

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

THE PROFITABILITY OF PROGRESSIVE THEOLOGY PUBLISHING IN  
LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND AS ILLUSTRATED  
BY THE EXPERIENCE OF T. & T. CLARK OF EDINBURGH  
IN THE 1880s AND 1890s

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### Section D: Periodicals and part-publications

'Our experience has been very far from encouraging,' commented the Clarks in 1886 when the subject of issuing a monthly periodical was broached.<sup>489</sup> Very many nineteenth century book publishers were also involved in the issue of periodicals, and T. & T. Clark was no exception. The question always arises whether a publisher's periodical programme contributed to, or relied on the financial prosperity of other areas of the firm's output, and this Section aims, after a general survey, to assess as far as the sources permit the profitability of the Clarks' periodical programme, and to investigate the motivation which lay behind it.

Legal works were one of the firm's earliest preoccupations: it is not surprising then, that the earliest Clark periodicals were related to Scots law. It was through Thomas Clark the Elder that Scotland's first law magazine, the Law Chronicle, made its appearance in May 1829, at the instigation of some 'professional gentlemen'. This monthly Chronicle survived, in one form or another, for around five years. There were a number of other short-lived Scottish legal serials before, in January 1857, the first issue of the Journal of Jurisprudence appeared, bearing the Clark imprint. This Journal impressed the profession both by the breadth of the field it covered, and by the dynamism and outspoken nature of its contents. It absorbed a rival, the Scottish Law Magazine in 1866, and survived until 1891, by which time, despite a change of editor in 1888, an unadventurous conservatism had permeated its columns, affecting its circulation, and making it easy for the rival Scottish Law Review, founded in 1885, to find a footing.<sup>490</sup>

The legal periodicals were followed by others: in the early 1860s

the firm assumed a short-lived responsibility for the famous North British Review; and the 1880s saw an unsuccessful attempt to sustain a theological monthly. It was only in the last decade of the century, however, that the Clarks, with the Expository Times and the Critical Review of Theological Literature were issuing works which, if not financially profitable, were successes d'estime in theological circles in Scotland and beyond.

In the subdivisions which follow we will discuss first of all general issues of motivation and profitability with respect to these serials, and then pass on to consider the history and profitability of each in turn. We will discover that the firm's commitment to theology, and willingness to put theological considerations before financial ones applied in this area also.

Before moving on, we should note that, enthusiastic as the Clarks were about periodical publishing if the format and the editor were 'right', they had little time for what would today be termed 'part-publication', the issue of major works in parts prior to, or concurrently with their appearance in volume form. This method of publishing, the firm felt, caused

a great deal of trouble and annoyance, especially with the Trade. The Parts lie about the Booksellers' shops, get soiled and torn, & are frequently returned to the Publisher quite unsaleable. We do not think it materially helps the sale... . 491

We do not know what unfortunate, early experiences with part-publications the Clarks may have had. Certainly, in the last two decades of the century, the only work issued by them in parts as well as in volume form was their edition, co-published with Reuther and Reichard of Berlin, of Carolo Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum, which was available in seven parts.<sup>492</sup> The Clarks' scepticism seems to have been borne out in this case by the sales figures:

while twenty-one copies were sold in volume form over 1895-96, only twenty-eight individual parts were disposed of and set against these were fifteen parts returned from booksellers, making a net sale of only thirteen parts.<sup>493</sup> And this was not an isolated figure:

over 1896-97 there were no sales in parts, while eight volumes were disposed of.<sup>494</sup> There was obviously very little additional expenditure involved in issuing a work in parts as well as in volume form-only, perhaps, the cost of printing separate covers for the individual parts, - but the Clarks' chief objection seems to have been that while the increase in sales was minimal, the booksellers felt free to treat part-publications as taken on a see-safe basis, which they did not do with other publications.

#### 1. General motivational factors

##### a) Motives other than financial gain

###### i. The motives

Three areas of motivation lying behind the Clarks' periodical publishing programme, other than that of financial gain, are hinted at in the firm's letter books.

###### I) Furthering theological enquiry

As always, the Clarks were committed to pushing back the frontiers of theological enquiry, and in their periodical publishing no less than in their other activities, we find them ready and willing to proceed with uneconomic ventures if these were held to be of benefit to theological science. The modest loss made by the Expository Times through most of the 1890s, for example, was clearly acceptable to them as long as the journal was attracting enthusiastic and positive notices such as the following:

Few religious reviews, we imagine, can boast of such a brilliant staff of contributors...or such a number of articles written by the first authorities and experts of the day... . Altogether, it is a capital volume,



well abreast of the highest criticism of the day.  
Every Bible student ought to possess the review,  
or have it within reach.<sup>495</sup>

The Clarks would have agreed with this estimation of the importance of their journal. In encouraging their advertising agent to solicit advertisements for the Expository Times, for example, they pointed out that it was a 'fact that nearly all the well-known Scholars [saw] and read the E.T. regularly.' Further, the esteem in which the journal was held by these scholars was indicated by their enthusiastic desire to have work appear in its columns: when articles on matters of current interest were carried, the editor received unsolicited copy from leading authorities who wished to join in the discussion. Moreover, only that week W.E. Gladstone had requested a back number.<sup>496</sup> The Critical Review also was held by the Clarks to be a pioneering theological journal. They quoted with approval enthusiastic comments on the Review made by an American expert (albeit one whose views might have been coloured somewhat by the fact that he was angling, unsuccessfully as it turned out, for the post of American editor) who held that 'in many respects it [was] the most useful specialist Magazine [then] published.' This opinion was one which John M. Clark found was shared by several American professors, one of whom confessed that the Review was 'his vade mecum' for theological and philosophical literature.<sup>497</sup> In the case of periodicals too, then, the Clarks wanted their publications to be in the forefront of theological enquiry.

## II) Promoting the standing of the imprint

But if the firm's desire to extend theological knowledge was sincerely held (and there is every indication that it was) it is clear too that the circulation of journals bearing the Clark imprint among the very scholars who were most likely to purchase the category of

book published by the firm would have had a powerful promotional effect, encouraging sales of other Clark publications, and thereby helping the firm to achieve both its theological and its economic ends. It was, therefore, one would imagine, of the greatest importance that the journals should present the firm in a way most conducive to the promotion of sales. While the Clarks would not have phrased it in quite this way, they clearly thought along these lines. Doubt was expressed, for example, over the proposal which eventually gave rise to the Interpreter. What was initially suggested was a weekly periodical aimed, it appeared to the Clarks from what they had been told, at the Church of England clergy. That being the case, it seemed to them to be more sensible that the journal should be published from London. There was, of course, a strong geographical argument for this; but the Clarks may also have been influenced in reaching this decision by a reluctance to identify their imprint too closely with one particular denomination, other than the Free Church of Scotland with which they still had close ties.<sup>498</sup> Positive evidence that the Clarks were concerned about the corporate image of the firm being promoted by their periodicals can be adduced from their attitude to the Critical Review, which they clearly held to be an extremely useful item to have on their list. When the initial proposal was made that they should take over the Theological Review and New College Quarterly, they were not sanguine about its prospects, and seemed likely to decline the offer, but it is clear that they were not declining it lightly. 'Be assured,' wrote John Clark to S.D.F. Salmond, 'that I appreciate very highly your kindness in asking me to consider the publication.'<sup>499</sup> The journal, in other words, was one which the firm would very much have wanted to handle, had the risk involved been less. And once

the Critical Review had been launched and was pursuing its loss-making course, John Clark asserted that although its success could not be expressed in the balance sheet it was nevertheless valuable to his firm in other, less tangible ways. That the journal had made a loss he freely admitted, but then continued 'I gladly acknowledge the value of the C.R. to us in many other ways, & I should be exceedingly sorry to be without it.'<sup>500</sup> Two of these 'many ways' must surely have been, firstly, the regular bringing of the Clark imprint before a wide range of potential customers for Clark books, and, secondly, the association of that imprint with high-level theological writing.

### III) Promoting specific publications

If a journal of recognised importance was valuable in promoting the corporate identity of the firm, it was also valuable in a much more specific way: in it could be promoted individual titles issued by the firm. Herein lies another important, not directly financial, motive for the Clarks' periodical programme. Titles could be promoted either by advertising, or by sympathetic reviewing. Clark titles were regularly advertised in their journals, an estimated thirty pounds of advertising space being used by the firm, for example, in the four 1896 issues of the Critical Review to promote their own publications.<sup>501</sup> Similarly, Clark titles were regularly reviewed in the firm's journals, particularly in the Expository Times. Hence, for example, John Maurice wrote to James Hastings twelve months after the firm had taken over that periodical

I am hopeful that even already some good has resulted from your kind reference to our books in the E.T., and when the 'Enlargement' [the increase in the number of pages in each issue of the journal] becomes a fact, I quite believe that additional impetus will be given.<sup>502</sup>

Further, when articles relating to Clark works appeared in the Expository Times, offprints could be produced and circulated for

promotional purposes: this was done, for example, in the case of J. Hamlyn Hill's Diatessaron of Tatian (1894), which was discussed prior to publication in the August 1893 issue of the journal.<sup>503</sup> Clearly, the Clarks saw the journals as important advertising and promotional vehicles.

It would seem to have been the case, therefore, that these three objectives - the desire to further theological enquiry, promote the firm's corporate identity, and draw attention to individual titles, motives which were to varying degrees distinct from the economic one - were present in the Clarks' thinking. It would seem logical to expect that, in being motivated by these factors, the firm must have sought to impose considerable control on their editors in order to ensure that the identity of the firm as a whole was suitably presented, that individual titles were favourably reviewed, and that the theological line taken was not more liberal or, indeed, more conservative than that with which the Clarks were prepared to be associated. To what extent did these objectives make attempts at editorial control essential?

ii Motivational constraints: Editorial control?

In fact the Clarks seem, by and large, to have been very fortunate in their editors, who generally saw things theological as they did, and shared their broad aims. In consequence, there seems to have been little need for the firm heavy-handedly to prescribe the editorial line which they wanted taken, and little discord between editor and proprietor. Such matters are therefore discussed relatively infrequently in the letter books.

The editor with whom the firm had the least cordial relationship was



undoubtedly J.S. Exell of the short-lived Monthly Interpreter, who, if not downright incompetent, certainly did not give his full attention to his duties. We find the Clarks commenting on the disappointing mundaneness of much that the journal contained, and urging its editor to 'Try to get some stirring articles.'<sup>504</sup> But we also find them taking into account Exell's susceptibilities. He had clearly suggested soliciting articles from C.A. Briggs, an important American author whose works were just starting to appear under the Clark imprint. From this fact it is clear that the Clarks could have had no objection to work by him featuring in one of their journals, but they wrote to Exell thus:

we think Professor Briggs would be quite willing to write, but you know he is broad, and he would not allow his Articles to be altered. 505

The implication of this is firstly that Exell was not enamoured with 'broad' (presumably Broad Church) theology, secondly that he was in the habit of editing contributions so that they accorded with his own views, and thirdly (and from our point of view most importantly) that the Clarks, knowing their editor's predilections, were prepared to forego the possibility of a contribution from a scholar whose work they would otherwise have been pleased to publish. There is no evidence here of heavy-handed control of the editor.

The Clarks had discussions with Exell also over the content of certain reviews of their publications which he was proposing to insert in the journal. Here again, their policy seems to have been balanced and reasonable: while they were not averse to the publication of reviews which fairly and moderately criticised aspects of any of their titles, they felt that it was inconsistent with their proprietorial interests that completely negative reviews should appear. This position was set out, for example, in a letter to Exell regarding G.T. Ladd's

Doctrine of Sacred Scripture.

We should like to send you a copy but we are not sure whether it is a book you might like to speak favourably of, & we should rather not have it reviewed at all than have a very severe one, & we may say the same about Weiss's Life of Christ. 506

Exell clearly asked for a copy of the Ladd work, thereby tacitly accepting these conditions. On sending a damning review for publication, he could not have been surprised at the Clarks' response, in which they restated their position, and asked for the article to be omitted:

We must make a mild protest against the article on Ladd; we do not ask it to be noticed at all, but, to insert such a notice is to break our own head. Kindly leave it out altogether. 507

A similar policy towards reviews of Clark titles seems to have applied in the case of their other journals also. Hence, for example, Salmond was told that it was best not to include in the Critical Review a critique of Dr W.N. Clarke's Outline of Christian Theology which, while admitting the readability of the work, was severely critical of it. True, there were special circumstances in this case: no other unfavourable reviews had been published elsewhere, and the Clarks felt it would be 'unseemly' to publish in their own magazine the one critical review which they had seen; further, the reviewer in question, one MacPherson, seems to have been less than competent, and to have been attempting to urge on Clarke a method of treatment used in his own books which were virtually unsaleable.<sup>508</sup> But the general principle stands: the Clarks were prepared to publish mildly critical reviews of their own works, but not notices shot through with antagonism. To do so would be to 'break their own heads,' to use their expression; it would also, in the case of the Clarke book 'lead to unpleasantness' with Scribners, with whom the work had originated,

and, in addition 'vex Dr. Clarke' for whom the firm had 'very great respect.'<sup>509</sup>

The Clarks' relationship with their editors, both with regard to the general content of the journals, and the tone of reviews of Clark publications, seems therefore to have been eminently reasonable.

