

Sir John Sinclair, the County Agricultural Surveys, and the Collection and Dissemination of Knowledge 1793–1817, with a Bibliography of the Surveys:

Part 1.

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The stature and importance of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster (1754–1835), has been recognized by a number of historians. Alex McCallum calls him ‘the outstanding figure in Scottish, indeed in British, agriculture at the end of the eighteenth century’.¹ James E. Handley refers to him as ‘the greatest individual force in the advancement of Scottish agriculture’.² Rosalind Mitchison, in her biography *Agricultural Sir John*, acknowledges his important role in ‘improving’ the Highlands (especially Caithness and his home town of Thurso), his work in promoting agriculture and better farming practices and methods, his role as an influential member of Parliament, and as the originator of and the first President of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement (1793–1823).³ Sinclair was an extensive author. As Handley notes, at the time of Sinclair’s death, he had published ‘10 books – one of four volumes and four of two volumes each – and 368 pamphlets. ... over and above his own writings he was editor for more than a hundred volumes’.⁴

This paper examines the role of Sinclair in one of the most important of his series of publications: the first national agricultural survey of Great Britain undertaken between 1793 and 1817, and provides a bibliography of the survey reports. The surveys were published in volumes which generally had the title *General view of the agriculture of x: drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture*, with ‘x’ being a specific county. They are also known as the ‘county surveys’. Sinclair referred to the surveys as ‘*improved local histories*, or statistical accounts, of the various districts in the United Kingdom’.⁵ They recorded information on the agriculture, rural economy and political economy of each county in Great Britain. They brought together ‘every fact or observation known in this country, connected with the improvement of the soil, or the stock it maintained’.⁶ They also ‘inquire[ed] into the means’ to promote agricultural improvement in general or in particular districts.⁷

The county surveys were an ambitious and challenging undertaking. As Sinclair noted in his address to the Board of Agriculture on 29 July 1794, ‘such a plan had never been formerly attempted in any country; and many doubts

were entertained whether it would be possible to effect it even in Great Britain, in any reasonable space of time'.⁸ He continued to emphasise the magnitude of the project. In 1808 when the project was well underway, he asserted that it was 'the greatest undertaking ever attempted by an institution'.⁹ Two years later in 1810, he also, however, added that it was 'by far the most laborious' task conducted by an institution.¹⁰ For a man whose 'favourite object' was the 'collecting of useful information', this is an important admission of the difficulties faced in undertaking that work and bringing it to a successful conclusion.¹¹

THE PLACE OF THE COUNTY SURVEYS WITHIN SINCLAIR'S PUBLICATIONS

The county surveys are one of four layers of publications relating to agriculture and rural affairs that Sinclair initiated and managed (and also wrote for) during his extensive writing and publishing career. The *Statistical Account of Scotland*, a survey of each of the 938 parishes throughout Scotland, was published in twenty-one volumes between 1791 and 1799 (**Figure A**). The parish accounts were largely written by their ministers. The basis was their answers to some 160 questions, which were later added to as Sinclair identified gaps in his original scheme. These questions were to 'elucidate "the Natural History and Political State of Scotland"'¹² and ascertain 'the quantum of happiness enjoyed by its inhabitants and the means of its future improvement'.¹³ They asked for detailed information on many aspects of parish life in Scotland. The resultant accounts were to show, for Sinclair, the 'advantages to be derived, from minute information, communicated from a variety of quarters'.¹⁴ The *Statistical Account of Scotland* is perhaps the best-known of all Sinclair's works.

The county surveys were published between 1793 and 1817. The first appeared as work was ongoing on the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. Sinclair undertook the surveys under the auspices of the Board of Agriculture; he was its founder and President from 1793 to 1798 and 1806 to 1813. As noted, they focus on a wider geographical area: the county. However, as '*improved local histories*',¹⁵ they also contain a great deal of evidence of local circumstances. As William Singer observes: 'local observations naturally intermingle'.¹⁶ Many of the subjects dealt with in the *Statistical Account of Scotland* are also to be found in the county surveys. Most of the reports were commissioned, though Sinclair surveyed and wrote one report, that of the Northern Counties of Scotland.

The General Report of the Agricultural State, and Political Circumstances of Scotland was published in five volumes in 1814. Also drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture, it synthesises the information in the *Statistical Account of Scotland* and the Scottish volumes of the county surveys, in order to 'reduce Agricultural Knowledge into a regular system, at

least to ascertain what is already known, and what is still wanting'.¹⁷ The report is 'of a size similar to the larger County Reports, or the Statistical volumes'. It is also organized according to its subject headings.¹⁸ Sinclair wrote for this series, though much of the work was commissioned to authors, who included a number who had undertaken county surveys.

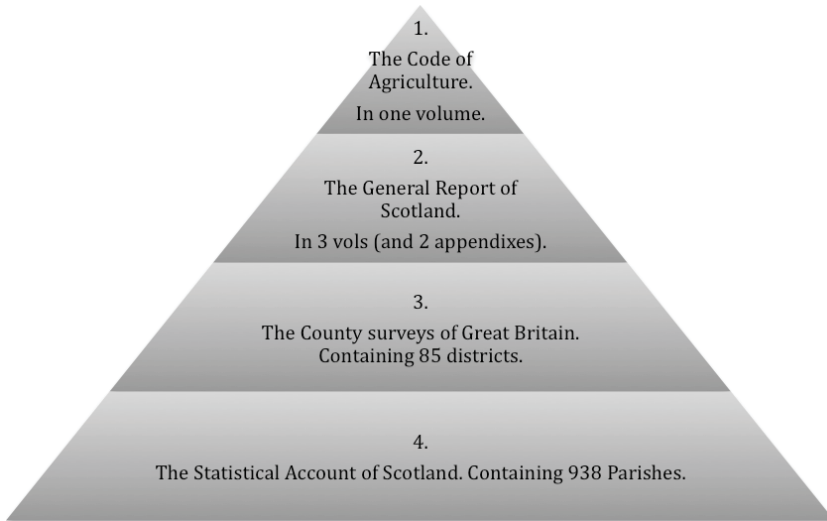


Figure A: The pyramid of Statistical Inquiries. From 'Description of an engraving, entitled, the pyramid of agricultural inquiries; explanatory of the codean system of literature', in Sir John Sinclair, *The Code of Agriculture; including Observations on Gardens, Orchards, Woods, and Plantations*, London: printed for Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1817, p. 491.

The Code of Agriculture was printed in one volume in 1817, after all the county surveys were published. It combines all the enquiries carried out by the Board into one code 'for the purpose of rendering, a general knowledge of the principles of husbandry, more easily accessible'.¹⁹ It also uses the subject headings in the county surveys and *The General Report*. Sinclair wrote this Volume.

