit demand; if

the output for the publishing department had been achieved, attention could be switched to jobbing work; if it was thought that bespoke title-pages for booksellers would increase sales, a few extra title-pages could be run off. The plant also enhanced commercial stability, and although there is no evidence that it happened, should a disaster befall the publishing department, the printing and bookbinding departments could take in work from other firms to give publishing time to recover.

Chapter 9: Financial Management and Performance of the Company

Ownership of the production plant could undoubtedly provide a cushion to protect the publishing department from the worst effects of any financial problems, but Scott's publishing activity until the departure of David Gordon was supremely successful. The success depended on choosing the right titles, but equally on accurate costings, estimates of print runs and sales, and effective marketing. Frederick Crowest could not hold all this in check, he was dilatory, had no interest in advertising, and lost control of warehouse stock. Despite his apparent lack of business or management training, all aspects of financial control seemed to come effortlessly to David Gordon. The details of the financial management of the firm, like the details of book production discussed in the last chapter, do not survive. There are a few documents which provide evidence for isolated aspects but nothing to give a complete account. The following fragmentary details are drawn from these surviving documents.

Costings and Estimates

In the discussions between David Gordon and Edward Pease about the Fabian Library, Gordon wrote on 13th October 1893 that he could not possibly offer 'a Royalty per volume greater than that which you now receive on the Fabian Essays'.¹ Gordon enlarged on this in a letter of 20th October:

If we sold 25,000 of one such a book [retailing at one shilling] we would clear about £100, and out of that have to pay for advertising, and £50 goes nowhere ...

¹ Nuffield E111/1/1.

If you like to make the books half a crown (cloth covers) we are willing to allow you 15% Royalty.²

On 17th November Gordon confirmed that the Fabians had accepted 'the Royalty we offered you, viz 1¹/₂d on home sales, 1d on sales for export'.³

Details of the layout of a typical book for the proposed series were then sent to Pease:

Foolscap 8^{vo}

Long primer old style

No leading

No headline

Shoulder notes in brevier O.S. italic

Pagination at tail, toward fore-edge

Disposition of page:

Type -- 2¹/₂" x 4¹/₂"

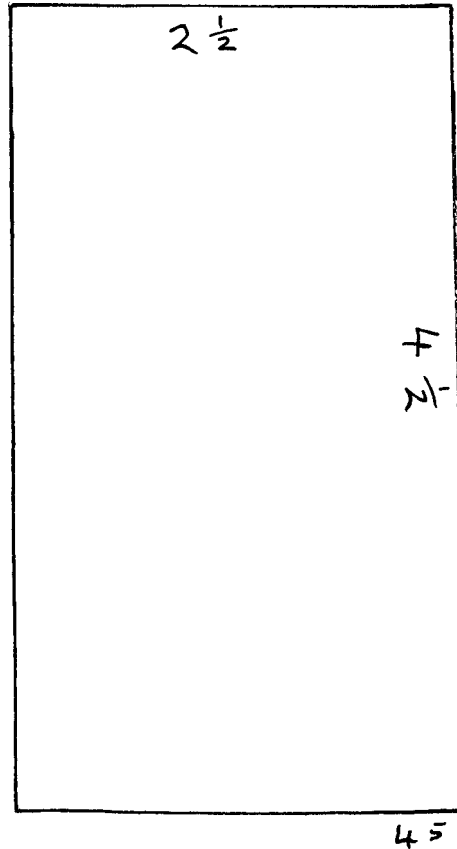
Margins: fore-edge 1"

back 1/2"

head 1/2"

28000 words

per page 240 words⁴



Shoulder
Note

2 Nuffield E111/1/3.

3 Nuffield E111/1/4.

4 Nuffield E111/1/5.

Vanity Publishing

In common with many other publishers at this time, Scott sometimes engaged in vanity publishing and expected the author to pay. Fourteen books with Scott imprints mention that the work is printed or published 'for the author' and a letter from Thomas Lothian to the Australian author, A.R. Stephenson, sets out the details of the agreement for publication of Stephenson's *Difficult Words of Jesus*:

I have pleasure in confirming our conversation this afternoon whereat it was agreed that I would get you MS. published by Messrs. Walter Scott Publishing Co., London, for a sum of £70 to £75. The Walter Scott Co. will print, publish, and bind 1000 copies of your Sermons, making a book of about 150 to 175 pages. The book will be printed on a good antique wove paper, and bound in the style of cloth and colour that you yourself specify.

The Walter Scott Publishing Co. will consign to me, as its Australasian Agent, 250 copies of your book so that local requirement can be filled from my stock here at no loss of time. Advertising to the amount of £5 will be done in Melbourne papers. This amount will be paid by Walter Scott.

In speaking of the amount the book will cost you, I can only give you a rough idea, and if you will be good enough to let me have your cheque for £50 with which to accompany the MS., I will be able to obtain the balance from you on hearing from the English Publishers. The first cost of the book would not exceed £75. I would strongly recommend you to have proofs sent out from England, which, although it entails the production of the book taking longer time, yet will give greaterpleasure [sic] to you in the future ... You can count upon my doing all possible to give the book the best chance that it can have, and I can assure you that it will be a very great pleasure indeed if I am able to return a considerable part of the initial cost to you. I have already explained to you how speculative a matter all publishing is, and whilst it is not unlikely that the greater part of your money may be lost, yet I will do all I possibly can.⁵

⁵ Lothian Papers, Box 10, 2 June 1913.

Sales Figures and Print Runs

Secondary sources

William Archer's article, 'The Mausoleum of Ibsen'⁶ published in July 1893 includes sales figures:

About four years ago *The Pillars of Society*, *Ghosts*, and *An Enemy of the People* were published [on 25th August 1888] in a shilling volume, one of the Camelot Classic series. Of that volume up to the end of 1892 Mr. Waler Scott had sold 14,367 copies. In 1890 and 1891 the same publisher issued an authorised uniform edition of Ibsen's prose dramas in five volumes, at three-and-sixpence each. Of these volumes, up to the end of 1892, 16,834 copies had been sold.

Six single Ibsen plays had appeared from other publishers for which Archer estimates a sale of 9000. In Archer's opinion, 'In English publishing, at any rate, such sales [for drama] are absolutely unprecedented'.

The article on Robert Blatchford in the *Dictionary of Labour Biography* states:

Merrie England was first serialised in the *Clarion*, and then issued in 1894 [by Scott] as a shilling book. Since it sold 20,000 copies very quickly, it was decided to take the much greater risk of publishing it at a penny; and eventually it sold over two million copies.⁷

Merrie England was jointly published by Scott and the *Clarion* so the two million sales were not all Scott's. The Fabian Society also sold the book but it is mentioned in only one of their annual reports in 1894 showing a sale by the Society of 1670 copies.

⁶ W. Archer 'The Mausoleum of Ibsen' *Fortnightly Review*, 54 new series, July 1893, 77-91.

⁷ J.M. Bellamy and J. Saville *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, 1977, Vol 4, p 37.

In *A Communication to My Friends*, George Moore described a meeting with Frederick Macmillan when they discussed the publication of *Esther Waters*:

And when Macmillan asked me how many copies we had sold and I told him 24,000 (in those days books did not sell in the numbers they do in these), he answered, "A great sale indeed. I know of no other book that has sold as much, except perhaps *Tom Brown's Schooldays*."⁸

In common with other publishers at this time Scott sometimes included, in advertising or on title-pages, the total number of copies of a work which had been issued. Publishers could, of course, be as fanciful as they liked with such statements as '50th thousand', '60th thousand', and so on. Especially in works acquired from another publisher it was possible for the second owner to add copies they had printed to those of the first owner to give a running total. However, Scott appears to present his figures honestly because in one instance a mistake about the number of copies of Eva Hope's *Our Queen* (see below) is corrected. Books from Scott mentioning total print runs are as follows:

| Author and Title | First published | Copies issued |
|--|----------------------|--|
| Frederick Herbert Alderson <i>Indigestion</i> | 28 February 1903 [?] | <i>Publishers' Circular</i> , 4 July 1903: 'just gone to press with another 10,000' 15th thousand: on title-page still dated 1903 |
| Lewis Apjohn <i>Earl of Beaconsfield</i> | by Tyne Publishing | 40th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 4 February 1885 |

⁸ G. Moore *A Communication to My Friends*, London: Nonesuch, 1933, p 73.

| Author and Title | First published | Copies issued |
|---|--|---|
| Lewis Apjohn <i>William Ewart Gladstone</i> | by Tyne Publishing | 50th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 5 June 1884 |
| Reginald Barnett <i>Police Sergeant C.21</i> | 4 August 1888, ad in <i>Bookseller</i> | 20th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 7 November 1888 25th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 5 September 1889 26th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 6 July 1892 |
| Robert Blatchford <i>Merrie England</i> | 1894 exact date unknown, published jointly with the Clarion | 875th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 7 February 1896 |
| Arthur Conan Doyle <i>Gully of Bluemansdyke</i> | as <i>Mysteries and Adventures</i> , [1889] exact date unknown; as <i>Gully of Bluemansdyke</i> , 3 June 1892, <i>Bookseller</i> | 12th thousand: <i>Publishers' Circular</i> , 27 August 1892 40th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 3 May 1895 |
| William Ede <i>Cheap Food</i> | 1884 exact date unknown | 20th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 3 February 1886 |
| Richard Ellis <i>The Ear</i> | 1885 exact date unknown | 16th thousand: on title-page dated 1885 20th thousand: on title-page dated 1885 |

| Author and Title | First published | Copies issued |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| Emily Jane Harding <i>Noble Sacrifice</i> | 1893 exact date unknown | 25th thousand: on undated title-page [1894-1901] 30th thousand: on undated title-page [1894-1901] 43rd thousand: on undated title-page [1903] |
| J.E. Harrison <i>Kara Yerta Tragedy</i> | 5 September 1889, <i>Bookseller</i> | 15th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 9 October 1889 |
| Eva Hope <i>Our Queen</i> | 2 December 1882, <i>Bookseller</i> | 75th thousand [sic], jubilee edition: <i>Bookseller</i> , 4 March 1887 70th thousand, jubilee edition: <i>Publishers' Circular</i> , 16 May 1887 70th thousand, jubilee edition: <i>Bookseller</i> , 4 June 1887 |
| Eva Hope <i>Stanley and Africa</i> | 1890 exact date unknown | 12th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 5 July 1890 30th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 5 September 1890 40th thousand: on undated title-page [1890-92] 55th thousand: on undated title-page [1904] |

| Author and Title | First published | Copies issued |
|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Jane Ellice Hopkins <i>Story of Life</i> | 1902 exact date unknown | 20th thousand: on title-page dated 1914. |
| George Eric MacKay <i>Love Letters of a Violinist</i> | 24 July 1886 | 4th ed revised: [1887] 5th ed revised: <i>Bookseller</i> , 5 July 1893 39th thousand, 12th ed: on undated title-page [1895-01] 46th thousand, 14th ed: on undated title-page [1902-05] 49th thousand, 15th ed: on undated title-page [1909] |
| George Moore <i>Esther Waters</i> | April 1894 | 11th thousand: <i>Publishers' Circular</i> , 12 May 1894 20th thousand: <i>Publishers' Circular</i> , 23 June 1894 Paperback edition: 'limited to 100,000' <i>Publishers' Circular</i> , 6 May 1899 |
| Nemo <i>Labour and Luxury</i> | 5 April 1895, <i>Bookseller</i> | 1st ed: 'of 10,000 nearly exhausted. 2nd ed in preparation' <i>Bookseller</i> , 3 May 1895 |
| <i>Parental Commandments</i> | 6 April 1886, <i>Bookseller</i> | 10th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 3 September 1887 |
| J.A. Riddell <i>All About Trout Fishing</i> | 1909 exact date unknown | 13th thousand: on undated title-page |

| Author and Title | First published | Copies issued |
|----------------------|-------------------------|--|
| <i>World of Cant</i> | 1885 exact date unknown | 30th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 7 April 1885 40th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 6 January 1886 100th thousand: <i>Bookseller</i> , 3 September 1887 120th thousand: <i>Publishers' Circular</i> , 26 December 1891 |

Primary sources

Documentation survives for the following titles, but the titles may be untypical and no general conclusions can be based on these figures.

Leaves of Grass was published on 25th February 1886 and Ernest Rhys wrote to Walt Whitman on 22nd May 1886 to report that about 8000 copies had been sold and a 'second edition' [= reprint] was planned.⁹ Whitman added a note to a further letter from Rhys dated 25-29th September stating that the whole edition of 10,000 had been sold.¹⁰

Royalty statements for Bernard Shaw mentioned by Dan H. Laurence show that 2100 copies of *Quintessence of Ibsenism* were printed¹¹ and probably 5000 copies of *Cashel*

⁹ Whitman *Correspondence*, vol 4, p. 23.

¹⁰ *ibid*, vol 3, p 407.

¹¹ Laurence *Bernard Shaw: a Bibliography*, p 17, Statement for 25 May 1892.

Byron's Profession.¹² Shaw later wrote to Grant Richards that his 'old circulation of 1000' was attained with *Quintessence of Ibsenism*.¹³ Shaw also wrote to Fisher Unwin on 22nd April 1891¹⁴ and mentioned that, as at 31st March, 3193 copies of *Cashel Byron's Profession* had been sold; the book was published in June 1889.

The annual reports of the Fabian Society give details of the sales figures for *Fabian Essays*.¹⁵ The book was first published by the Society in December 1889 in an edition of 1000 copies at six shillings. Within one month this had sold out and a reprint of a further 1000 copies was issued by the Society in March 1890. In August Walter Scott printed 20,000 copies and published the book in paperback, 5000 of which were sold before publication, 'The book has not yet been advertised but I expect within a day or two to have sold 5000, and propose to print at once another 10,000'.¹⁶ Soon after 24th September Scott issued the book bound in cloth.¹⁷ Scott then reprinted the book to meet demand. The Society was selling Scott's paperback and cloth edition alongside its own edition. The figures in the Annual Reports are as follows:

12 *ibid*, p 7, Statement for 31 March 1891.

13 Shaw *Collected Letters, 1874-1897*, p 811.

14 *ibid*, p 293.

15 Fabian Society *Annual Reports, 1892-1913*, London, Fabian Society.

16 Letter from David Gordon to E.R. Pease, Nuffield 110/2/3, confirmed in E.R. Pease *History of the Fabian Society*, p 88, and by Bernard Shaw in a letter of 22 April 1891, 'The shilling edition of the Essays -- 20,000 of them all sold at one volley' Shaw *Collected Letters, 1874-1897*, p 293.

17 Letter from Gordon to Pease, Nuffield 110/2/7.

| | Sales by Fabians | | | Sales by Scott | Total for all sales since 1889 |
|------|------------------|----------|-------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | Fabian ed | Scott pb | Scott cloth | pb and cloth | |
| 1891 | 32 | 635 | | 3817 | about 21,500 |
| 1892 | 31 | 890 | | 3654 | over 25000 |
| 1893 | 45 | 769 | | 2527 | about 28000 |
| 1894 | 13 | 258 | 87 | 2181 | over 30000 |
| 1895 | 12 | 178 | 49 | 1434 | |
| 1896 | | | | | 33000 |
| 1897 | | 101 | | 440 | |
| 1898 | | 92 | | 392 | |

Scott made a mistake in the Fabian Society accounts which came to light in August 1891. The erroneous statement was sent on 26th August:

I herewith enclose yr statement shewing amount of Royalty due on "Socialism," also account of goods supplied to the Fabian Society leaving a balance in my favour at June 30th of £13.8.8.