The motives discussed earlier did not lead to major clashes with any of the editors. That this was the case was no doubt due to the fact that editors and proprietors were inspired by a virtually identical motivation.

These elements of non-economic motivation were clearly important to the Clarks. How important to them was the economic viability of their serial publishing, and what chance was there, in fact, of their journals making a profit?

#### b) The strength of the profit motive

It would appear from their experiences that the kind of periodical the Clarks were issuing was, in the 1880s and 1890s at least, extremely unlikely to make a profit. The factors involved in the profitability of a serial fall into three broad categories: the nature of the periodical; the costs involved in and the success of its promotion and distribution; and the success of the publisher in attracting advertisers.

#### i. The nature of the periodical

##### I) Its success in finding a gap in the market

A crucial factor affecting the profitability of a magazine lay in the extent to which its editor and publisher had been successful in locating and adequately plugging a gap in the already-crowded market-

place. Put another way, this meant that the more distinctive a new periodical was in comparison with existing journals, the greater was its chance of success, given wise editorial management. This factor was taken into consideration even when the physical appearance of a projected magazine was being discussed. Thus, for example, when a dummy cover of the forthcoming Monthly Interpreter was produced, it was with satisfaction that the Clarks were able to tell the editor 'we think it looks very well and it does not bear a resemblance [sic] to any existing periodical we know of.'<sup>510</sup> But if distinctiveness of physical appearance was important, distinctiveness of content was held to be even more vital. Thus the Clarks, with considerable gratification, reported to Scribners that the 'unanimous opinion' of the Critical Review held by British scholars was that it supplied 'a long standing want in ... Theological Literature.'<sup>511</sup>

On the other hand, where there was direct competition, where a projected publication was unlikely to have a field, however small, to itself, the Clarks were reluctant to proceed. One of their reasons, for example, for viewing with some scepticism the proposal that they should take over the Theological Review was the fact that it faced direct competition from the Expositor, the Theological Monthly 'and other periodicals of the same class.'<sup>512</sup> Again, Exell's initial proposal for what eventually became the Monthly Interpreter was met with a similarly-based scepticism, the Clarks wondering what the new magazine would have that was not already provided by others such as Clerical World, and Preachers' Monthly.<sup>513</sup>

That such scepticism was well-founded is borne out by subsequent events. The Clarks did proceed with the Monthly Interpreter, and we have already noted in the section on competition that this gave



rise to some tension between them and Hodder and Stoughton, who regarded it as competing with their Expositor. There would seem to be no doubt that the two periodicals did appeal to the same audience: It was because of the intensity of competition between them that the Clarks wrote thus to Exell 'The Expositor for January [1885] is very "strong", it is rather a pity we had not some more striking articles.'<sup>514</sup> In a situation such as this, it is clear that the least competently-edited of the competing periodicals would suffer, a fact which goes at least part of the way towards explaining the rapid demise of the Monthly Interpreter.

If a periodical were to succeed, therefore, it had to find a gap in the market, and plug it distinctively.

## II) Frequency of issue

It would appear from the Clark letter books that the frequency with which issues of a periodical appeared had some bearing on its success, financial and otherwise. In 1886, S.D.F. Salmond clearly suggested that the firm should launch a quarterly theological journal. The Clarks responded tepidly - 'We cannot say we are sanguine about it' - a tepidness due to their being aware that the days of successful quarterlies seemed to be past, the British Quarterly Review and Dickinson's Quarterly having recently ceased publication, and the Presbyterian Review, the US journal distributed by the firm having been anything but a success, and that heavy constraints were placed upon the editor of a quarterly; series of articles on any particular subject had, for example, to be avoided because of the long gap between issues. 'All this seems to warn us against a "Quarterly".'<sup>515</sup> The pace of life had quickened: quarterly publication, even in the

field of theology, no longer seemed appropriate to potential customers, and hence could no longer be considered economically viable. Nevertheless, the firm did undertake the Critical Review some years later, only to find all their misgivings about quarterly publication borne out by experience. With regard to that journal, John M. Clark commented sadly to Salmond

I see that in the current British Weekly Dr. Nicoll says that a theological quarterly 'can probably never be remunerative' & I fear that is only too true. 516

The firm regarded a periodical issued monthly as having much better prospects. Faced with Salmond's initial suggestion that a quarterly should be undertaken, the Clarks responded with the comment 'If a Monthly could be faced we almost think it would have a better chance', although they were still very doubtful about the economic prognosis for such a serial.<sup>517</sup> They were, however, willing to launch Exell's Monthly Interpreter, and to take over Hastings' Expository Times: clearly monthlies were seen as having the best chance of success.

Exell's initial suggestion, indeed, had been for a weekly magazine. This idea was rejected by the Clarks not, apparently, because they considered such a periodical unlikely to be profitable in principle, but because they did not have 'the machinery' for such a venture.<sup>518</sup>

A small firm such as T. & T. Clark lacked the staff, and possibly the experience with distribution and the economic resources necessary for embarking on such a major, intensive project.

For the Clarks, therefore, frequency of issue had a direct bearing on whether a journal was a financial success or failure.

### III) Size of each issue

If a periodical were to sell adequately, potential customers had to

be made to feel that they were receiving value for money. Presumably, if this impression were to be given, type-size was an issue as well as the number of pages. It is however this second factor which is always referred to in the letter books: the physical bulk of a publication is what the potential customer first assesses. It might seem strange that such a mundane factor should come into play when the merchandise in question dealt with the higher levels of theological and philosophical thought, but nevertheless it was held by the Clarks to be of great importance. Thus, Exell was told that eighty pages would be necessary for a one shilling magazine.<sup>519</sup>

Thus also, from its third volume, the Expository Times was doubled in size (although admittedly the price was doubled also), and, in a desperate attempt to boost flagging sales, each issue of the Critical Review was increased in size by one sheet.<sup>520</sup> It was clearly the firm's view that customer expectations dictated that a particular kind of publication (be it a quarterly or a monthly) should have a certain number of pages, and also that a journal with a given cover price would be regarded as poor value for money if each issue were not of a certain length. Thus, when faced with Salmond's initial proposal that a quarterly be launched, the Clarks commented '160pp strikes us as rather small; we think 192pp (12 sheets) would have to be given at least.'<sup>521</sup> Interestingly, however, when the idea for the Critical Review was put forward three years later in 1889, the Clarks were thinking in terms of six sheets per number; they may, of course, have been considering a larger sheet size.<sup>522</sup> The fact remains that the size of each issue was held to be of crucial importance if a periodical were to be an economic success.

IV) Marketability in the US

The likelihood of a Clark periodical showing a profit would be greatly increased if a regular, substantial market could be won for it on the other side of the Atlantic. A recognition of this factor had a certain influence upon the content of the firm's periodicals: if it helped to win sales in America that, for example, Exell was 'well known on [Scribners'] side',<sup>523</sup> it also helped if the contributors were held in esteem in the US, and it was better still if a satisfactory proportion of them were Americans. Thus, to take an example, C.A. Briggs advised the Clarks with regard to the Monthly Interpreter that they should 'make American contributions a feature so as to get up a demand for it in the States.'<sup>524</sup> Efforts were also made to increase the appeal in the US of the Critical Review. As early as 1891, Salmond was said to have made arrangements with several of the American colleges to ensure adequate coverage of the different branches of American theological literature.<sup>525</sup> But for all that, John Clark could write of the Review to Salmond in 1896 'it hasn't much hold in the States, & doesn't cover as many U.S. books as it might do.'<sup>526</sup> An American theologian, R.M. Wenley, had offered to act as US co-editor in an attempt to improve the Review's American coverage;<sup>527</sup> his theological credentials seem to have been impeccable, and he had specialised in the subject area with which the Review dealt, the border-line between philosophy and theology. Perhaps impelled by economic as much as by theological motives, the Clarks seem to have considered the appointment of Wenley a sensible move. Salmond, however, was of a different opinion, and the matter was allowed to drop. It is in any case doubtful whether anything could have been done at that stage to remedy the Critical Review's



unprofitable position, but the incident is of interest in shedding light on the importance of the American market to the Clarks.

V) The calibre of the editor and contributors

But of all these factors with economic implications arising from the nature of the periodical, the most crucial was the perceived calibre of the editor and his team of contributors. If a team of suitably influential contributors could be enlisted, the other factors would be over-ridden: the periodical would be preferred before any competitors; its frequency of issue would become relatively inconsequential, as would the size of each issue; and an extensive American sale would become more readily attainable.

That the editor should be influential, competent and committed was clearly vital. The Monthly Interpreter failed, as we will see, because Exell, while being influential and possibly competent, was utterly lacking in commitment. Salmond, greatly respected by the Clarks, had all three qualities, but even his combination of influence, competence and commitment was not enough to make the Critical Review prosper. Hastings, enlisted with great foresight by the firm at a time when he was competent and committed but hardly influential, grew in influence through the impact of the Expository Times, but even he could not make it break even until the last years of the century. The importance of the editor's role in the Clarks' eyes is illustrated by their comments to the final editors of the moribund Journal of Jurisprudence: 'We were hopeful that under the new Editorship there would be an increase in the number of Subscribers.'<sup>528</sup>

But if there was a direct link between the influence, competence and dynamic commitment of the editor and the sales of his periodical,

there was also a link between the standing of the contributors and the level of sales. If W.G. Blaikie in editing the North British Review for the Clarks had sought to gain the co-operation of the most illustrious writers,<sup>529</sup> so too did the later Clark editors, although they were working within a narrower subject field. At least one of the reasons why the Clarks agreed to publish the Monthly Interpreter was the fact that they were impressed by the range of contributors whose help Exell was proposing to enlist.<sup>530</sup> And John Clark, having sent W.E. Gladstone a copy of S.D.F. Salmond's work on The Christian Doctrine of Immortality, was not above trying to solicit a notice of it for the Critical Review from the great man.<sup>531</sup> This plan seems to have come to nothing. But if men of influence were wanted, it was also necessary that contributors should come from as wide a range of denominational backgrounds as possible in order to win support for the periodical in question from all sections of the Christian church. Thus, for example, when Salmond proposed that the Clarks should launch a quarterly, he was told that

If articles could be got from such men as Prof Cave & Principals Simon, Fairbairn etc. (& we think they would gladly contribute) we might gain the interest of the Congregationalists, now that the Brit. Quarterly is defunct. 532

However, if, on the one hand, influential contributors would win a wider audience for a periodical, and thereby increase the publisher's income, on the other hand the more influential a contributor was, the more, in general, he would expect to be paid. Although in discussing with Salmond the possible takeover of the Theological Review the Clarks, while anticipating that the contributors would expect to be paid, did enquire in passing about the possibility of obtaining 'Critical Notices' without payment,<sup>533</sup> their customary attitude

towards those who would contribute for no remuneration was expressed in a letter to Exell: 'Some may be inclined to write for nothing, though such are not usually worth much.'<sup>534</sup> In the Clarks' eyes, a good contributor was worthy of his hire. In the short term the firm might be more out of pocket than would have been the case had they enlisted the services of an inferior contributor who charged less. But they regarded this as an investment to be recouped in the longer term as the stock of their periodical rose due to the calibre of the contributors who would be increasingly and repeatedly attracted to its columns in part by the level of remuneration, and in part by the increasing stature of the journal, a stature to which their participation would further contribute. This at least was the theory. And in practice, too, the firm was concerned that its contributors be adequately remunerated. In discussing the suggestion that they should take over the Theological Review, for example, they proposed that contributions should be paid for at the rate of £4 per sixteen-page sheet;<sup>535</sup> and they had to take Exell (who was remitted a monthly sum which covered his editorial expenses and his own fee) to task for inadequately remunerating his contributors. One author, a Dr. Mair, had received only £4 4s. 0d. for a twenty-nine page contribution. The importance to the Clarks of adequate remuneration both for its own sake and for the sake of increasing the journal's stock among potential contributors is evident from the following comments made to Exell:

[Mair] is one of the best men we have and cannot be expected to contribute for that. The tidings of such miserable remuneration spread round will paralyse the whole affair...whilst we do not expect you to lose money the Editor as well as the publisher must make some sacrifice if the periodical is to be established...we certainly never anticipated...that anyone would be put off with 3s/- (&less) per page...to make a payment as the above is looked upon as an insult. 536

In general, therefore, in a move to attract the best contributors, the Clarks paid adequately, even generously.

If editor and contributors were of a sufficiently high calibre, and the other factors discussed above were operating in its favour, then there was at least some chance that a periodical might make a profit. Other factors, however, have also to be taken into consideration.

ii. Cost and effectiveness of promotion

How costly, and how effective was the firm's promotion of its journals? Considerable sums of money seem to have been spent in each case on advertising, the distribution of free copies and review copies, and the circulation of prospectuses.