These four layers of publications form part of one great work, 'the pyramid of agricultural enquiries'. This examines 'the *existing* agricultural state of England and Scotland respectively, and the means by which each might be improved'.²⁰ It uses an innovative methodology which Sinclair calls the 'codean system of literature'.²¹ In 1817 Sinclair refers to it as 'a new system of literary investigation, "that of making extensive inquiries, the basis of condensed information"'.²² Its function was to bring together 'the information and talents of many intelligent individuals' into one 'great work' so that 'useful knowledge' is 'rendered more complete'²³ and 'more generally accessible'.²⁴

At each level of the pyramid, information from a wider geographical area of Scotland – the parish, the county and the nation as a whole – is brought together within an increasingly narrower compass.²⁵ Sinclair completed the four layers of the pyramid for Scotland. However, only one layer – the county surveys – was completed for England and Wales. Although he planned a Statistical Account for England as early as 1793,²⁶ and set out plans for a *General Report* of Britain in 1802,²⁷ the practical difficulties of undertaking these projects ensured that they were not conducted.

THE COUNTY AGRICULTURAL SURVEYS
THE FIRST PHASE OF SURVEYS

The county surveys were undertaken in two phases. The ‘original surveys’, were completed between 1793 and 1797. Most of the ninety surveys, including the Scottish ones, were printed in 1794 and 1795.²⁸ Each dealt with thirty-five points (**Table 1**). These focused on matters such as the soil and climate in a district, the manner in which the land was used, the rotation of crops, the types of ploughs, carts and other implements used, the advantages of inclosing land, the impact of inclosures on the population, the extent of waste lands, the nature of the leases ‘commonly granted’, the presence of agricultural improvement societies, ways to excite a spirit of improvement, the improvements that could be made to the livestock or husbandry in a district and the obstacles to improvement and how they could be removed.²⁹

The surveys were printed and then ‘very generally circulated, in the counties to which they respectfully relate, previously to their being published’. This enabled additional information to be gathered, so that ‘no important fact, or even useful idea, would escape notice’;³⁰ any inaccuracies could be corrected and the surveys could be brought ‘to a state fit for publication’.³¹ These roles were reflected in the appearance of the surveys: they were printed as quartos with wide margins around the text which allowed readers to insert comments.³² Each survey generally had less than 100 pages.

The status of the original surveys changed during the period of their production and also in the immediately following years thereafter. This appears to have been caused by their poor reception. Arthur Young, the Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, reflected on how they ‘were too severely criticized’.³³ Lord Carrington, one of the Presidents, commented on the ‘prejudices excited by some of the early publications under the authority of the Board’.³⁴ In July 1795 when the majority of the surveys had been published, Sinclair referred to them as ‘the rough draft of the Survey of each County’,³⁵ which were ‘circulated merely as a foundation for procuring additional information’.³⁶ He also stated that ‘the Board has resolved to re-print the Survey of each County, as soon as it seemed to be fit for publication’.³⁷ His language suggests that the Board was starting to distance itself from the surveys, an action that it

continued to pursue with increasing intensity in following years. In 1797, Sinclair referred to the quarto surveys as ‘the original Sketches of the County Reports’³⁸ which had been ‘merely as printed manuscripts’ that were ‘never meant for publication or sale’.³⁹ Again, in 1803 Lord Carrington stated that they had been published ‘merely as hints and conjectures’. He noted, for the first time, that the Board ‘expressly disclaimed all responsibility as to the particular opinions advanced’.⁴⁰

Table 1. Subject areas in the original surveys.

Subject	Subject	Subject
Soil and climate	Seed time and harvest	Price of provisions
Land ownership	Incllosures	State of roads
Occupation of land	Advantages from inclosing land	State of farm houses and offices
Land use	Size and nature of incllosures	Nature of leases
Grass cultivation; species of stock; status of breeds	Impact on inclosure on population	Extent of commerce or manufactures in the district
Watering of land	Common fields	Practices in the district applicable to other districts
Types of grains cultivated	Difference in rent common fields/inclosure	Societies for the improvement of agriculture
Rotation of crops	Extent of waste lands	Spirit of improvement and its excitement
Fallowing	Wage rates; price of labour; work hours	Improvements to be undertaken in livestock or husbandry
Use of manures	Draining of land	Obstacles to improvement
Ploughs, carts and other implements	Paring and burning	The most active farmers who could correspond with the Board of Agriculture
Use of oxen and horses	Woodlands	

Source: ‘Plan of the Agricultural Surveys’. In Sir John Sinclair, *Account of the Origin of the Board of Agriculture, and its Progress for Three Years after its Establishment*. By the President (London: printed by W. Bulmer and Co., 1796), pp. 47–48.

By 1806, when surveying and publishing the surveys had been going on for over a decade, Sinclair could observe that ‘the nature and object of the County Reports are now much better understood than was originally the case’.⁴¹ However, he further distanced himself from the original reports, commenting that they ‘were merely intended for private circulation’,⁴² though in July 1794 he had maintained that they were to be extensively circulated.⁴³ He declared

that they were ephemeral documents that were ‘never intended to be preserved’ when the second phase of reports were completed: only ‘a few copies alone’ were to be kept ‘as a matter of curiosity’.⁴⁴

THE SECOND PHASE

The second phase of reports, published between 1795 and 1817, were known as the ‘corrected’ or the ‘reprinted’ surveys.⁴⁵ There were eighty-three, of which thirty-two dealt with Scotland. In many cases they had little resemblance to the original survey reports. The geographical area of some of the survey areas had changed (**Table 2**): counties that had been dealt with in a number of surveys (such as Perthshire) were brought together within one; conversely, a number of counties that had been dealt with in one survey (such as that of the north of Scotland, surveyed by Sinclair) were each treated separately.

Table 2. Difference in the geographical scope of the original and the revised surveys in Scotland.

Changes in geographical area	original and revised surveys
Same survey area	Aberdeen, Angus, Ayrshire, Banffshire, Berwickshire, Clackmannan, Dumbarton, Dumfries, East Lothian, Kinross, moray, Fife, Galloway, Hebrides, Mearns, Clydeadale, Midlothian, Tweeddale, Renfrew, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Stirling, West Lothian
Counties and parts of a county brought within a survey area	Argyll and the Western Coasts of Inverness – (Argyll) Nairn and eastern part of Inverness – (Nairn) Monteath and Strathern in Perthshire, Interior districts in the Highlands and Carse of Gowrie – (Perth)
A group of counties given their own survey	Northern counties – (Ross-shire, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney Isles, Shetland Isles)
New survey	Bute

For the ‘original’ surveys, see Bibliography 1 below. The revised surveys are listed in Part 2 of this article, in *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, number eight, 2013 (forthcoming).

Most of the surveys in the second phase were conducted by different men (**Table 3**). In Scotland only four of the twenty-three surveyors of the original surveys undertook one of the corrected surveys; in England the corresponding figure was thirteen of forty-two, with a further one, Arthur Young, also making an additional survey of Norfolk. The surveyors made varying use of the original surveys. Some did not refer to them, while others such as George Skene Keith’s Aberdeenshire survey (1811) included extensive quotations and drew heavily on them.

