



21% were school books, whereas 38% of the English items sold were in this category.<sup>7</sup>

In 1816, Neilson was contacted by the inveterate promoter of schools, the Scot John Strachan, who asked him to print a range of school books for sale and distribution in Upper Canada, presumably because Neilson's printing business was considerably larger than that available locally to Strachan in York. He asked Neilson to print them 'as low at least as they can be imported'<sup>8</sup> but it seems that Neilson could not or would not meet the requirements.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Neilson did show a keen interest in the development of schools, and his own printing and bookselling included a large percentage of school books.<sup>10</sup> In addition, he donated books as well as money to several schoolmasters who were primarily French-Canadian teachers, and Catholic, not Scots Presbyterians.<sup>11</sup> While Canadian publishing of school books was certainly carried out, these were mainly of the most elementary readers and spelling books, especially prior to 1800. Overall therefore, the vast majority of school books were imported throughout the seventy year period, as the 'small scattered schools' of the English-speaking Protestants did not provide a sufficient market base for sustained local production.<sup>12</sup>

Although schools were not mandated by the various colonial governments until towards or after 1820, the close of the study period, they were certainly present in all of the towns under review and the need for suitable books was apparent as text-based learning was the educational norm imported with the colonists. Until education was 'centralized and institutionalized by the organization of departments of education [and] state-run schools' there was great latitude in the variety of school books which teachers and pupils could use.<sup>13</sup>

This latitude was reflected in the array of titles which were imported by booksellers and merchants (see Appendix A). The early schools varied from tiny establishments catering for a few day pupils to the early equivalent of business academies which offered appropriate topics in evening classes for the merchant community and for young men keen to learn the art of celestial navigation.<sup>14</sup> Commercial and technical books were sometimes classified under the rubric of School Books, but were more often listed separately by title. They included such items as *Ship-master's assistant*, Sutherland's book on shipbuilding and numerous ready reckoners and works on commerce such as Perry's *Man of business*.<sup>15</sup>

A few technical teachers' advertisements are rich resources for studying textbook availability. For example, Figure 2 indicates that the 'English Academy' run by Mr R. Milbourn in Quebec covered an array of subjects from English, Arithmetic, Geometry, Mensuration, Surveying, Natural Philosophy and Mechanics, to Architecture and Navigation. Moreover, Milbourn's advertisement in the spring of 1820 lists the authors (principally British) whose works are to be used for each subject and adds 'Young Gentlemen may be favoured with any of the above-mentioned Authors...at the time of Teaching, until they can procure their own'.<sup>16</sup>

1996) Tableau 80 'Ville de Québec, librairie Neilson, vente de livres (1792-1812)'. The source for this table is Jean-Pierre Wallot, 'Frontières ou fragment du système atlantique: des idées étrangères dans l'identité bas-canadienne au début du XXe siècle', *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* (1983) pp.12-13.

7 John Hare and Jean-Pierre Wallot, 'Le livre au Québec et la librairie Neilson au tournant du XIXe siècle', in: Claude Galarneau and Maurice Lemire, eds., *Livre et lecture au Québec, 1800-1850* (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1988) p. 99. Hare and Wallot analysed a compilation of local imprints and imports.

8 National Archives of Canada. MG 24, B 1, volume 3. John Strachan to Neilson, 16 April 1816.

9 John Strachan to James Strachan, 4 February, 1817; George W. Spragge, ed., *The John Strachan Letter Book: 1812-1834* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1946) pp. 127-128.

10 Sonia Chasse, Rita Girard-Wallot and Jean-Pierre Wallot, 'Neilson, John,' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VII, pp. 645-646.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 646. For example the teachers named in this essay are all French: Louis Labadie, Louis Vincent and Antoine Côté. Neilson's wife was Roman Catholic, but he remained Protestant (having been raised a Presbyterian). His philanthropic work in relation to schools may have been a combination of astute business practice and a Scottish tendency to promote education in general.

12 *Ibid.*

13 George Parker, *The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 117. See also Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada,*

*1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 39, which refers to the 1846 Common School Act of Ontario and its effect on the standardization of school texts.

14 Notices of new schools, hours of operation, etc., were a regular feature in Canadian papers, beginning with Leigh and Wragg's advertisement in the *Halifax Gazette* 23 March, 1752, p. 4. It was rare for such notices to state which books were used by teacher and students; but see reference to Milbourn below (and note 15).

15 For examples: *The Ship-Master's Assistant* was shipped from Greenock and advertised by the Scottish merchant James Kidston in Halifax; *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser*, 17 April, 1798, p. 3. One year later the same merchant advertised Sutherland's work on shipbuilding; *Halifax Journal*, 2 May, 1799, p. 2. Morrison's, Mair's, Gordon's, Fenning's and Dilworth's Ready Reckoners and other book-keeping titles were common in most Canadian towns, and Perry's *Man of Business* was advertised, for example, by the printer and bookseller William Brown in Quebec in 1788; *Quebec Gazette*, 25 September, 1788, supplement p. 2.

16 *Quebec Mercury*, 9 May, 1820, p. 145.