Sales 145 Cloth

225 Paper

211 Paper export

Supplied to us [illegible] 26 Cloth

364 paper!¹⁸

The mistake was corrected on 31st August:

On looking at the statement I was sure that there was some mistake and I looked roughly into the sales. We were selling over 100 a week in Jany and Feby; in Mch and Apl we sold about 600, which is at the rate of about 75 a week; and in May and June about 500. The clerk in making up the previous statement had simply made a huge mistake of over 1000 copies. It will come out all right in the end, for we have an exact record of how many copies we originally printed, and this can always be compared with the stock in hand ... The total amount of sales of the two statements is correct; we know this because we have got the stock to check it by. -- The book was selling quite steadily all the half year.¹⁹

The matter was sorted out in October after Sidney Webb had visited Felling to check the accounts:

Fabian Essays

My [sic] Sydney Webb called here [Felling] a few days ago and investigated the accounts of the above volume. He desired some further particulars for which it was necessary that I should write to my L'don house ... [Webb had now received this information] together with two Corrected Accounts showing sales and royalties of the above volume to 30th June. I have also forwarded him corrected Statement of Account with your Society, showing balce of £14:13:9 in my favor on 30th June.²⁰

18 Letter from Gordon to Pease, Nuffield 110/2/13.

19 Letter from Gordon to Pease, Nuffield 110/2/14.

20 Letter from Gordon to Pease, Nuffield 110/2/17.

The Fabian Society annual report published in 1898 states that demand 'appears to be nearly satisfied' and there is no further mention of the book for five years. Then the report for 1904/05 suddenly announces, 'the demand for *Fabian Essays* continues unabated. During 1904, 359 copies were sold by the publishers, an increase of 121 copies over the average sales of the previous three years'. The following year it was reported,

The circulation of *Fabian Essays* again shows an increase, 398 copies being sold by the publishers in 1905 ... Our own sales were unusually active, copies to the value of £11 2s being sold, compared with £5 5s in the previous year.

The next year again, 'The circulation of *Fabian Essays* showed a remarkable increase, 1383 copies being sold by the publisher in 1906' while the society's sales had gone up to £28, and in 1907 Scott sold 2407 copies and the society took £45. In view of the unexplained revival of public interest it was decided that Scott should prepare a new edition at 6d with a new preface by Bernard Shaw and a cover by Eric Gill, and this was duly published in December 1908. Ten thousand copies were printed and in the first four months 8000 were sold. The annual report for 1909 mentioned that the Society had sold 'almost exactly' 1000 copies of the 6d reprint while Scott had sold 9442 by 30th June. Sales declined slightly in 1910, about 800 by the Society and 4877 by Scott in the eighteen months since June 1909, but sales were 'still satisfactory' in 1911 and were being 'maintained' in 1912. After that there is no further mention of the book in the annual reports, but A.M. McBriar adds that a total of about 46,000 copies had been sold by the outbreak of the First World War and Scott's edition went out of print during the course of the war.²¹ There were later editions not published by Scott.

²¹ A.M. McBriar *Fabian Socialism and English Politics, 1884-1918*, p 175.

The revival in sales was confined to Britain and in 1908 *Fabian Essays* was selling very slowly in the United States. When the reprint was being considered Crowest had written to Scott's American agent, Parker P. Simmons at 3 East 14th Street in New York, for advice on taking United States copyright on Shaw's new preface. Simmons replied,

I don't believe that the sale of the Fabian Essays would warrant what expense you might go to in bringing out this Preface and copyrighting it here. I find that I haven't sold more than 15 of them within the last 5 months. I don't believe that the pirated edition would interfere with the sales here at all.²²

In addition to *Fabian Essays*, Scott published *The Eight Hours Day*, a pamphlet by Fabian members Sidney Webb and Harold Cox, in 1891. The Society sold copies of Scott's edition and noted about 400 sales in the 1892 annual report, about 160 in 1893, and 110 in 1894. After this the pamphlet is not mentioned again.

Oscar Browning's correspondence in King's College, Cambridge, contains letters from David Gordon concerning Browning's *Life of George Eliot* which was published in the Great Writers Series in February or March 1890. A letter from Gordon dated 28th April 1890 reports, 'Roughly speaking about 4500 copies (including large paper copies) have been sold'; a letter of 5th February 1891 states, 'In reply to your letter of 2nd inst, I am unable to say precisely what has been the sale of your George Eliot, but I think it about 5000 - 6000. Kindly do not publish this'; and a letter of 14th October 1895, 'In reply to your enquiry of the 12th inst, -- we have sold about 7,400 copies of your Life of George Eliot'.

Scott took over the monthly periodical, *Scottish Art Review*, from T. and A. Constable in October 1889 and changed the title to *The Art Review* in December. Constable continued to print each issue for Scott until June 1890 (actually published in July)

²² Nuffield E110/4/13.

when publication ceased. Correspondence, including some details of print runs, is found in the Constable letter books in the National Library of Scotland.²³ In October 1889, 1234 copies were delivered to Scott and the following month Constable wrote that they did not have sufficient paper to supply 2500 copies. An order for 7000 copies was received from Scott in December, but again, Constable had difficulty in supplying the full order and by 9th January 6584 copies had been sent. Scott ordered 6000 copies of the January issue which were delivered and the order was repeated and supplied for the February, March and April issues. In May 4038 copies were delivered, 4524 in June and 5328 in July.

T. and A. Constable were again occasionally printing for Scott in 1894 and 1895. In November 1894 orders were received from Scott to compose George Moore's *Vain Fortune* and *Celibates*. On 29th January Constable reported that *Vain Fortune* would make 282 pages with text and preliminaries and asked Scott for copy for six pages of advertisements to fill up blank leaves at the end of the book.²⁴ Scott was supplying the paper and on 16th February Constable wrote that the paper they had received would turn out 6650 copies of *Vain Fortune*. Three days later there was a crisis when it was discovered that no proofs had been returned to Constable, however, the book was being printed in March although there were more problems with crinkled paper. The book was published in March 1895, according to Edwin Gilcher in an edition of about 700 copies, but because of the amount of paper used, it was probably about 6500.

There were more problems with George Moore and the proofs of *Celibates*, which, judging from the instructions sent to Constable, Scott appears to have anticipated. On 20th April 1895 Constable wrote that they now had the complete text but no prelims, and added, 'We have received the whole for revise again this morning from the Author

²³ National Library of Scotland, MS 23248.

²⁴ National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 119.

with a good many alterations. We have written to say it is stereotyped as per your instructions'.²⁵ George Moore was not to be put off and two days later Constable wrote to Scott:

Mr. George Moore's 'Celibates'

Before receiving your telegram to reply to yours today, we received another wire from Mr. Moore as follows: 'Instructions telegraphed this morning must be followed. I will pay for the alterations. let me know the price.' So after receiving your wire, we telegraphed to Mr. Moore as follows:- "Will make your corrections and send you a note of cost in due course." We will communicate with you first though we send you an invoice when ready.

There was more trouble in obtaining the paper for *Celibates* and on 8th May Constable wrote:

We have your letter of 7 inst and shall arrange to give you copies in the [?] you require them. Mr. Burnett [?] was here this morning. a he is to hurry you the paper. a we shall get it on the machines immediately we receive it.²⁶

Production was in progress again on 13th May when Constable reported, 'will send you 200 or 250 copies complete a Saturday next. the paper we have received is 195 reams and will yield about 11,000 copies or over'.²⁷ The book was published in late May 1895 and once again Gilcher's claim that about 1200 copies were printed²⁸ appears to be wrong in light of the amount of paper used. David Gordon was not satisfied with some of the copies and on 29th May Constable returned a bound copy to

²⁵ National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 648.

²⁶ National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 765.

²⁷ National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 794.

²⁸ Gilcher *Bibliography of George Moore*, A21a.

him, adding, 'you will see it is practically flat again, it is the newness of the paper. We have not pressed it, it has just lain on our table'.²⁹

An order to compose Tolstoy's *Master and Man* was received on 16th April 1895 and a further order to bind 5000 copies in paper covers on 23rd April. Copies were despatched to Scott on 3rd May and a review copy was sent direct to the *Scotsman*.³⁰ On 8th May Constable reported copies had been sent direct to the following booksellers: 468 copies to Messrs. Menzies, Hanover Street; 13 copies to Mr. Andrew Elliot, Princes Street; 13 copies to Messrs. Ma[?] Wallace, Princes Street; 13 copies to Messrs. Hunter, George IV Bridge.³¹ The batches of thirteen copies represent the 'baker's dozen' which was commonly accepted practice in the book trade at this time. *Master and Man* was stereotyped by 21st May 'as per you instructions when you were here at Easter', but a few corrections had been discovered. Constable therefore returned Scott's list of corrections 'but they could easily be made on the plaster if you like'.³²

Constable's reply to Crowest's enquiry in October 1903 about the whereabouts of stereos states:

We stereoed "Master and Man" in May 1893 [sic, a mistake for 1895] and printed 9000 copies. The 9000 were sent to you and we have the stereos (of "Master and Man") Do you wish these sent to you?³³

29 National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 922.

30 National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 741.

31 National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 766.

32 National Library of Scotland, MS 23259, fo 846.

33 National Library of Scotland, MS 23282, fo 765.

Summary of Print Runs and Sales

| Author | Title | Date Published | Series | Copies printed | Copies sold |
|----------------|--------------------------------|---|------------------|---|---|
| Whitman | <i>Leaves of Grass</i> | 25 Feb 86 | Canterbury Poets | 10,000 | 8000 by 22/5/86 10,000 by 29/9/86 |
| Ibsen | <i>Pillars of Society, etc</i> | 25 Aug 88 | Camelot Series | | 14,367 by 31/12/92 |
| Shaw | <i>Cashel Byron's Pro</i> | June 1889 | Novocast. Novels | 5000 | 3193 by 31/3/91 |
| | <i>Art Review</i> | Oct 1889 Dec 1889 Jan 90-Apr 90 May 90 June 90 July 90 | | 1234 6584 6000 each month 4038 4524 5328 | |
| Oscar Browning | <i>Life of G. Eliot</i> | Feb/Mar 1890 | Great Writers | | 4500 by 28/4/90 5-6000 by 5/2/91 7400 by 14/10/95 |

| Author | Title | Date Published | Series | Copies printed | Copies sold |
|--------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------|------------------------|--|
| | <i>Fabian Essays in Socialism</i> | pb: Aug 1890 cloth: late Sept 1890 | | 20000 first impression | 5000 before Aug 1890 19500 by Mar 1891 23000+ by Mar 1892 26000 by Mar 1893 28000+ by Mar 1894 31000 by 1896 36261 by 1907 |
| | | 6d reprint: Dec 1908 | | 10000 1st impression | 10442 by 30/6/1909 |
| Ibsen | 5 vols Prose Dramas | 1890-91 | | | 16834 by 31/12/92 |
| Shaw | <i>Quintess. of Ibsenism</i> | Oct 1891 | | 2100 | |
| Moore | <i>Esther Waters</i> | Apr 1894 | | | 24000 |
| Moore | <i>Vain Fortune</i> | Mar 1895 | | 6500 | |

| Author | Title | Date Published | Series | Copies printed | Copies sold |
|---------|-----------------------|----------------|--------|----------------|-------------|
| Moore | <i>Celibates</i> | May 1895 | | 11000 | |
| Tolstoy | <i>Master and Man</i> | May 1895 | | 9000 | |

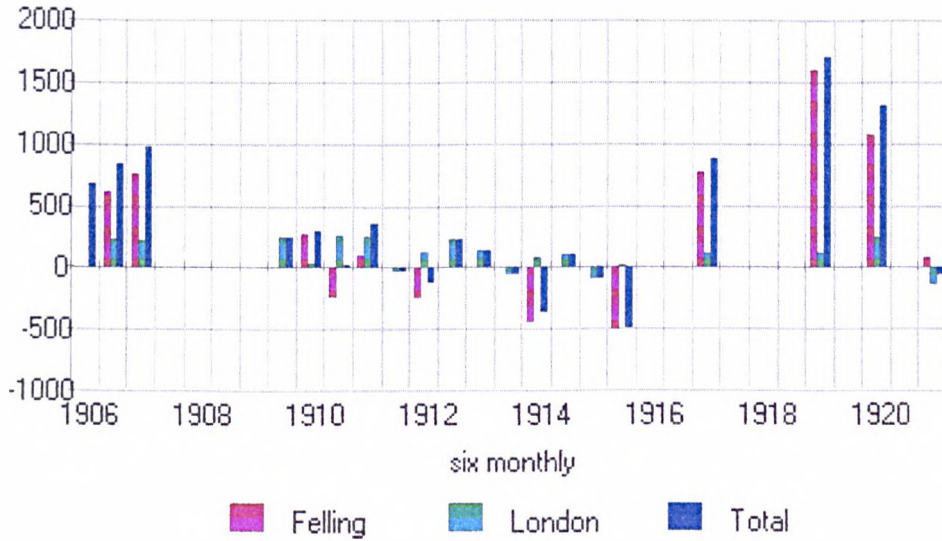
Company Accounts

Twenty-six sets of accounts survive (see Appendix 3 for full transcripts). Some cover six months and some a year, some cover both the London and Felling offices, some London only. The accounts run from 30th June to 31st December 1907 and 30th June 1910 to 6th December 1921. Figures for 30th June 1906 are given in the accounts for 30th June 1907. Unfortunately, apart from the 1907 accounts, all the records are from years when active attempts were being made to sell the company and the true facts may have been hidden. Firm conclusions cannot be drawn from the accounts alone and at the moment external evidence has not been discovered. The only other financial information is a statement in the *Publishers' Circular* that the dividend of the Walter Scott Publishing Co for the six months from July to December 1905 was 5.5%.³⁴ Half-yearly dividends are reported in *The Times* for the whole company of Walter Scott Ltd but separate information is not given for the publishing department.

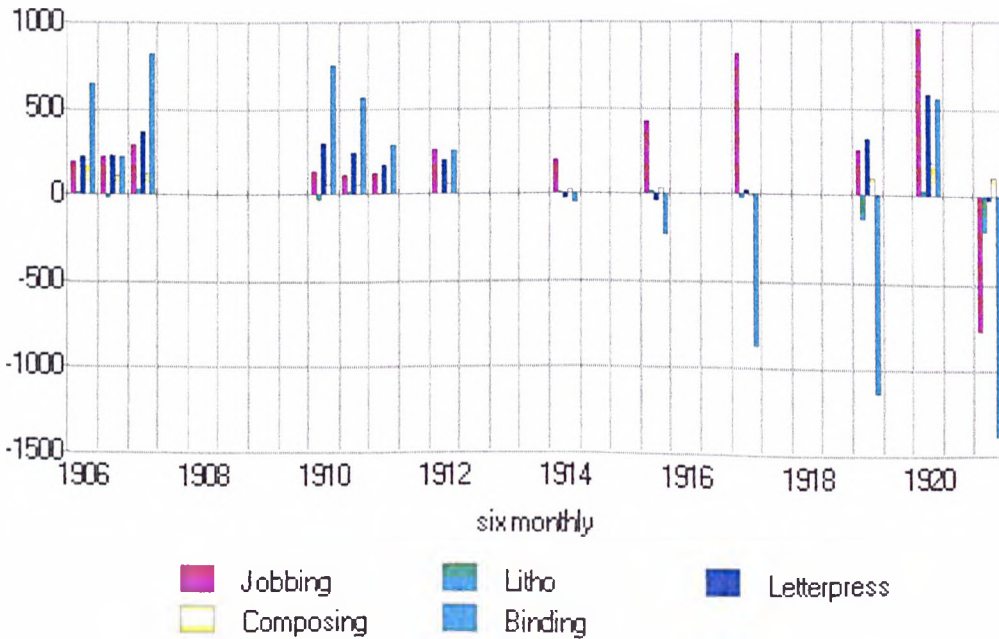
Figures taken from the accounts can be represented graphically as follows:

³⁴ *Publishers' Circular*, 24 March 1906, p 366.