Table 3. Surveyors of the ‘original’ and ‘reprinted’ surveys.

Surveyor	Scottish survey	Surveyor	English survey
John Naismith	Clydesdale	John Bailey and George Culley	Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland
George Robertson	Midlothian	John Boys	Kent
James Trotter	West Lothian	John Holt	Lancaster
James Robertson	Part of Perthshire/ Perthshire	Nathaniel Kent	Norfolk
		Robert Lowe	Nottingham
		John Billingsley	Somerset
		William Pitt	Stafford
		Arthur Young	Suffolk
		Thomas Davis	Wiltshire
		John Tuke	North Riding of Yorkshire
		Messrs Rennie, Shirreff & Broun	West Riding of Yorkshire

The corrected surveys made greater use of the systematic collection of information. They were ‘drawn up according to one uniform model’⁴⁶ which would enable the reader ‘to find out at once, where any point is treated of, to which he may direct his attention’.⁴⁷ Initially, the model had seventeen chapters with numerous subdivisions, a conclusion and appendixes.⁴⁸ (**Table 4**). These included all the ‘headings’ which Sinclair thought were ‘necessary to notice in an Agricultural Survey’.⁴⁹ That model was revised in 1806: it was made ‘on a larger scale’,⁵⁰ and encouraged the surveyors to ‘inquire into new or peculiar practices’ in their county.⁵¹

Many of the surveyors closely followed the two models. However, some made minor changes which allowed them to note particular circumstances in their districts, or omitted headings that were not relevant to them.⁵² As the models included ‘a great variety of topics’,⁵³ some of the surveyors commented on the difficulties they had in ensuring that their work did not extend to massive volumes.⁵⁴ In many cases the survey reports were extensive, with some, such as those of Ayrshire, Inverness and Perth having over 500 or more pages;⁵⁵ some of the English surveys were considerably longer, with those of Essex and Derbyshire expanding to two and even three volumes.⁵⁶ They were printed as octavos, the most common form for the production of books, including scholarly ones, intended for popular sale.⁵⁷

Table 4. Plan of the revised reports.

Chapter no.	Chapter heading	Chapter no.	Chapter heading
	Preliminary observations	10.	Woods and plantations
1.	Geographical state and circumstances	11.	Wastes
2.	State of property	12.	Improvements
3.	Buildings	13.	Live stock
4.	Mode of occupation	14.	Rural economy
5.	Implements	15.	Political economy, as connected with or affecting agriculture
6.	Inclosing – fences – gates	16.	Obstacles to improvement
7.	Arable land	17.	Miscellaneous observations
8.	Grass		Conclusion
9.	Gardens and orchards		Appendix

Sinclair, 'Plan for Re-printing the Agricultural Surveys'. In George Robertson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Midlothian* (Edinburgh: for G. Nicol, Pall-Mall, London), 1795, pp. viii–ix.

SINCLAIR'S ROLE

Sinclair was instrumental in the development and completion of the county surveys. He proposed that a Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement should be established (and was appointed as its first President); this was the vehicle that enabled him to undertake and complete his vision. He also set out the objectives of that Board, whose first task was to collect agricultural knowledge and information; a function that was achieved through the surveys. He also planned their development and how they should be conducted, as well as the timetable for their completion.⁵⁸ He appointed at least some of the surveyors of the original surveys, a job that he started before the Board held its first meeting. From at least 1800 he also supervised the undertaking and the completion of the Scottish surveys.⁵⁹

Sinclair's role in the surveys is clearly seen in the progress that was made to complete them during the time of his presidency of the Board. In his first session as President, between 1793 and 1798, all the ninety original ones were completed and circulated. In addition, the first fifteen of the eighty-three corrected surveys were published or were in the press.

Although the surveys continued to be progressed after Lord Somerville was appointed as President in 1798 and until 1806, when Sinclair was again re-elected, their rate of production was slow, with only a further fifteen being published. During this period, the Board faced a number of difficulties that had a significant impact on their progress. These primarily related to the availability

of resources to undertake and complete them. The first was ‘finding persons with sufficient ability and inclination to undertake this work’.⁶⁰ Indeed, some of the surveyors still had not been appointed by 1806. The second was the state of the Board’s finances and its ability to pay the surveyors, the printers, engravers and booksellers for their work.⁶¹ Without paying them, the Board could not make any progress. Sinclair’s zealotness to complete the surveys as quickly as possible had led to significant financial difficulties or ‘embarrassments’ for the Board.⁶² After Somerville became President in 1798 the Board had to carefully manage its limited finances and pay its debts.⁶³ It had also to decide on the priorities for its activities. As Somerville pointed out: it had ‘to decide on the propriety of carrying on, at a heavy expense, its voluminous detached publications as before’.⁶⁴

Sinclair’s second term from 1806 to 1813 was an especially important period for the surveys. His ‘Address to the Board of Agriculture’ on 22 April 1806 emphasised his desire ‘to complete that undertaking’ as ‘a point of the highest national importance’.⁶⁵ By 1808 he could assert that ‘it is at last in a fair way of being happily accomplished’, though it was to be another nine years before the last survey was published.⁶⁶ Sinclair took steps to ensure that the work was completed: he put in place arrangements to ease the heavy financial burden of publishing the surveys and to make sure that they were properly and effectively marketed.

Between 1806 and 1813, a total of forty-two surveys (twenty-four English and eighteen Scottish) were completed and published, with most of the Scottish ones being published from 1811 onwards. After Sinclair resigned in 1813, only eight surveys had still to be published.

THE COLLECTION OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE COUNTY SURVEYS

Through the county surveys, Sinclair could ensure that the Board could secure the development of agriculture and the prosperity of the country. He did this through the collection of knowledge and through the dissemination of that knowledge. He wanted to find out about ‘all the past skill and experience of which the country was possessed, in matters of husbandry’ and political economy.⁶⁷ This information would act as ‘the true foundation’ for all of the Board’s activities and measures.⁶⁸ It could do this in three ways. First, it would allow the Board to ascertain the ‘actual state’⁶⁹ of agriculture and ‘how the present state’ of any district could be improved.⁷⁰ Second, it would also ‘point out the measures which the Legislature might take for promoting Agricultural improvements’ and enable ‘all discouragements to rural industry’ to be removed and for ‘encouragements’ to develop agriculture.⁷¹ Third, the Board could develop theories and systems of agriculture – such as those noted in *The Code of Agriculture* – for further developing agriculture and political economy.