**Distribution**

While the first Canadian advertisement for a specific book was a London subscription notice inserted by an army captain,<sup>17</sup> the first advertisement for *locally available* books was for 'School Books'. Two teachers, Leigh and Wragg, placed an advertisement in the first issue of the first Canadian newspaper, the *Halifax Gazette*, in 1752.<sup>18</sup> The book trade often used standard headings for groups of books in advertisements and 'School Books' occurs more frequently than other generic headings in the research database of early Canadian book advertisements.<sup>19</sup>

A wide array of occupational groups were involved in the distribution of school books in Canadian towns and rural areas. General merchants and merchants

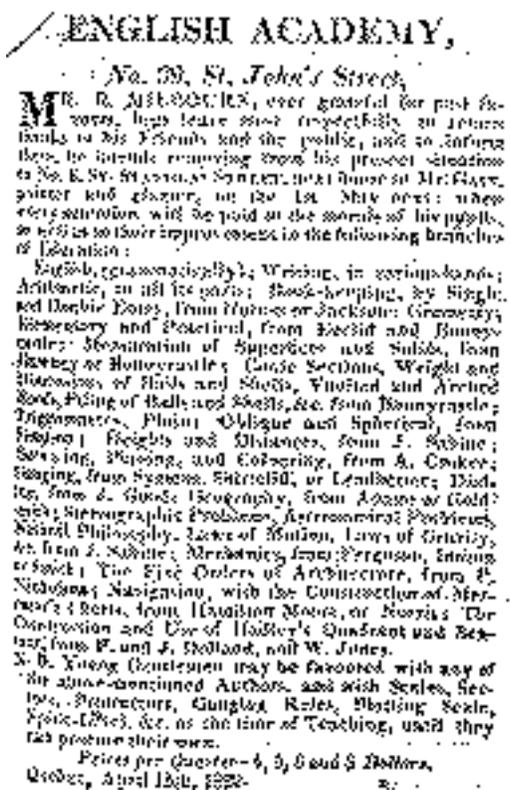


Figure 2. Advertisement from *Quebec Mercury* 9 May, 1820, P.145

trading mainly in single commodities such as tobacco or lumber or sugar, had already established networks within the north Atlantic and Scots interconnections, in particular, have been noted in such networks.<sup>20</sup>

17 *Halifax Gazette*, 27 June, 1752. The work in question was Richard Rolt's *Memoirs of...John, Earl of Crauford, first Earl of Scotland*.  
 18 *Halifax Gazette*, 23 March, 1752, p. 4.  
 19 The database was custom-designed for my dissertation research. The database includes bibliographic, business, geographic and trade-related information in each record.  
 20 See especially David S. Macmillan, 'The 'New Men' in Action: Scottish Mercantile and Shipping Operations in the North American Colonies, 1760-1825', in: David S. Macmillan, ed., *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pp. 44-103.

Sometimes Scottish booksellers would supply these merchants with small book stocks of primarily standard religious works, history books, school books and magazines. This pattern can be seen in book shipments sent via the tobacco trade to Maryland and Virginia.<sup>21</sup> In these cases it is possible that the impetus for this trade came from the merchants rather than the bookseller. The merchant saw a relatively obvious business opportunity and the Scottish bookseller had the advantage of dealing with a local merchant/agent. This relatively risk-free system is how at least some of the general merchants in Halifax, described below, acquired their book stock. There is no evidence that they were ordering directly from publishers; rather it is likely that they bought from local suppliers, at the retail or wholesale level, in the ports of export where they had agents.<sup>22</sup>

The various businesses which provided books in Canada at the retail level could have relied on a single source of supply, but seem more often to have received materials from a variety of sources. Their supplies were received via various transaction methods and geographic locations, some within and some outwith the trade itself. An example is an advertisement, inserted in the *Montreal Gazette* by the publisher James Brown, in which he offers a list of school books imported from London and Liverpool, along with a consignment of new travel books, law books and novels from New York.<sup>23</sup> Sellers of books, whether specialists or general merchants, gained their book stocks from an array of sources, sometimes several in one year.

While the majority of merchants noted in the larger study can be classified as general merchants, there were specialists, ranging from ironmongers to hat merchants, who would advertise school books. For example, in 1808 Northrop and DeWitt at the Montreal Hat Warehouse inserted an advertisement for Webster's spelling books 'by the dozen or single'.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to merchants there were also examples of teachers with Scottish connections ordering school books from Scotland. One was John Strachan who, in arranging book supplies for the provincial schools he had worked tirelessly to promote, contacted his brother James. James Strachan was a bookseller and

21 Warren McDougall, 'Scottish Books for America in the Mid 18th Century,' in: Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1850* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), pp. 25-27.  
 22 MacDonald's study of James Dawson of Pictou Nova Scotia, from 1827 to the 1850s, delineates direct links between a Maritime bookseller and a Scottish printer/publisher; Bertrum H. MacDonald, 'Scottish Imprints in the Diaspora: The Case of James Dawson & Son, Pictou, Nova Scotia', Paper presented to the 5th Annual Conference of the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing, Edinburgh, July, 1995.  
 23 *Montreal Gazette*, 10 December, 1810, p. 3. Other examples from Brown's business include a small consignment of historical biographies from New York in August 1807 and, later that year, a shipment of Bibles and school books from London and Glasgow; *The Canadian Gazette*, 10 August, 1807, p. 4 and 12 November, 1807.  
 24 *Montreal Gazette*, 26 September, 1808, p. 3.

bookbinder on School Hill in Aberdeen (in business from 1804 to 1830).<sup>25</sup> John wrote to him from York, Upper Canada early in 1817, requesting six parcels of specific titles to be made up for schools in York, Kingston, Cornwall, Long Point and Sandwich.<sup>26</sup> Copies of six titles were requested for the students and five for the teachers, and a total of over £400 was spent. John Strachan's insistence on the provision of school books from his native country was not only due to a family connection and should be viewed in light of his clear wish to avoid use of American works with their abhorrent political biases. This latter objection would relate more to histories and geographies than to school books dealing with subjects such as arithmetic. The research database can be searched by subject and by exporting country; however, most of the shipments of school books from American towns were advertised in Canada simply as "school books" and so we cannot at present determine their subjects. Canadian book trade business records are a desideratum for this period, but very few are extant (due in part to numerous and repeated fires in the business districts of the wooden-built colonial towns).