The Monthly Interpreter, for example, was heavily promoted. Upon its launch, several hundred review copies were sent out (the reviews, however, were 'few and rather indifferent', and Exell was asked if he had 'any influence with some of the leading papers;'<sup>537</sup> the firm also distributed 'many thousand' copies of a prospectus and a large number of gratis copies of the magazine; and Exell, who had clearly urged the Clarks to embark on a more energetic advertising campaign was told 'we think you cannot be aware of the extent we have already been advertising.'<sup>538</sup>

The Expository Times was promoted similarly; five hundred copies, for example, being freely supplied to a representative of The Church of England Association for distribution among its membership in the hope of attracting new subscribers.<sup>539</sup> So, too, was the Critical Review. Salmond, who had clearly wanted the Clarks to advertise the journal more extensively, was told that it was out of the question



for them to spend more money on it.

I am sure you can have no idea of the sum we have already expended in advertising - in addition to the free distribution of several thousand copies. 540

John M. Clark felt that the distribution of free copies was 'the most effectual way' of promoting a periodical.<sup>541</sup> He may well have been right, for it was certainly relatively cheap compared with the expense of advertising. Many new subscriptions had to be attracted to recover the cost of each advertisement, and in most cases, one suspects, the cost was never recovered. The distribution of free copies had the further benefit of being specifically targetted at those who were most likely to be interested in the journal. But in the case of all the Clark serial publications the promotional spending would seem to have been fairly limited in its impact, certainly in terms of attracting new subscribers. It may well have attracted new readers who would consult copies at their College Library, but that was of no financial benefit to the Clarks. What was true of the Journal of Jurisprudence - 'the majority [of lawyers] appeared to be satisfied with reading it in the Libraries'<sup>542</sup> - seems to have been true also of the Clark theological publications. For instance, of the American response to the Critical Review, John M. Clark commented that 'individuals, how ever enthusiastic they might be about the Review, tended to be content with the library copy.'<sup>543</sup> The Monthly Interpreter failed despite heavy promotional spending; and similar expenditure appears to have had very little impact on the sales figures of the Critical Review and Expository Times. It must remain very doubtful whether income from the new subscriptions attracted in fact covered the cost of attracting them.

Another promotional strategy was the supplying of copies of the

Critical Review at a reduced rate (one shilling per issue instead of one shilling and sixpence) to bona fide students, who had to pay a year's subscription in advance. This scheme was launched because the Clarks were 'particularly anxious to interest the Students of the various Universities & Colleges in [the journal]',<sup>544</sup> but it does not appear to have been particularly successful, at least in the long term: John M. Clark reported in 1897 that while Salmond's own students at Aberdeen loyally supported his periodical, subscribing at the student rate, it had been similarly offered to Glasgow and Edinburgh students without success.<sup>545</sup> If Scottish students showed little interest in the Review, those south of the Border are even less likely to have responded to the offer. In this case too, therefore, a promotional venture appears to have had little success. The Clarks' return on those copies which were sold to students at the special rate would, of course, have been drastically reduced. The firm's motivation in launching the scheme appears, at least in part, to have been a desire to further the theological awareness of the students, but they were no doubt hoping that those who began to subscribe at the student rate would keep up their subscriptions at full price once their student days were behind them. On the limited evidence available, it would seem unlikely that this happened in other than a few cases.

The Clarks' promotional expenditure, therefore, seems to have done little to further the financial prospects of their periodicals.

### iii. Attracting advertisers

The regular sale of advertising space in periodicals could be a fruitful source of income. Obviously, the easiest way to achieve this was to present potential advertisers with a product which had

the highest possible circulation, and this was always the Clarks' aim, if it could be achieved without compromising the theological integrity of the periodical. They were, for example, glad to be able to tell a potential advertiser in May 1893

The Critical Review has a very large circulation both in Great Britain and America. Many Students at the various Universities and Colleges subscribe to it individually. 546

But in fact the Critical Review was then still comparatively new, and presumably selling better than it did in the later 1890s: in general, Clark periodicals do not seem to have sold as extensively as the publishers hoped. Therefore, if they were to sell advertising space successfully, the firm had to persuade potential advertisers that it was more economic for them to take space in a lower circulation periodical, each of the readers of which, because of his specialist interests, was genuinely a potential customer, than in a high-circulation journal, many of the subscribers to which would be most unlikely to be interested in the product or service which was being advertised. (Advertising in the Clark periodicals was generally limited to theological books.) This principle was stated very clearly by the Clarks:

I do wish London Publishers could be brought to realise the importance of [the Expository Times], & not be carried away [by] 'enormous circulations' of Papers which really are not nearly so valuable for their Publications. If they would only believe, too, the fact that nearly all the well-known Scholars see and read the E.T. regularly. 547

A further problem faced by the firm in attempting to sell advertising space was hinted at in the letter just quoted, and spelled out unequivocally in another:

London Publishers have no conception (because they happen to be published in Scotland!) of the value of those two Magazines [the Expository Times and the Critical Review] for Advertising purposes. They circulate all the world over. 548

It was clearly difficult for an Edinburgh publisher, distanced from Paternoster Row, to persuade the London houses of the importance of his product as a platform for advertising. In an attempt at overcoming this difficulty, the Clarks used the services of an advertising agent in the English capital, William Cruickshank. Cruickshank's activities were not uniformly successful. If the Critical Review was at first regarded as a valuable advertising forum - 'British Publishers are showing their high opinion of it by their readiness in sending us their advertisements. In both the 1st & the 2nd Numbers most of the leading Publishers lists appear.',<sup>549</sup> - the Monthly Interpreter never was: 'We find also the greatest difficulty in procuring advertisements. We have had one of the best London canvassers but he has utterly failed. It is very disheartening.'<sup>550</sup> For all their praise of Cruickshank in this letter, the general impression one receives from the letter books is that the Clarks were suspicious that he was not sufficiently exerting himself on their behalf. Matters came to a head in 1897 when, Cruickshank having featured in Police News, the Clarks withdrew the agency from him, fearful that the reputation of their firm and its publications would in any way be tarnished by his nefarious pursuits. 'We greatly regret that this decision is obviously necessary and final.'<sup>551</sup> Cruickshank was succeeded as the Clarks' advertising agent by one Spriggs.<sup>552</sup> Whether it was because of lack of effort on the part of the advertising agent or not, it would seem that there was a dearth of income from selling advertising space. There certainly was insufficient advertising revenue to bring the loss-making periodicals into profit. Clark publications were, of course, profusely advertised in the firm's own journals, and the loss on a periodical could be notionally reduced by crediting its



account with the cost of the firm's own advertising. Hence, for example, when the Critical Review lost £55 over 1896, this figure was reduced to £25 by crediting £30-worth of Clark advertisements which had appeared in the course of the year.<sup>553</sup>

Having considered all these factors which have bearing on the profitability of the Clark journals, we can conclude that they were from the first very speculative ventures which, though they might conceivably cover their costs, were extremely unlikely to make a profit. It would follow from this that, in embarking on their publication, the Clarks were guided less by the hope of financial remuneration than by the other, non-financial motives which were discussed earlier.

We turn now to an investigation of the history, aims and profitability of each of the Clark journals in turn.

## 2. The history and profitability of individual titles

### a) The North British Review

Our consideration of the North British Review need only be brief, since the Clarks were involved with it in the early 1860s, almost two decades before the period being covered by this study. It is however worth examining the Clarks' proprietorship of the North British because of the light which such an examination sheds on their attitude towards periodical publishing. No financial data with bearing on their ownership of the Review would, however, seem to have survived.

The North British was by no means a specifically theological journal. It had been founded following the Disruption by a group of Free

Churchmen who were dissatisfied with the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, considering the first to be too secular, and the second, too conservative, and who

desired to give their due place as within the Kingdom of God to interests that had too often been left out in the cold - art, science, philosophy, literature, and culture in general; and without being professedly theological, to look out as from the Christian standpoint on the interests of humanity, and try to preserve a wholesome balance between progress on the one hand, and conservative order on the other. 554

The founders' aim, therefore, was to consider every department of human life within the framework of a theological perspective; but the North British remained a literary, rather than a theological journal, as was made clear in the notice in The Bookseller which announced the Clarks' takeover.<sup>555</sup> The history of the Review

is well covered in primary and secondary sources.<sup>556</sup> In two papers,<sup>557</sup> Joanne Shattock attempts to chart its complex development, and discerns a protracted and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to free the North British from the initial dominance of the Free Church of Scotland. Founded as it was in the wake of the Disruption, it was inevitable that the North British would be seen as a Free Church journal, although, according to Shattock, it was never designed to be an official organ of that Church. But undeniably, its links with the Church were many, for its proprietor and publisher were drawn from the ranks of the committed, and it stood with Free Church sentiments both politically (supporting the Whigs) and socially (committing itself to current matters of social concern.) As a result of this, it was inevitably regarded as being a Free Church journal, and the editor was urged by its subscribers (the continuance of whose support was obviously vital) to take a clear Free Church line.

Although the North British initially sold well (4000 copies of the first issue, that for May 1844, being sold),<sup>558</sup> its financial position became precarious, and, according to Shattock, successive editors realised that, if it were to succeed, it had to be freed both from its provincialism and from its flavouring of Scottish theology. But it was essential that this independence of thought be achieved without giving offence to the Church. The liberation of the North British was made difficult because of the complex web of relationships which existed between successive editors and proprietors and the Church, which Shattock describes as being the de facto proprietor.<sup>559</sup> Matters came to a head during the seven-year editorship of Alexander Campbell Fraser, who took up office in 1850. On his assuming the post, the Free Church apparently made a bid for control of the journal, offering to promote the North British if it would announce itself as being a Free Church publication. Fraser held out against this, and Shattock seems to regard the period of his editorship as being the journal's high point, the time during which its reputation, especially south of the Border, reached its zenith.

Fraser relied heavily on the services of reviewers from the south, and so much did he submit to their wishes in his eagerness to secure copy from them that at times his editorial policy would seem to have been haphazard and even inept. He freed the North British from provincialism, but did not succeed in liberating it from Free Church influence. His acceptance of 'liberal' material antagonised the Free Church element in his readership, and when he published a review critical of Thomas Chalmers' standing as a writer, he was openly condemned by the Church. The proprietor, W.P. Kennedy, joined in

this condemnation, and Fraser resigned, to be succeeded by John Duns, a Free Churchman who, according to Shattock, was very much under Kennedy's influence. Thereafter, she sees the North British as declining in reputation and influence, the Free Church remaining 'an albatross around the necks of successive editors.'<sup>560</sup>

It was into this situation that the Clarks stepped in 1860, buying the journal from Kennedy, and replacing Duns with William Garden Blaikie. In the absence of financial data it is interesting to speculate on the motivation behind this move. Was it yet another case of the firm loyally acting in support of the Church? In his autobiography Blaikie<sup>561</sup> describes his view of the reasons for the takeover. Clearly, circulation had been affected by the debacle over the Chalmers article, and it was hoped that, with a new proprietor and a new editor, the journal might win back the support of its former coterie of subscribers 'if [it] were conducted with tact, and care were taken not to tread on tender toes.'<sup>562</sup> Clearly, Blaikie was hoping that the Free Church readers in particular might be won back. He also describes his reluctance to take over the editorship, a reluctance fuelled by his awareness of the extensiveness of his other commitments, and by doubt as to his competence for the task. He describes his uniformly amicable relationship with Thomas Clark, and his attempts to enlist the services of as wide a range of contributors as possible. These included, for example, abortive attempts to persuade John Ruskin and W.E. Gladstone to contribute. Blaikie also describes his editorial strategy. He sought to avoid giving offence by ensuring that each issue of the journal had what he calls 'a manifest unity',<sup>563</sup> which appears to mean that all contributors



had to conform to a predetermined editorial line.

The task was obviously a difficult one, and, after three years in the editorial chair, Blaikie resigned due to ill health. At around the same time, Clark sold the North British to the Edinburgh firm of Edmonston and Douglas, who took it over from mid-1863. From 1869, it was issued from London on behalf of Edmonston and Douglas by Williams and Norgate, and in 1871 it was sold by Douglas to Lord Acton, becoming a liberal Catholic journal under the editorship of Acton and a Mr Wetheral. It finally ceased publication in 1875.

That Clark so quickly disposed of the North British would seem to indicate that the six shilling review was making a serious loss. Blaikie certainly implies that it was of questionable profitability in his comment 'considering the circumstances of the Review, payments were made on a generous scale.'<sup>564</sup> But it was clearly a marketable property; if Edmonston and Douglas considered it worth purchasing it is surprising that the Clark firm did not consider it worth retaining, especially since, although Shattock holds that its hey-day was before the Clark period, there is some evidence to the contrary. Alvar Ellegård notes of the Review 'the contemporary press attested the rise in importance and circulation of this periodical during the 1860s.'<sup>565</sup> If this is true it makes it hard to determine the reason for the Clarks' disposal of the journal.