Sinclair noted that the original surveys were inspections of a county or particular area. This is reflected in his proposal ‘for the sake of making such Surveys as easy as possible, that each person, who may undertook them, shall have a district that may be gone over in five or six weeks’.⁷² Surveyors went on a tour. For example, Macdonald’s survey of the Hebrides (1811), was ‘the result of seven voyages and journies [sic] in different periods since 1793, among these isles, and particularly of a journey ... in the months of May, June, July, August and September 1808’.⁷³ Some collecting evidence in this way indeed wrote them in the form of ‘tours’.⁷⁴

Information was gathered from a wide variety of sources. Some of the surveyors were assisted and supported by ‘many persons’.⁷⁵ The Board instructed and requested its Honorary Members and others to assist the surveyors. They were to provide contacts, as well as evidence.⁷⁶ Sinclair also encouraged the surveyors to correspond and engage in discussions with farmers, landowners and other persons in their counties. A number of these exchanges were extensively quoted or reprinted in Annexes, as in Robertson’s Midlothian survey (1795).⁷⁷ Some sought out their informants in a systematic manner. William Singer, the surveyor for Dumfries (1812) noted that ‘cards were left, with sets of queries adapted to circumstances, in the hands of those gentlemen who appeared most likely to communicate proper answers’.⁷⁸ Surveyors also corresponded with and met public officials for statistical information on agriculture, especially for the chapter on political economy. Many of the Scottish surveyors also drew on, sometimes extensively, the parish reports in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

For the revised surveys, Sinclair noted that the surveyors were to use the original surveys and the manuscript comments as their basis. However, they made varying use of them. Some made no reference, while others included extensive quotations or made many comparisons. In his survey of Argyll, John Smith referred to thirty previous surveys,⁷⁹ while James Macdonald, writing on the Hebrides, referred to seventeen others.⁸⁰ By the time that some of the revised surveys were being written, the information in them was becoming dated and these surveyors had no choice but to start afresh (and the new model also made this necessary).

Just as Sinclair was challenged in his management, so too were the surveyors in undertaking his visionary project. Their investigations had to be undertaken sometimes in unfavourable conditions, and at times that had to fit in with their working lives. They had to collect information on a very wide range of subjects, some of which were beyond them. As William Singer, the surveyor of Dumfries, pointed out:

In order even to make the nearest practical approach towards a correct and complete report, it would be necessary for a writer to have a degree of knowledge of

the county in the statistical department, such as very few indeed, if any at all, can pretend to possess.⁸¹

Attempts to collect information were not always successful. Enquiries were not answered and for some subjects the surveyors were not able to gather anything.⁸² In some cases information was not made available until after a survey was published.⁸³

Probably the most problematical question was that of ‘expense and profit’ in the chapter ‘Mode of Occupation’.⁸⁴ The complaint of many was echoed by Robert Somerville, in his survey of East Lothian (1805), when he observed that ‘it is obvious that no surveyor, be his abilities what they may, will ever be able to procure information sufficiently accurate to meet the public eye’.⁸⁵ Surveyors also experienced problems collecting statistics on the size of a county, the extent of waste lands,⁸⁶ the soil and situation of a county,⁸⁷ meteorological conditions,⁸⁸ the amount of rent paid,⁸⁹ ‘the usual’ price of articles,⁹⁰ the number of births, deaths and marriages,⁹¹ the extent of the value and export of manufactures,⁹² and the prices of products compared with expenses.⁹³ It was not uncommon for surveyors to note the extensive efforts that they had made and how they had obtained ‘the best information’ that was available.⁹⁴ Many were critically aware of the information they had collected and frequently commented on its limitations and reliability.

THE DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE

The second function that the Board undertook was the printing and circulation of the information.⁹⁵ So important was the dissemination of ‘useful knowledge’, especially where it was ‘brought into a condensed form’,⁹⁶ that Sinclair thought that ‘the power and prosperity of a country depend’ on it.⁹⁷ Individuals would ‘be instructed by the practice and experience of others’ in different districts⁹⁸ and would adopt new methods. There would be a spirit of excitement for improvements to be undertaken.⁹⁹ Information would ensure that ‘every farmer in the kingdom would contribute his mite to the general benefit of his profession’,¹⁰⁰ and that private individuals would contribute to the improvement of the nation as a whole.

THE DISSEMINATION OF THE COUNTY SURVEYS

Sinclair ensured that the original surveys were printed and circulated as draft reports.¹⁰¹ They did not have a price printed on them, and the advertisements did not record one. The Board appears to have distributed them ‘as much as possible, in the counties to which they relate’,¹⁰² a task that was ‘attended with considerable difficulties and expence’.¹⁰³ However, they were also circulated over a wider geographical area than the one which Sinclair suggests. Copies

were sent to ‘the members of both Houses, on application to the Board’.¹⁰⁴ Further ones were sent (together with any manuscript comments) to the surveyors who were to undertake the reprinted reports, not all of whom lived in the counties that they surveyed. Extracts were also extensively quoted in newspapers and journals (including agricultural ones), and other printed matter.

The circulation of the original reports was an extensive. Sinclair reported that 80,000 ‘papers’ or copies of surveys had been sent out by 29 July 1794, well before all the surveys were completed and printed.¹⁰⁵ By that time ‘about 100 Reports had been already received back, the margins of which were filled with many valuable hints and observations’.¹⁰⁶ In the following year, 1795, Sinclair noted that ‘in consequence of that circulation, a great mass of additional valuable information has been obtained’.¹⁰⁷ However, after this date the Board did not publish any further statistics on the number of returns it had received, nor did it comment on the success of its efforts to secure additional comments and amendments to the surveys. This is probably due to the Board focusing on the revised surveys, rather than the original ones.

The revised surveys were also to be widely distributed and sold, but as finalized publications rather than draft reports. The size of some of their print runs suggests that the Board intended they should be purchased by a modest number of readers. Those published in the late 1790s, such as Roxburgh and Selkirk,¹⁰⁸ Argyll,¹⁰⁹ Clydesdale, Berwick,¹¹⁰ Perth,¹¹¹ and the West Riding of Yorkshire,¹¹² each had a print run of 300 copies. However, that number appears to have been inadequate, as some of the surveys sold out and had to be reprinted. A small number of them were also revised and a second edition printed. These included the surveys of Argyll, Clydesdale and Perth, all which had a second edition in the late 1790s. The Board reviewed the size of the print runs and increased them extensively. In May 1805 it resolved that ‘each edition of all Reports be 1500’.¹¹³

If the surveys were to be as beneficial to the development of agriculture and political economy, it was important that they were made available within the reach of farmers and other agriculturists to purchase. In 1794 Sinclair proposed that:

Every individual may have in his power to purchase, on reasonable terms, either the account of his own particular county, or the reports relating to all the different counties, or the General Report on the state of the Kingdom at large, as he may find most desirable.¹¹⁴