## Prices

In the eighteenth century there were no legislated regulations regarding retail book prices.<sup>27</sup> For some parts of Britain, however, there is evidence from the end of the century that wholesale booksellers and stationers could and did cooperate to set prices for the benefit of all, particularly with regard to Bibles and school books.<sup>28</sup> In Canada, there were no such collaborative pricing endeavours and surviving evidence of retail prices is scant.

The provision of school books by a variety of retailers in each of the Canadian towns meant that, for this particular category of book, purchasers had options regarding where they could buy. Due to this competition in the market place, low prices were sometimes a feature of the advertisements. One example is from Robert Fletcher, a merchant printer-bookseller in Halifax, who imported and sold at the 'London price' German sermons, catechisms, school books, and books of instruction for German flutes and violins. This is a significant offer to his customers, as he was thus covering the cost of shipping and insurance himself — costs which were usually, in the

colonial market, passed on to the customer.<sup>29</sup> A later example is the advertisement placed by Thomas Cary Junior and Company in the *Quebec mercury* in October 1820. Cary stated that in addition to their 'usual supply of school books' they had 'lately received the following which they can afford at very low prices...'. The list included five titles and is relatively unusual, from the newspapers surveyed, because Cary included not just the puff about low prices, but the prices themselves which ranged from 1s 3d to 1s 8d.<sup>30</sup> These prices cannot be taken to equate with those in contemporary Britain as the values differed in different colonial towns — 'Quebec currency,' for example, did not equate with 'Halifax currency' and both fluctuated according to the strength or otherwise of sterling in Britain.

In addition, although not part of the trade networks, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) shipped various school books in single parts, which were sold for just a few pennies in the colonies.<sup>31</sup> From my research to date with newspaper advertisements, the usual trade arrangements for school books do not seem to have emphasized books in parts.

## Books as stationery

The category of school books was (aside from Bibles and other religious works) the most common category of printed material imported to Canada. Of all of the books shipped from the Clyde for example, school books are the most frequently exported (other than Bibles) and they form a category of particular interest for studies of the early trade to Canada because of their potential Customs classification as stationery

Of importance for historians of the early colonial book trade is that the surviving records were shaped by the nature of the traders, their cargoes, and the business or legislative imperative which dictated that the records be created. A general merchant purchasing dictionaries, school books, ready reckoners and Bibles from British suppliers, was indisputably purchasing 'books.' However, merchants advertised all such items under the rubric of 'stationery' and this is a key point. They not only advertised as sellers of stationery (amongst many other items), they ordered their books from wholesale stationers. The goods were, this author believes, entered in the Customs accounts under the general heading of stationery, which often did not list individual items.<sup>32</sup> Thus, many of the regular shipments of books are possibly not discoverable via the Customs accounts, as the books

25 James Strachan is listed in the Scottish Book Trade Index (SBTI) as being in business on School Hill in Aberdeen from 1804 to 1830. The SBTI is available online at [www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/index.html](http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/index.html)

26 John Strachan to James Strachan, 4 February, 1817; Spragge, ed., *The John Strachan Letter Book*, pp. 127-128.

27 John Feather, 'The English Book Trade and the Law, 1695-1799', *Publishing History* 12 (1982), p. 57.

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

29 *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle*, 7 May, 1771, p. 3.

30 *Quebec Mercury*, 13 October, 1820, supplement p. 6.

31 See for example the advertisement inserted by Jedediah Slason, the treasurer of the local branch of the SPCK in the *New Brunswick Royal Gazette* 16 November, 1819, p. 3.

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

are never referred to as such. This pattern appears to be a factor that has been largely overlooked to date in investigations of book exports via the records of the official Customs collectors.<sup>33</sup> Rediker has stated that it would be 'conservative to estimate that the trade of the empire exceeded Customs accounts by 15 to 20 percent'.<sup>34</sup> He was referring to smuggling and to trade in general; for the book trade, any underestimation is more likely due to books being shipped as stationery.

Feather has explained the common suppliers for English provincial booksellers: they bought their books largely from London and their paper, often, locally.<sup>35</sup> For colonial retailers, there were initially no local suppliers of paper and therefore both books and paper (and other stationery) had to be imported. Wholesaling stationers in London supplied books as well as stationery since some book genres fell under the category of stationery. Certain categories, such as

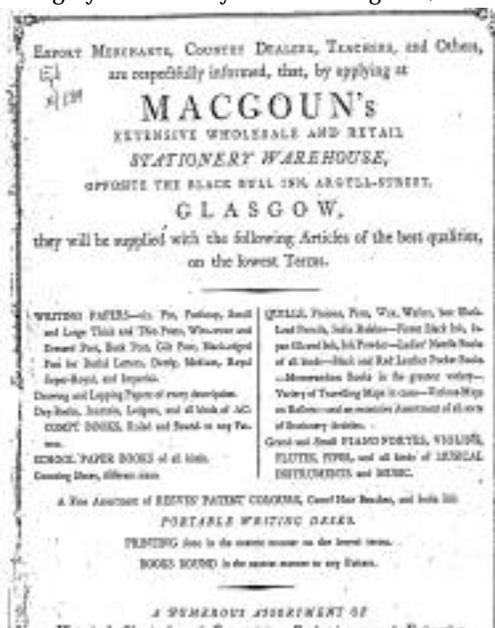


Figure 3. Advertising broadside for MacGoun's Stationery Warehouse 1797 - 1800

Bibles and dictionaries, were especially likely to have been shipped as stationery. Evidence for this is drawn both from contemporary newspapers and from listings printed for wholesale and retail stationers such as John