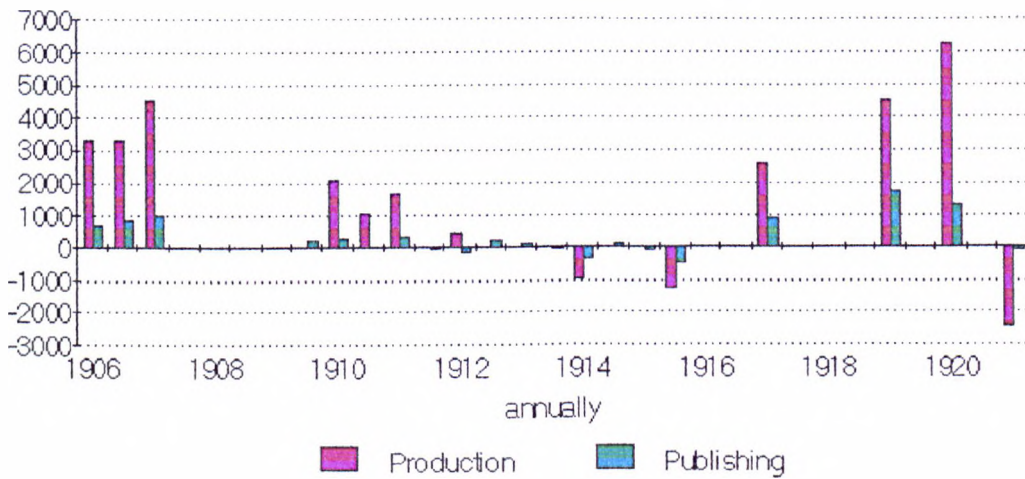
Publishing Department Profits 1906-21



Production Depts: Profits 1906-21



Production:Publishing Profits 1906-21



The relative importance of the various departments can be seen from the graphs and it is unfortunate that accounts from the years when publishing was at its most successful do not survive. Perhaps the publishing and production departments regarded themselves as friendly rivals. It would have been particularly interesting to compare the profits of publishing and production departments for the years before 1900.

Wages are included in the 1907 accounts as follows:

| | 6 months to 30 June 1907 | 6 months to 31 Dec 1907 |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Bookbinding | £1764.11.4d | £1892.10.9d |
| Comp and Stereo | £444.4.0d | £623.5.2d |
| Letterpress | £660.12.6d | £739.11.0d |
| Litho | £121.8.8d | £123.6.3d |
| Publishing | £188.17.0d | £181.4.10d |
| Jobbing | £238.9.4d | £256.17.9d |

Very approximate estimates of the numbers of people working in the various departments can be calculated using the standard rates of pay for 1906.³⁵ The Binding Department is too complicated because of the large number of women employed there, and standard rates for the Publishing Department are not known.

Compositors and stereotypers

weekly rate 32/- for one man for one year = £84

annual wages paid = £1067

1067 divided by 84 = 12.7 men

with allowances for overtime and extras, perhaps 9 men and 2 apprentices.

³⁵ J. Child *Industrial Relations*, p 209.

Letterpress printers

weekly rate 32/- for one man for one year = £84

annual wages paid = £1399

1399 divided by 84 = 16.6 men

with allowances for overtime and extras, perhaps 10 men, 3 labourers and 2 apprentices.

Litho printers

weekly rate 34/- for one man for one year = £88

annual wages paid = £244

244 divided by 88 = 2.8 men

with allowances for overtime and extras, perhaps 2 men.

Jobbing printers

weekly rate 32/- for one man for one year = £84

annual wages paid = £494

494 divided by 84 = 5.9 men

with allowances for overtime and extras, perhaps 4 men and 1 labourer.

A little first-hand information is available about the Binding Department. Robert Gibson Graham in conversation remarked that from 1921 to 1928 there were about 44 employees in the Binding Department; there were about thirty women in the Sewing Room, and nine binders, two finishers and three apprentices in the other room. The

Foreman Binder was Steuart Dent who was also a local councillor. The General Manager at Felling was William Sinclair.

A letter was also received from Miss E.W. Hawker whose mother and father both worked in the Binding Department. Miss Hawker reported that the binders in about 1917 were working over until 8.0 pm.

The accounts also list stock values and, assuming that the same rate of depreciation was applied in 1906 as in 1907, then the stock values in 1905 were as follows:

Loose tools £433

Stereos £6289

Litho stones £2087

Type £1190

Book stamps £510

Copyrights £1222.

High Bridge

The Publishing Department accounts include entries for 'High Bridge' which almost always made a loss. This refers to a retail shop on High Bridge which Scott owned for a few years and which appears to have sold mainly stationery. The shop was acquired from Scott by R.W. Ward.

Publicity

Scott took space advertisements in almost every issue of the *Bookseller* from 1884 to 1901, and in the *Publishers' Circular* from 1891 to 1900. A pattern was developed in the *Bookseller* of advertising complete lists in January and August each year. Such

regular advertising was not common with other publishers and perhaps it was one of Scott's attempts to counteract being overlooked in the provinces. Once Frederick Crowest became manager the policy was reversed and there were very few advertisements. The advertisements often show Scott taking advantage of day-to-day events, for example, there was a new revised edition of Eva Hope's *Our Queen* for the queen's jubilee (advertised in the *Bookseller* from 4 March 1887 and in the *Publishers' Circular* from 16 May 1887), for her diamond jubilee (in the *Bookseller*, 8 August 1897), and an advertisement with a black border in the *Publishers' Circular* on 3 February 1901, 'now written up to date'. An advertisement appeared in the *Publishers' Circular* for 18 June 1896 for John S. Blackie's *Life of Robert Burns*, first published in 1888, for the 'centenary of the death of Burns, 21 July 1896'. There were several updated editions of Lewis Apjohn's *William Ewart Gladstone* until his death on 19 May 1898; on 9 June 1898 a 'new revised edition completely up to date' was advertised in the *Bookseller*. Oliver Wendell Holmes died on 7 October 1894 and an advertisement for all his works published by Scott appeared in the *Bookseller* on 6 November 1894.

Scott took part in the Paris Exhibition in 1889 along with only fourteen other English publishers. The *Bookseller* was not impressed by the English exhibits, 'not one of the houses has gone to the trouble to get up specimens representing the full extent of their resources ... We have no reason to be proud of our contribution'.³⁶ Nevertheless, Scott was awarded a bronze medal in the Books and Printing class, and an honourable mention in the Paper, Binding, Stationery, and Artists' Materials class.³⁷ However, perhaps Scott found the results unrewarding and he does not appear to have taken part in any other exhibitions.

³⁶ *Bookseller*, 5 July 1889, pp 681-2.

³⁷ *ibid*, 9 October 1889, p 984.

Payment to Authors and Editors

Canterbury Poets and Camelot Series

Ernest Rhys wrote to Walt Whitman on 7th July 1885 proposing an edition of *Leaves of Grass* and selected poems for the Canterbury Poets.³⁸ Whitman agreed, provided sales were confined to Britain, and he received ten guineas on 9th September 1885.³⁹ The book was published on 25th February 1886, Whitman received a copy from Rhys on 4th March, and another three copies on 18th March.⁴⁰

Whitman agreed to an edition of *Specimen Days in America* in the Camelot Series on 13th October 1886⁴¹ and Rhys wrote back on 19th January 1887 that Scott would offer ten guineas.⁴² Scott paid Whitman on 14th March.⁴³ On 11th May Whitman asked Rhys to send fifty copies, 'two or three of them in y'r good leather binding' and on 17th June Whitman received '56 and 5' copies.⁴⁴ Perhaps the extra copies were complimentary. The book was published on 25th May 1887. Whitman was also paid ten guineas for *Democratic Vistas*⁴⁵ and in addition he received ten copies bound in roan.

38 Whitman *Correspondence*, vol 3, p 407.

39 *ibid* and Whitman *Daybooks*, vol 2, p 372.

40 Whitman *Correspondence*, vol 4, pp 22-3, *Daybooks*, vol 2, p 381.

41 *ibid*, vol 4, p 52.

42 *ibid*.

43 Whitman *Daybooks*, vol 2, p 413.

44 Whitman *Correspondence*, vol 6, p 40, *Daybooks*, vol 2, p 427.

45 Whitman *Correspondence*, vol 6, p 44.

Frank Carr wrote to Ernest Rhys on 21st November 1888 to say that he had received £10.10.0 from Scott.⁴⁶ The meaning of the letter is not clear but the payment appears to have been for the introduction to Hazlitt's *Essays* in the Camelot Series published 25th January 1889.

Douglas Sladen gives details of his work for Scott:

In the year 1888 I got my first commissions. William Sharp, the editor of the charming little *Canterbury Poets*, published by Walter Scott & Co of Newcastle-on-Tyne, wrote to ask me if I would edit an anthology of Australian poets for his series, and offered me an honorarium of £25 which I joyously accepted ... My anthology was a success; it sold 20,000 copies in the first year.

William Sharp himself was so pleased with it that he gave me an order to do an enlarged volume on the Australian poets, to which I gave the title of *A Century of Australian Song*.⁴⁷

Ernest Rhys wrote to Sidney Hartland on 17th April 1889 about his anthology of English fairy tales admitting that the anthology would require 'much more elaborate preparation' than an ordinary Camelot volume and unless it fitted in with Hartland's other work 'it would certainly be an unprofitable undertaking'. Rhys added:

The publishers will probably give eleven or twelve guineas, and supply you with books for cutting up for copy. This is about double the ordinary fee for a volume of ready-made materials (so to speak).

Rhys wrote again on 22nd April 1890:

Thanks for your last two notes. It is pleasant that the volume has at last reached its fruition, so to speak. No doubt copies will be in your hands before the end of the week. I have instructed Scott in your requirements as to author's and press copies.

⁴⁶ British Library MS Eg 3247, f 57.

⁴⁷ D. Sladen *My Long Life: Anecdotes and Adventures*, pp 347-8.

The account for copying out the various items can be sent to me who am responsible for these details.⁴⁸ The main payment for volume ought to reach you from Scott within ten days or so of publication.

The book was published on 25th April 1890. Rhys, however, later realised he was mistaken about the agreement with Scott and on 22nd May he wrote to Hartland:

I am afraid the other cheque sent by Scott is not to be improved upon at present. But you must hold me accountable for the difference, for I had managed in some way to misunderstand the arrangement between us. Eleven or twelve gs. represent as much as Scott will go to for the whole literary outlay on these volumes including the cost of copying, etc, and the hopes I had, of an improvement in his financing of the series, a few months ago, have been disappointed. So do you accept this £10 now, counting on the certain addition of the three pounds odd (whatever it was -- as stated in your a/c which I have.) in the course of a few weeks [~~'weeks'~~ crossed out, 'days' inserted], and on the further balance of two pounds twelve when my fortune retrieves itself. (It will amuse you, I fancy, to know that my share of the plunder, in this as in other volumes in my illustrious capacity of editor-in-chief is £2.2.0!!) Meanwhile pardon my inept proceedings in this little comedy of Folk Tales ...

48 Rhys added that it could take him a little longer to settle the account for copying because his financial affairs were going through a 'slow Spring'. On 20th May Rhys' situation had not improved he wrote to Hartland, 'Meanwhile Scott sends me enc^d for you [presumably the fee for *English Fairy and Folk Tales*] which puts a base, but ingenious, idea into my head -- the idea of making you suffer a little for my sins of a pecuniary kind. At this moment I find myself in the plight of having to march into town with sundry rare volumes, to enable me to defy ill-luck with the proceeds, for my various editors and publishers of late seem to have conspired to keep me waiting past all reasonable bounds for the anticipated subsidies. So if you feel disposed to turn banker for the nonce, it will be very fortunate for me. You need have no fear of waiting long for my due discharge of the liabilities so incurred; for I have been fairly industrious of late, and returns though slow are sure. In any case let me have a receipt to send to Scott'. A pencil note has been added to this letter by Hartland opposite the words 'You need have no fear of waiting long ...' which reads, 'I have waited for 25 years in vain 31/5/15'.

W.B. Yeats remembered being paid seven guineas for editing Carleton's *Stories* and twelve guineas for *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*.⁴⁹ Carleton's *Stories* were published at the end of August 1889 and at about the same time Yeats wrote to Ernest Rhys, 'Could you hurry up Scott do you think in the matter of paying me. Funds are running rather low and he makes no sign and also ask him to send on my four copies still due'.⁵⁰

Ibsen's income from various sources is set out in Michael Meyer's biography and those details which may have involved payments from Scott are as follows:

1890

| | |
|--|-----|
| Fee from Scott for collected edition ⁵¹ | £50 |
|--|-----|

Fee from Scott and Archer for *Emperor and*

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Galilean and Hedda Gabler</i> ⁵² | £25 |
|--|-----|

1891

| | |
|--|----|
| English monies from Archer ⁵³ | £3 |
|--|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| Further monies from Archer ⁵⁴ | £5 |
|--|----|

49 W.B. Yeats *Memoirs*, p 32.

50 W.B. Yeats *Collected Letters*, vol 1, p 183.

51 M. Meyer *Ibsen: a Biography*, p 163.

52 *ibid*, p 164.

53 *ibid*, p 198.

54 *ibid*.

1893

Fee for English edition of *Peer Gynt*⁵⁵ £13

1894

Royalties from Scott and Archer⁵⁶ £3

Royalties from H. Beerbohm Tree and Scott⁵⁷ £21

1896

Royalties from English book sales (Archer)⁵⁸ £2

1897

Share of English book sales of *Peer Gynt*⁵⁹ £3

1898

English book sales⁶⁰ £2

1900

Extra fee from Archer for book sales⁶¹ £1

⁵⁵ *ibid*, p 234.

⁵⁶ *ibid*, p 246.

⁵⁷ *ibid*.

⁵⁸ *ibid*, p 270.

⁵⁹ *ibid*, p 281.

⁶⁰ *ibid*, p 300.

Contemporary Science

Havelock Ellis wrote to Sidney Hartland with further details of the proposed *Science of Fairy Tales* on 26th November 1888:⁶²

The average size of our volumes will probably be about 300 pages of 300 words. They will be published at 2/6 [the volumes were published at 3/6 and 6/6]. The remuneration offered is about £50 or £60. It is not necessary to fix any date for the completion of the volume though I should be glad to know when you would expect to be ready.

He wrote to Hartland again on 4th December:

The average remuneration offered at present is about £50 or £60. The exact amount is arrived at by considering whether the volume is likely to be attractive. This ought to be so that it may doubtless be safely fixed at £60. The tendency is upward rather than the other way.

Hartland agreed to write the book and discussion then took place on which topics should be included. On 7th March 1889 Ellis wrote:

... if such figures [drawings] appear anywhere they should without question appear in your book. Can you arrange this? I suppose several of them already have been figured: there would not be much difficulty in getting sketches of the others. So far no arrangements have been made for making payment for drawings, but if necessary, I believe there would be no difficulty in setting apart a small sum to cover the very trifling expenses that ought to be involved in making these little sketches.

Havelock Ellis received an advance of £50 for his editorship of the Contemporary Science Series and 'eventually made something over £250 a year from the job'.⁶³ Ellis

61 *ibid.*, p 319.

62 Hartland correspondence in the National Library of Wales.

63 P. Grosskurth *Havelock Ellis*, p 114.

offered Bernard Shaw between £35 and £40 for a book on economics to be included in the series, but which was never written, mainly because of Shaw's insistence on more money.⁶⁴

The few facts presented in this chapter, if nothing else, serve to reinforce the impression that it was David Gordon who was the dynamic force behind the success of the printing and publishing business. When he was in control a significant number of titles sold in very large numbers. They may not have been typical titles, but best sellers never are typical. In contrast, events under the Crowest regime are a catalogue of omissions and it is not surprising that by 1910 the directors decided to sell the business.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

Conclusion

There are paradoxes at every turning in trying to explain Walter Scott's life or his business interests and very little is straight-forward. From the few known facts about him, he appears to be the archetypal self-made man, a man who rose from dire poverty to become one of the fifteen before 1939 ever to make a million pounds. But Walter Scott was not typical. At the same time as Scott was establishing himself in Newcastle upon Tyne similar opportunities were arising in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In his history of Bradford, Theodore Koditschek shows that before about 1850, 'the typical bourgeois was a young immigrant [ie from outside Bradford], ambitious and hard working, who had come to town within the previous thirty years to take advantage of the manifold new opportunities that urban-industrial development brought in its wake'.¹ Scott certainly fits this pattern even though conditions in Newcastle were undoubtedly different to those in Bradford. Most of the newcomers to Newcastle or Bradford ended in squalor and poverty but a few became successful entrepreneurs. Koditschek then shows that the Bradford entrepreneurs created an entirely new class quite distinct from the traditional Anglican Tory establishment in the town. They were Nonconformist rather than Anglican, and:

What is significant is not just that these men came from different backgrounds, but that they were themselves intensely conscious of the fact. Instead of seeking

¹ Theodore Koditschek *Class Formation and Urban-Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850*, p 170.

quietly to assimilate into the existing oligarchy, they gloried in their distinctiveness as self-made men.²

The new Bradford entrepreneurs despised the old aristocracy and regarded them as parasites who did not contribute to society. Walter Scott may have gloried in being self-made, and at least he is reported to have kept his Cumbrian accent throughout his life, but he soon became a member of the Anglican Tory establishment. Far from despising them he was accepted into their ranks and became a Tory councillor.