He considered that the Board should adopt a policy ‘not to print books for reference, but books for use’.¹¹⁵ In May 1805 the Board resolved ‘that the selling price of the present and future publications ... should as little as possible exceed the prime cost to the Board’.¹¹⁶ It also resolved to print the

price of the surveys on their title pages, a step that ensured that each copy of a survey sold at the same rate.¹¹⁷

The price of the surveys ranged from four shillings for the first edition of James Naismith's Clydesdale (1798), to £2 14 0 for John Farey's three volume survey of Derby (1811, 1815, 1817). The lowest priced surveys, which ranged from 4s to 7s each, were generally published before 1805, though some were later. The majority of the surveys were priced at between 8s and 16s, with those at 9s, 12s and 15s being especially numerous. Most of them were published between 1805 and 1813 when the Board undertook much of its publishing work. Some of the most expensive surveys, costing 18s or more, were published after 1811.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE REVISED SURVEYS

The imprints on title-pages show the revised surveys were distributed and sold over a wider geographical area than the original. Between 1795 and 1817 the surveys were often sold through the major bookselling centres of London, Edinburgh and Dublin, ensuring their availability throughout Britain and Ireland. For example, at least nineteen of the first editions of the Scottish surveys were sold in London and twenty-three in Dublin. Twenty-five of the English surveys were sold in Edinburgh, and twenty-three in Dublin.

The booksellers included influential firms. In Edinburgh, Archibald Constable and Co, has been described as 'Scotland's premier publisher in the early nineteenth century'.¹¹⁸ That company undertook publishing work for a number of societies such as the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Caledonian Horticultural Society.¹¹⁹ Constable was the publisher of the successful *The Farmer's Magazine*, published from 1800 to 1825, the major Scottish agricultural periodical of its day. William Creech published and sold some of the most important Scottish agricultural books from the 1770s onwards, and in 1798 and 1799 described himself as 'bookseller to the Board of Agriculture'.¹²⁰ His publications included Sinclair's 21 volume *Statistical Account of Scotland* of 1791 to 1799. In London, George Nicol became bookseller to the King in 1781, a post he held until he relinquished it in 1820.¹²¹ Indeed, imprints on surveys that were published between 1795 and 1814 note that his business was as 'booksellers to his Majesty'.¹²² Further imprints from 1798 and 1805 denote that he was also bookseller to the Board of Agriculture.¹²³ Richard Phillips was a vigorous publisher of books. Graham Pollard records his character in 1806: 'the extensiveness of Mr Phillips concerns is, we believe, almost incalculable; certain it is, that he is now the first publisher in London: he sells only his own publications, for which so great is the demand that his numerous servants are in continual employment'.¹²⁴ Pollard suggests that 'Phillips dealt mainly in books

of popular information'.¹²⁵ He published a large number of cheap elementary textbooks and manuals, many of which he compiled himself.¹²⁶

The imprints of the surveys especially the English ones published from 1805 onwards, show extensive distribution to local booksellers within the county, or a neighbouring one, where a survey was undertaken. For example, William Mavor's survey of Berkshire (1809), was sold by booksellers in four towns in Berkshire, one in Oxford and one in Gloucester.¹²⁷ William Pitt's survey of Worcester (1810), was sold by booksellers in two towns in Worcester, three in Berkshire, two in Oxford and a further two in Gloucester.¹²⁸

The use of local booksellers was also found in Scotland, but on a much smaller scale, as for the sale of five surveys published for the first time between 1808 and 1811. More widely used in Scotland, was the use of booksellers in the populous centres: Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen and Inverness. The second edition of the survey of Clydesdale (1806), together with those of East Lothian (1805) and Roxburgh and Selkirk (1798) were sold in Aberdeen. The surveys of East Lothian (1805), Inverness (1808), and Roxburgh and Selkirk (1798) were also sold in Glasgow.

The bookselling networks changed significantly. Between 1795 and 1804, the surveys were primarily sold by booksellers in London, Edinburgh and Dublin. Their imprints do not, however, record the use of regional or local booksellers. The only exception is the reference to two Glasgow booksellers, Mundell & Son and J. Mundell, College, Glasgow, who held the copyright for the survey of Argyll (1798).

Between 1805 and 1811 the Board took steps to market the surveys more effectively, and in 1807 sold its stock and the remaining unpublished surveys to the London bookseller Richard Phillips, who had held the copyright of a number of them from 1805 onwards. He published and marketed the surveys until early 1811, a few months after becoming bankrupt.¹²⁹ The surveys were now sold by a larger number of booksellers than earlier. The second edition of the survey of Argyll (1805) was marketed by ten booksellers and could also be bought from 'all other booksellers'. The survey of Inverness (1808), was sold by fifteen booksellers. The location of booksellers became more extensive. The numbers in Edinburgh, London and Dublin increased. The survey of Inverness (1808), was sold by four booksellers in London; that of Clydesdale (1806) by six booksellers there. The surveys also started to be sold in regional centres such as Glasgow, Inverness, Aberdeen, Dundee, Stirling and Ayr. Three of them – Inverness, Glasgow and Stirling – were used as local places for the sale of three surveys: Inverness (1808), Clydesdale (1806), and Ayr (1811). The phrase, sold by 'all other booksellers', was sometimes used. The regional centres were especially noted for the sale of surveys conducted in the north of Scotland: Moray and Nairn (1811), Banff (1812), Caithness (1812), Sutherland (1812), and Ross and Cromarty (1813), as also the survey of Bute (1816). The

survey of Renfrew (1812) was distributed by five booksellers, including two in Renfrewshire (at Paisley and Greenock) as well as one in Glasgow.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYS BY MEANS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Two of the Scottish surveys Peebles and Fife were published by subscription, which was contrary to the Board's usual publishing policy that they should be public documents. Charles Findlater's survey of Peebles (1802), was printed in Edinburgh and distributed by booksellers there and in London. Its subscription list shows that the 443 persons were from a wide range of places, not only within the county of Peebles. A significant number were from adjoining counties, with some thirty from Lanarkshire, twenty-six from Edinburgh, and sixty-six from East Lothian; only a handful were from counties to the east. Others came from Fife, Elgin, Inverness, Perthshire, Ayr, Glasgow, Renfrew, Clackmannan and Dumfries. There were also thirty-two subscribers from England: twelve from Yorkshire, six from Stafford, seven from Northumberland, three from Lincolnshire and two from London. This distinct pattern in England suggests the deliberate targeting of subscribers in specific geographical areas and social classes.

THE PURCHASERS OF THE SURVEYS

In 1793 Sinclair noted that the original surveys were to be circulated to 'every farmer and gentlemen in the district',¹³⁰ and to 'the members of both Houses, on application to the Board'.¹³¹ Sinclair's words are important as they state the intended recipients of the surveys: farmers, landowners and MPs. They were key players who could provide additional information on the farming practices, rural affairs and political economy that was contained in the surveys. But, importantly, they could also carry out and effect agricultural changes and improvements and bring about a spirit of excitement and improvement that the Board wanted to encourage.