Young of Inverness.<sup>36</sup> In addition, wholesale stationers such as MacGoun's of Glasgow, included books, along with paper and business ledgers, in their advertisements. Of particular note is that MacGoun's deliberately targeted export merchants (see Figure 3).<sup>37</sup> As a further method of investigation, comparisons have been made between Customs records of book exports from the Clyde and advertised imports of school books from Scotland to Maritime towns in Canada. Several of these advertised shipments have no entry in the Customs accounts (see a selection of these in Appendix B). School texts appear to have been more prone to shipping without being recorded as 'books' than other categories of printed books.

### The American quotient

Contemporary complaints that American school books flooded the Canadian market with unsuitably republican notions<sup>38</sup> can be investigated for the seventy year period to see if, by comparison, British school books were necessarily in short supply. The glowing accounts of all things American, the non-sectarian nature of American schools and the practical orientation of their teaching and texts caused offence in Canada.<sup>39</sup> Parker states that

After the War of 1812 the circulation of itinerant American schoolmasters and their textbooks (especially histories and geographies) created conflicts as serious as those among the churches over education...American [school books]...were cheaper and easier to obtain than British schoolbooks.<sup>40</sup>

Of the 205 instances in the database of titles classified as 'school books' with a known port of export, 62.44% were shipped from London, 27.32% from the Clyde, and 10.24% from American towns. These figures indicate an apparent preponderance of British shipments. However, it is instructive to remember

33 It is 'evident that much work yet remains to be done...to establish the exact basis of these statistics.' Giles Barber, 'Book Imports and Exports in the Eighteenth Century,' in: Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Sale and Distribution of Books from 1700* (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1982), p. 99. Barber's wise caution has been echoed by other scholars and Warren McDougall is also investigating the 'books shipped as stationery' angle through his work on Charles Elliott.

34 Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 73, note 144.

35 Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade*, p. 83.

36 National Library of Scotland. Acc. 5000/1390. Oliver & Boyd Collection. 'Leabhraichin Gaelic' (Inverness: Printed by J. Young, [1812?]).

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

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

39 Parker, *The Beginnings of the Book Trade*, p. 24. Parker cites the articles of the pseudonymous 'Palemon' printed in the *Montreal Herald* and reprinted in the *Kingston Gazette* in 1815 in which the author stated that American books 'teach us to hate the government that we ought, and are bound, to support...' *Montreal Herald*, 22 July, 1815.

40 Parker, *The Beginnings of the Book Trade*, p. 24.

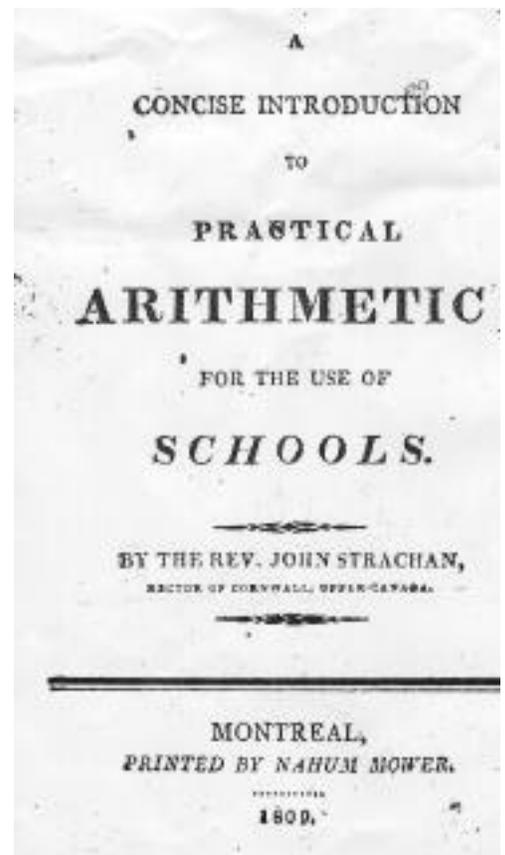
that the size of each shipment is unknown, and it is not inconceivable that the average size of shipments (by quantity of each title) from American suppliers may have compensated for the apparently smaller number of shipments overall. British texts, from both Scotland and England, were apparently well represented in the Maritimes and also in the Canadas (Upper and Lower Canada, later Ontario and Quebec). However, from the 1790s onward, regular American book shipments were sent to the towns in Upper and Lower Canada which are currently under-represented in the research database compared to the towns of the Maritimes. Therefore, further intensive data collection from newspapers for the Canadas may reveal changing patterns in those colonies concerning American texts shipped there via the Great Lakes, smuggled or otherwise. The use of 'foreign books' was not banned in Upper Canadian schools until the School Act of 1846, by which time Canadian production of appropriate texts had been deliberately fostered.