Walter Scott also made his fortune as a contractor, for the most part, a group of men with well-deserved reputations for being ruthless, uncouth and untrustworthy. Roger Scatcherd in Anthony Trollope's *Doctor Thorne* was such a man:

Enough has been said in this narrative to explain to the reader that Roger Scatcherd, who was whilom a drunken stonemason in Barchester, and who had been so prompt to avenge the injury done to his sister [by killing Henry Thorne], had become a great man in the world. He had become a contractor, first for little things, such as half a mile or so of railway embankment, or three or four canal bridges, and then a contractor for great things, such as government hospitals, locks, docks, and quays, and had latterly had in his hands the making of whole lines of railway.³

Like Scatcherd, Walter Scott's beginnings as a contractor were inevitably in 'little things' but, as before, he is only partly true to type. The collective low reputation of contractors was, of course, based on the actions of a few villains and the group suffered from a bad press, although there was probably more scope for an opportunist as a contractor than other occupations. To be as successful as he was, Scott obviously had to be ambitious to an extraordinary degree and there must also have been an

2 *ibid*, pp 179-80.

3 Anthony Trollope *Doctor Thorne*, London: Bell, 1906, p 124.

element of ruthlessness in his character, but there is no evidence to suggest that he was anything but an honest businessman.

Paradoxes abound in Walter Scott's career and character, and also in his acquisition and attitude to the publishing business. The reason for Scott taking possession of Tyne Publishing was fairly clearly his previous financial involvement, but even his friends were surprised. Nor is it difficult to understand what they found surprising in a fifty-six year old builder and contractor with no formal education becoming a publisher.

The whole publishing operation was then handed over to David Gordon to run exactly as he pleased. Within a short time Gordon was publishing progressive books while the conservative owner looked on and rang up the profits. It was not only left-wing books but titles which would probably have shocked Walter Scott and which would have undoubtedly been rejected by many publishers -- the first title in the new Contemporary Science Series was *The Evolution of Sex*, and George Moore was published *after* speaking out against the imprisonment of Henry Vizetelly for publishing Zola.

The underlying purpose of the Canterbury Poets and the Camelot/Scott series can also be seen as 'progressive'. The prospectus, advertising, and the price of one shilling a volume made it clear that the books were not published for the Anglican Tory establishment. They were aimed at new readers who were not members of circulating libraries and not readers of literary weekly or monthly magazines. To use Ernest Rhys' word, they were intended for 'the democracy'. The idea was not new and even the process of printing itself can be seen as the earliest manifestation since it sought to democratise, or at least to widen, the readership of manuscripts. It was the ending of perpetual copyright, of course, which gave all publishers the opportunity to take part and there is a long list of participants in the business of cheap reprints who become more numerous as the nineteenth century progresses. The Canterbury Poets and Camelot/Scott series were clearly in the same line as reprints from the likes of John

Bell, John Cooke, Charles Whittingham, Milner of Halifax, John Dicks, George Routledge, Henry Bohn, and Cassell and Co.

The gradual increase in literacy in Britain throughout the nineteenth century was a spur to the reprinters but it was not the only one (if it ever was the only one, since a proportion of the working class were literate in all periods, without any formal education). One factor which worried the authorities was not so much that working-class people could not read, but that they were reading the wrong books, ballads and chapbooks about executions and murders, horror stories and soft pornography. Late nineteenth-century reprinters were driven as much by working-class people discovering literature, the power of literature to lift readers from their surroundings and to transform their lives.

As David Vincent wrote about the working class:

In the short term at least, they could make virtually no impression on the conditions in which they lived and worked, yet the chance encounter with a stray copy of Shakespeare, or Milton, or Bunyan could transform their intellectual world almost instantly. They could never attain the standard of living of the ruling class, and they faced a long battle to gain a share of its economic and political power, yet already they had ... a limited access to its literature.⁴

Those were the days when not many people's dreams came true:

When we leave off work we are only fit for sleep or sensual indulgence, the only alternations our leisure knows. We are sunken, debilitated, depressed, unnerved for effort; incapable of virtue, unfit for anything which is calculated to be of any benefit to us at present or any future

⁴ D. Vincent *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom*, p 147.

period ... [with] no power to rise above our circumstances or better our condition ... no time to be wise, no leisure to be good.⁵

Somehow, though, they found time to read and once they had discovered literature there was no going back. Will Crooks, who became a Labour MP, gave an account of his childhood in the East-end of London and remembered coming across a translation of the *Iliad*:

What a revelation it was to me! Pictures of romance and beauty I had never dreamed of suddenly opened up before my eyes. I was transported from the East End to an enchanted land. It was a rare luxury for a working lad like me just home from work to find myself suddenly among the heroes and nymphs of ancient Greece.⁶

There are many similar reminiscences taken from first-hand accounts mentioned in David Vincent's *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom*, and in Robert Spence Watson's biography of Joseph Skipsey. Although Skipsey left no autobiography, Watson knew him well and there is no reason to doubt Watson's account of Skipsey's discovery of literature:

When he was fifteen years old he had read little, but he had learned many bits of ballads from the older lads in the pits. Then an uncle who had a few books offered to lend him "Paradise Lost," and it was a revelation to him ... He then borrowed Pope's translation of the "Iliad," and heard for the first time of Shakespeare's plays, of which he afterwards bought a copy when seventeen years old, saving out of his small pocket-money five shillings with which he became its happy possessor. "The book altered the aspect of the world to me," was what he afterwards stated.⁷

⁵ J. Burnley *Wool and Woolcombing*, pp 177-8.

⁶ Quoted by Jonathan Rose in 'Rereading the *English Common Reader*' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1992, p 53.

⁷ R.S. Watson *Joseph Skipsey*, pp 18-19.

Long before Walter Scott's entry into publishing, Ernest Rhys and Will Dircks had also had their lives transformed by literature, partly due to the direct influence of Joseph Skipsey. Once these three were working for Scott it was obviously their own personal experience and conviction which drove them. They published the books which had inspired them, not books which they had been told they ought to admire or which would do them good. It is in some ways unfortunate but inevitable that the end result was pretty much the same. Skipsey was inspired by Milton and Pope and saved his money to buy Shakespeare's plays rather than a collection of chapbooks, and with Rhys and Dircks, chose to publish the same books which the literary establishment would probably have chosen. But the lists were their choice unaided by any formal instruction and an important purpose of the series was evangelical. They wanted to convert readers to literature. It was Skipsey in particular, the pitman whose poetry was admired by William Morris and his friends, who was the shining example of what was possible. They believed that if a volume from *Canterbury Poets* or *Camelot/Scott* fell into the hands of the right working-man, a talent to rival Shakespeare could be released. Once again, it is difficult to imagine Walter Scott, 'a bluff, brusque Cumbrian', subscribing to literature as salvation for the workers.

As the lists and the contacts with authors developed, books with progressive ideas began to be published. Then, while *Canterbury Poets* and *Camelot/Scott* were trying to attract working people with mainly romantic authors like Coleridge, Blake, Burns or Heine, William Archer, Havelock Ellis and Bernard Shaw were trying to persuade them they should be reading something quite different. But there was no real conflict here. Receptivity and exposure to literature sharpens the awareness on all fronts and the hope was that new readers would open their eyes to the true nature of their lives and be articulate in suggesting remedies for the ills they saw there.

Perhaps there was more of a conflict with the earliest of Scott's reprints, the simple, unadorned reprinted texts in the *Brotherhood*, *Emerald*, and similar series. These continued to be published throughout the firm's history so that side by side with the

'modern' works by Ibsen, Shaw, George Moore, and many titles in the Camelot/Scott series, there were Sunday School prize books with goody-goody heroes and heroines.

Whatever the potential conflicts, the whole publishing business was a huge success, and this was due to the most careful management. Walter Scott's choice of David Gordon was impeccable, and in addition, Scott saw the business thriving and was able to leave well alone. Perhaps the reason why Scott did not interfere with the left-wing and progressive books was that he did not operate at that level. He had too many other concerns, board meetings and large-scale decisions, to notice the details. He knew Gordon was making a profit, he could read a balance sheet, but he was not going to read everything coming off the press.

Once appointed, Gordon embarked on the long, slow, step-by-step expansion of the business, first simple reprints, then selections from reprinted texts with critical introductions, then original biographies of the authors of reprinted texts, and then original works on scientific subjects. Each new series had its own general editor who brought in individual authors and to whom Gordon applied the same management technique as Scott applied to him -- if the series was selling, leave the editor alone. Dircks and then Skipsey and Rhys were enlisted and at this stage the publishing house must have been unique in that not one of the people involved (Scott, Gordon, Dircks, Skipsey and Rhys) had a day of formal education beyond the age of sixteen, and not one of them had any previous experience in publishing. Dircks and Rhys did not come from the poorest backgrounds, but the other three did, and all of them were looking for a way out. Walter Scott, like anorexics who always see themselves as being fat, escaped by ceaseless striving for financial security. He was never rich enough, even when he had amassed greater wealth than almost anyone else in Britain. The others escaped through their imaginations, and wanted all working people to do the same. Perhaps Scott and the other four understood each other.

Scott gradually began to publish books which were culturally significant, not just in Britain, but throughout the world. These included Ibsen, Tolstoy, Bernard Shaw, Robert Blatchford and the socialists, George Moore, Schopenhauer, Maeterlinck, Walt Whitman, several titles from Contemporary Science, and many others. There were a couple of books on cycling and even cycling was progressive, 'The bicycle became a symbol of freedom, closely associated with the emancipated 'new woman' of the nineties'.⁸ As Peter Keating remarks, 'In the 1880s and 1890s the scene was dominated by French realism, naturalism [Scott: George Moore], and to a lesser extent symbolism [Scott: fairy tales], by Ibsen and the Russian novelists, notably Turgenev and Tolstoy'.⁹ In Richard le Gallienne's novel, *The Romance of Zion Chapel*, a fossilized Literary and Philosophical Society in 'Coalchester' is jolted out of its apathy by two young men who introduce the members to Ibsen, Tolstoy, Whitman and Zola -- all except Zola were published by Scott. And all this was accomplished, not from the capital of British publishing, but from Newcastle upon Tyne.

In the midst of the successes when it must have seemed nothing could go wrong, David Gordon kept his head. When *Fabian Essays in Socialism* was selling in thousands Gordon was considering the proposals for a Fabian Library. He was not distracted in the least by *Fabian Essays*, he asked for a sample copy, worked out the production costs, and then turned it all down with the cool remark, 'We don't think that Mr. Shaw's book would do well'.¹⁰

But then, round about the turn of the century, something did go wrong. Rhys, Dircks and Gordon all left for reasons which have still to be discovered. Gordon completely

⁸ J.F.C. Harrison *Late Victorian Britain*, p 169.

⁹ P. Keating *Haunted Study*, p 131.

¹⁰ Nuffield E111/1/10.

disappears from the records to be replaced by Frederick Crowest, who was no replacement at all. Perhaps in running down the early series and increasing the number of original novels Crowest was trying to push Scott into becoming a general trade publisher, but it was not the right way to do it. The sale of Ibsen to Heinemann for £120, like many of Crowest's decisions, was wrong. The lack of control of warehouse stock was disastrous. Crowest was working alone, perhaps with Mason Thompson Scott to sound out ideas, but these two were no match for the old team of Gordon, Skipsey, Dircks, Rhys, Havelock Ellis and others who struck sparks off each other. Crowest was not 'a Napoleon of business' like Gordon.¹¹

The decline set in with the departure of Gordon and the others and it was exacerbated by Crowest's mismanagement and the loss of the agreement with Lothian. The death of Sir Walter Scott, despite his remote contact with the business, seems to have killed the publishing house as well. By the outbreak of the First World War, the Walter Scott Publishing Co was as good as finished.

The final paradox is that Walter Scott, a millionaire with obituaries in at least 78 newspapers, and his publishing house, which in its heyday could stand alongside any in Britain, both disappeared almost without trace. Ernest Rhys himself hardly mentions Scott. With hindsight and because of its longer history, his work with J.M. Dent was more significant, but Dent was successful because Rhys learned his craft doing exactly the same work for Scott. Arnold Bennett's *Literary Taste* includes a list of 251 recommended books available in cheap editions in 1909 (when *Literary Taste* was

¹¹ It was Havelock Ellis in *My Life* (p 164) in 1940 who reported Will Dircks' description of Gordon as 'a Napoleon of business'. Ernest Rhys claims the phrase as his own in *Everyman Remembers* (p 231) in 1931 when he reports his invitation to J.M. Dent to become 'the Napoleon of Publishers'.

published). Twenty-nine of these were published by Scott.¹² There was a second edition of *Literary Taste* in 1937 but by then Scott did not exist and there are no Scott titles in the list. General histories of publishing or printing rarely mention Scott. There are just two references in Mumby's *Publishing and Bookselling*, and one of them ends with a misreading of its source. The first reference is an aside to a discussion of Heinemann's translations of Russian literature: '... in addition to them [Russian authors] he published translations of Björnson and Ibsen (the famous William Archer translations of the latter were first published by one Walter Scott)'.¹³ The second reference is slightly more detailed:

... *Cashel Byron's Profession* was printed as early as 1886, and re-issued in *Novocastrian Novels*, an allusion to Newcastle, whence one Walter Scott, a contractor and no relation to Waverley, came to London to publish under the joint address of London and Felling-on-Tyne. He was no dabbler in literature, but a thorough exploiter of the reprint market on a large scale. Copies of his Scott Library and Canterbury Poets can still be picked up in second-hand bookshops, and titles not otherwise obtainable can thus be had, such as plays by Maeterlinck. As publisher of Shaw (and also of Tolstoy) he had a certain prestige in his time, and a writer of the knowledge of Grant Richards did not think it unreasonable to name him in the same sentence as Heinemann and John Lane.¹⁴

12 More *Utopia*, Herbert *Autobiography*, Jonson *Plays*, Beaumont and Fletcher *Plays*, Milton *Prose*, Swift *Prose*, Addison and Steele *The Lover*, Burke *Reflections*, Macpherson *Poems*, Cowper *Poems*, Bowles, Lamb and Coleridge *Poems*, Scott *Marmion*, Landor *Imaginary Conversations*, *Poems*, Mitford *Our Village*, Carleton *Stories*, De Quincey *Confessions*, Sydney Smith *Selections*, Lewes *Principles of Success*, Wollstonecroft *Rights of Woman*, Southey *Poems*, Byron *Letters*, Keble *Christian Year*, Thomas Moore *Poems*, Praed *Poems*, Elizabeth Browning *Shorter Poems*, Marston *Song-Tide*, Dobell *Poems*, and MacKay *Love Letters*.

13 F.A. Mumby *Publishing and Bookselling*, 1974, p 278.

14 *ibid*, p 289.

It was not Grant Richards but Bernard Shaw who named Scott in the same sentence as Heinemann and Lane because Richards was quoting from a letter from Shaw, '... I [ie GBS] found my opinion on what I have been told by Heinemann, Lane and Walter Scott of their experience with dramatic works by Pinero, Wilde, George Moore, etc'.¹⁵

The passage from Mumby, even when published in 1974, still has a somewhat patronising tone and has not fully shaken off Edmund Gosse's contemptuous refusal to work 'for your Tyneside publishers, of whom nobody has heard'. Mumby's assertion that Scott 'came [rather than 'went'] to London to publish' is not true, and his opinion that Scott 'was no dabbler in literature' [even though a dabbler would be expected] and that 'he had a certain prestige in his time' are more than condescending. David Gordon, with Walter Scott's backing, was a very remarkable publisher and deserves better than this.

¹⁵ G. Richards *Author Hunting*, p 29.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

List of contracts, known at present, undertaken by Walter Scott, or Walter Scott and Middleton

1857 Mechanics' Institute, North Shields (*North and South Shields Gazette*, 21 May 1857, p 3; 12 Aug 1858, p 3)

1860 Dr. Rutherford's Church, Bath Lane, Newcastle upon Tyne (*North Mail*, 9 Apr 1910, obit)

1864 St. Stephen's Church, Carlisle (*Carlisle Journal*, 4 Mar 1864)

1867 New Tyne Theatre and Opera House (renamed Stoll Theatre, then Tyne Theatre), Newcastle upon Tyne (*Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 24 September 1867, p 3).