Findlater's survey of Peebles (1802) shows the majority of the 443 subscribers were of the kind Sinclair expected. They included seventeen from the landed classes while a further 148 had the social designation 'esq'. They ranged from the largest landowners of regional and national importance to the smallest ones who were influential within their parish or village. Farmers, residing at 101 farms across the country, represented 22% of the subscribers. Some were from extensive farms, and the major farming families in a district, and others were smaller tenant farmers. Three subscribers were Members of Parliament, including the local members,¹³² as well as Sinclair himself.¹³³

But other groups also subscribed. Some had a close connection with the project. There were honorary members of the Board – among them the most

significant landowners in Britain – and also a number of the surveyors,¹³⁴ such as George Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton and Robert Somerville of Haddington, who surveyed East Lothian, and Thomas Johnston, who undertook the original survey of Peebles.

Others were noted agricultural writers, and those in agricultural education such as Dr Coventry, Professor of Agriculture at the University of Edinburgh. Professionals, some of whom were also landowners, were a significant group: they were from the law (advocates, Writers to the Signet, and other solicitors), medicine, education (from the universities to local schools), the military, and the ministry. Other occupations are represented by a saddler, land surveyor, and a seedsman.

Subscribers also included public officials. They held a range of posts within their respective counties (including key ones) and throughout Scotland: provosts past and present, sheriffs, lord-lieutenants, a collector of tax, the Commissioner of His Majesty's Customs for Scotland, and the Lord Advocate for Scotland. Other subscribers were merchants, an accountant, a banker, and an insurance-broker.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SURVEYS

The Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement published 193 volumes, as well as some further issues, second and even third editions, in two stages. The bibliography of the original surveys is set out below, with that of the revised ones being found in Part 2 of this article in the 2013 *Journal*.

The bibliographies are based collections of surveys in Edinburgh University Library, the National Library of Scotland and the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, at Ingliston House, Ingliston. All copies have been examined. There are some gaps there, especially in the surveys of English counties and further issues.

These holdings were augmented by electronic resources. The ESTC provides a bibliographical description. Full texts are found in ECCO, which contains nearly all the original surveys, including further issues. The Making of the Modern World has also been consulted.

Entries are arranged geographically – Scotland, England and Wales – and within each country are in alphabetical order. They give author, title, imprint details, ESTC number, location of copies in EUL, NLS and RHASS and electronic ones on ECCO. They also indicate a variant imprint.

The original surveys were published as quartos, and were intended for circulation rather than sale; they were not advertised in newspapers. The imprints record the printer but not the bookseller-distributor, and do not show price.

The imprint usually has the year of publication. The section called 'to the reader', tells how to submit 'any additional Remarks and Observations

which may occur on the perusal, written on the Margin, as soon as may be convenient'. Although the surveys were intended as 'draft reports', nine state they were entered at Stationers' Hall.

Further issues are shown for twelve surveys, most of them of English counties, with Middlesex having three, reflecting its relation to London and to the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement itself. In all cases they were made by the original printer in the same year.

A relatively small numbers of printers were involved, in Edinburgh, London and Brentford. In Edinburgh, where nine printers produced twenty-one surveys, the most prolific was John Moir with eight, including Welsh ones (nos. 12, 77, 79, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88). John Paterson printed four (nos. 2, 4, 15, 16) and Adam Neil & Co. three (nos. 27, 29, 58). The others in Edinburgh printed one each.

Colin Macrae printed the largest number at London, nineteen (nos. 21, 22, 32, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 48, 49, 57, 59, 60, 67, 68, 70, 90). William Bulmer & Co., and W. Smith printed nine each (nos. 26, 28, 31, 37, 45, 62, 74, 75, 76 and 3, 10, 33, 39, 41, 63, 65, 80, 81 respectively), John Nichols eight (nos. 23, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 69) and B. McMillan five (nos. 6, 20, 25, 73, 84). The only printer outwith Edinburgh and London was T. Norbury of Brentford who printed five surveys (nos. 9, 51, 56, 64, 86). Only two of the printers of the original reports, William Bulmer & Co. and B. McMillan were to become involved in printing the second phase of reports, as well as undertaking further work for the Board of Agriculture.

Seventeen Scottish surveys were printed in England, usually London (nos. 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 28, 29). However, only two English surveys were printed in Scotland (nos. 58, 71). James Donaldson, who surveyed Northampton, also worked extensively in Scotland, having written on Banff (no. 5), Elgin or Moray (no. 13), Kincardine (no. 17), Nairn (no. 20), Carse of Gowrie (no. 22), and the Southern Districts of Perth (no. 23). Andrew Pringle (no. 71) wrote the Westmoreland survey. Seven Welsh surveys were printed in Scotland, of which six, as noted, were printed by John Moir (nos. 77, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88).

BIBLIOGRAPHY I: THE ORIGINAL SURVEYS

CM	Caledonian Mercury
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
MoMW	Making of the Modern World
NLS	National Library of Scotland
RHASS	Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland
SM	Scots Magazine

Scotland

1. James Anderson, *General View of the Agriculture and Rural Economy of the County of Aberdeen with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By James Anderson, LLD &c. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. Edinburgh: [s.n.] M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40592. ECCO CB3327928722. MoMW U3602516058. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated May 1794.
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3. James Robson, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Argyll, and the Western Part of Inverness-shire. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By James Robson. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by W. Smith, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40596. ECCO CB3330689041. MoMW U3602521758. EUL. NLS. To the reader, dated February 1794.
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taken'. In Sinclair, *Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects*, p. 335; 'General View of the Inquiries Essential for the Internal Improvement of the Kingdom, with a Plan for reprinting the Agricultural Surveys, in a Corrected Form'. In Sinclair, *Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects*, p. 373.

³² See title pages or following pages of the reports. Also, Geoffrey Ashall Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, 2nd edn. (New Castle, Del. Oak Knoll Press, London British Library, 1996), p. 458. Some printers considered that the surveys were more permanent than simply being 'printed manuscripts', and they were 'entered at Stationer's Hall', indicating that the printers wanted to assert the copyright of their printed work and thus their claim to their property. See for example the surveys of Berwick (1794), Dumfries (1794), Kincardine (1795) and Roxburgh (1794), and Bedford (1794) in Annex.

³³ The Secretary of the Board, *On the Advantages Which have Resulted from the Establishment of the Board of Agriculture: Being the Substance of a Lecture Read to that Institution, May 26th, 1809. By The Secretary to the Board* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1809), p. 41.

³⁴ Lord Carrington, *The Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Carrington, Delivered at the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday, March 15, 1803* (London: printed by B. McMillan, Bow-Street, Covent Garden, 1803), p. 12.

³⁵ Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the 14th of July, 1795'. In Sinclair, *Account of the Origin of the Board of Agriculture, and its Progress for Three Years after its Establishment*, p. 346.