Also, American-published school books were by no means always American authored and there were relatively few texts in this early period that had only an American imprint. Foreign texts which had no particular political bent and were therefore potential sellers in America, were re-printed by American printers. After 1790, the year in which the first United States copyright law was passed, these items could no longer be legally considered piracies, as this statute offered no protection to foreign works. Reprinting such works was an economically essential part of American publishing and it included school books.<sup>41</sup> For this reason, bare statistics taken from the research database regarding port of export should be qualified. Some titles were imported to Canada from both Britain and America. Apart from Lindley Murray's works, Goldsmith's *History of England*, Dilworth's *Spelling book*, a variety of Ready Reckoners, Entick's *Dictionary* and Johnson's *Dictionary* were items classified as 'School Books' which were imported from both places.<sup>42</sup>

Bibliographies of early Canadian printing may be compared with sources for the United States, and the evidence attests the earlier printing of a wider array of school books south of the border. Few titles classified as school books or textbooks were printed in Canada prior to 1820, and those which were tended to be reprints of English or French works. Examples are the *Abececaire* printed by Edmund Ward in Halifax in

1817 from the French edition and Walkingame's *Tutor's assistant* which Nahum Mower printed in Montreal in 1818, from the fifty-first London edition.<sup>43</sup> Mower also published editions of Perrin's *Elements of French conversation* and *A Grammar of the French tongue*, and Porny's *Syllabaire françois or a French spelling Book*.<sup>44</sup> One example of the few locally written Canadian texts is John Strachan's *Concise introduction to practical arithmetic* printed by Mower in Montreal in 1809 (see Figure 4), written when Strachan was proprietor of a successful private school in Upper Canada, before he became a politically astute Bishop.<sup>45</sup>

As further evidence of the American contrast with the Canadian reliance on imports, early in the nineteenth century the publishers in New York who produced texts for schools, formed the first trade



41 Rosalind Remer, *Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia Book Publishers in the New Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p. 53.

42 For example, Dilworth's *Spelling book* was imported from Glasgow by James Kidston in Halifax; from New York by Quetton St. George; from London by John Neilson in Quebec; and from Liverpool by Stephen Humbert. See *Halifax Journal*, 7 January, 1796, p. 1; *Upper Canada Gazette*, 19 May, 1804, p. 4; John Neilson, *Catalogue of Books Imported from London and for Sale at J. Neilson's Shop, No. 3, Mountain Street, Quebec* (Quebec: John Neilson, 1811); and *Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser*, 8 June, 1815, p. 3.

43 The title page of *The Tutor's Assistant* is reproduced in Wilson, 'Common School Texts,' p. 41. For the Maritimes, it is listed as a single item under 'Textbook' in the index to Patricia Lockhart Fleming, *Atlantic Canadian Imprints, 1801-1820: A Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) and this was the grammar, *Abececaire*, printed for a French teacher in Halifax, B. Perro; see entry NS138.

44 Mower's school book imprints are included in Milada Vlach and Yolande Buono, *Catalogue collectif des impressions québécoises* (Québec: Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1984) indexed on p. 147-148.

45 Strachan's work is described in John Hare and Jean-Pierre Wallot, *Les imprimés dans le bas-canada, 1801-1840: I. 1801-1810* (Montréal: Les presses de L'Université de Montréal, 1967), p. 204. See also Parker, *The Beginnings of the Book Trade*, p. 24.

combination concerning such production. The New York Association of Booksellers, a group of ten firms, stated that they had

associated themselves for the Purpose of giving correct American Editions of such elementary Works as are in general use in our Schools, Academies, and Colleges; and also for the publication of such other Books as may be interesting to the Community, or conducive to the advancement of general knowledge.<sup>46</sup>

There was no equivalent association early in the century in Canada. Nor was there an equivalent to the national trade bibliography *Catalogue of all the books printed in the United States with the prices and places where published annexed*, published by the booksellers in Boston in January 1804.<sup>47</sup> This early American trade listing shows clearly the range of school books which were, by 1804, available from American suppliers. One hundred and ten titles appear under the heading of 'School Books' itself, and many other titles used in schools appear in the 'Miscellanies' section. The 'School Books' constitute 8.2% of production by title, and considerably more of production by quantity.<sup>48</sup> By comparison, school books constitute 6.5% of the research database by title. However, the generic heading 'School Books,' that was often used in newspaper advertisements, possibly conceals a considerably greater range of titles.<sup>49</sup>

The popular works by Dilworth, Enfield, Fenning, Mair, Murray and Perry are all included in the Boston booksellers' catalogue, along with original American works such as spelling and grammar books by Webster. The presence of Webster's books in the research database is further evidence of the sources of supply to different Canadian regions. No works by Webster have been located in Maritime newspapers, but they are present in York and Kingston papers.<sup>50</sup>

46 Quoted in Adolph Growoll, *Book Trade Bibliography in the United States in the Nineteenth Century* ([New York]: s.n., 1898; reprinted New York: Burt Franklin, 1939), v. Following the New York venture, a similar though smaller association was established in Philadelphia. However, these associations were short-lived and it was not until 1855 that what would eventually be termed 'The Book Publishers' Association' was formed.

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

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

49 The database was searched using the subject heading 'School Books' or the Dewey Decimal classifications 420s, 440s, 470s, 480s (aspects of language such as grammar and spelling) and 513 (arithmetic). A total of 352 titles resulted from the file of 5,392 titles.