#### b) The Monthly Interpreter

The ablest scholars of Britain, America and the Continent will contribute to its pages. Open discussion of topics will be permitted, free from sectarian spirit, within reverent and reasonable limitations. Its articles will be practical as

well as learned; not hyper-scholastic, or unduly technical; adapted to the Lay reader as well as to the professional Student. 566

With these positive words a new Clark periodical, the Monthly Interpreter was announced in October 1884. The first issue appeared in the November of that year, less than three months after the Clarks had agreed to publish the journal. The proposal had come from the Monthly Interpreter's editor, J.S. Exell, whose initial plan had been for a weekly magazine for preachers. Such a project would have over-stretched the Clarks' capacity; the firm, however, impressed by Exell's list of would-be contributors, announced their willingness to consider publishing a monthly magazine along the lines he had in mind. They did wonder, however, whether in fact Exell would be better advised to arrange its issue through a London publisher, since he seemed to envisage that a substantial proportion of the Interpreter's purchasers would be Church of England clergy, a perception which would inevitably influence his editorial policy.<sup>567</sup>

By the end of August 1884, however, the Clarks had firmly agreed to take responsibility for the new monthly.<sup>568</sup> Thereafter, the project moved ahead with remarkable speed. Scribners were contacted on 8 September to enlist their services in organising the American distribution of the Monthly Interpreter, Exell being well-known in the US.<sup>569</sup> By 23 September, a prospectus for the magazine was in proof, and plans to circulate sample pages of the first issue were well advanced.<sup>570</sup> By 24 September, a specimen cover was in print, and review copies of books had been sent to Exell.<sup>571</sup> The first issue of the one shilling monthly was produced in time for November publication.

Almost from the very start, sales were poor and losses began to mount

up. There is no record of the sales of the first issue, which presumably were high, but out of one thousand copies of the second issue supplied to the distributors, only two hundred had been sold by 19 December. This augured ill for the success of the venture, as did the lack of interest on the part of publishers in the Monthly Interpreter as an advertising medium.<sup>572</sup> We have no detailed financial data, but the letter books note that £360 had been lost up to 9 October 1885;<sup>573</sup> by 12 May 1886 the firm had lost 'about £700';<sup>574</sup> and by the time the Monthly Interpreter was finally wound up after two years and four volumes in October 1886, the very large loss of 'about £1000' had been sustained, an average of around £41 per issue.<sup>575</sup> This is a staggering figure. Supposing 250 copies to have been sold of each issue on average, it means that 3s. 3d. was lost for every copy sold.

What were the reasons for the Monthly Interpreter's rapidly spiralling losses? Undoubtedly, the distribution system left something to be desired. Kegan Paul were appointed to distribute the magazine in the south. Clark normally dealt with Hamilton Adams, and it would appear that the agreement with Kegan Paul was made at Exell's request - the following sentence from a letter to him would certainly bear that interpretation - 'We have arranged everything with Kegan Paul, but their terms allow very little to the publisher. Their name may be of service...'<sup>576</sup> That the Kegan Paul arrangement was Exell's suggestion is possibly also implied by the following, which was inspired by the poor sales of the second issue 'If you have any interest with [Kegan Paul] will you try to poke them up?'<sup>577</sup> The terms agreed with the distributors were that they would pay 8½d. for each copy of the one shilling journal sold by

them. There was an additional 10% discount, presumably for prompt payment.<sup>578</sup> As we have no idea of the production costs, we cannot calculate the Clarks' return on each copy sold, but clearly the margin was minimal. And one receives the distinct impression that the Clarks were less than satisfied with Kegan Paul's efforts on behalf of the Monthly Interpreter. Other than the disastrous figure for issue two, there is no record of the distributor's success or otherwise. They did remit a cheque for £27 to the firm in July 1885<sup>579</sup> - under the terms of the agreement, this would represent sales of 847 copies<sup>580</sup> - but there is no indication of how many month's sales were covered by the sum remitted. (It seems most unlikely to have covered just one month.) On the evidence of the letter books, therefore, it would seem that the Clarks felt that part of the reason for the losses made by the Monthly Interpreter was to be found in the unfavourable terms demanded by the distributors, and by their lack of effort in promoting the journal.

Undoubtedly also, the rate of payment to Exell, and through him to the contributors added to the losses. The initial arrangement proposed by the Clarks was that they would pay him £275 annually to cover his fee and expenses, and his payments for contribution to the magazine. If the British sales topped 3000 copies, they were prepared to increase that sum to £300 per annum, the figure which Exell had requested.<sup>581</sup> He, however, seems to have held out successfully for £300 per year irrespective of sales, for his first monthly cheque was for £25.<sup>582</sup> Although it was necessary to pay adequately if contributors of a suitable calibre were to be attracted, there is no doubt that given the low sales figures the periodical



could simply not support an annual payment of £300.

The major, and root cause of the Monthly Interpreter's losses, however, seems to have been Exell's own lack of commitment, if not downright incompetence. It is surprising that, before agreeing to his proposal in the first place, the Clarks did not make more of an effort to ascertain his suitability for such an editorial role. There is no indication in the letter books that they made any attempt to investigate his credentials. Very possibly, he was a well-known figure in theological circles with an impeccable pedigree, so that they felt safe in signing an agreement with him. The indications are, in fact, that it was not that Exell could not effectively sustain the editorship of a monthly, but that, perhaps because of indifference, or of the weight of other responsibilities, he did not devote sufficient time and care to the task. There are also, regrettably, indications that he was driven by a self-centred rapacity, so that one is forced to ask whether he put up the proposal merely to secure a source of regular income with little intention of committing himself wholeheartedly to the journal. Much as the Clarks regretted having undertaken the Monthly Interpreter, they must have been glad that they did not agree to Exell's initial proposal, that they should launch a weekly.

Exell's loss-inducing indolence demonstrated itself in a number of ways. He ignored the Clarks' letters and cablegrams. For example, no reply had been received by 10 May 1886 to a letter sent on 31 March 1886.<sup>583</sup> His work was marked by carelessness, tardiness, and lack of professionalism. He did not return proofs of the November 1885 issue until 23 October, despite the fact that finished copies were due in London by 25 October.<sup>584</sup> And he was later to receive

this rebuke, a propos of the firm's £1000 loss:

we must say that we think a good deal of this has been caused by the loose way in which articles have been inserted. Beyond sending us a supply of Papers, many of which had been obtained for a quite different purpose the Editor did nothing; few if any of the articles receiving any editorial care or revision. This contrasted so strikingly with the care shown by the Editor of the 'Expositor' that it is no wonder the 'Monthly Interpreter' did not succeed. 585

Exell's lack of commitment to the journal is demonstrated not only by his carelessness, and his unresponsiveness to communications from Edinburgh, but also by his financial dealings. The £25 he received each month was intended both to remunerate him for his efforts, and to enable him to make adequate payments to his contributors in order, as we noted earlier, to attract material from the most competent scholars, and to build the journal's reputation as a forum which paid well. In one case at least, as we saw, he was guilty of making what the Clarks considered a grossly inadequate payment, £4 4s. 0d. for twenty-nine pages of text.<sup>586</sup> His motive must simply have been to retain as much as possible for himself and as we saw he was told bluntly by the Clarks that some sacrifices were called for from the editor, as well as from the publishers of an unsuccessful magazine. Whether Exell underpaid all his contributors is a matter for conjecture: certainly an author whose work had appeared in another periodical edited by him - the Homiletical Quarterly, a US journal - is known not to have received payment for his article, although it is unclear whether this was the fault of Exell, or of the American publishers, Randolph.<sup>587</sup>

Exell's attitude and approach, therefore, contributed significantly to the loss made by the Monthly Interpreter. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that his main aim was to enrich himself, and that he

had little commitment to the project.' This suspicion is deepened when one sees his attempts to involve the Clarks in other projects. For instance, before the magazine was launched, he proposed that the firm should distribute a work of his own, Thirty Thousand Thoughts. This they declined to do, although they did grant him free advertising space in the first issue of the new periodical to promote it.<sup>588</sup> Again, in the Monthly Interpreter's dying months, he invited the Clarks to publish one of his own works: they declined, pleading the state of the market. But in the face of Exell's audacity in making the proposal, is there a touch of sarcasm to be detected in their response, or were they simply showing their customary Christian graciousness?

We have no doubt that you will easily find another Publisher, as the collection must be a valuable one: we wish you great success with it. 589

The decision to wind up the periodical at the end of volume four had been taken in May 1886, no doubt on the grounds both of the extent of the loss and the poor quality of the editing, although of course the two were closely related. It would seem that Exell had demanded what would today be termed a severance payment of £100. Amazingly, the Clarks appear to have agreed to pay him three quarters of this amount on his resignation, an act which, in the light of his behaviour, would seem to have been one of incomprehensible charity.<sup>590</sup> The £75 was duly paid on 1 October 1886, together with the £25 due for the last issue of the journal. The firm pointed out to Exell that the £1000 loss had been largely due to his carelessness, and suggested that 'in common justice' he should return the cheque for £75.<sup>591</sup> It says much for the Clarks that the cheque was sent. There is no evidence that Exell returned

it, and it seems unlikely that he would have done so.

On hearing that Exell had secured the editorship of the British and Foreign Evangelical Review, Thomas Clark expressed his surprise, and put on paper his last word on the Monthly Interpreter's editor:

'I... certainly very much regret having had anything to do with him.'<sup>592</sup>

c) The Expository Times

'I am hopeful it will succeed ere long,' wrote one of the Clarks in January 1890 about the Expository Times, which had just begun to be issued under the Clark imprint.<sup>593</sup> If he was thinking in financial terms, then he was sadly mistaken, for the new magazine did not show a profit until the late 1890s. If, however, he was thinking of its influence and standing among theological scholars, then his hopes were to be fully justified, for in those terms the Expository Times was a success almost from the first.

On the face of it, the Clarks showed considerable wisdom and discernment in agreeing to publish another theological monthly, similar in intent to the Monthly Interpreter, just over three years after that periodical's disastrous failure. But they were helped towards reaching a decision by significant differences between the two undertakings.

For a start, James Hastings, the founder of the new magazine, was clearly no careless opportunist such as Exell had been. (See Appendix B for a biographical study of Hastings.) The first three issues of the Expository Times (October–December 1889) had been published at Hastings' own risk by an Aberdeen bookseller, William



Diack of Schoolhill. The editor's commitment to the journal was unquestionable: an often-repeated story has it that Hastings, when he had the second number ready, found, on going to Aberdeen, that his publisher had been ill and away from business for more than a week. Dr. Hastings, equal to the occasion, went behind the counter in the little shop, and for more than a fortnight remained there and sold 'The Expository Times', and also any books that anybody wanted to buy. 594

But if the enthusiasm of the editor was indubitable, so too was the quality of his product. The first three issues of the journal, largely written by Hastings, would have been before the Clarks as they were making their decision to take it over. Moreover, it was already attracting attention in theological circles. If the brief note announcing the launch of the Expository Times in the Bookseller was encouraging - 'It is intended for popular reading, its object being to encourage an intelligent interest in the study of the Bible, and it will doubtless do so.'<sup>595</sup> - of much greater significance and importance was the fact that the new journal was commended by William Robertson Nicoll in the British Weekly.<sup>596</sup>

In the case of the Monthly Interpreter, the Clarks, in committing themselves to issuing it, were basing their decision on the reputation of the editor and on his list of potential contributors; in the case of the Expository Times, although the editor was relatively unknown beyond his own circle, the quality of the product was clear. The risk to the Clarks may therefore have been less. The Monthly Interpreter episode both demonstrated that the firm was eager to issue a monthly magazine, and showed how important it was that the editor be a man of commitment and calibre. In Hastings, the Clarks found such a man. Their decision to publish the Expository Times was to have far-reaching consequences both for Hastings and for the firm. His reputation as an incomparable

theological editor grew, and he launched into the ambitious publishing programme which was to occupy him for the rest of his life, and which produced the Dictionary of the Bible, the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, and many other works, the majority of which were issued by T. & T. Clark. If it is difficult to imagine how his work could have been effectively issued other than by the Clarks; who gave it unswerving commitment backed by capital, it is equally difficult to imagine how T. & T. Clark would have developed had it not been for the works by Hastings which for many years were one of their chief pre-occupations. More was involved in the decision taken in late 1889 than either party could ever have imagined.

The tumultuous course of the Monthly Interpreter is well-documented in the letter-books; the issue of the Expository Times proceeded much more smoothly, and hence generated less correspondence, which makes it more difficult to chart its development. It would appear that the immediate cause of the Clarks' takeover of the journal was some crisis which affected William Diack's business, possible related to his ill-health. A letter to Hastings dated 20 January 1890 goes so far as to speak of Diack's 'failure'<sup>597</sup> but the Aberdeen bookseller was clearly still in business, for he was reluctant to give up the Aberdeen franchise for the Expository Times.<sup>598</sup> It is not clear whether the Clarks approached Hastings with a view to taking over the periodical, or whether the initial contact had been from him.<sup>599</sup> In any case, as from January 1890, the Expository Times bore the Clark imprint.<sup>600</sup> The aims of the periodical at the start of the Clarks' proprietorship were stated in a note in the editorial columns of the Bookseller for January 1890,<sup>601</sup> copy for which was

presumably provided by the firm. The periodical aimed to present 'exegesis and commentary of the higher class' to the widest possible readership, both lay and clerical, from as many theological camps as possible. It intended keeping abreast of contemporary thought: the editor's competence for this work had already been attested by his readership. The Expository Times was praised for the commendable clarity and incisiveness of style with which the articles it contained were written.