³⁶ 'General View of the Inquiries essential for the Internal improvement of the Kingdom, with a Plan for reprinting the Agricultural Surveys, in a corrected form'. In Sinclair, *Essays on Miscella-*

neous Subjects, p. 378.

³⁷ Sinclair, 'Plan for Re-printing the Agricultural Surveys', in George Robertson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Midlothian* (Edinburgh: for G. Nicol, Pall-Mall, London), 1795, pp. viii–ix.

³⁸ Sinclair, *Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twentieth of June 1797*, p. 2.

³⁹ Sinclair, *Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twentieth of June 1797*, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Carrington, *The Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Carrington*, p. 12.

⁴¹ For example, James Trotter, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of West Lothian* (Edinburgh: printed for Sir Richard Phillips, 1811), p. 307.

⁴² Sinclair, *Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the 22d April, 1806* (London: printed by W. Bulmer and Co., 1806), p. 4.

⁴³ Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twentieth of July, 1794'.

⁴⁴ Sinclair, *Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twentieth of June 1797*, p. 2.

⁴⁵ 'Substance of John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the 14th of July, 1795'. In Sinclair, *Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects*, p. 346; Sinclair, 'General View of the Inquiries Essential for the Internal Improvement of the Kingdom, with the Plan for Reprinting the Agricultural Surveys, in a Corrected Form', p. 374

⁴⁶ 'General View of the Inquiries Essential for the Internal Improvement of the Kingdom, with the Plan for Reprinting the Agricultural Surveys, in a Corrected Form', p. 375.

⁴⁷ Sinclair, 'Plan for Re-printing the Agricultural Surveys', p. iii.

⁴⁸ Noted in review of Charles Vancouver, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1808), in *Monthly Review* 57 (1808), p. 132. The chapters were, as in John Wilson, *General View of the Agriculture of Renfrewshire* (Paisley: printed by Stephen Young, 1812): geographical state and circumstances; state of property; buildings; mode of occupancy; implements; inclosing, fences; arable land; grass; gardens and orchards; woods and plantations; wastes, commons and mosses; improvements; livestock; rural economy; political economy; obstacles to improvement and remedies; miscellaneous observations. Some surveys included extensive annexes.

⁴⁹ Sinclair, 'Plan for Re-printing the Agricultural Surveys', p. iii.

⁵⁰ For example, James Trotter, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of West Lothian* (Edinburgh: printed for Sir Richard Phillips, 1811), p. 307.

⁵¹ For example, Trotter, p. 308.

⁵² For example, the Samuel Smith, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Galloway; Comprehending Two Counties, Viz the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtownshire* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1810), included a chapter on embankments.

⁵³ Review of James Headrick, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Angus, or Forfarshire* (Edinburgh: printed by Neill & Company, 1813), in *Farmer's Magazine*, vol 14: November (1813), p. 456.

⁵⁴ Singer, p. xi–xii.

⁵⁵ The survey of Ayrshire (William Aiton, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr* (Glasgow: printed by A. Napier, Trongate, 1811), had pp.

- xxix, [ii], 725 pages; the Inverness survey (James Robertson, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Inverness* (London: printed for Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1813)), had pp. xiii, lxvi, 447 pages; and Perth (James Robertson, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Perth* (Perth: printed by order of the Board of Agriculture, 1799), had pp [ii], xx, 575 pages.
- ⁵⁶ John Farey, *General View of the Agriculture and Minerals of Derbyshire* 3 vols (London: Printed by B. McMillan, 1811–17).
- ⁵⁷ Richard Sher, ‘Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment: the Lessons of Book History’. In Paul Wood, ed, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Representation* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2000), p. 138.
- ⁵⁸ For example, ‘Arrangement of the Agricultural Surveys, and the Persons by Whom they were Respectively Undertaken’, and ‘General View of the Inquiries Essential for the Internal Improvement of the Kingdom, with the Plan for Reprinting the Agricultural Surveys, in a Corrected Form.
- ⁵⁹ Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading, (hereinafter MERL), Board of Agriculture, BII, 24 January 1800.
- ⁶⁰ Carrington, *The Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Carrington, Delivered at the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday, March 15, 1803*, p. 12.
- ⁶¹ Lord Somerville, *Address to the Board of Agriculture, on its Meeting the 27th of Nov. 1798*, [n.p., n.d], p. 6. (also reprinted in Lord Somerville, *The System Followed During the Two Last Years by the Board of Agriculture further illustrated* (London: printed for W. Miller, 1800), pp. 25–41).
- ⁶² Somerville, p. 1.
- ⁶³ Somerville, p. 1.
- ⁶⁴ Somerville, p. 6.
- ⁶⁵ Sinclair, *Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the 22nd April, 1806*, p. 4.
- ⁶⁶ Sinclair, *Address of the Board of Agriculture, by Sir John Sinclair, Bart, the President, at the Conclusion of the Session, on the 7th of June, 1808*, p. 5.
- ⁶⁷ Sinclair, ‘Substance of Sir John Sinclair’s Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twenty-Ninth of July, 1794’, p. 339.
- ⁶⁸ Sinclair, Sir John Sinclair’s Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday, the Twenty-Fourth of May, 1796: Stating the Progress that had Been Made by the Board, during the Third Session since its Establishment. In Sinclair, *Account of the Origin of the Board of Agriculture, and its Progress for Three Years after its Establishment*, p. 55.
- ⁶⁹ The Secretary of the Board, *On the Advantages which have Resulted from the Establishment of the Board of Agriculture*, p. 41.
- ⁷⁰ Sinclair, *Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the 22d April 1806*, p. 4.
- ⁷¹ Sinclair, ‘Substance of Sir John’s Address to the Board of Agriculture, on the First Day of its being Assembled’, p. 308.
- ⁷² Sinclair, ‘Plan of the Agricultural Surveys’, p. 48.
- ⁷³ James MacDonald, *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, or Western Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: printed for Sir Richard Phillips, 1810), p. 6.
- ⁷⁴ For example, William Pitt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Northampton* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1809), p. ix.