50 Examples include Tiffany's advertisement in the *Upper Canadian Gazette and American Oracle*, 2 November, 1796, p. 1, for 'Webster's 2nd part' (i.e., his *English Grammar*) and

Indeed, school books were amongst those items worth the risks associated with smuggling. In 1820 the Customs' Collector at Bath on the Great Lakes seized a shipment of 2,856 books. Of these, twenty-four dozen (288) were Webster's *Spelling book*, which were subsequently advertised by the auctioneer John Strange in Kingston for sale 'to the highest bidder.'<sup>51</sup> These spelling books were seized because school books were not yet separately classified in Customs tariffs; later in the century, titles 'used as text books in the curriculum of any...school in Canada' were classified as 'Free Goods' for import, if they were 'not printed or reprinted in Canada.'<sup>52</sup> The *Nineteenth century short-title catalogue* (NSTC), while limited regarding Canadian imprints,<sup>53</sup> indicates (not surprisingly) several American editions of Webster's *American spelling book* in the period immediately prior to the seizure, and it seems probable, from this evidence, that it was a Brattleborough, Vermont printing which was seized.<sup>54</sup> Newspaper evidence is scant for such seizures, and a desideratum for early Canadian book history is a systematic study of book smuggling, to complement studies focusing on the legitimate trade.<sup>55</sup>

### School book titles

Although generic advertisements predominate for school books, such as 'School Books' or 'Books of Arithmetic',<sup>56</sup> a compilation of specific titles has been gleaned from advertisements across the decades from all of the towns. Appendix A lists the items, as they appeared in the newspapers, which were classified as school books by the headers used in the advertisements. Dozens of further titles appropriate

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Palmer's advertisement in the *Kingston Gazette*, 8 September, 1818, p. 3, for 'Webster's Spelling Book.'

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

52 Canada. Customs Department, *Trade and Navigation. Unrevised Monthly Statements of Imports Entered for Consumption and Exports of the Dominion of Canada—November 1914* ([Ottawa: Customs Department], 1915), p. 345.

53 For discussion of some of the limitations of NSTC from a Canadian research perspective, see my review in *Epilogue* 11.1 (1996), pp. 50-54.

54 There were Brattleborough (U.S.) editions/printings in several years, including 1817, 1819 and 1820; NSTC 2W10929, 2W10930 and 2W10931 respectively.

55 While no systematic study of smuggling has been undertaken for any period of Canadian book history, a paper investigating the related issue of Canadian imports of British copyright material printed in the USA is May Lu MacDonald, 'The Montreal Non-Tea Party: Or, American Printings of British Copyright Material Imported into Canada East in 1849-1850'. *Epilogue* 10.1/2 (1995), pp. 1-24.

56 See, for example, the advertisement for 'Books of Piety and Arithmetic' imported from Dublin and sold by the merchant Patrick Handy in St. Roch; *Quebec Mercury*, 21 November, 1820, p. 376.

for school use, but not specifically appearing under that rubric, were advertised in one or more of the towns. The most frequently advertised books in the database include many of those listed in this Appendix.

The authors' names in this listing are those which would have been expected, as many of these authors' works were reprinted with regularity, sometimes with revisions, over many decades. The most frequently cited school book author overall is Thomas Dilworth (i.e., he is the author whose works appeared in the largest number of advertisements recorded in the database). Lindley Murray was the apparent 'best-

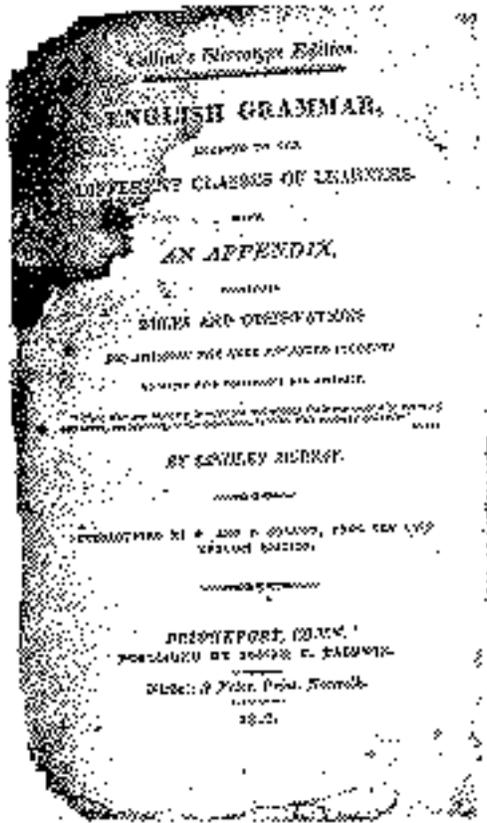


Figure 5. Murray's *English Grammar* 1820

seller'<sup>57</sup> in some regions, in terms of the variety of grammar and spelling books available (see Figure 5), and Morrison took the lead for arithmetic titles.

Recent research on the career of the Quaker grammarian Lindley Murray offers bibliographic details and information about the intellectual content

of his works.<sup>58</sup> His early works were printed in York (England) and Longman and Rees acquired the copyright to the *English grammar* in 1799.<sup>59</sup> The Longman firm, like William Strahan, 'developed the sale of English books across the Atlantic' and it is probable that Murray's works were sent to 'the English Plantations' from the Longman warehouse.<sup>60</sup> Eventually, Murray's works were also published in the United States<sup>61</sup> and a proportion of the advertised arrivals of his works in Canadian towns were possibly from American suppliers. Furthermore, by 1814, some of Murray's titles were being published in Quebec, a sure indication of local demand.<sup>62</sup> In addition to newspaper evidence, other records attest the ubiquity of Murray's works in Canada. For example, the personal papers of Thomas McCord in Montreal include accounts with the merchant Thomas Turner for Murray's *Grammar* in 1814 and with A. Bowman for the *Lecteur françois* in 1817.<sup>63</sup>