The following financial arrangements appear to have been agreed at the time of the takeover. Hastings was to be paid a monthly sum of £17 on the day of publication to cover all the literary expenses of the magazine. This was much less than the £25 per month which Exell had been receiving for the Monthly Interpreter, but at this point the Expository Times contained only twenty-four pages per issue, whereas the Interpreter had been much longer, containing eighty pages per issue.<sup>602</sup> The Clarks agreed to pay an outstanding printers' account for the first three issues, which amounted to £45; they also agreed to pay Hastings £35 for the literary expenses of those early issues,

this sum being fixed upon in consideration of the loss of the majority of the subscriptions for the first year secured by Mr. W. Diack and consequent upon his failure.<sup>603</sup>

Thus Hastings' personal losses on the early numbers of the Expository Times were refunded to him by his new publishers who, in effect, retrospectively took financial responsibility for the journal from its commencement.

The Expository Times quickly gained in critical esteem and (to a lesser extent) in circulation. We have noted that, by 1896, the firm could claim that it was read regularly by 'nearly all the well-

known Scholars',<sup>604</sup> and in 1897 the comment was made that it, together with the Critical Review, circulated 'all the world over.'<sup>605</sup> From the beginning of volume three, with the issue for October 1891, the number of pages in each issue was increased from twenty-four to forty-eight. Hastings had wanted this increase to take place in the middle of the second year of issue, but was advised by the manager of John Menzies, whose guidance had been sought by the Clarks, that a mid-volume increase in size (and in price, from 3d. to 6d. per issue) would be a sure way to 'kill the magazine'.<sup>606</sup> As we have noted in the section on transatlantic publishing, the periodical was circulated in America first by Scribners, and then by the Christian Literature Publishing Company.

The picture, then, is of a journal with a firm commitment to the dissemination of contemporary theological thought, steadily gaining an influential, international readership under Hastings' positive editorship. All this was very much in line with the aims of the Clark firm. On the face of it, the Expository Times was a success story. But how profitable was it? Detailed financial data is available for the four financial years beginning with 1895-96, and it clearly demonstrates that until 1898-99 the magazine lost money each year.<sup>607</sup> The following table itemises the firm's outlay on and income from the Expository Times over 1895-96:



TABLE II: 18

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 Expository Times: 1895-96 accounts
 

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<u>Outlay</u>		<u>Income</u>	
Printing (1)	£385 15s. 7d.	Sales: 2980 dozen (5)	£558 15s. 0d.
Paper (2)	£142 6s. 11d.	Volume sales (6)	£44 11s. 7d.
Binding	£11 14s. 3d.	Sales of binding cases	£7 12s. 9d.
Editor (3)	£360 0s. 0d.	Advertising income	£136 7s. 10d.
Carriage	£20 0s. 0d.	Credited for T. & T.	
Advertising	£30 5s. 1d.	Clark's advertising	£69 7s. 10d.
Proportion of Lists	£5 0s. 0d.		
Miscellaneous (4)	£22 2s. 10d.		
	<hr/>		
	£977 4s. 8d.		
			<hr/>
			£816 15s. 0d.
		Loss	£160 9s. 8d.
			<hr/>
			£977 4s. 8d.

(1) This sum included the printing costs of the magazine itself, and of the sundry items related to its publication.

(2) This sum includes the cost of paper for the magazine itself, and for its cover.

(3) With the increase in size of each issue of the journal, the literary expenses had, of necessity, increased also. Hastings was by now receiving £30 per month to cover his literary costs, and to remunerate him for his activities.

(4) This sum includes the cost of such items as the distribution of presentation copies of the magazine, and the reproduction of a portrait of Professor Sanday.

(5) The Expository Times was sold to the trade at 4s. 2d. per dozen copies, on the top of which there was an additional discount of 10%. 2980 dozen at 4s. 2d. = £620 16s. 8d. - £62 1s. 8d. = £558 15s. 0d. The trade price per copy was therefore in effect 3.75d.

(6) All the previous issues of the Expository Times, with the exception of the first year's, were available in bound volume form. These volumes, from Volume 3 onwards, retailed at 7s. 6d., and were sold to the trade at 4s. 9d., a discount of 36.66%. Volume 2 sold to the trade at 2s. 6d. The majority of sales over 1895-96 were of the previous year's volume, of which 144 copies were disposed.

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One or two general observations should be made. Monthly sales figures are given for 1895-96, and these show a marked, if not steady, upward trend. 3227 copies of the July 1895 issue were sold; the February 1896 issue sold 3573 copies; and the issue for the June of that year sold 3605 copies. The total number of copies sold

over the year, after adjustments to take into account stock on hand at the agents, was 38,734. After the deduction of 2980 '13th copies', for which the Clarks were not paid, this figure was reduced to 35,754, the 2980 dozen mentioned in the Table. Sales continued to increase at the same rate over the succeeding years. Over 1896-97, for example, the total sales were 3227 dozen, and the following year, the figure had dropped only slightly to 3183 dozen. In 1898-99, the year in which the journal broke into profit, sales totalled 3246 dozen. The underlying trend of the Expository Times sales figures was therefore an upward one.

But the Clarks had difficulty in making the journal turn in a profit. We have insufficient data to calculate the unit production cost of each copy printed, but a very rough figure may be reached for 1895-96 by dividing the total outlay by the total sales, including '13th copies'. This gives the Clarks' cost per issue sold at 6.05d.<sup>608</sup> - .05d above the retail price. And these figures take into account the sum legitimately credited for the firm's advertising, without which the loss would have been even greater than in fact it was.

Losses over the two succeeding years were slightly reduced. In 1896-97, there was a loss of £45 13s.11d., but a much larger sum, £131 0s.0d., a rough estimate it would seem, was credited on account of Clark advertising. And over 1897-98, there was a loss of £50 1s. 9d. That is the year in which the Christian Literature Publishing Company took over from Scribners as American distributors, and for the first time separate figures are given for American sales. These totalled 19,500 over nine months, but as each copy was sold at 1d. until February 1898 and thereafter at 1½d., it is clear that the

Clarks were making a massive loss on each copy sold. This they must have considered to be worthwhile if it meant that they gained a platform in the US.<sup>609</sup> Over 1898-99, the Expository Times showed a profit for the first time. It amounted to £92 17s.10d. A comparison of the figures for 1895-96 with the corresponding ones for 1898-99 reveals that there were three reasons why the latter year's trading showed a profit. In the first place, outlay fell, from £977 4s.8d. to £956 1s.10d.: a fall which is totally accounted for by the decrease in the amount of advertising of the journal which was undertaken. Whereas in 1895-96, £30 5s.1d. was spent on advertising, only £5 13s.4d. was expended in this way over 1898-99. In the second place, sales increased. Over 1895-96, total income from sales (including sales of binding cases) amounted to £610 19s.4d. Over 1898-99, total income from sales (including sales of binding cases and US sales) amounted to £762 16s.6d. In the third place, advertising revenue increased, from £205 15s.8d. over 1895-96 to £286 3s.2d. over 1898-99. All of this increase is accounted for, however, by a corresponding increase in the sum credited for the firm's own advertising, from £69 7s.10d. in 1895-96 to £147 6s.3d. in 1898-99. Although there had been a significant increase in income from sales, therefore, the journal would still not have shown a profit had it not been for the large sum notionally credited in respect of the Clarks' own advertising. In real terms, the Expository Times was still not making a profit at the end of the century.

We may conclude that, as the Expository Times gained in critical esteem, so it made slow progress towards profitability in real terms. If the trend continued, we may expect that it began to show



a profit in real terms on each year's trading in the early 1900s. What is clear, however, is that the losses on the Expository Times were slight compared with those on the Interpreter. Moreover, unlike Exell, Hastings was proving himself to be a dedicated and fastidious editor. The reputation of the periodical, and hence the Clarks' reputation as its publisher, was being enhanced. At the very least, the Expository Times was bringing T. & T. Clark's name before that public which was most likely to buy its books, and providing a platform where they could be advertised and (if they met with Hastings' approval) sympathetically reviewed.

d) The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature

This journal, featuring as it did reviews by specialists of theological and philosophical works, was very much within the field which T. & T. Clark had made their own. The firm, however, was far from eager to embark upon the project; responding to one of the earlier manifestations of the plan which eventually resulted in the Critical Review, John M. Clark commented that there was 'great risk in the undertaking.'<sup>610</sup>

S.D.F. Salmond's first approach to the firm on the subject of a quarterly review had come in the summer of 1886: as we have seen, the Clarks did not hold high hopes about the potential success of such an undertaking, feeling that the days of the quarterlies were past. They did entertain the proposal to the extent of asking Salmond to 'consult with a few friends, & get their candid opinion',<sup>611</sup> but beyond that, whether or not because of the candid opinion of the few friends is uncertain, they did not go. Another Edinburgh house, Macniven and Wallace was, however, prepared to



accept Salmond's proposal, and, under the editorship of a committee, the Theological Review and Free Church Quarterly was issued by them, in collaboration with Hodder and Stoughton of London with whom they had close links. The editorial policy of the journal was set out in a note in the first issue (November 1886). It aimed to provide a forum where the results of study into scientific theology within Scotland in general and within the Free Church in particular could be aired, and where also reviews of work published elsewhere would appear. 'One of the principal objects of the Theological Review will be to maintain a watchful observation on the periodical literature of France, Germany, and Italy.' While hoping that the Review would have the support of many outwith the Free Church, Salmond and his fellow-promoters clearly regarded it as a Free Church journal as its title proclaimed: its policy would be to rely mainly on contributions from within that Church. Fifteen issues were published by Macniven and Wallace between 1886 and 1890, with a cover price of 1s.0d. per issue.

It would appear that by 1889 that firm were considering divesting themselves of the journal, presumably because, as the Clarks had expected all along, it was proving to be unprofitable. Nothing daunted, Salmond wrote once again to T. & T. Clark, suggesting that they should take over the periodical, which by now seems to have been known as the Theological Review and New College Quarterly, perhaps in order not to deter potential non-Free Church purchasers. Once again the project was considered, and once again John M. Clark was far from sanguine. 'There is considerable difficulty, as I have so little to guide me.' He estimated that, given that contributors were to be paid at the rate of say £4 per sixteen page

sheet, and the editor at the rate of £10 per number, it would take sales of at least two thousand copies, far more than could be realistically expected, before the journal would break even. In consequence, he saw little hope of his firm taking over the Review.<sup>612</sup>

Discussions with Salmond continued, however, and a new idea emerged, probably suggested by the Clarks. This involved not a mere continuation of the old periodical, but its transformation into something new and different. The new periodical would be a theological and literary review, with a much broader denominational base than had the existing one. This idea was discussed throughout December 1889 and January 1890. Salmond and his committee clearly favoured the continuation of the journal in its existing form; the Clarks insisted that this was impossible. They did, however, allow themselves to be persuaded to increase an initial offer which they had made of £15 per number for all literary expenses to £20 per number. Even this was significantly less than the rate of payment for editor and contributors (£10 per number for the editor and £4 per sheet for contributors) which John Clark had, a few weeks earlier clearly regarded as the appropriate rate for the job as we saw in the previous paragraph. However, it was obviously the maximum figure which the Clarks were prepared to risk, even given the more catholic basis of the new journal.<sup>613</sup> Agreement was reached, and a preliminary notice announcing the Clarks' forthcoming launch of the Critical Review was issued in April 1890.<sup>614</sup> This coincided with the publication of the last issue of the Theological Review which carried an editorial note claiming that the journal had largely fulfilled the expectations with which it was founded, and that its success had encouraged its conductors to aim at an extension of its



usefulness. (In fact, it would appear that the Review's change of emphasis resulted more from the insistence of the new publishers than from the desire of the editorial committee.) In future, S.D.F. Salmond would be the editor, and T. & T. Clark the publishers. The contents of the journal would be significantly different being in future restricted to reviews of literature rather than featuring a combination of such reviews with original pieces of work as had happened before. In every other way, however, the contents would be broadened. The Review would no longer be the mouthpiece of one denomination, but would provide a forum for scholars of all branches of the Evangelical Church; it would no longer limit itself to reviews of theological writing, but would feature philosophical works as well. There would be a truly international dimension.