- ⁷⁵ Robertson, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Perth*, p. xv.
- ⁷⁶ Joseph Plymley, *General View of the Agriculture of Shropshire; with Observations*, (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1803), p. 102.
- ⁷⁷ Roberson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Mid-Lothian*. See appendixes pp. 1–135.
- ⁷⁸ Singer, p. xi.
- ⁷⁹ John Smith, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyll* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1805), p. 40, 69, 80, 81, 95, 100, 115, 129, 130, 147, 148, 150, 176, 185, 187, 218, 230, 243, 253, 260, 265, 282, 289.
- ⁸⁰ James Macdonald, *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides* (London: printed for Sir Richard Phillips, 1810), p. 80, 148, 221, 227, 229, 262, 269, 279, 291, 303, 308, 344, 442, 459.
- ⁸¹ Singer, p. xi–xii.
- ⁸² Robert Somerville, *General View of the Agriculture of East Lothian* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1805), p. 239–40; Sir George Steuart Mackenzie, *General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Ross & Cromarty* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1810), p. 240.
- ⁸³ J. Thomson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Moir, 1800), p. 303.
- ⁸⁴ For example, Singer, p. 124; Wilson, *General View of the Agriculture of Renfrew*, p. 84; Mackenzie, p. 145; Robert Douglas, *General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1798), p. 41; John Henderson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sutherland* (London: printed by B. McMillan, 1812), p. 54; Trotter, p. 35.
- ⁸⁵ Somerville, p. 64.
- ⁸⁶ Smith, p. 184; John Naismith, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Clydesdale* (London: printed for Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1813), p. 70.
- ⁸⁷ Smith, p. 8; George Robertson, *A General View of the Agriculture of Kincardineshire or, the Mearns, Drawn up Under the Direction of the Board of Agriculture* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1810), p. 23; Henderson, p. 187.
- ⁸⁸ Thomson, p. 21; Robertson, *Perth*, p. 7; Robertson, *Kincardine*, p. 20; William Leslie, *General View of the Agriculture in the Counties of Nairn and Moray* (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1811), p. 10; Patrick Graham, *General View of the Agriculture of Stirlingshire* (Edinburgh: printed for G. & W. Nicol, 1812), p. 9.
- ⁸⁹ John Shirreff, *General View of the Agriculture of the Orkney Islands* (Edinburgh: printed for Stevenson and Company, 1814), p. 43.
- ⁹⁰ Robert Somerville, p. 212.
- ⁹¹ Singer, p. 443; Mackenzie, p. 290; Henderson, p. 119.
- ⁹² Robertson, *Kincardine*, p. 471.
- ⁹³ Graham, p. 342.
- ⁹⁴ Douglas, p. 17.
- ⁹⁵ ‘Substance of Sir John Sinclair’s Speech in Parliament, on the 15th of May 1793’, p. 298.
- ⁹⁶ Sinclair, *Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday, the 9th of March, 1813: Detailing the Advantages, of Making Extensive enquiries, the Basis of Condensed Information* (London: printed by B. McMillan [1813]), p. 4.
- ⁹⁷ Sinclair, *Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday, the 9th of March, 1813: Detailing the Advantages, of Making Extensive enquiries, the Basis of Condensed Information* (London: printed by

B. McMillan [1813]), p. 4.

⁹⁸ Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on the First Day of its Being Assembled', p. 307.

⁹⁹ 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the 14th of July, 1795', p. 346.

¹⁰⁰ Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Speech in Parliament, on the 15th of May 1793', p. 301.

¹⁰¹ Sinclair, 'Plan of the Agricultural Surveys as Originally Proposed'. In Sinclair, *Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects*, p. 330.

¹⁰² 'Plan of the Agricultural Surveys as Originally Proposed', p. 330.

¹⁰³ Robertson, *Midlothian*, p. xiv.

¹⁰⁴ Sinclair, 'Arrangement of the Agricultural Surveys, and the Persons by whom they were Respectively Undertaken'.

¹⁰⁵ Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twenty-Ninth of July, 1794', p. 338.

¹⁰⁶ Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twenty-Ninth of July, 1794', p. 338.

¹⁰⁷ Sinclair, 'Plan for Reprinting the Agricultural Surveys', p. ii.

¹⁰⁸ MERL, Board of Agriculture, BXIII, 24 May 1799.

¹⁰⁹ MERL, Board of Agriculture, BI, 25 May 1798.

¹¹⁰ MERL, Board of Agriculture, BI, 25 May 1798; Board of Agriculture, BXIII, letter 276 of 12 June 1798.

¹¹¹ MERL, Board of Agriculture, BVI, 21 January 1800.

¹¹² MERL, Board of Agriculture, Board of Agriculture, BI, 25 May 1798; Board of Agriculture, BXIII, letter 276 of 12 June 1798.

¹¹³ MERL, Board of Agriculture, BVII, 28 May 1805.

¹¹⁴ Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twenty-Ninth of July, 1794', p. 339.

¹¹⁵ Sinclair, *Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday, the Twenty-Fourth of May, 1796*, pp. 3–4.

¹¹⁶ MERL, Board of Agriculture, BVII, Board meeting, 28 May 1805.

¹¹⁷ MERL, Board of Agriculture, BVII, Board meeting, 28 May 1805.

¹¹⁸ Raymond N. Mackenzie, 'Archibald Constable & Co.'. In James K. Bracken and Joel Silver, *Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol 154, The British Literary Book Trade, 1700–1820* (Detroit, 1995), p. 49.

¹¹⁹ Raymond N. Mackenzie, p. 50.

¹²⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 February 1798, 3 May 1798, 23 March 1799.

¹²¹ *DNB*, s.q. George Nicol (1740?–1828).

¹²² Robertson, *Midlothian*, Andrew Whyte and Duncan Macfarlane, *Dumbar-ton*, David Souter, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Banff* (Edinburgh: printed by Mundell, Doig & Stevenson, 1812), John Henderson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Caithness* (London: printed by B. McMillan, 1812), Graham, *Stirling*, Henderson, *Sutherland*, Graham, *Clackmannan*.

¹²³ Surveys of Clydesdale (1798), Argyll (1805), East Lothian (1805).

¹²⁴ Graham Pollard, 'The English Market for Printed Books', *Publishing History* 4

(1978), p. 35.

¹²⁵ Pollard, p. 35.

¹²⁶ Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775–1800. A Preliminary Checklist of Members* (Folkeston: Dawson, 1977), p. 176.

¹²⁷ These bookselling centres were Abingdon, Newbury, Reading, and Windsor in Berkshire, Oxford in Oxford and Gloucester in Gloucester.

¹²⁸ These bookselling centres were Evesham and Worcester in Worcester, Newbury, Reading and Windsor in Berkshire, Abingdon and Oxford in Oxford and Gloucester and Tewksbury in Gloucester.

¹²⁹ Surveys of West Lothian (1811), Hebrides (1811). For example, Hebrides (1811), West Lothian (1811), Wiltshire (1811), Huntingdon (1811), Cambridge (1811) were being printed for Phillips.

¹³⁰ Sinclair, 'Plan of the Agricultural Surveys as Originally Proposed', p. 330.

¹³¹ 'Arrangement of the Agricultural Surveys, and the Persons by whom they were Respectively Undertaken'.

¹³² R. G. Thorne, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1790–1820, vol IV* (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker and Warburg, 1986), p. 23; J. L. Brown, and I. C. Lawson, *History of Peebles, 1850–1990*, p. 538.

¹³³ R. G. Thorne, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1790–1820, vol II: Constituencies* (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker and Warburg, 1986), p. 525.

¹³⁴ Board of Agriculture, *List of the Members of the Board of Agriculture* (London: printed by B. McMillan, 1803), 9–33.