1867-70 Extension to railway along the Quayside, Newcastle upon Tyne (*Newcastle Chronicle*, 2 December 1899; C.J. Allen *North Eastern Railway*, London: I. Allan, 1974, p 142).

1869 Rebuilding Ouseburn Viaduct (*Engineering*, 15 April 1910, obit; *North Mail*, 9 April 1910, obit; C.J. Allen, pp 141-2).

1872 A group of buildings which began in this year in Grainger Street West, Newcastle upon Tyne (Local Studies Department, Newcastle Public Library).

Saltburn to Brotton line, N.E.R. (K. Hoole (ed) *Tomlinson's North Eastern Railway*, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, new ed, 1967, pp 659-60).

1872-75, 1878 Burntisland Docks, Firth of Forth (*Engineer*, 11 October 1878, pp 262, 268; *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, 9 April 1910).

1873 Restoration of St Nicholas' Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne (Tyne and Wear Archives, T.W.A.S. 589; *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers*, February 1911, pp 204-05).

1874 Douglas Hotel, Neville Street, Newcastle upon Tyne (Tyne and Wear Archives T186/5077).

- 1874-78 Ayr Docks (*Ayr Advertiser*, 18 July 1878, p 5).
- 1876 Hartlepool Docks (R. Wood *West Hartlepool: the Rise and Development of a Victorian New Town*, West Hartlepool Corporation, 1967, p 147).
- 1877 Northampton to Rugby line, L.N.W.R. (obituaries in *North Mail* and *Newcastle Chronicle*, 9 April 1910).
- 1878 Improved (or built?) the Byker Bridge, Newcastle upon Tyne (*Newcastle Chronicle*, 2 December 1899; *Engineering*, 15 April 1910, obit).
- 1882-84 St James' Congregational Church, Newcastle upon Tyne (Tyne and Wear Archives, T.W.A.S. P.A.702, and *St James' Past and Present*).
- St George's Church, Cullercoats (D. Lunn *A Guide to St George's Church, Cullercoats*).
- 1884 Hury Reservoir, Stockton and Middlesbrough Water Board (Minutes of the Stockton and Middlesbrough Water Board, 1884, *passim*; and information supplied by Northumbrian Water).
- 1885 Silloth Docks (*Carlisle Journal*, 3 July 1885).
- The spire on St Mary's Cathedral (RC), Newcastle upon Tyne (letter from Morison Johnson in *Newcastle Chronicle*, 12 April 1910).
- 1886 St George's Hall, Jesmond (Tyne and Wear Archives, T186/11501).
- 1887 More restoration work for St Nicholas' Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne (Tyne and Wear Archives, T.W.A.S. 589; *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers*, February 1911, pp 204-05).
- 1887-90 City and South London Underground (*Engineer*, 7 November 1890, p 382; J.H. Greathead *The City and South London Railway*, London: Institution of Civil Engineers, 1896; J.R. Day *The Story of London's Underground*, London: London Transport, [1970?], pp 39ff).
- 1888 A bank for Hodgkin, Barnett, Pease, Spense and Co, Collingwood Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, which became Lloyd's Bank in about 1903 or 1904 and is now occupied by the Allied Irish Bank (Tyne and Wear Archives, T186/12969).

- 1889 Blackton Reservoir, Stockton and Middlesbrough Water Board (F.W. Macaulay 'The gravitation works of the Stockton and Middlesbrough Water Board' in *Proceedings, Cleveland Institution of Engineers*, 1896, pp 10-19; and information supplied by Northumbrian Water).
- Shenfield to Wickford to Burnham on Crouch to Southminster to Maldon, 'Essex Line', G.E.R. (*Southend on Sea Observer*, 6 June, 4 July, 3 October 1889).
- Work for L.N.W.R. at Euston (L. Popplewell *A Gazetteer of the Railway Contractors and Engineers of East Anglia, 1840-1914*, Bournemouth: Melledgen Press, 1984).
- 1889-94 Alterations to Newcastle Central Station, N.E.R. (*Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore and Legend*, October 1889, pp 464-5; C.J. Allen, p 161).
- Widening of the lines to Newcastle Central Station from two to four tracks, including the reconstruction of the Dean Street arch (C.J. Allen, p 161).
- 1890 Reconstruction of Gateshead Workhouse (Gateshead Public Libraries; *North Mail*, 9 April 1910, obit).
- Edmonton to Cheshunt line (*Newcastle Chronicle*, 9 April 1910, obit; L. Popplewell *op cit*, last page).
- 1896 Extension to Underground, Marble Arch to Post Office, Central London Railway Co (J.R. Day, p 51).
- 1899 Stairfoot to Cudworth line, Midland Railway (*Newcastle Chronicle*, 2 December 1899).
- Hull to Barnsley line, G.C.R. (*Newcastle Chronicle*, 2 December 1899).
- 1902-07 Extension to Underground, Holborn to South Kensington (J.R. Day, pp 76-8).
- Extension to Underground, South Kensington to Earl's Court (*ibid*).
- Extension to Underground, Finsbury Park to Holborn (*ibid*).
- Rebuilt Redheugh Bridge, Newcastle upon Tyne (*Newcastle Chronicle*, 2 December 1899; *Engineering*, 15 April 1910, obit).
- 1904 Kelvedon, Tiptree and Tollesbury Light Railway (L. Popplewell, *op cit*).

- 1904-07 Extension to Underground, Earl's Court to Hammersmith (J.R. Day *ibid*).
- 1904-12 New graving dock, 'The Thompson Graving Dock', Belfast (Annual Reports, 1904-12, Belfast Harbour Board).
- 1905 Crown and Mitre Hotel, Carlisle (*Carlisle in Camera*, 2, Carlisle: Public Libraries, 1989, p 17).
- Seaham to Hartlepoons line, N.E.R. (L. Popplewell *A Gazetteer of the Railway Contractors and Engineers of Northern England, 1830-1914*, Bournemouth: Melledgen Press, 1985; Sunderland Central Reference Library).
- 1906-10 Aynho to Ashenden line, G.W.R. (*Engineer*, 22 October 1909, pp 418-19; *Evesham Journal*, obit).
- 1912 Extension to Bakerloo Line from Paddington to Queen's Park (*Times*, 6 January 1913, p 17c)
- 1913 Widening and alterations to the London Underground from Chalk Farm to Willesden including junction lines between Regent's Park Road and Primrose Hill (*Times*, 6 January 1913, p 17c)
- 1922-24 Reconstruction of City and South London Underground, Moorgate to Clapham Common (J.R. Day, pp 84-5)
- 1925 Connecting tunnel between Piccadilly and City underground lines at King's Cross (*Times*, 10 September 1925, p 15d)

Contracts with unknown dates

for N.E.R.

- Bishop Auckland line (*North Mail*, 9 April 1910, obit).
- Consett line (*ibid*).
- Darlington alterations (*ibid*).
- Fighting Cocks line (*ibid*).
- Forth Banks widening (*ibid*).

Stockton line with a new bridge over the Tees (*North Mail*, 9 April 1910, obit;
Newcastle Chronicle, 9 April 1910, obit).

for L.N.W.R.

Daventry line (*North Mail*, 9 April 1910, obit; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 9 April 1910,
obit).

Huddersfield line (*ibid*)

Leamington line (*ibid*)

Stalybridge line (*ibid*)

for G.E.R.

London, Stratford and Bow alterations (*North Mail*, 9 April 1910, obit; *Newcastle
Chronicle*, 9 April 1910, obit).

for G.W.R.

Honeybourne line (*Evesham Journal*, obit).

for London Underground

Stanmore branch for Metropolitan Railway (J.R. Day, p 71).

A railway in Uruguay (information from Scott family).

Extension to Armstrong Whitworth's Elswick Works, Newcastle upon Tyne (*North
Mail*, 9 April 1910, obit; *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical
Engineers*, February 1911, pp 204-05).

Additions to Chillingham Castle for Earl of Tankerville (*Engineering*, 15 April 1910, obit; *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers*, *op cit*).

Rebuilding of Haggerstone Castle, near Beal (*Newcastle Chronicle*, 2 December 1899, *North Mail*, 9 April 1910, obit).

County Hotel, Newcastle upon Tyne (*Newcastle Chronicle*, 2 December 1899).

Warehouses at Tyne Dock, Newcastle upon Tyne (*Newcastle Chronicle*, *op cit*)

Blyth Dry Dock (*Engineering*, 15 April 1910, obit; *North Mail*, 9 April 1910, obit).

Fife Docks (*North Mail* and *Newcastle Chronicle*, 9 April 1910, obits).

Railway work in Ireland (*North Mail* and *Newcastle Chronicle*, 9 April 1910, obits).

Appendix 2

Printing firms employed to produce Scott titles

The Advertiser Co., Ltd., Tunbridge Wells: 1 book in 1911

S. Pagden *Songs of the Hillside*

Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh: 1 book in 1909

Aleister Crowley *777*

Bradbury, Agnew, London and Tonbridge: 1 book in 1907

May Evans *Triumphant*

Butler & Tanner, Frome: 1 book in 1902, 2 in 1909, 1 in 1910 = total 4

Alan D. Mickle *Dark Tower* [1902-13]

Edwin I. Brady *Way of Many Waters* 1909

C.H. Kirmess *Australian Crisis* [1909]

Alexander W. Johnston *Law and Liberty* 1910

Chiswick Press, Charles Whittingham and Co., London: 2 books in 1907

Aleister Crowley *Konx om Pax*

John F.C. Fuller *Star in the West*

R. & R. Clark Ltd., Edinburgh: 1 book in 1909

Henry C. Sturt *Idea of a Free Church*

Colston & Co, Edinburgh: 4 books in 1899, 3 in 1900, 2 in 1901, 1 in 1902 = total 10

Naval Songs [1899]

Ernest Renan *Antichrist* [1899]

Madeleine L. Ryley *American Citizen* [1899]

Edwin D. Starbuck *Psychology of Religion* 1899

Alexander F. Chamberlain *The Child* 1900

Frank E. Smedley *Harry Coverdale's Courtship* [1900]

War Songs [1900]

Alexandre Dumas *Forty-five Guardsmen* [1901]

- *Marguerite de Valois* [1901]

Henry B.H. Hamilton and Urquhart A. Forbes *Law Relating to Collieries* 1902

T & A Constable, Edinburgh: 4 books in 1894, 5 in 1895 = total 9

Charles J.S. Thompson *Cult of Beauty* [1894]

Lev N. Tolstoy *Two Pilgrims* and *If You Neglect the Fire* [1894]

- *What Men Live By* and *What Shall It Profit a Man?* [1894]

- *Where Love Is* and *The Godson* [1894]

Anna C. Leffler and Sonia Kovalevsky *Biography and Autobiography* 1895

George Moore *Celibates* 1895

- *Vain Fortune* 1895

Lev N. Tolstoy *Ivan the Fool* [1895]

- *Master and Man* [1895]

S.H. Crosskey, Lewisham: 1 book in 1908

Frank G. Jannaway *Godless Socialism*

Dothie Dobson, Harrogate: 1 book in 1913

Edith Horsfall *From Dewy Youth to Snowy Age*

Hepburn & Sons Ltd., London: 1 book in 1906

William B. Robertson *Slavery of Labour*

Labour Press, Manchester: 1 book in 1897

Forecasts of the Coming Century

Morrison & Gibb, Edinburgh: 1 book in 1895, 1 in 1896, 1 in 1897, 2 in 1898, 2 in 1899, 2 in 1900 = total 9

Lev N. Tolstoy *Four Gospels Harmonised* 1895

- *Gospel in Brief* 1896

Robert Blatchford *Julie* [1897-1900]

- *Bohemian Girl* 1898

Alexander M. Thompson *Haunts of Old Cockaigne* 1898

Robert Blatchford *Dismal England* 1899

Lev N. Tolstoy *What is Art?* [1899]

Robert Blatchford *The Bounder* 1900

- *My Favourite Books* 1900

Norman, Sawyer, Cheltenham: 1 book in 1910

James Corin *Mating, Marriage, and the Status of Women*

Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh: 1 book in 1895, 1 in 1902 = total 2

Thomas de Quincey *Selected Essays* [1895]

Frederick Marryat *Jacob Faithful* [1902-05]

Unwin Bros, Chilworth and London, or Woking and London: 5 books in 1887, 4 in 1888, 4 in 1890, 1 in 1891, 1 in 1895, 1 in 1898, 1 in 1899, 1 in 1905 = total 18

Hall Caine *Samuel Taylor Coleridge* 1887

Henry Cockton *Valentine Vox* 1887

Frederick Marryat *Mr Midshipman Easy* [1887-92]

Philip B. Marston *For a Song's Sake* [1887]

Eric S. Robertson *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* 1887

John S. Blackie *Lays of the Highlands* 1888

A Century of Australian Song 1888

Sacred Song 1888

Songs and Poems of Fairyland 1888

George L. Gomme *Village Community* 1890

Charles A. Mercier *Sanity and Insanity* 1890

Michael Scott *Tom Cringle's Log* 1890

William M. Thackeray *Vanity Fair* 1890

Edwin S. Hartland *Science of Fairy Tales* 1891 [1890]

Henry H. Donaldson *Growth of the Brain* 1895

Eugene S. Talbot *Degeneracy* 1898

Charles Kingsley *Two Years Ago* [1899-1901]

Walter Runciman *Windjammers and Sea Tramps* 1905

The Western Morning News Co. Ltd., Plymouth: 1 book in 1911

Emily and Constance Spender *Patriots' Year Book*

C.L. Wright, Glasgow: 1 book in 1886, 2 in 1887, 1 in 1888, 1 in 1894, 1 in 1899, 1 in 1900 = total 7.

Lord Lytton *Alice* 1886

Oliver Goldsmith *Vicar of Wakefield* 1887

Sonnets of This Century 1887

Jacobite Songs and Ballads 1888

Charles Reade *It Is Never Too Late to Mend* [1894-1901]

Charles Dickens *Little Dorrit* [1899]

Charlotte Bronte *Jane Eyre* [1900-02]

Appendix 3

Transcriptions of surviving company accounts

Figures for 30 June 1906 from balance sheet for 1907
Liabilities

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Nominal Capital £70000 | |
| Capital issued | 66607 |
| Debts by the Co | 3155 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 429 |
| Agency balances in suspense | 22 |
| W.Scott loan | 1000 |
| Reserve account | 2443 |
| Carried fwd | 73656 |

Assets

| | |
|------------------------|-------|
| Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Plant and machinery | 6611 |
| Loose tools | 394 |
| Stereos | 5718 |
| Litho stones | 1942 |
| Type | 1058 |
| Book stamps | 454 |
| Copyrights | 1111 |
| Debts to the Co | |
| Book debts at Felling | 6654 |
| Book debts at London | 2777 |
| Agency balances | 2395 |
| Royalties | 602 |
| Commissions prepaid | 422 |
| | 39638 |
| Less provisions | |
| Bad debts | 1570 |
| Bad debts London | 170 |
| Agency balances | 1948 |
| Sale or return | 175 |
| Sale or return London | 207 |
| error on balance sheet | 251 |
| | 4321 |

Profit and loss a/c

1741

75397

35317

| | |
|------------------------------|-------|
| Fixtures and fittings London | 30 |
| Stock, raw materials | 36952 |
| Cash and bills | 3097 |
| Difference in a/cs | 1 |

40080

75397

Balance sheet 30 June 1907**Liabilities**

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| Nominal capital £1 shares | 70000 |
| Capital issued | 66607 |
| Debts by the Co: Felling | 3206 |
| Ditto: London | 16 |
| Provn outstanding liabs Felling | 190 |
| ditto London | 84 |
| Income tax | 11 |
| Agency balance Northumberland | 16 |
| Agency balance Tyneside | 6 |
| Loan to WS | 1500 |
| Reserve a/c at 30 June 1906 | 2443 |
| Carried fwd | 74079 |