The first issue of the Critical Review was published in October 1890, and between then and 1899 it appeared under the Clark imprint. An editorial note in the first number listed the journal's aims in terms similar to those which had been used in the last issue of the Theological Review. It was to be an English-language equivalent of such Continental organs as Harnack and Schürer's Theologische Literaturzeitung and Lipsius's Theologischer Jahresbericht. Initial responses to the new journal seem to have been largely favourable. 'It has met with quite a hearty welcome in this country', the Clarks commented to Scribners, or again, 'It is doing remarkably well here, & the unanimous opinion is that it supplies a long-standing want in our Theological Literature.'<sup>615</sup> But there was some criticism too. A review in the Publishers' Circular, for example, while generally commendatory in tone, felt that the journal was 'written too exclusively by specialists for specialists ever to find favour with

the public at large.<sup>616</sup> But this was a criticism which the Clarks could accept: the journal was addressing a small audience. Attempts were made, of course, to promote its sales as extensively as possible. It was circulated in America, and, as we have noted, was offered to students at a special rate. Still, however, it did not make a profit in its early years. The firm commented in 1896 that they were carrying on the Review 'at considerable loss' to themselves,<sup>617</sup> and in January 1897 they noted that it had made a loss of £55 over the previous year:<sup>618</sup> this would refer to the 1896 calendar year, rather than the 1895-96 financial year, the figures for which we will be examining shortly. At one point the Review was increased in size by one sheet per issue in an attempt to promote sales.

From the letter books, one gets the impression that the Critical Review was hopelessly unprofitable. In fact, as the financial data shows, things were less gloomy. We have detailed figures for the four financial years beginning 1895-96,<sup>619</sup> and those for 1895-96 are presented in abbreviated form below:

TABLE II: 19

Critical Review: 1895-96 accounts			
<u>Outlay</u>		<u>Income</u>	
Printing (1)	£128 6s. 2d.	3835 @ 1/- (5)	£191 15s. 0d.
Paper (2)	£23 11s. 0d.	Back nos (6)	£6 18s. 6d.
Honoraria (3)	£105 0s. 0d.	Advertising	£48 3s. 1d.
Binding	£1 16s. 6d.	T. & T. Clark's	
Proportion of Lists	£6 0s. 0d.	Advertising	£27 12s. 0d.
Advertising	£11 4s. 1d.	Sale of cases	£1 4s. 8d.
US Promotional			
Copies (4)	£18 15s. 0d.		
Miscellaneous	£6 3s. 6d.		
	<u>£300 16s. 3d.</u>		<u>£275 13s. 3d.</u>
		Loss	<u>£25 3s. 0d.</u>
			<u>£300 16s. 3d.</u>



- (1) Printing 1350 copies each of four numbers, plus miscellaneous printing.
  - (2) Paper for the journal, and for miscellaneous related printing.
  - (3) At the rate of £26 5s.0d. per issue.
  - (4) 500 assorted copies supplied free to Scribners.
  - (5) The retail price was 1s.6d. The sales figures here are adjusted to take into account stock in hand at the distributors. There is no data for US sales.
  - (6) Previous years' volumes were available at a trade price of 4s.6d. The majority of those sold were of the most recent volume, Volume 5.
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Over 1895-96, then, the loss was considerable. The journal sold an average of 959 copies per issue, or 71.03% of the print run. But the unit production cost per copy printed (excluding promotional expenses) was 12.35d. - .35d. above the trade price. Increased advertising revenue or a decrease in expenses were therefore vital if sales were to show a profit, for without the help of advertising revenue, a profit was impossible, even on 100% sales. There were, of course, notional figures on both sides of the accounts in 1895-96.-

£18 15s.6d. was debited in respect of copies shipped to America for promotional purposes. These were no doubt, copies which would otherwise have remained unsold: hence no actual outlay was involved. £27 12s.0d. was credited in respect of advertising space used by the Clarks. This too, was a notional figure.

By 1896-97, however, things had improved somewhat, and a profit of £4 10s.5d. shown. The print run and costs remained similar, and the sales figure actually dropped to 3688 - 68.29% of the print run. That the accounts showed a profit was the result, firstly of the fact that there was no notional expenditure on sending promotional copies to the US as there had been in 1895-96, and secondly of the fact that advertising revenue was greatly increased, reaching £103 12s.9d.,

of which £60 16s.9d. came from outside firms, and £42 16s.0d. from Clarks' own advertising. It will at once be realised, of course, that the Review did not show a profit in real terms. The loss would have been considerable had it not been for the notional sum credited to the account of the journal in respect of Clark advertising.

The position was the same over 1897-98, when a notional profit of £5 12s.10d. was shown. Again, the print run and costs remained similar; the sales rose to 3985 - 73.79% of the print run. That a profit was shown was due to a combination of increased sales, and the continuing level of income from advertising: that year it reached £102 2s.6d., of which £49 2s.6d. came from outside firms, and £53 0s.0d. from the Clarks' own advertising.

Over 1898-99, although once again a considerable sum was credited to the account of the Review in respect of Clark advertising, it showed a loss of £33 16s.2d. Again, the print run and costs remained similar, but the sales fell to 3285 - 60.83% of the print run. There were two reasons for the loss: firstly, decline in sales reduced the Clarks' income by £35 on the previous year's figure; secondly, decline in income from advertising reduced their income by £19 6s.10d. on the previous year's figure. (Over 1898-99, advertising income totalled £82 15s.8d., of which £40 13s.8d. came from outside firms, and £42 2s.0d. from the Clarks' own advertising.) Losses would have been even greater had not the outlay on the Review been somewhat reduced that year, printing costs and promotional expenditure being less than over 1897-98.

That such a specialist journal should have come as close as it did



to making a profit in real terms would have been a great encouragement to the Clarks. Given that sales appear to have been reasonably buoyant in the late 1890s, it seems uncharacteristic that, at the end of 1899, they sold the Critical Review to Williams and Norgate of London. This change of proprietorship may in fact have come about at the instigation of Salmond, who seems to have had some doubts as to whether T. & T. Clark could promote the Review effectively to the whole of the English language market. In 1896, for example, he had proposed that the Clarks should issue the journal jointly with an English firm, an idea which his publishers swiftly turned down, implying that it would be difficult to find another publisher willing to take the risk:

I question if more than one or two of the high class English Reviews are financed by their Publishers. In most cases they are subsidised, & the Publishers run no risk. 620

It may, however, have been the persistent renewal of this kind of request from Salmond which led to the sale to the English firm of a prestigious property which otherwise one would have expected the Clarks to continue handling.<sup>621</sup>

### 3. Conclusions

From this examination of the data relating to the motivation behind the Clarks' journal publishing programme, and to its history and profitability, it will have become clear that in this area of their activities as in the others, they were prepared in certain cases to put the profit motive in second place in order to aid the furtherance of theological study. The examples of the Expository Times and the Critical Review demonstrate that they were willing to persevere with loss-making projects provided the loss was modest, and provided the quality of the product was unquestionable. The Monthly Interpreter

was wound up because it was of poor quality editorially, and because the poverty of its contents led to low sales and unacceptably high losses. The Clarks commented that most 'high class' English reviews were subsidised by individuals or by bodies other than the publisher. It was no doubt with a certain justifiable pride that they could thus highlight the fact that, unlike many other publishers, they were prepared to subsidise, sometimes fairly substantially, and for many years, periodicals which they believed deserved their support.



### Section E: Standard reference works

There is a certain overlap between this section and the one which follows, in which the miscellaneous theological output of the firm -- all the titles which do not belong in any of the foregoing categories -- is considered in some detail. This Section deals with major works of reference aimed at meeting the needs of theological students with the fruits of uncompromising scholarship. Such works, although they may have originated in proposals made by their editors to the Clarks, were for the most part commissioned by the firm to fill recognised gaps on the theological library shelves: they involved a large outlay spread over several years as they gradually came to fruition, and consequently, they were published at considerable risk to the firm. If they were to be successful, they had to establish a toe-hold in the market-place, build up a reputation, and hold off the works of competitors and imitators for a considerable period of time.

To issue works of this kind had always been part of the Clark tradition; if, in the early days, the fruits of German scholarship were issued in translation (Hermann Cremer's Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek, for example, appeared in English in 1872 under the Clark imprint), by the 1880s and 1890s the firm, as in other areas of their activity, were able to rely more on the output of English-language scholarship. Several major works were issued in those decades: two of them, W.F. Moulton and A.S. Geden's Concordance to the Greek Testament (1897) and James Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible (1898+) are considered here. They were both completely new works for which reasonably detailed financial

information has been preserved.

Two other major works of the period are not treated in depth, but may be briefly noted here. The first was a translation and revision of Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti, produced by an American scholar, Joseph Henry Thayer of Harvard, and published by the Clarks in 1886. They were not, however, involved in the editorial stages of this project, nor did they bear any appreciable risk, merely undertaking, it would seem, to buy a set of plates, and to pay a royalty of three per cent on sales up to 600 copies, and seven and a half per cent thereafter, these percentages to be reckoned on the British selling price.<sup>622</sup> The work was published as Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament with a nominal retail price of £1 16s.0d. and a trade price of £1 7s.0d. From the first, it seems to have sold steadily, if not particularly rapidly,<sup>623</sup> and in the 1890s it was still producing a reasonable annual return for the Clarks. In the financial year 1895-96, on sales of 230 copies, it showed a profit of £152 2s.6d; over 1896-97 on sales of 238 there was a profit of £212 1s.11d. A reprint of 810 copies was produced in the financial year 1897-98, but even so, on sales of 184, there was a net profit of £62 7s.9d. Sales over 1898-99 totalled 276 copies, yielding a profit of £235 1s.10d. These figures were achieved despite the fact that a sizable royalty was due to Thayer each year. For example, he received £43 11s.1d. in 1896-97, £37 12s.4d. in 1897-98, and £61 18s.4d. in 1898-99.<sup>624</sup> Grimm/Thayer was clearly an on-going success.

The second work to be noted in passing is not given more extended treatment because firstly it was, in fact, a revision of an earlier work already on the Clark list, and as such arguably did not represent



such a major risk, and secondly because it was not finally published until 1906. The Clarks had issued a translation of George B. Winer's Grammar of New Testament Greek in two volumes in 1858 and 1859. In 1870, the firm published a newly-revised and newly-translated one-volume edition of the work prepared by W.F. Moulton. Further editions of this successful title appeared in 1877 and 1882: due to Moulton's extensive commitments they were issued with a *minimum of revision*,<sup>625</sup> so that by the mid-1890s, the work was in danger of being overtaken by competitors, a major revision being over due. In the case of this work also, extreme patience was required on the part of the publishers. In September 1895 the Clarks wrote to Moulton's son, James Hope Moulton, who was also involved in the project, expressing understanding that the delay was unavoidable in the best interests of scholarship, but nevertheless urging as much haste as possible.<sup>626</sup> By February 1896, the firm were still seeking to shorten the delay: the previous edition of the work had clearly not been stereotyped and it was on the point of going out of print; such a hiatus might encourage another publisher to produce a rival work, perhaps by arranging to issue an English edition of a book by a Dr Schmiedal. The Clarks suggested the the Moultons should seek the help of a third scholar in undertaking the revision, and offered to make an attempt to enlist the services of J.H. Thayer.<sup>627</sup> The immediate pressure was lifted the following month, when the firm discovered that the old edition of Winer could be reprinted by a new chemical process which would obviate the need to reset the type, but it is clear that they would still have preferred Moulton and his son to seek a collaborator, and equally clear that they were reluctant to do so.<sup>628</sup> While visiting America, John Maurice Clark broached the subject of Moulton's work



on the Winer revision with J.H. Thayer, to ascertain whether he would be willing to join forces with the English scholar if invited to do so. He declined, but suggested that a Professor Burton, whose scholarship was impeccable, could be persuaded to help. Moulton, however, had previously confessed that he found Burton impossible to work with: a Moulton/Burton collaboration was therefore out of the question.<sup>629</sup> Five months later, however, in October 1896 John Clark, who had clearly met Burton, and found him to be a man of charming personality as well as of great erudition, was still urging collaboration with him upon Moulton, who was equally persistently resisting. As a counter-proposal, he suggested a Professor Findlay as a possible collaborator, a proposal which Clark gently deflected by pointing out, as we noted in an earlier section, that it would be best if the collaborator belonged to a different denomination from Moulton, who was a Wesleyan, especially as another major work in which he was currently involved - the Concordance to the Greek Testament - was being produced in tandem with yet another Wesleyan.<sup>630</sup> This is an interesting case study of gentle conflict between the demands of scholarship and the demands of commerce, worsened by the understandable desire of an old man not to relinquish a project which had been his for so many years. All this correspondence would have led one to expect that steady progress was being made on the new edition throughout the 1890s. In fact, according to James Hope Moulton, not a page of the new book was written when his father died in February 1898.<sup>631</sup> The first volume of the new edition, the Prolegomena, although nominally based on Winer's work was in fact completely re-written, was prepared by J.H. Moulton, and published in 1906. (Although Moulton's name stands alone on the title page, it was at least proposed that he

should have some help from H.A.A. Kennedy of Callendar.<sup>632</sup> The appearance of the second and third volumes of the new Winer was also dogged by delay. The second volume appeared in 1929: it was not until 1963 that the three volumes were complete.