The Appendix contains fewer technical titles than might be expected as it refers principally to those books classified in contemporary advertisements as school books and some technical titles were not referred to in this way. Furthermore, there are titles that would have been used in Master/Apprentice relationships in a number of trades, including building (a particularly hectic activity in new towns) and these were certainly texts used for teaching purposes, although they were not advertised as 'school books.' Examples of these include Pain's *Practical builder* and Benjamin's *Country builder's assistant*.<sup>64</sup>

## Conclusion

The sum of the preliminary evidence presented here indicates that the Anglophone settlers and colonists in Canada had access to a fairly wide range of school book titles which may have been comparable, in breadth, to those available to their counterparts in Britain. While school books were sure sellers in all

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

58 Monaghan, *The Murrays of Murray Hill*, especially chapters 4, 7 and 9; and, Stephen Allott, *Lindley Murray, 1745-1826: Quaker Grammarian of New York and Old York* (York: Sessions Book Trust, 1991). These works illustrate the difficulties faced by scholars who wish to claim a particular nationality for their subjects.

59 Harold Cox and John E. Chandler, *The House of Longman with a Record of Their Bicentenary Celebrations, 1724-1924* (Longman: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), p. 15.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

61 Nine of Murray's titles appear in *Catalogue of All the Books Printed in the United States* (Boston: Printed for the Booksellers, 1804), p. 73-74. They were variously printed in Boston, Albany, New York and Charleston.

62 See, for example, Thomas Cary's publication notice for Murray's 'First Book' which he printed from the eighth edition; *Quebec Mercury*, 10 May, 1814, p. 152.

63 McCord Museum. McGill University. McCord Family Papers, File 254. Thomas McCord Bills and Receipts. The date of the Turner invoice is unclear, 1814 is probable but not definite. The *Grammar* cost 4s 6d and the *Lecteur françois* cost 7s 6d.

64 *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle*, 17 May, 1785, p. 3, advertised by Anthony Henry the printer; and, *Saint John Gazette and General Advertiser*, 14 June, 1799, p. 3, advertised by the printer Jacob Mott.

colonial regions, the Canadian development of school and textbook publishing lagged behind that for the United States due, in part, to the much larger population in the U.S. and therefore to the more assured market size. The large proportion of French-speaking Catholics in Quebec, compared to Anglophone Protestants elsewhere, certainly affected both the quantity of English titles imported and the frequency of those imports in Quebec.

While school books have been referred to in studies of Canada's earliest book trade, they have not hitherto been systematically searched throughout a range of contemporary newspapers and across a wide geographical area. Other than the Francophone/Anglophone differences, there were few discernable regional differences in this period and general merchants, printers and stationers all carried many of the same titles. While Canada had not yet developed a robust printing industry for any category of material other than administrative, legal and commercial items, school books were in plentiful evidence. This was due to the steady efforts of an array of occupational groups to serve the needs of teachers, parents and children in the new Canadian colonies. Throughout the following two centuries, America and Britain continued to influence English-language school book provision in Canada. For example, the British influence included shipments from the Edinburgh printers and publishers Oliver & Boyd to the Pictou Nova Scotia merchant, bookseller and newspaper publisher, James Dawson.<sup>65</sup> As a distinctively Canadian identity gradually emerged after Confederation in 1867, and as the economics of book publishing in Canada stabilised in the twentieth century (often through the intervention of government subsidies and grants) school texts, authored and published in Canada, began to appear. Nevertheless, the continued presence in Canadian schools today of American and British publications has its roots firmly in the early colonial period described in this paper. Further insights concerning Canadian textbooks will develop from specific research now underway for the exciting History of the Book in Canada project.<sup>66</sup>

65 MacDonald, 'Scottish Print Culture in the Diaspora: The Case of Nova Scotia in the Early Nineteenth Century.' The books were listed by Dawson in his newspaper *The Bee* in 1837/38. The archives of Oliver & Boyd are held in the National Library of Scotland.

66 This five-year project has been funded by a Major Collaborative Research Initiative by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The project Web site, with links to in-progress databases of textbooks, is at [www.hbic.library.utoronto.ca](http://www.hbic.library.utoronto.ca). The textbook research includes collaborative work from across Canada and is modelled in part on the Quebec research of Paul Aubin; see <http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/>

## Appendix A

### Titles categorised as 'School Books' in catalogues and newspaper advertisements in Canada, 1752-1820

*Note that this listing is of titles as they appeared in the advertisements; they thus accord with the colloquial title or, often, the spine title, but not necessarily with the precise wording on the title page.*