Assets

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Fixed plant | 6586 |
| Loose tools | 378 |
| Stereos | 5492 |
| Litho stones | 1837 |
| Type | 969 |
| Book stamps | 454 |
| Copyrights | 1070 |
| Debts to the Co | |
| Book debts at Felling | 7975 |
| Book debts at London | 2024 |
| Agency balances | 2341 |
| Royalties | 618 |
| Commissions prepaid | 454 |
| | 39698 |
| Less provision for | |
| Bad debts Felling | 1570 |
| Bad debts London | 85 |
| Royalties due | 260 |
| Specific bad debts | 1948 |
| Profit on sale or return | 175 |
| Ditto London | 130 |
| | ----- |
| | 4168 |
| | ----- |
| | 35530 |

| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| Profit and loss at 30/6/1906 | 3407 |
| Less dividend 4.5% for year | 2997 |
| Directors' fees | 30 |

3027

380

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| Profit this year | 2351 |
| Less interim dividend 4% | 1332 |

1399

75478

Profit & loss a/c for the year to 30 June 1907

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| To depreciation | |
| stereos 10% | 606 |
| loose tools 10% | 40 |
| type 12.5% | 129 |
| book stamps 12.5% | 57 |
| litho stones and art work 7.5% | 143 |
| copyrights 10% | 111 |

| | |
|-------------------------------|------|
| Bad debts | 106 |
| Loss on Litho Dept | 1 |
| Balance being profit for year | 2351 |

3544

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| Fixtures London | 27 |
| Stock and raw materials | |
| Felling | 34990 |
| London | 2289 |
| Cash at Felling | 256 |
| Cash in London | 8 |
| Bills | 2377 |
| Suspense a/c | 1 |

75478

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| By profits on depts | |
| publishing | 1516 |
| stationery | 413 |
| bookbinding | 865 |
| compo and stereo | 306 |
| letterpress | 446 |

3546

| | |
|--|-------|
| Profit & loss a/c for half yr | |
| To depreciation | |
| stereos | 297 |
| loose tools | 20 |
| type | 63 |
| book stamps | 29 |
| litho stones and art work | 70 |
| copyrights | 56 |
| | |
| Bad debts | 41 |
| | |
| Litho dept loss | 15 |
| | |
| Balance being profit | 1023 |
| | ----- |
| | 1614 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Manufacturing a/cs for 6 mths | |
| Publishing dept | |
| to stocks as at 1 Jan | 4625 |
| to purchases | 100 |
| to wages | 189 |
| to travelling exes | 62 |
| to goods from depts | 5170 |
| to provision, wages, gas, etc | 625 |
| to carriage, rates, taxes, etc | 783 |
| to commission (Gilliam) | 243 |
| to balance being profit | 840 |
| | ----- |
| | 12637 |

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| By profits on depts | |
| publishing | 840 |
| jobbing | 222 |
| bookbinding | 220 |
| compo and stereo | 107 |
| letterpress | 225 |

1614

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| by sales | 7788 |
| by goods charged to dept | 45 |
| by London agency profit | 228 |
| by stocks at date | 4577 |

12638

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Jobbing dept | |
| to stocks as at 1 Jan | 868 |
| to purchases | 1191 |
| to wages | 238 |
| to travelling exes | 11 |
| to goods from depts | 1174 |
| to carriage, rates, taxes, etc | 162 |
| to balance being profit | 222 |
| | ----- |
| | 3866 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Bookbinding dept | |
| to stocks as at 1 Jan | 28109 |
| to purchases | 1069 |
| to wages | 1765 |
| to goods from depts | 2888 |
| to gas, rates, taxes, etc | 193 |
| to balance being profit | 220 |
| | ----- |
| | 34244 |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| Composing and stereo dept | |
| to stocks as at 1 Jan | 282 |
| to purchases | 9 |
| to wages | 444 |
| to goods from depts | 2 |
| to gas, rates, taxes, etc | 43 |
| to balance being profit | 107 |
| | ----- |
| | 887 |

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| by sales | 2831 |
| by goods to depts | 56 |
| by stocks at date | 980 |

3867

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| by goods to publ dept | 4910 |
| by goods charged to dept | 605 |
| by stocks at date | 28728 |

34243

| | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| by new stereos made here | 147 |
| by purchases | |
| by work charged to dept | 442 |
| by stocks at date | 298 |

887

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| Letterpress dept | | | |
| to stocks as at 1 Jan | 250 | by goods charged to dept | 2555 |
| to purchases | 1499 | by stocks at date | 282 |
| to wages | 661 | | ----- |
| to goods from depts | 35 | | |
| to gas, rates, taxes, etc | 167 | | |
| to balance being profit | 225 | | |
| | ----- | | |
| | 2837 | | 2837 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| Litho dept | | | |
| to stocks as at 1 Jan | 782 | by goods charged to dept* | 835 |
| to purchases | 23 | to stocks at date | 89 |
| to wages | 121 | to balance being loss | 15 |
| to gas, rates, taxes, etc | 13 | | ----- |
| | ----- | | |
| | 939 | | 939 |

*including worthless stock transferred to Bookbinding and written off out of unappropriated depreciation

Balance sheet London Office 30 June 1907

Liabilities

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Creditors as ledger a/cs | 16 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 84 |
| Head Office a/c | |
| Balance at 30 June 1907 | 3804 |
| Profit this half year | 228 |
| | ----- |
| | 4132 |

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Trading a/c for London | |
| to stock at 1 Jan 1907 | 2554 |
| to purchases | |
| from Felling | 2828 |
| credit | 9 |
| cash | 1 |
| | |
| salaries and wages | 199 |
| carriage | 53 |
| postage | 21 |
| travelling exes | 26 |
| warehouse exes | 13 |
| rent | 90 |

Assets

Debtors as ledger a/cs 2024

Less

Provision for bad debts 50

Provision for discounts 35

Provn for goods on sale 130

215

1809

Furnishings at 31 Dec 06 27

Stock on hand 2289

Cash in hand 8

4133

By sales: credit 3630

By sales: cash 329

Less discounts 152

3807

Stock on hand 30 June 07 2289

| | |
|------------------------|-----|
| audit fee | 13 |
| insurance | 18 |
| commission | 26 |
| To balance down | 244 |

6095

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| To bad debts | 15 |
| To depreciation | 1 |
| To balance being profit | 228 |

244

6096

By balance brought down

244

244

Balance sheet and profit and loss a/c at 31 Dec 1907 (half year)

| Liabilities | | Assets | |
|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| Nominal capital 70000 £1 | | Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Capital issued | 66607 | Plant and machinery | 6586 |
| Debts due by the co | | Loose tools | 371 |
| Felling | 4142 | Stereos | 5348 |
| London | 31 | Litho stones | 1798 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | | Type | 916 |
| Felling | 225 | Book stamps | 446 |
| London | 71 | Copyrights | 1084 |
| Income tax | 94 | Debts due to the co | |
| Agency balances | | Book debts at Felling | 7603 |
| Northumberland | 16 | Ditto School Library | 1909 |
| Tyneside | 6 | Ditto London | 1968 |
| Loan to WS | 1500 | Agency balances | 2326 |
| Reserve a/c | 2443 | Advance royalties | 597 |
| Lloyd's Bank | 298 | Commissions prepaid | 397 |
| | ----- | | ----- |
| | 75433 | | 40849 |
| | | Less provisions for | |
| | | bad debts and discounts | 1570 |
| | | ditto London | 90 |
| | | royalties due | 243 |
| | | specific bad debts and | |
| | | agency balances | 1948 |
| | | profit on sale or return | 175 |
| | | ditto London | 90 |
| | | | ----- |
| | | | 4116 |
| | | | ----- |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Carried fwd | 75433 |
| Profit & loss a/c 30/6/07 | 2731 |
| less 4% dividend | 2664 |
| | ----- |
| | 67 |
| Profit this half year | 1944 |
| | ----- |
| | 77444 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Profit and loss a/c | |
| To depreciation | |
| stereos 10% | 289 |
| loose tools 10% | 19 |
| type 12.5% | 61 |
| book stamps 12.5% | 28 |
| litho sts & art work 7.5% | 69 |
| copyrights | 53 |
| Bad debts | 45 |
| Income tax | 83 |
| Balance being profit | 1944 |
| | ----- |
| | 2591 |

Manufacturing a/cs for 6 mths to 31 Dec 1907

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Publishing dept | |
| To stocks at 1 July | 4577 |
| To purchases | 140 |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| Carried fwd | 36733 |
| Fixtures and fittings | 25 |
| Stock and raw materials | |
| at Felling | 35707 |
| in London | 2312 |
| Cash at Felling | 396 |
| Cash in London | 13 |
| Bills | 2255 |
| Suspense a/c | 1 |
| | ----- |
| | 77442 |

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| By profit from depts | |
| publishing | 975 |
| jobbing | 286 |
| bookbinding | 816 |
| compo and stereo | 120 |
| letterpress | 362 |
| litho | 30 |
| | ----- |

2589

| | |
|---------------------------|------|
| By sales | 9110 |
| By goods charged to depts | 40 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| To wages | 181 |
| To travelling exes | 94 |
| To goods from depts | 6177 |
| To provision, wages, gas | 643 |
| To carriage, rates, taxes | 904 |
| To commission (Gillians [sic]) | 334 |
| To balance being profit | 975 |
| | ----- |
| | 14025 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Jobbing dept | |
| To stocks at 1 July | 980 |
| To purchases | 1103 |
| To wages | 257 |
| To travelling exes | 11 |
| To goods from depts | 1272 |
| To carriage, rates, taxes, etc | 166 |
| To balance being profit | 286 |
| | ----- |
| | 4075 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Bookbinding dept | |
| To stocks at 1 July | 28728 |
| To purchases | 1396 |
| To wages | 1893 |
| To goods from depts | 2821 |
| To gas, rates, taxes, etc | 223 |
| To balance being profit | 816 |
| | ----- |
| | 35877 |

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| By London agency profit | 215 |
| By stocks at date | 4660 |

14025

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| By sales | 3068 |
| By goods to depts | 59 |
| By stocks at date | 948 |

4075

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| By goods to pubing dept | 5652 |
| By goods to depts | 772 |
| By stocks at date | 29452 |

35876

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| Composing and Stereo dept | |
| To stocks at 1 July | 298 |
| To purchases | 12 |
| To wages | 624 |
| To goods from depts | |
| To gas, rates, taxes, etc | 48 |
| To balance being profit | 120 |
| | ----- |
| | 1102 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Letterpress dept | |
| To stocks at 1 July | 282 |
| To purchases | 1786 |
| To wages | 740 |
| To goods from depts | 22 |
| To gas, rates, taxes, etc | 164 |
| To balance being profit | 362 |
| | ----- |
| | 3356 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Litho dept | |
| To stocks at 1 July | 89 |
| To purchases | 30 |
| To wages | 123 |
| To goods to [sic] dept | 7 |
| To gas, rates, taxes, etc | 13 |
| To balance being profit | 30 |
| | ----- |
| | 292 |

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| By new stereos made here | 145 |
| By work charged to depts | 630 |
| By stocks at date | 326 |
| | ----- |

1101

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| By goods charged to dept | 3153 |
| By stocks at date | 202 |
| | ----- |

3355

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| By goods charged to Dept | 210 |
| By stocks at date | 83 |
| | ----- |

293

Balance sheet London office 30 June 1910**Liabilities**

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 17 |
| Provision for outstanding liabilities | 65 |
| Head office a/c | 2967 |
| Profit made this half yr | 247 |

3296

Trading a/c for half yr

| | |
|---------------------------|------|
| To stock at 1 Jan | 1699 |
| To purchases | |
| Felling goods | 2972 |
| Other firms | 2 |
| Cash | 6 |
| To salaries and wages | 153 |
| To carriage | 61 |
| To postage | 19 |
| To travelling exes | 16 |
| To warehouse & office exs | 13 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To audit fee | 13 |
| To insurance | 4 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Debtors as per ledger a/c | 1798 |
| Less | |
| Provision for bad debts | 50 |
| Ditto discounts | 44 |
| Ditto goods on sale | 12 |
| | ----- |
| | 106 |
| | ----- |
| | 1692 |
| Furnishings at 30/6/1908 | 24 |
| Stock in trade | 1579 |
| Cash in hand | 1 |
| | ----- |
| | 3296 |

| | |
|-----------------|-------|
| By sales | |
| Credit | 3535 |
| Cash | 345 |
| | ----- |
| | 3880 |
| Less discount | 143 |
| | ----- |
| | 3737 |

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| By stock on hand 30/6/10 | 1579 |
| | ----- |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| To commission | 9 |
| To balance carried down | 258 |
| | ----- |
| | 5315 |
| | ----- |
| To bad debts | 12 |
| To balance being profit | 247 |
| | ----- |
| | 259 |

5316

By balance brought down

258

Figures for 31 Dec 1910 taken from June 1911 balance sheet London

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|
| Liabilities | | Assets | |
| Creditors on open a/cs | 50 | Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 1544 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 68 | Less | |
| Felling a/c | 2601 | Provision for bad debts | 50 |
| Profit this half year | 268 | Ditto discounts | 55 |
| | ----- | | ----- |
| | | | 105 |
| | | | ----- |
| | | | 1439 |
| | | | |
| | | Furniture | 24 |
| | | Stocks on hand | 1515 |
| | | Cash in hand | 9 |
| | | | ----- |
| | 2987 | | 2987 |
| | | | |
| Trading a/c | | | |
| To stock | 1579 | By sales: credit | 3417 |
| To purchases: Felling | 2890 | ditto: cash | 369 |
| ditto: other firms | 44 | | ----- |
| Cash | 5 | | 3786 |
| To salaries and wages | 173 | Less discounts | 117 |
| To carriage | 54 | | ----- |
| To postage | 20 | | 3669 |
| To travelling exes | 16 | | |
| To warehouse & office exs | 9 | By stocks on hand | 1515 |
| To rent | 90 | | ----- |
| To audit fee | 13 | | |
| To repairs | 1 | | |
| To commission | 14 | | |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| To balance carried down | 277 |
| | ----- |
| | 5185 |
| To bad debts | 9 |
| To balance being profit | 268 |
| | ----- |
| | 277 |

5184

By balance brought down

277

Figures for 31 Dec 1910 taken from Balance sheet at December 1911

| Liabilities | | Assets | |
|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Nominal capital £70000 | | Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Issued capital | 66607 | Fixed plant | 6586 |
| Debts due by Co: Felling | 2450 | Loose tools | 315 |
| ditto London | 50 | Stereos | 4498 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | | Litho stones and art work | 1555 |
| Felling | 161 | Type | 664 |
| ditto London | 68 | Book stamps | 400 |
| Reserve a/c | 2443 | Copyrights | 1055 |
| Agency balances | | Debts due to Co: Felling | 8157 |
| Northumberland | 16 | ditto London | 1439 |
| Tyneside | 6 | Fixtures & fittings: London | 24 |
| Profit | 1035 | Stocks and raw materials | |
| | ----- | Felling | 33137 |
| | 72836 | ditto London | 1515 |
| Less balance | 14 | Bank balance | 2981 |
| | ----- | Cash at Felling | 141 |
| | 72822 | Cash in London | 9 |
| | | Bills receivable | 843 |
| | | Suspense a/c | 1 |
| | | | ----- |
| | | | 72820 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Profit and loss a/c | |
| To depreciation | |
| Stereos 10% | 246 |
| Loose tools 10% | 15 |
| Type 12.5% | 44 |
| Book stamps 12.5% | 26 |
| Litho and art work 7.5% | 59 |
| Copyrights 10% | 53 |
| Bad debts | 62 |
| Balance being profit | 1035 |
| | ----- |
| | 1540 |

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| By profit on depts | |
| Publishing: Felling | 268 |
| ditto London | 26 |
| Jobbing | 131 |
| Bookbinding | 748 |
| Compo and stereo | 57 |
| Letterpress | 295 |
| Litho | 14 |

