

⁶ Admittedly there seems to be no reason — apart from the extra labour involved — why a volume which had to be *printed* eight-up could not be imposed in half sheets for gathering in fours.

⁷ One example of such a reimposition (quite possibly to produce a single exemplar) is described in B.J. McMullin, 'Re-imposition with Unchanged Signatures: the Oxford *Bion and Moschus*, 1748', *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 3(1977-8), 115-117 and 'The Oxford *Bion and Moschus* 1748: Postscript', 5(1981), 16.

⁸ Though Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island* (1633) — discussed above — was a Cambridge book the particular signing of one gathering seems an unlikely precedent for the 1643 Minucius Felix.

FRANCIS HUTCHESON AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FOULIS PRESS: SOME OVERLOOKED EVIDENCE

THE PURPOSE OF THIS NOTE is to draw attention to some passages in the letters of Francis Hutcheson to his friend Thomas Drennan, a Presbyterian Minister living in Belfast.¹ Robert Foulis was a pupil of Hutcheson at Glasgow University² and the latter took a continuing interest in the young man's career, not least in the part he took in having him made printer to the University in 1743. Foulis subsequently published all Hutcheson's work as it appeared: doubtless after his unhappy experiences with the 1738 London edition of his *Inquiry* he was glad to have a reliable printer close to hand.³ There are two passages in the Drennan letters which refer to Robert Foulis and both, after some necessary amplification, disclose new evidence about his activities.

The first passage occurs in a letter dated 5 March 1738-9:

'A worthy lad in this town, one Robt. Foulis, out of a true publick spirit, undertook to reprint for the Populace, an old excellent Book, *A Persuasive to mutual Love & Charity* wrote by *White*, Oliver Cromwell's Chaplain, it is a divine old fashioned thing. Some are cast off in Better Paper sold at 9d in Marble Paper, the Course ones are sold at 5d in Blue Paper, and at 4d to Booksellers. I wish your Bookseller would commission a Parcel of both sorts. ... The *Persuasive* is in the old Edition an half-crown book.'⁴

As it happens at least one copy of this book appears to survive, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Vet A4 f.505(9)). It is anonymous; the imprint reads 'Printed in the year 1739', but the volume that contains it is largely devoted to acknowledged Foulis imprints, so that the identification though not certain has a good deal of probability. The half-crown edition to which Hutcheson refers is Jeremiah White's *A Persuasive to Moderation and Forbearance in Love amongst the Divided Forms of Christians* (London, 1708; second edition 1725). The 1739 edition omits the extensive preface but, with the exception of the first paragraph, reprints the whole of the rest of the text. It is this abbreviation as much as the workaday quality of the printing which accounts for the low price.⁵ This is apparently the earliest record of Foulis publishing a book on his own account.

The other reference comes in a letter of 31 May 1742 and raises more elusive problems.

The bearer Mr Hay takes over some copies of a new translation of Antoninus, the greater half of which, & more, was my amusement last summer, for the sake of a singular worthy soul one Foulis, but I dont let my name appear in it, nor indeed have I told it to any here, but the man concerned. I hope you'll like it; the rest was done by a very ingenious Lad, one Moore. Pray try your critical faculty, in finding what parts I did and what he did. I did not translate books in a suite but I one or two, & he, one or two. I hope if you like it, it may sell pretty well with you about Belfast. I am sure it is doing a publick good to diffuse the sentiments & if you knew Foulis, you would think he well deserved all encouragement'.⁶

The English translation of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was published on 8 June 1742, and reprinted in 1749, 1752 and 1764. Most authorities state, on the basis of the 1777 Foulis catalogue, that the first two books were by James Moor⁷ and the remainder by Hutcheson.⁸ Although the letter to Drennan confirms that Hutcheson was the principal contributor, the neat division of labour implied in the 1777 attribution does not quite square with the guessing game Hutcheson plays in the letter.⁹ This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that by 1777 both Hutcheson and the Foulis brothers were dead: one wonders precisely what information was transmitted and how.