That the work was an important one is emphasised by the fact that, even although it was much in need of revision in the 1890s, it continued to have not inconsiderable sales, and to yield a reasonable profit. Over 1895-96, on sales of 115, there was a loss of £38 2s.10d., but the edition of 400 produced by the new chemical process would have had to be paid for that year. Over 1896-97, the work showed a profit of £44 14s.10d., and over 1897-98, a profit of £54 1s.6d. Clearly this major work was, like Grimm/Thayer, a valuable property.

Were these major works, then, despite the element of risk involved in financing them, and the editorial and administrative effort involved in producing them, always profitable in the long term? What were the Clarks' motives in investing in them? And what level of investment was involved? How quickly would the works come into profit? Answers to questions such as these will emerge in the case-studies which follow.

## 1. Moulton and Geden's 'Concordance'

### a) History

'It is undoubtedly an alarming undertaking for me,' wrote John M. Clark of Moulton and Geden's Concordance to the Greek New Testament.<sup>633</sup>

It was, however, the kind of venture upon which the firm thrived, and it was no doubt with some pride that the Clarks pointed out that they did not believe 'any other publisher would face the cost of production of such an undertaking':<sup>634</sup> especially once the Clark edition was in the market place, it would be unlikely to be threatened by rival works.

What motives led the firm to commit themselves to its publication?

The clearest statements of intent focus, as they did in the case of so many Clark works, upon the uniqueness of the Concordance, and upon the gap in the theological library shelves which it was felt to be filling. For example, in a letter to Scribners, the Clarks commented 'as for the need of the Work, that is universally admitted.'<sup>635</sup>

The announcement in the Bookseller which immediately followed publication of the Concordance developed this theme.<sup>636</sup> The

standard concordance to the Greek Testament was that by C.H. Bruder, which in its original form rested entirely upon the Textus Receptus. Attempts in an edition published in 1888 to bring it abreast of contemporary textual scholarship were held by the Clarks to have been 'unsatisfying and incomplete'. The only rivals to Bruder's work were small volumes 'of totally insufficient compass', based entirely on the Textus Receptus. This was the gap which Moulton and Geden intended to fill. Their work, it was claimed, 'adopts a new principle, and aims at providing a full and complete Concordance to the text of the Greek Testament as it is set forth in the editions



of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf ... and the English Revisers.' It is not surprising that, when initially offered the Concordance by A.S. Geden in April 1895 the Clarks replied 'the work would be quite within our line of publication.'<sup>637</sup>

Initially, another firm, George Bell and Sons, had contracted to issue Moulton and Geden's work. Bell had laid down a number of conditions, the chief among them being that the editors had to undertake that they would secure five hundred advance subscriptions for the Concordance. It is not clear by which party the agreement between Bell and the editors was severed: certainly, the terms agreed with T. & T. Clark were more favourable to Moulton and Geden than those agreed with Bell had been: the clause stipulating that advance subscribers had to be found by the editors was withdrawn.<sup>638</sup>

The fact that they were taking over a project which was already under way caused the Clarks certain difficulties when the work came to be published. A number of subscribers had been enlisted under the terms of the Bell contract prior to the Clarks' assuming responsibility for the work. They had been promised copies at a price of one guinea which they had paid in advance. When the Concordance eventually appeared in 1897 it had a selling price of £1 6s.0d, but although it was published as a net book, the Clarks felt obliged to supply copies to these original subscribers at one guinea. Similarly, booksellers who had committed themselves during the Bell period to order a certain number of copies at a trade price guaranteed then were supplied with those copies at the price quoted. This led to slight disharmony between the Clarks and other booksellers and customers.<sup>639</sup>

Agreement with Moulton and Geden was reached in late April 1895, but

due to editorial fastidiousness and production difficulties, the Concordance was not published until 3 April 1897. Throughout those years, a constant theme in the letter books is the extent of the risk being borne by the Clarks: even if the work did prove to be successful, they envisaged being 'out of pocket for years.'<sup>640</sup> The size of the risk seems in part to have been due to the sheer scale of the Concordance. Initially, it was agreed that it should run to seven or eight hundred pages; by October 1895, it was calculated on the basis of MS submitted by Geden that it would run to over 1028 pages, bringing the estimated cost to £1030.<sup>641</sup> In the event, it was claimed that printing costs alone, excluding the cost of paper, reached £1054 15s.6d., a massive investment for a firm of T. & T. Clark's size.<sup>642</sup> This figure, however does not take into account the fairly substantial discounts offered by the printers, which reduced the sum payable by the Clarks to £793 18s.3d. The extent of this reduction was possibly due to technical problems which arose in the course of production.<sup>643</sup>

As usual, the Clarks were aiming at the highest production standards possible, using very fine quality, highly super-calandered paper,<sup>644</sup> and having a new fount of type specially cut for the work.<sup>645</sup> In the end it was their view that 'a more beautiful book of the kind [had] never been produced.'<sup>646</sup> But these design factors no doubt contributed to the scale of the investment.

The size of the investment was also affected by the fastidiousness of the editors. In autumn 1895, Geden was taken to task on account of the number of corrections he was making on the proofs,<sup>647</sup> while a year later Moulton and his son were laboriously re-checking the proofs after the Clarks thought the work had been finally passed for press.<sup>648</sup> All this was completely understandable in view of the



fact that the two editors were jointly responsible for the work, and the fact that the reputation of their scholarship was at stake.

But it was frustrating for the Clarks to see time elapsing and costs increasing as the proofs passed through these numerous revisions.

Although the firm contemplated making substantial payments to the editors in recompense for the 'enormous labour' they had expended on the Concordance<sup>649</sup> they do not in fact seem to have received anything.

On the contrary, the amount of capital invested in the project by the firm was somewhat lessened by a contribution of £200 towards the outlay from A.S. Geden. In October 1895, when it became clear that the work was going to be substantially longer than first planned, he offered to contribute a further £50. This second offer was not immediately taken up by the firm: they only asked to reserve the right to claim the additional £50 one year after publication if the work showed serious financial loss.<sup>650</sup> And in fact Geden did remit an additional £50 on 26 November 1897. In spite of these contributions from Geden, however, the firm's investment was very sizable.

On publication, the work's prospects seem to have been favourable. 400 copies were ordered in the UK before publication,<sup>651</sup> and the firm felt that there would be a steady demand for it due to its importance, and to the fact that it would be several years before it could possibly be superseded.<sup>652</sup> How profitable did it in fact prove to be?

#### b) Profitability

Financial data relating to the Concordance has been preserved for the three financial years beginning with 1896-97 in the course of which



the work was published.<sup>653</sup> This information enables us to estimate with reasonable accuracy the costings of the first two printings of the work (750 copies in 1897, and a further 540 copies in 1899) and the levels of return which these would produce.

TABLE II: 20

<u>Moulton and Geden's 'Concordance'.: Costings</u>			
<u>of the first printing (750 copies)</u>			
<u>Outlay</u>		<u>Income</u>	
Composition and Printing (1)	£793 18s. 3d.	Sales (5)	£785 8s. 9d.
Paper	£50 1s. 0d.	Paid by A.S. Geden	£250 0s. 0d.
Stereoplates	£105 5s. 0d.	Profit of sale of plates to Scribners(6)	£89 19s. 3d.
Binding (2)	£34 14s. 1d.	Royalty on Scribners' sales (7)	£26 19s.11d.
Back Stamp	£1 1s. 0d.		
Promotion (3)	£5 3s. 9d.		
Advertising (4)	£36 12s. 1d.		
Proportion of Lists	£4 0s. 0d.		
Miscellaneous	£1 0s.11d.		
	<u>£1031 16s. 1d.</u>		
Profit	£120 11s.10d.		
	<u>£1152 7s.11d.</u>		<u>£1152 7s.11d.</u>

(1) This was the sum which was payable after the deduction of various discounts and reductions allowed by the printers.

(2) This figure is an estimate: only 600 copies were bound up in the year of publication. The binding cost of £34 14s.1d. for the entire edition is arrived at as follows:

An estimated 700 copies bound in cloth at 8.83d per copy =  
£25 15s.0d.

An estimated 50 copies bound in leather at 43d. per copy =  
£8 19s.1d.

(3) The cost of printing 7500 prospectuses, and 2810 other promotional items.

(4) This figure is made up as follows:

Credited in respect of the Clarks' advertising -

£15 12s.0d. (Critical Review £2 8s.0d., Expository Times £13 4s.0d.)

Payments made for outside advertising - £21 0s.1d.

(5) The pricing of the Concordance was extremely complicated. In the first place, copies were available both in cloth and in leather. But in the second place, a wide range of trade prices obtained in each of these categories. Some of these discounted prices were 'net' - a fixed price without further discount, be it 21s.0d., 19s.6d., or 19s.0d. or one of a number of other prices; others were non-net - the basic trade price was subject to further discount, as for example in the case of 115 copies in cloth which were sold at





significantly more profitable than the first one.

TABLE II: 21

Moulton and Geden's 'Concordance': Costings of  
the second printing (540 copies)

	<u>Outlay</u>		<u>Income</u>
Printing	£76 17s. 2d.	Sales (2)	£556 10s.10d.
Paper	£33 14s. 6d.	Royalty on	
Binding (1)	£25 11s. 3d.	Scribners'	
Advertising	£8 17s. 9d.	sales (3)	£20 0s. 0d.
Promotion	£1 5s.10d.		
Proportion of Lists	£3 0s. 0d.		
	<u>£149 6s. 6d.</u>		
Profit	£427 4s. 4d.		
	<u>£576 10s.10d.</u>		<u>£576 10s.10d.</u>

(1) Pro rata. (500 Cloth - £18 8s. 0d.  
40 Leather - £7 3s.3d.)

(2) On the basis of actual sales, it can be estimated that the 540 copies in the second impression would sell as follows:

167 - Cloth binding (discounted price 'net')	-	£174 13s. 0d.
333 - Cloth binding (discounted price non-net)	-	£330 4s. 6d.
20 - Leather binding (discounted price 'net')	-	£26 3s. 4d.
20 - Leather binding (discounted price non-net)	-	£25 10s. 0d.
		<u>£556 10s.10d.</u>

(3) This figure is a conservative estimate. £9 7s.2d. was paid by Scribners in 1898-99 in respect of sales of 76 copies of their edition. Given that the British second impression would be likely to last for at least five years, it seems probable that the Clarks would receive more than £20 in royalty payments from Scribners while it was still in print.

On the basis of these figures, the second impression would have yielded a profit of £427 4s.4d., a return of 286.09% on the investment. From this profit, Geden's initial contribution of £250 could have been refunded. Only 96 copies of the work were sold over 1898-99 however: at that rate of sale, it would have been over five years before the second impression produced its full return. The annual rate of return would therefore have been a more modest



57.218%. If sales were maintained, therefore, the Commentary would have proved to be a reasonably profitable venture.

The annual accounts give a confusing impression of its performance. The 1896-97 accounts show a profit of £175 16s.6d. In fact, however, £325 8s.6d., expended in having the work set up in type, had been charged against the firm's overheads in the previous year, 1895-96. Therefore at the end of 1896-97, the Concordance was still £149 12s.0d. short of covering its costs. Over 1897-98, the work showed a profit of £165 9s.1d. on the year's trading, but it was still £15 17s.1d. short of breaking even. Due to the printing of the second impression in 1898-99, that year's trading showed a loss of £27 1s.5d.: by mid-1899, the work was therefore £42 18s.6d. short of covering its costs. Over 1899-1900, it is to be expected that the Concordance broke even and began to show a solid profit. The work was to remain in print for many decades: the long-term return must have been considerable, even allowing for the fact that Geden's loan had to be repaid and some remuneration for his work given to him.

## 2. The Dictionary of the Bible

### a) History

One of the earliest mentions of the five-volume Dictionary of the Bible in the letter books occurs in September 1893, when John M. Clark informed a correspondent that he had 'almost' made up his mind to undertake the project.<sup>654</sup> It is uncertain whether the initial proposal had come from Hastings or from the Clarks, but it would seem that Hastings was the prime mover, for Clark confessed that he had been 'pressing [him] about it.'<sup>655</sup>

The bulk of the editorial work on the Dictionary was done by Hastings, but he had a number of assistants, chief of whom was an old school-friend, the Rev. John A. Selbie. Selbie was, when the Dictionary was first discussed, minister of the Free Church at Birsay on Orkney.<sup>656</sup> When, in 1896, he succeeded his father as pastor of the Free Church at Maryculter near Aberdeen, he and Hastings were able to work very closely together.<sup>657</sup> Also on the editorial team were A.B. Davidson, Professor of Hebrew at New College, Edinburgh; S.R. Driver, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford; and H.B. Swete, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Apparently, W. Sanday, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford was also closely involved in the work, but he did not wish his name to be on the title page as illness had prevented him from contributing as much as he would have liked to the project. It is clear that Hastings was captaining a strong team.