1539

Figures for June 1911 taken from balance sheet for December 1911

| Liabilities | | Assets | |
|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Nominal capital £70000 | | Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Issued capital | 66607 | Fixed plant | 6586 |
| Debts by the Co: Felling | 1402 | Loose tools | 299 |
| ditto London | 49 | Stereos | 4377 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | | Litho stones and art work | 1501 |
| Felling | 257 | Type | 632 |
| ditto London | 68 | Book stamps | 394 |
| Reserve a/c | 2443 | Copyrights | 1027 |
| Profit this half year | 458 | Debts due to Co: Felling | 7002 |
| Balance | 21 | ditto London | 1079 |
| | ----- | Fixtures & fittings: London | 24 |
| | 71305 | Stocks and raw materials | |
| | | Felling | 33811 |
| | | London | 1391 |
| | | Bank balance | 2382 |
| | | Cash at Felling | 174 |
| | | Cash in London | 10 |
| | | Bills receivable | 1114 |
| | | Suspense a/c | 1 |
| | | | ----- |
| | | | 71304 |
| To depreciation | | By profit on depts | |
| Stereos 10% | 236 | Publishing: Felling (loss) | 239 |
| Loose tools 10% | 16 | ditto London | 255 |
| Type 12.5% | 41 | | ----- |
| Book stamps 12.5% | 25 | | 16 |
| Litho and art work 7.5% | 58 | Jobbing | 109 |
| Copyrights 10% | 53 | Bookbinding | 562 |
| Bad debts | 62 | Compo and stereo | 54 |

Litho dept loss
Balance being profit

30
458

979

Letterpress

240

981

Balance sheet 31 Dec 1911**Liabilities**

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Nominal capital £70000 | |
| Issued capital | 66607 |
| Debts by the Co: Felling | 2059 |
| ditto London | 21 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | |
| Felling | 167 |
| ditto London | 68 |
| Reserve a/c | 2443 |
| Profit this half year | 352 |
| Less balance at 31/12/11 | 20 |
| | ----- |
| | 332 |
| | ----- |
| | 71697 |

Profit and loss a/c 6 mths

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| To depreciation | |
| Stereos 10% | 231 |
| Loose tools 10% | 15 |
| Type 12.5% | 39 |
| Book stamps 12.5% | 25 |
| Litho and art work 7.5% | 41 |
| Copyrights 10% | 51 |

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Fixed plant | 6812 |
| Loose tools | 291 |
| Stereos | 4264 |
| Litho stones and art work | 1463 |
| Type | 596 |
| Book stamps | 382 |
| Copyrights | 1026 |
| Debts to the Co: Felling | 7332 |
| ditto London | 1396 |
| Fixtures and fittings: London | 24 |
| Stocks and raw materials: | |
| Felling | 34161 |
| ditto London | 1373 |
| Walter Scott Ltd | 393 |
| Bank balance | 1764 |
| Cash at Felling | 147 |
| Cash in London | 7 |
| Bills receivable | 767 |
| Suspense a/c | 1 |

71699

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| By profit on depts | |
| Publishing: Felling | 102 |
| ditto London | 250 |
| Jobbing | 120 |
| Bookbinding | 284 |
| Compo and stereo | 6 |
| Letterpress | 167 |

| | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| Bad debts | 110 | Litho | 4 |
| High Bridge Branch loss for 6 months | 71 | | ----- |
| Balance being profit | 352 | | |
| | ----- | | |
| | 935 | | 933 |

Balance sheet London Office 30 June 1911

Liabilities

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 49 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 68 |
| Felling a/c | 2132 |
| Profit this half year | 255 |

2504

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Trading a/c | |
| To stock at 1 Jan | 1515 |
| To purchases: Felling goods | 2562 |
| ditto other firms | 8 |
| ditto cash | 2 |
| To salaries and wages | 172 |
| To carriage | 50 |
| To postage | 18 |
| To travelling exes | 15 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 13 |
| To rent | 90 |

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 1194 |
| Less | |
| Provision for bad debts | 50 |
| ditto discounts | 45 |
| ditto on sale goods | 20 |
| | ----- |
| | 115 |
| | ----- |
| | 1079 |
| Furniture at 31 Dec 1910 | 24 |
| Stocks on hand at date | 1391 |
| cash in hand at date | 10 |
| | ----- |
| | 2504 |
| | |
| By sales: credit | 3161 |
| ditto cash | 330 |
| | ----- |
| | 3491 |
| Less on sale provision | 20 |
| discounts | 120 |
| | ----- |
| | 140 |
| | ----- |
| | 3351 |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| To audit fee | 13 |
| To repairs | 11 |
| To commission | 10 |
| To insurance | 5 |
| To balance carried down | 262 |
| | ----- |
| | 4746 |
| | |
| To bad debts | 7 |
| To balance being profit | 255 |
| | ----- |
| | 262 |

| | |
|--|------|
| By commission overpaid at 31 Dec 1910 | 5 |
| By stocks on hand at date | 1391 |

4747

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| By balance brought down | 262 |
|-------------------------|-----|

Balance sheet London office 31 December 1911

Liabilities

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 21 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 68 |
| Felling a/c | 2460 |
| Profit this year | 250 |

2799

Trading a/c for half year

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| To stock at 1 July | 1391 |
| To purchases: Felling | 2559 |
| ditto: other firms | 13 |
| Cash | 1 |
| To salaries and wages | 175 |
| To carriage | 50 |
| To postage | 19 |
| To travelling exes | 15 |
| To warehouse & office exs | 12 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To audit fee | 13 |
| To commission | 13 |

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 1496 |
| Less | |
| Provision for bad debts | 50 |
| ditto for discounts | 40 |
| ditto on sale goods | 10 |
| | ----- |
| | 100 |
| | ----- |
| | 1396 |
| | |
| Furniture at 30 June 1911 | 24 |
| Stocks on hand at date | 1373 |
| Cash in hand at date | 7 |
| | ----- |
| | 2800 |
| | |
| By sales: credit | 2972 |
| ditto: cash | 338 |
| By "on sale" goods | 20 |
| | ----- |
| | 3330 |
| | |
| Less | |
| Provision | 10 |
| Discounts | 83 |
| | ----- |
| | 93 |
| | ----- |
| | 3237 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| To balance carried down | 257 |
| | ----- |
| | 4608 |
| To bad debts | 7 |
| To balance being profit | 250 |
| | ----- |
| | 257 |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| By stocks on hand at date | 1373 |
| | ----- |
| | 4610 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| To balance brought down | 257 |
|--------------------------------|-----|

Balance sheet for London Office at 30 June 1912

Liabilities

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Creditors on open a/c | 9 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 87 |
| Felling a/c | 2705 |
| Less loss this half year | 29 |

2676

2772

| | |
|----------------------------|------|
| Trading a/c for half year | |
| To stock at 1 Jan | 1373 |
| To purchases: Felling | 2465 |
| ditto other firms | 1 |
| Cash | 2 |
| To salaries and wages | 167 |
| To carriage | 48 |
| To postage | 16 |
| To travelling exes | 9 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 12 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To audit fee | 13 |
| To commission | 3 |
| To insurance | 5 |

Assets

| | |
|----------------------------|------|
| Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 1237 |
| Less provision for | |
| bad debts | 50 |
| discounts | 45 |
| on sale goods | 5 |

100

1137

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Furniture at 31/12/11 | 24 |
| Stocks on hand at date | 1580 |
| Cash in hand at date | 31 |

2772

| | |
|------------------|------|
| By sales: credit | 2426 |
| ditto cash | 283 |
| On sale goods | 10 |

2719

| | |
|-----------------------|----|
| Less | |
| provision for on sale | 5 |
| discounts | 98 |

103

2616

To painting 19

4223

To balance brought down 26

To bad debts 3

29

By stocks on hand at date 1580
By balance being loss 26

4222

By balance being loss 29

Balance sheet London Office 31 December 1912

Liabilities

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 10 |
| Provn for outstanding a/cs | 63 |
| Felling a/c | 2801 |
| Profit this half year | 125 |

2999

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Trading a/c | |
| To stock at 1 July 1912 | 1580 |
| To purchases: Felling goods | 2116 |
| To salaries and wages | 147 |
| To carriage | 48 |
| To postage | 21 |
| To travelling exes | 10 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 16 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To repairs | 4 |

Assets

Debtors as per ledger a/cs 1514

Less

Provision for bad debts 50

ditto discounts 35

ditto goods on sale 5

90

1424

Furniture at 30 June 1912 24

Stocks on hand at date 1534

Cash in hand 17

2999

By sales: credit 2453

By sales: cash 303

2756

Less discounts 60

2696

By stocks on hand at date 1534

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| To audit fee | 13 |
| To commission | 9 |
| To insurance | 1 |
| To balance brought down | 175 |
| | ----- |
| | 4230 |
| | |
| To bad debts | 50 |
| To balance being profit | 125 |
| | ----- |
| | 175 |

4230

By balance brought down

175

Balance sheet at 31 December 1912

Liabilities

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Nominal capital £70000 | |
| Issued capital | 66607 |
| Debts due by Co: Felling | 1976 |
| ditto London | 10 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | |
| Felling | 142 |
| ditto London | 63 |
| Reserve a/c | 2443 |
| Balance at 30 June 1912 | 34 |
| Profit this half year | 157 |

71432

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Fixed plant and machinery | 6851 |
| Loose tools | 278 |
| Stereos | 4121 |
| Litho stones and art work | 1393 |
| Type | 555 |
| Book stamps | 357 |
| Copyrights | 926 |
| Debts to the Co: Felling | 7016 |
| ditto London | 1424 |
| Fixtures & fittings: London | 24 |
| Stock and raw materials | |
| Felling | 33924 |
| ditto London | 1534 |
| Walter Scott Ltd | 393 |
| Bank balance | 2043 |
| Cash at Felling | 214 |
| Cash in London | 17 |
| Bills receivable | 862 |
| Suspense a/c | 1 |

71433

| | |
|---|------------|
| Profit and Loss A/c for 6 months | |
| To depreciation | |
| Stereos 10% | 226 |
| Loose tools 10% | 14 |
| Type 12.5% | 36 |
| Book stamps 12.5% | 23 |
| Litho and art work 7.5% | 53 |
| Copyrights 10% | 49 |
| To bad debts | 30 |
| To balance being profit | 157 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| By profit on depts | |
| Jobbing | 259 |
| Bookbinding | 251 |
| Compo and stereo | 60 |
| Letterpress | 197 |
| Litho | 1 |
| | ----- |
| | 768 |
| | ----- |
| Less loss on publishing | 244 |
| Plus profit in London | 125 |
| | ----- |
| | 119 |
| Less High Bridge | 62 |
| | ----- |
| | 181 |
| | 587 |

Balance sheet for London Office 30 June 1913

Liabilities

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 16 |
| Provision outstanding liabs | 63 |
| Head Office | 2777 |
| Add profit this half year | 227 |

3083

Trading A/c

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| To stock at 1 Jan 1913 | 1602 |
| To purchases: Felling goods | 2206 |
| ditto other firms | 1 |
| To salaries and wages | 148 |
| To carriage | 52 |
| To postage | 20 |
| To travelling exes | 11 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 19 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To audit fee | 13 |
| To insurance | 4 |
| To balance brought down | 232 |

4398

Assets

| | |
|------------------------------|-------|
| Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 1561 |
| Less | |
| Provision for bad debts | 50 |
| ditto discounts | 40 |
| ditto goods on sale | 5 |
| | ----- |
| | 95 |
| | 1466 |
| Office furniture at 31/12/12 | 24 |
| Stock on hand at date | 1572 |
| Cash in hand | 22 |
| | ----- |
| | 3084 |

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| By sales: credit | 2638 |
| ditto cash | 276 |
| | ----- |
| | 2914 |
| Less discounts | 88 |
| | ----- |
| | 2826 |

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| By stock on hand at date | 1572 |
| | ----- |

4398

To bad debts written off
To balance being profit

5
227

232

By balance brought down

232

Balance sheet for London Office 31 December 1913

Liabilities

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 25 |
| Prov for outstanding liabils | 66 |
| Head Office | 2921 |
| Profit this half year | 134 |

3146

Trading A/c

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| To stock at 30 June 1913 | 1572 |
| To purchases: Felling goods | 1921 |
| To salaries and wages | 150 |
| To carriage | 40 |
| To postage | 18 |
| To travelling exes | 12 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 22 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To audit fee | 13 |

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 1461 |
| Less | |
| Provision for bad debts | 50 |
| ditto discounts | 40 |
| Profit in goods on sale | 5 |
| | ----- |
| | 95 |
| | ----- |
| | 1366 |
| Office furniture | 24 |
| Stock on hand | 1664 |
| Cash in hand | 92 |
| | ----- |
| | 3146 |
| | |
| By sales: credit | 2098 |
| ditto cash | 305 |
| | ----- |
| | 2403 |
| Less discounts | 71 |
| | ----- |
| | 2332 |
| By stock on hand | 1664 |
| | ----- |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| To commission | 14 |
| To insurance | 1 |
| To balance carried down | 145 |
| | ----- |
| | 3998 |

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| To bad debts written off | 10 |
| To balance being profit | 134 |
| | ----- |
| | 144 |

3996

By balance brought down

144

Balance sheet London Office 30 June 1914**Liabilities**

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 20 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 66 |
| Head Office | 2866 |
| | ----- |
| | 2952 |
| Less loss this half year | 51 |
| | ----- |

2901

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Trading a/c | |
| To stock at 31 Dec 1913 | 1664 |
| To purchases: Felling goods | 1945 |
| ditto other firms | 3 |
| To salaries and wages | 152 |
| To carriage | 44 |
| To postage | 15 |
| To travelling exes | 12 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 26 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To repairs | 1 |

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 1448 |
| Less | |
| Provision for bad debts | 100 |
| ditto discounts | 40 |
| profit in goods on sale | 5 |
| | ----- |
| | 145 |
| | ----- |
| | 1303 |
| Office furniture | 24 |
| Stock on hand | 1551 |
| Cash in hand | 23 |
| | ----- |
| | 2901 |
| | |
| By sales: credit | 2246 |
| ditto cash | 248 |
| | ----- |
| | 2494 |
| Less discounts | 78 |
| | ----- |
| | 2416 |
| By stock on hand | 1551 |
| By balance carried down | 1 |
| | ----- |

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| To audit fee | 13 |
| To insurance | 4 |
| | ----- |
| | 3969 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| To balance brought down | 1 |
| To further provn for bad deb | 50 |
| | ----- |
| | 51 |

3968

By balance being loss this
half year

51

Balance sheet London Office at 31 December 1914

Liabilities

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 18 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 66 |
| Head Office | 2802 |
| Profit this half year | 82 |

2968

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Trading a/c | |
| To stock at 30 June 1914 | 1551 |
| To purchases: Felling goods | 1604 |
| ditto other firms | 5 |
| To salaries and wages | 112 |
| To carriage | 35 |
| To postage | 10 |
| To travelling exes | 2 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 12 |
| To rent | 90 |

| | |
|----------------------------|------|
| Assets | |
| Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 1305 |
| Less | |
| Provision for bad debts | 100 |
| ditto discounts | 40 |
| Profit on goods on sale | 5 |

145

1160

| | |
|------------------|------|
| Office furniture | 24 |
| Stock on hand | 1736 |
| Cash in hand | 48 |

2968

| | |
|------------------|------|
| By sales: credit | 1652 |
| ditto cash | 186 |

1838

| | |
|---------------|----|
| Less discount | 45 |
|---------------|----|

1793

| | |
|------------------|------|
| By stock in hand | 1736 |
|------------------|------|

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| To audit fee | 13 |
| To commission | 12 |
| To insurance | 1 |
| To balance being profit | 82 |
| | ----- |
| | 3529 |

3529

Balance sheet at 31 December 1914

Liabilities

Nominal capital £70000

Issued capital 66607

Debts by the Co: Felling 969

ditto London 18

Provn for outstanding liabs

Felling 164

ditto London 66

Reserve a/c 2443

70267

Profit and loss a/c for 6 months

To depreciation

Stereos 10% 212

Loose tools 10% 13

Type 12.5% 29

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Fixed plant | 6899 |
| Loose tools | 241 |
| Stereos | 3442 |
| Litho stones and art work | 1234 |
| Type | 436 |
| Book stamps | 423 |
| Copyrights | 888 |
| Debts to the Co: Felling | 6133 |
| ditto London | 1160 |
| Fixtures London | 24 |
| Stocks and raw materials | |
| Felling | 33339 |
| ditto London | 1736 |
| Walter Scott Ltd | 393 |
| Bank balance | 2449 |
| Cash at Felling | 277 |
| Cash in London | 48 |
| Bills receivable | 343 |
| Loss this half year | 651 |
| Balance June 30, 1914 | 649 |
| | ----- |
| | 70265 |

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| By profit on depts | |
| Stationery | 197 |
| Compo and stereo | 23 |
| Litho | 8 |