In the absence of anything better this traditional account could be accepted as supplying most, if not all, of the truth. There is however some other evidence which calls it more seriously into question. In a note in his copy of the 1764 edition, Thomas Reid noted: 'Dr Moor translated the 9th & 10th books. Dr Francis Hutcheson the rest. Dr Hutcheson wrote the Preface & Dr Moor collected [*sic*] the Proofs. This information I had from Dr Moor'.¹⁰ Reid became a colleague of Moor in 1764 when he succeeded Adam Smith in the Chair of Moral Philosophy. His testimony is the only evidence we have of the authorship of the translation of Marcus Aurelius with a direct link to those personally involved in its production, and has therefore to be accepted as decisive.

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NOTES

¹ Selections from the letters were printed, with varying degrees of inaccuracy, in James McCosh, *The Scottish Philosophy* (London 1875) and W.R. Scott, *Francis Hutcheson* (Cambridge 1900). The originals are now Glasgow University Library MS General 1018. I am grateful to the Librarian of Glasgow University for access to the MSS and permission to quote. All my citations are from this source.

² Philip Gaskell, 'The Early Work of the Foulis Press and the Wilson Foundry', *Library*, 5th ser., 7(1952), 79.

³ John Stephens, 'Hutcheson's *Inquiry* (1738)', *Book Collector* 32 (1983), 228. As early as 21 September 1737 Hutcheson wrote to Drennan 'I hope before it be very long to let you see in print what has employed my leisure hours, for several summers past; but I am at a loss how to get a right printer to employ, being a stranger to London. I don't incline to put my name to what I print or give any proofs of the Author, to any wasps in this Country, tis a System of Morality in English, larger than both my former books...' This was the *System of Moral Philosophy* posthumously published in 1755.

⁴ Two variant printed texts in McCosh, p.464 and Scott, p.81.

⁵ By the time this note appears the *Persuasive* will have been included in the new edition of Dr Gaskell's *Bibliography of the Foulis Press*. It is a foolscap octavo collating π1 A-F⁸ G1.

⁶ Printed text in Scott p.82.

⁷ James Moor (1712-1779), Librarian of the University of Glasgow 1742-1746 and Professor of Greek 1746-1774, edited several Greek texts for the Foulis Press.

⁸ Richard Duncan, *Notices and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1886) p.49; Scott, p.81 n.3; T.E. Jessop, *A Bibliography of David Hume and of Scottish Philosophy* (London, 1938), p.146.

⁹ In the original, Hutcheson originally wrote 'the first half of which, & more, was my occupation last summer'. Playfulness was a characteristic of the letters to Drennan. The best example is the letter of July 8th 1741 congratulating him on his marriage, 'display to us the glorious example... rake away to Dublin every quarter; leave the wife behind you; or if you take her along, don't mind her; stay at the Walshes head till 2 in the Morning; saunter in Jacks Shop all day among Books; dine abroad, & then to the Walshes head again to Charles great Consolation & Edification. I'm sure you cannot be so foolishly fond or so stupid as to quit all comerads [sic], to despise the Inspiration of the Grape you recommend from the Pulpit, and sacrifice all Merry Conversation for one woman...'

¹⁰ Bodleian Library, Oxford, Vet A5 f.1466. This of course is close to what Hutcheson (Scott, p.113) originally wrote in his letter to Drennan cited at the start of note 9.

THE RARE NINTH EDITION

FOR THOSE OF US who regard booksellers' catalogues as an art form (specialised it is true, but always interesting and occasionally sensational) there is a particular pleasure to be gained from the intellectual ingenuity expended on puffery, as distinct from merely conveying information about the books. A recent example from the hand of a master is the description of George Savile's *Advice to a Daughter*, 1716, as 'the rare ninth edition'. This intriguing information is contained in the preface to the catalogue, to be followed later by a deftly administered shock when the price is announced at \$US1250.

Now George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, was one of the best prose writers of the latter part of the seventeenth century. His elegant, witty and aristocratic style ensures that his works are still read, at least by seventeenth century specialists. But most of his works are neither particularly rare nor particularly expensive and \$US1250 is a great deal to pay for a late edition of a relatively minor work, even for a very attractive copy (as, to be fair, this one seems to be).

Who, then is the likely customer for 'the rare ninth edition' of *Advice to a Daughter*? Not the collector of early editions; the work was first published in 1688, 28 years earlier. It proved popular and there were many editions during the rest of the seventeenth century. The 'ninth' edition is in fact about the twelfth, the numbering having become muddled in the 1690s. On no reasonable view can it be thought of as early.

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