Ashe's Grammar.  
 Barrie's Child's Assistant.  
 Barrie's Collections.  
 Bellenger's Elements.  
 Bibles.  
 Bibles, Common no Psalms.  
 Bibles, Common with Psalms.  
 Bibles, Quarto, no Apocrypha, with Psalms.  
 Bibles, Quarto, with Apocrypha and Psalms.  
 Blair's Class Book, or 365 Lessons for the Year.  
 Boyer's Grammar.  
 Bradley's Questions to [Murray's Exercises?].  
 Brawn's Catechism.  
 British Primer.  
 Burn's Grammar.  
 Caesar.  
 Chambaud's Exercises.  
 Chambaud's French Grammar.  
 Chambaud's French Rudiments.  
 Chambaud's Tables.  
 Chambaud's Treasure and Vocabulary.  
 Children's Books.  
 Cicero.  
 Clarke's Corderii.  
 Cobbett's Maitre Anglois.  
 Common Prayer Books.  
 Corderius with Vocabulary and Translation.  
 Cordery Latin and English, no Vocabulary.  
 Dilworth Improved.  
 Dilworth's Arithmetic.  
 Dilworth's Assistant.  
 Dilworth's Schoolmaster's Assistant.  
 Dilworth's Spelling Books.  
 Du Fresnoy's Geography for Youth.  
 Dyche's Spelling Book.  
 Elements of General History.  
 Enfield's Speaker.  
 English Spelling Book.  
 Entick's Dictionary.  
 Entick's Spelling Dictionary.  
 Eton Latin Grammar.  
 Eutropius.  
 Fenning's Grammar.  
 Fenning's Spelling Books.  
 First Book for Children.  
 Fulton's Dictionary.  
 Fulton's Spellings.  
 Gay's Fables.  
 Geography for Children.  
 Goldsmith's Geography.  
 Goldsmith's History of England.

Goldsmith's History of Greece.  
 Goldsmith's History of Rome.  
 Grandmottet's Grammar.  
 Gray's Spellings.  
 Gros Spelling.  
 Hamel's Exercises.  
 Hamel's Grammar.  
 Hill's Greek Lexicon.  
 Hudson's Guide to French.  
 Infant Teacher.  
 Introduction to Lowth's Grammar.  
 Johnson's Dictionary.  
 Leech's Elements of Geography.  
 Lenoir's Spelling.  
 Levizac's French Grammar.  
 Levizac's Key.  
 London Primer.  
 Lowth's Grammar.  
 Mair's Book-keeping.  
 Mair's Introduction to Latin.  
 Mason's Collection.  
 Mason's Spellings.  
 Mavor's Nepos, or Lives of Illustrious Britons.  
 Mavor's Spellings.  
 Moore's Monitor.  
 Morrison's Arithmetic.  
 Morrison's Arithmetic, with an appendix on Artificer's  
     Measuring, 4th ed..  
 Morrison's Arithmetical Queries.  
 Morrison's Book-Keeping.  
 Morrison's Key to the Accomptant's Guide.  
 Murray's Abridgement of English Grammar.  
 Murray's Exercises.  
 Murray's First Book.  
 Murray's Grammar.  
 Murray's Introduction.  
 Murray's Introduction to Lecteur François.  
 Murray's Key.  
 Murray's Large Grammar.  
 Murray's Lecteur François.  
 Murray's Power.  
 Murray's Reader.  
 Murray's School Books.  
 Murray's Sequel.  
 Murray's Spellings.  
 Nepos.  
 Palairt's French Spelling.  
 Perrin's Elements.  
 Perrin's Elements of Conversation.  
 Perrin's Grammar.  
 Peyton's Elements of the English Grammar.  
 Phedrus.  
 Pocket Books.  
 Pocket Books, yellow leaves.  
 Porney's French Spelling-Book.  
 Porny's Syllabaire.  
 Port Royal Grammar.  
 Primers.  
 Reading Made Easy.  
 Ready Reckoner.  
 Restaut's Grammar.  
 Robinson's Spelling.  
 Ruddiman's Grammar.  
 Ruddiman's Rudiments.  
 Sallust, Latin.  
 The Scholar's Vade-Mecum, or a New Dictionary,  
     Latin and English.  
 School Books, English and American.  
 Scott's Beauties.  
 Scott's Collection.  
 Scott's Dictionary.  
 Scott's Elocution.  
 Scott's French Recuil.  
 Scott's French Rudiments.  
 Scott's Introduction to Reading and Spelling.  
 Scott's Lessons.  
 Scott's Spellings.  
 Sheehy's French Pronouncing Spelling Book.  
 Sheridan's Dictionary.  
 Siret's Elements.  
 Siret's Grammar.  
 Spelling Books.  
 Story's Grammar.  
 System of Arithmetic.  
 Table of French Verbs.  
 Testaments.  
 Testaments, no Psalms.  
 Testaments with Psalms.  
 Theory of French Verbs.  
 Turner's Geography.  
 Union Spelling.  
 Universal Spelling Book.  
 Virgil.  
 Virgil Delph..  
 Vyse's Arithmetic.  
 Vyse's Key.  
 Vyse's or New London Spelling.  
 Walkingame's Arithmetic.  
 Walkingham's Tutor's Assistant.  
 Watts's Complete Spelling Book.  
 Watts's Hymns.  
 Wonostrocht's Recueil.

## Appendix B

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

Port of Exit/ Ship	Merchant	Newspaper	Advertisement Date	Books
Glasgow/ Brig Mary	George Grant & John Howe Halifax	Halifax Journal	August 12, 1790, p.1	William Gordon's <i>New geographical grammar...</i>
Glasgow/ Scipio	James Kidston Halifax	Halifax Journal	January 7, 1796, p.1	Fenning's and Dilworth's Spelling Books
Glasgow/ Neptune	James Kidston Halifax	Halifax Journal	May 5, 1796, p.3	Bibles, Testaments, School Books
Glasgow/ Ann	James Hart Saint John	Saint John Gazette and Weekly Advertiser	September 2, 1796, p.3	Bibles, Testaments, School Books, Small Histories
Greenock/ Paragon	James Leaver Halifax	Nova Scotia Royal Gazette	April 28, 1807, p.1	Bibles School Books

Scottish Record Office. E.504. Customs Collectors Quarterly Accounts for Scottish Ports, Port Glasgow and Greenock