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------|
| Book stamps 12.5% | 27 |
| Litho and art work 7.5% | 47 |
| Copyrights 10% | 44 |
| To bad debts | 16 |
| | ----- |
| | 388 |
| | |
| To loss on publishing dept | 441 |
| Less London profit | 82 |
| | ----- |
| | 359 |
| | |
| To loss on letterpress | 27 |
| To loss on bookbinding | 51 |
| To loss on High Bridge Branch | 54 |
| | ----- |
| | 879 |

By balance being loss

651

879

Balance sheet London Office 30 June 1915

Liabilities

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 16 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 73 |
| Head Office | 2625 |
| Profit | 106 |

2820

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Trading a/c | |
| To stock at 1 Jan 1915 | 1736 |
| To purchases:Felling goods | 1233 |
| ditto other firms | 1 |
| To salaries and wages | 96 |
| To carriage | 34 |
| To postage | 10 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 14 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To audit fee | 13 |

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 1256 |
| Less | |
| Provision for bad debts | 100 |
| ditto discounts | 40 |
| ditto goods on sale | 5 |
| | ----- |
| | 145 |
| | ----- |
| | 1111 |
| Office furniture | 24 |
| Stock on hand | 1662 |
| Cash in hand | 23 |
| | ----- |
| | 2820 |
| | |
| By sales: credit | 1567 |
| ditto cash | 179 |
| | ----- |
| | 1746 |
| Less discount | 64 |
| | ----- |
| | 1682 |
| By stock on hand at date | 1662 |
| | ----- |

To commission
To insurance
To balance being profit

7

4

106

3344

3344

Balance sheet London Office 31 December 1915

Liabilities

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 9 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 73 |
| Head Office | 2842 |
| | ----- |
| | 2924 |
| Less loss this half year | 88 |
| | ----- |

2836

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Trading a/c | |
| To stock at 1 July 1915 | 1662 |
| To purchases: Felling goods | 1321 |
| ditto other firms | 8 |
| To salaries and wages | 107 |
| To carriage | 29 |
| To postage | 10 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 10 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To audit fee | 13 |
| To insurance | 1 |
| | ----- |
| | 3251 |

Assets

Debtors as per ledger a/c 1274

Less

Provision for bad debts 100

ditto discounts 40

ditto goods on sale 5

145

1129

Office furniture 24

Stock on hand 1672

Cash in hand 11

2836

By sales: credit 1360

ditto cash 180

1540

Less discount 50

1490

By stock in hand at date 1672

By balance being loss 88

3250

Balance sheet London Office 30 June 1916

Liabilities

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 15 |
| Provn for outstanding liabs | 60 |
| Head Office | 2329 |
| Profit this half year | 12 |

2416

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Trading a/c | |
| To stock at 1 Jan 1916 | 1672 |
| To purchases: Felling goods | 1127 |
| To salaries and wages | 126 |
| To carriage | 30 |
| To postage | 12 |
| To travelling exes | 1 |
| To warehouse & office exes | 18 |
| To rent | 90 |
| To audit fee | 20 |

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Debtors as per ledger a/cs | 928 |
| Less | |
| Provision for bad debts | 100 |
| ditto discounts | 40 |
| ditto goods on sale | 5 |
| | ----- |
| | 145 |
| | ----- |
| | 783 |
| Office furniture | 24 |
| Stock on hand | 1606 |
| Cash in hand | 4 |
| | ----- |
| | 2417 |
| | |
| By sales: credit | 1433 |
| ditto cash | 170 |
| | ----- |
| | 1603 |
| Less discount | 43 |
| | ----- |
| | 1560 |
| By stock on hand at date | 1606 |
| | ----- |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| To insurance | 4 |
| To bad debts | 53 |
| To balance being profit | 12 |
| | ----- |
| | 3165 |

3166

Balance sheet at 30 June 1916

Liabilities

Nominal capital £70000

Issued capital 66607

Debts by the Co: Felling 1233

ditto London 15

Provn for outstanding liabs

Felling 129

ditto London 60

Reserve a/c 2443

70487

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| Assets | |
| Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Fixed plant | 6899 |
| Loose tools | 207 |
| Stereos | 2643 |
| Litho stones and art work | 1095 |
| Type | 280 |
| Book stamps | 366 |
| Copyrights | 814 |
| Debts to the Co: Felling | 5212 |
| ditto London | 783 |
| Fixtures and fittings London | 24 |
| Stocks and raw materials | |
| Felling | 31142 |
| ditto London | 1606 |
| Investments: W. Scott Ltd | 393 |
| ditto Treasury Bills | 3905 |
| Bank balance | 1211 |
| Cash at Felling | 100 |
| Cash in London | 4 |
| Bills receivable | 447 |
| Loss this half year | 587 |
| Balance brought from 31/12/15 | 3272 |
| | ----- |
| | 70490 |

Losses for three years to 30 June 1916

| | | Loss includes depreciation | | Loss on trading |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| 31 December 1913 | 336 | | | |
| 30 June 1914 | 412 | 748 written off | 742 | 7 |
| | ----- | | | |
| 31 Dec 1914 | 657 | | | |
| 30 June 1915 | 903 1554[sic] | | 708 | 846 |
| | ----- | | | |
| 31 Dec 1915 | 1068 | | | |
| 30 June 1916 | 587 | 1655 | 619 | 1036 |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | | 3957 | 2069 | 1889 |
| Less Cr at 30 June 1913 | | 99 | | |
| | ----- | ----- | | |
| | | 3858 | | |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Profit and Loss a/c | |
| To depreciation | |
| Stereos 10% | 160 |
| Loose tools 10% | 11 |
| Type 12.5% | 18 |
| Book stamps 12.5% | 24 |
| Litho and art work 7.5% | 43 |
| Copyrights 10% | 41 |
| To bad debts | 33 |
| Loss on letterpress 6 months | 38 |
| Loss on binding 6 months | 234 |
| Loss on publishing 6 months | 502 |
| Loss on High Bridge branch | 46 |
| | ----- |
| | 1150 |
| Less London profit | 12 |
| Interest on investments | 83 |
| | ----- |
| | 95 |
| | ----- |
| | 1055 |

By profit on depts

| | |
|---------------------------|------------|
| Stationery | 423 |
| Compo and stereo | 30 |
| Litho | 15 |
| Balance being loss | 587 |

1055

Statement of profits for three years ending 6 Dec 1917, 1918 and 1919

| | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | Total |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| By profits on trading | 764 | 2736 | 1111 | 4611 |
| Less repairs and renewals | 372 | 223 | 314 | 909 |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | 392 | 2513 | 797 | 3702 |
| Depreciation on new plant | | 142 | 93 | 235 |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | 392 | 2371 | 704 | 3467 |
| Add interest on investments | 216 | 142 | 151 | 509 |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | 608 | 2513 | 855 | 3976 |

Balance sheet of WS Publishing (in liquidation) at 7 December 1917

| Liabilities | | Assets | |
|---------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| Nominal capital £70000 | | Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Issued capital | 66607 | Plant and machinery | 6888 |
| Debts by the Co | 593 | Loose tools | 207 |
| Bank overdraft | 233 | Stereos | 2660 |
| Profit this year | 608 | Litho stones and art work | 1092 |
| | ----- | Type | 285 |
| | | Book stamps | 374 |
| | | Copyrights | 839 |
| | | Debts to the Co | 6401 |
| | | Stocks and raw materials | 32316 |
| | | Office furniture | 24 |
| | | Investments: W Scott Ltd | 393 |
| | | ditto War Loan | 4000 |
| | | Cash and bills | 281 |
| | | Deficiency a/c | 2781 |
| | | | ----- |
| | 68041 | | 68041 |
| Trading a/c | | By profit on depts | |
| To renewal of loose tools | 38 | Stationery | 815 |
| To repairs | 334 | Publishing | 773 |
| To balance being profit | 393 | Letterpress | 22 |
| | ----- | London Office | 111 |
| | | | ----- |
| | | | 1721 |
| | | Less losses on depts | |
| | | Compo and stereo | 7 |
| | | Litho | 22 |

765

General profit and loss a/c

To balance being profit

608

| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| Bookbinding | 872 |
| High Bridge | 56 |
| | ----- |
| | 957 |
| | ----- |
| | 764 |

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| By balance from trading a/c | 393 |
| By interest on investments | |
| Walter Scott Ltd debbtures | 15 |
| War Loan | 165 |
| On deposit | 35 |
| | ----- |
| | 608 |

Balance sheet WS Pub Co (in liquidation) London Office 6 December 1918

| Liabilities | | Assets | |
|-----------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| Creditors on open a/cs | 14 | Debtors as per ledger a/c | 1035 |
| Head Office | 1851 | Less | |
| Profit this year | 278 | Provision for bad debts | 100 |
| | ----- | ditto discount | 30 |
| | | ditto goods on sale | 5 |
| | | | ----- |
| | | | 135 |
| | | | ----- |
| | | | 900 |
| | | Office furniture | 24 |
| | | Stock on hand | 1196 |
| | | Cash in hand | 17 |
| | | Difference in a/cs | 5 |
| | | | ----- |
| | 2143 | | 2142 |
| Profit and loss a/c | | | |
| To stock at 7 Dec 1917 | 1407 | By sales: credit | 2930 |
| To purchases: Felling goods | 2251 | ditto cash | 508 |
| ditto other firms | 1 | By stock on hand at date | 1196 |
| To salaries and wages | 302 | | ----- |
| To carriage | 40 | | |
| To postage | 20 | | |
| To warehouse & office exes | 83 | | |
| To rent | 180 | | |
| To discount | 62 | | |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| To insurance | 9 |
| To balance being profit | 278 |
| | ----- |
| | 4633 |

Statement of Debtors and Creditors at 6 Dec 1918

Debtors

| | |
|--------------------|-------|
| As per ledger a/cs | 1030 |
| Day Bros | 26 |
| | ----- |
| | 1056 |

Less creditors

| | |
|---------------------|-------|
| Day Bros | 5 |
| J.H. Dyer | |
| Charing Cross | |
| Free Trade Wharf | 15 |
| Gas, Light and Coke | |
| | ----- |
| | 20 |
| | ----- |
| | 1036 |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Creditors as per ledger a/c | 17 |
| Free Trade Wharf | 3 |
| | ----- |
| | 20 |

Less J.H. Dyer

| | |
|----------|-------|
| Day Bros | 5 |
| | ----- |
| | 15 |

4634

Balance sheet WS Pub Co (in liquidation) 6 December 1919

| Liabilities | | Assets | |
|----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|
| Nominal capital £70000 | | Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Issued capital | 66607 | Plant and machinery | 6612 |
| Debts by the Co: Felling | 515 | New plant and machinery | 843 |
| Balance at 6 Dec 1918 | 2921 | Loose tools | 226 |
| Profit this year | 855 | Stereos | 2936 |
| | ----- | Litho stones and art work | 1090 |
| | 70898 | Type | 248 |
| Less remuneration for liquidator | 300 | Book stamps | 384 |
| | ----- | Motor van | 191 |
| | | Copyrights | 839 |
| | | Debts to the Co: Felling | 6134 |
| | | ditto London | 970 |
| | | Stock and raw materials | |
| | | Felling | 31225 |
| | | ditto London | 2100 |
| | | Office furniture: London | 24 |
| | | Investments | |
| | | W Scott Ltd | 393 |
| | | War Loan | 132 |
| | | War Loan with Brd of Trade | 2000 |
| | | Cash in bank | 667 |
| | | Deposit a/c | 49 |
| | | Cash at Felling | 57 |
| | | Cash in London | 31 |
| | | Felling bills on hand | 893 |
| | | Deficiency a/c 6 Dec 1918 | 2958 |
| | | Bad debts before liquidn | 95 |
| | | | ----- |
| | 70598 | | 70597 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Trading a/c | |
| To balance being profit | 1111 |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| Profit and loss a/c | |
| To repairs | 314 |
| To depreciation new plant | 93 |
| To balance being profit | 855 |
| | ----- |
| | 1262 |

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| By profit on depts | |
| Publishing | 1596 |
| London Office | 116 |
| Stationery | 257 |
| Compo and stereo | 95 |
| Letterpress | 322 |
| | ----- |
| | 2386 |
| Less losses on depts | |
| Bookbinding | 1136 |
| Litho | 141 |
| | ----- |
| | 1277 |
| | ----- |
| | 1109 |
| By balance from trading a/c | 1111 |
| By War Loan interest | 110 |
| By W Scott Ltd interest | 14 |
| By bank interest | 27 |
| | ----- |
| | 1262 |

Balance sheet WS Pub Co (in liquidation) 6 Dec 1920

Liabilities

Nominal capital £70000

Issued capital 66607

Debts due by the Co 2115

Lloyds Bank Ltd 433

Balance at 6 Dec 1919 3477

Profit for year 3571

76203

Less liquidator's fee 300

75903

Trading a/c

To bad debts 25

To balance to Profit/loss ac 3603

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Assets | |
| Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Fixed plant and machinery | 7519 |
| Loose tools | 245 |
| Stereos | 3144 |
| Litho stones | 1090 |
| Type | 249 |
| Book stamps | 398 |
| Motor car | 250 |
| Copyrights | 839 |
| Debts due to the Co | 7349 |
| Stocks and raw materials | 37427 |
| Office furniture: London | 46 |
| Investments: W Scott Ltd | 393 |
| War Loan Bd of Trade | 2132 |
| Cash in hand | 1 |
| Petty cash | 7 |
| Cash in London | 31 |
| Bills receivable | 1928 |
| Deficiency a/c | 3053 |
| School Lib a/cs written off | 300 |
| | ----- |
| | 75901 |

| | |
|---------------------------|------|
| By profit on depts | |
| Publishing | 1075 |
| Stationery | 960 |
| Compo and stereo | 189 |
| Letterpress | 582 |

3628

Profit and Loss a/c

To depreciation

101

To balance being profit

3571

3672

| | |
|----------------------|-------------|
| Bookbinding | 554 |
| Litho | 27 |
| London Office | 241 |
| | ----- |
| | 3628 |

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| By balance from Trading a/c | 3603 |
| By War Loan interest | 55 |
| By W Scott Ltd | 14 |
| | ----- |
| | 3672 |

Balance sheet WS Pub Co (in liquidation) for 12 months ending 6 Dec 1921

| Liabilities | | Assets | |
|--------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| Nominal capital £70000 | | Land and buildings | 9500 |
| Issued capital | 66607 | Fixed plant and machinery | 6398 |
| Debts by the Co: Felling | 1059 | ditto new | 1297 |
| Difference in a/cs | 5 | Loose tools | 243 |
| Lloyds Bank Ltd | 126 | Stereos | 3260 |
| Profit and loss a/c | 6748 | Litho stones | 1090 |
| | ----- | Type | 139 |
| | 74545 | Book stamps | 409 |
| Less liquidator's fee | 300 | Motor car | 250 |
| Loss this year | 2526 | Copyrights | 839 |
| Corporation Profits tax | 100 | Debts due to Co: Felling | |
| | ----- | less provision £300 | 5813 |
| | 2926 | ditto London | 809 |
| | ----- | Stock: Felling | 32438 |
| | | London | 3012 |
| | | Office furniture London | 46 |
| | | Investments: W Scott Ltd | 393 |
| | | Lloyds Bank deposit | 49 |
| | | Cash in hand | 106 |
| | | Petty cash | 3 |
| | | Cash in London | 14 |
| | | Bills receivable | 587 |
| | | Deficiency a/c | 4921 |
| | | | ----- |
| | 71619 | | 71616 |

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Trading a/c | |
| To loss on depts | |
| Stationery | 772 |
| Letterpress | 21 |
| Bookbinding | 1388 |
| Litho | 199 |
| | ----- |
| | 2380 |

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| To balance brought down | 2192 |
| Loss on London Agency 1 yr | 135 |
| To riot insurance | 101 |
| To income tax Schedule A | 112 |
| | ----- |
| | 2540 |



| | |
|------------------------------|-------|
| By profit on depts | |
| Compo and stereo | 106 |
| Publishing | 82 |
| To balance being loss 1 year | 2192 |
| | ----- |
| | 2380 |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| By interest W Scott Ltd | 14 |
| By balance being loss | 2526 |
| | ----- |
| | 2540 |