Work on the Dictionary was under way certainly from early 1894, but its forthcoming appearance was not publicly announced until January 1896. At that point, although a large part of the first volume was in type, the firm did not envisage its being published until Autumn 1897, as they intended having the whole work in type before any part of it was issued.<sup>658</sup> Such a policy would have necessitated a very large investment before there was any return whatsoever: in fact the plan was changed and the first two volumes were issued at a time when much work remained to be done on the third and fourth. The news that the Dictionary was about to be published seems to have been greeted with enthusiasm. The British Weekly, for example, gave it prominent advance publicity,<sup>659</sup> and on the eventual appearance of the first volume (delayed until the

Spring of 1898 due to the dilatoriness of some of the contributors,<sup>660</sup> sales were satisfactory. Two thousand copies were disposed of in the first few months after publication,<sup>661</sup> and Hastings pronounced himself pleased with early reactions to the work, commenting that in Germany and America, as well as in the UK, it had had 'a great reception - the reception for which [the team had] all worked hard, but which [they] scarcely dared anticipate', and moreover, that it was proving itself to be an indispensable tool in the sermon-preparation of many ministers.<sup>662</sup> The response to the remaining volumes was equally warm. These volumes were published in, respectively, 1899, 1900 and 1902, and 1904 saw the issue of a supplementary volume.<sup>663</sup>

#### b) Motives

When we examine the reasons which led the firm to undertake the project, it seems clear that although financial factors were very carefully taken into consideration, the prime motive lying behind the decision to proceed with the Dictionary of the Bible was the desire to further theological understanding and enlightenment. The Dictionary was thus motivated by a vision similar to that which, as we have seen, guided the Clarks in other areas of their publishing programme.

##### i. The theological motive

Once again the Clarks' aim was to fill a gap on the theological library shelves. There was an indubitable need for a Bible dictionary which would reflect contemporary theological thinking, the earlier nineteenth century dictionaries, such as Fairbairn's Imperial Bible Dictionary being, it was held, out-dated in presupposition, technique, and style of presentation.<sup>664</sup> True,



there had been an attempt to update one of the earlier works, that by Dr William Smith which had initially appeared in three volumes between 1860 and 1863. The first volume was revised, and issued in two parts in 1893, but although there were plans for similar re-issues of the other two volumes, these never appeared, possibly because of the negative response accorded to those published in 1893. Of those volumes, the Clarks commented 'Great disappointment is felt here [in the UK] regarding the new edition of Smith's Bible Dictionary': this disappointment they felt augured well for their forthcoming work, the weakness of a potential rival having been recognised.<sup>665</sup> Their Dictionary aimed to reflect properly and fully the advances which scholarship had made over the previous three decades. And simply because it was meeting such a widely recognised need, the firm felt that the market for it would be considerable.

There is no rival Dictionary of the same scope; it is a book which is being eagerly looked for, & one which all scholars, clergymen & students must have. 666

It is clear that in producing the Dictionary, the Clarks, from sound financial as well as spiritual motives, were aiming at the widest possible audience. The work was not targetted simply at the academic theologian, but at the ordinary pastor in his study. Hence Hastings pointed out in the foreword to the first volume that the Dictionary was being published to equip the Church for its teaching ministry. The fact that the work was aimed at a wide audience affected the editorial strategy governing its production. Acting very much in line with the Clarke's basic principles, Hastings excluded unsubstantiated speculation from the Dictionary, admitting only what he accepted as proven facts. His success in following this policy was recognised: one reviewer pointed out:

The true aim of a Bible Dictionary is always kept in

view, the reporting of those results which have been certified by the general verdict of scholarship rather than the actual discussion of problems which are only now in the course of solution. 667

The Clarks aimed, therefore, at providing a scholarly, readily-marketable Bible dictionary for the widest possible audience.

### ii. The profit motive

Success in that direction would, of course, result in financial success also. But once the basic formula for the work had been agreed, decisions had to be reached on several other matters which had bearing on its potential profitability.

#### I) Considerations of content

The first of these factors was an editorial one. If the Dictionary were to be successful, its contents had to be of a consistently high quality. Hastings unwaveringly aimed at the highest standards of scholarship and accuracy: we have already noted his comment 'for all our sakes, & for the sake of truth, we must make the Work as accurate as possible.'<sup>668</sup> Such accuracy was all the more important in the light of the competition which the Dictionary was to face from A. & C. Black's Encyclopaedia Biblica. If it were to outsell this rival, it was not enough that the Dictionary appear on the scene first (vital though this was): it must also outshine the Encyclopaedia in terms of breadth of appeal and quality of content. It was successful on both counts, for the first volume of the Black work did not appear until 1899, the year which saw the publication of Hastings' second volume, and the editorial policies on which the Dictionary was based would seem to have made it the more appealing of the two rival works. It seems unlikely that the Clarks knew of



the Encyclopaedia Biblica project when their work was in the early stages of planning, but they were certainly aware of Black's activities by January 1896. Even at that point, they seem to have considered that their work, by virtue of its breadth of coverage, and its tapping of a larger reservoir of scholarship was the more likely to succeed,<sup>669</sup> and Hastings' awareness of the nature of the Encyclopaedia no doubt led him in the course of preparing his work to heighten further those features which it was felt gave it the edge over its rival. The Dictionary's greater success seems to have resulted not only from its wider range of subject coverage, but also from the more moderate theological stance of the editor. Hastings' 'sympathies were with "moderate" as distinguished from "advanced" criticism, and the preacher [and preachers were likely to form the largest proportion of the market for the Dictionary or the Encyclopaedia] tends to favour "moderate" criticism unless he be under some compelling conviction.'<sup>670</sup>

## II) Considerations of size and format

As befitted a firm which consistently put theological considerations before financial ones, T. & T. Clark seem to have left the matter of the length of the Dictionary entirely in Hastings' hands. Initially, it was planned to issue four volumes; at one stage, it seemed likely that only three would be required ('the Editor believes the entire work is contracting rather than expanding');<sup>671</sup> in the event, the work stretched to the initially anticipated four volumes, and extended to a supplementary volume.

There was some discussion as to which form of issue would be most appropriate if the circulation of the work were to be maximised.



At one stage, the Clarks contemplated publishing it in parts or divisions, presumably prior to, or concurrently with its publication in volume form,<sup>672</sup> but in the event it was decided not to issue any parts or divisions until after the first volume had appeared.<sup>673</sup>

In an earlier section we noted the Clarks' aversion to part-publication: there is in fact no evidence that the Dictionary ever appeared other than in volume form.

In considering presentation and production standards, the firm, as was their wont, aimed high. Attractive layout and sheer bulk were clearly held to be important factors in winning sales. Indeed the Clarks seem to have felt that sales of the Dictionary were affected by the apparently mildly devious practices of A. & C. Black: as we have seen, although the Encyclopaedia volumes contained less material than those of the Dictionary, Black had made their volumes appear to be larger by using thicker paper than the Clarks and by numbering columns rather than pages.<sup>674</sup>

Presentation and form of issue clearly influenced sales: the Clarks prided themselves on the quality of their products:

We always use the very best workmanship & material, & the result is that our books are greatly superior in those respects to the mass of books produced in London. 675

### III) Consideration of price: Net or non-net?

It is of no small interest that the Clarks were fixing the price of the Dictionary of the Bible in late 1897, in the middle of the long series of negotiations, described by Frederick Macmillan,<sup>676</sup> which led to the acceptance of the Net Book Agreement. In the three decades which followed the collapse of the Booksellers' Association in 1852, purchasers of new books came to expect a habitual discount of twenty-five percent on the nominal published price. The granting

of this discount had extremely deleterious effects on the profitability of serious bookselling firms, for, according to Macmillan,<sup>677</sup> the profit to be made on the sale of new books was 'so exiguous that it became more and more difficult for booksellers to make a living'. To resolve this problem, Macmillan suggested that certain new books should be designated 'net' books and that these should be sold at a fixed price, lower than the nominal published price would have been under the old system. The bookseller would be assured that his profit on each transaction would remain intact, and would therefore be encouraged to stock larger quantities of new titles. Opposition to this scheme was to be expected from some authors who might feel that it would affect the sales of their works and the level of their royalties, if these were calculated on the published price, and from some booksellers who might resent this interference in the way they conducted their business. And indeed, when Macmillan first outlined his plan, in the Bookseller for 6 March 1890, it met with considerable opposition, many holding it to be impracticable. Macmillan's firm however began to issue a limited number of books under the net system with the full consent of the authors, and refused to supply any Macmillan titles to booksellers who did not sell the net books at their published price. Soon, other publishers joined Macmillan in issuing some net books, and certain leading booksellers were sufficiently persuaded of the merits of the system by 1895 to form a society - The Associated Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland - with the avowed intention of supporting the issue of net books, and persuading fellow-booksellers to lend similar support to the net system. In the same year, 1895, the Publishers' Association was



founded with the initial aim of negotiating with the booksellers. Two proposals put forward by the booksellers over the next few years were rejected by the publishers, one, dating from 1897, because it sought to limit discount on non-net, or 'subject' books also, and was opposed by the Society of Authors, the second, dating from March 1898, because although it had the support of the authors, it was, in Macmillan's view, so complex as to be unworkable. Finally, in November 1898, the publishers agreed on a proposal which was put to the booksellers in early 1899, and accepted by them on 24 February. The key principle was that new books should be issued as far as possible at net prices, and existing books should, where practicable, be converted into net books by taking off one sixth of the current price.<sup>678</sup> Following the acceptance by the Associated Booksellers of the Net Book scheme, that body successfully canvassed their colleagues across the country, persuading them (not without difficulty in some cases) to append their signatures to the Net Book Agreement.

It was therefore as negotiations between the Associated Booksellers and the Publishers' Association were under way that the Clarks were fixing the price of their new Dictionary. Was it to be net or non-net? Clearly, they made their decision not on the basis of any strong views on the rights or wrongs of the net system, but on grounds of pragmatic expediency. They sought to ascertain which method of pricing the book would maximise its circulation by making it acceptable to the majority of booksellers. The Moulton/Geden Concordance was, as we noted, issued as a net book, but the Clarks' initial decision was that the Dictionary should be non-net: this was agreed due to the poor performance of net books issued by the firm



(although in fact there are only eight such books in the 1902 Catalogue). 'We and other Publishers too, I know, have been so much disappointed with nett books', they claimed,<sup>679</sup> and elsewhere expressed the same sentiment even more strongly, complaining that it was their 'invariable experience' that the trade would not stock net books.<sup>680</sup> If a work like a Bible dictionary were to achieve its maximum sales potential, it had to be prominently displayed in the bookshops, and this, the Clarks felt, would not happen if it were issued as a net book.<sup>681</sup> Their decision that the work should be non-net was conveyed to Hastings in July 1897: given their strength of feeling, it is surprising to discover that, following pressure from the Edinburgh booksellers who urged in line with Macmillan's views that they had 'far more encouragement & pleasure in pushing [net books]', the Clarks seriously considered reversing their decision later in the year. They seem to have come close to agreeing to the Edinburgh trade's request, feeling that the work was of such importance - 'there is no rival Dictionary of the same scope' - that booksellers everywhere, regardless of their attitude to the net book scheme would have to stock it in order to satisfy the demands of their customers.<sup>682</sup> However, before the end of 1897 the Clarks had reverted to their initial position: the work would be non-net.<sup>683</sup> The pressure of the Edinburgh booksellers had been outweighed by the pressure of others in the trade who had 'appealed earnestly' to the Clarks against the net system. One Scottish bookseller had gone so far as to say that a net price would 'kill' the Dictionary, and while the publishers, believing that the work would sell whatever price system was used, did not wholly agree with him, they clearly were afraid that its sales would be reduced if it

were issued with a net price. This fear over-rode any commitment they may have felt to the net system.<sup>684</sup> And so the Bible Dictionary's first retail purchasers received the customary twenty-five percent discount on a nominal price of £1 8s.0d. per volume. There is, of course, no means of calculating the extent to which sales of the work were affected by its being issued non-net: what is significant is that the Clarks made the decision to issue it outwith the net system in a conscious effort to maximise sales.

#### IV) Considerations of the US market

From the enthusiasm with which the Clarks committed themselves to the task of marketing the Dictionary in the US, it is clear that they considered an agreement with a US publisher to be vital to the success of the work. Scribners were notified in March 1894 that the Dictionary was forthcoming,<sup>685</sup> and were urged to negotiate for the American agency, it being pointed out to them firstly that several other American houses were showing an interest ('but we certainly prefer to arrange with you if possible, & we hope there will be no difficulty about it')<sup>686</sup> and secondly that, as it would be impracticable for the one US firm to hold the agency for both the Dictionary of the Bible and the Encyclopaedia Biblica due to the clash of loyalties which would result, it was important that they reach a decision quickly, preferably in favour of the Clark work. The Clarks would grant the agency to another house if Scribners agreed to handle the Encyclopaedia Biblica.<sup>687</sup> The main reason John M. Clark visited the US in the Spring of 1896 seems to have been to negotiate the terms under which Scribners would handle the Dictionary in the US,<sup>688</sup> and an agreement had been reached by May of that year. It was not, apparently, as favourable to the Edinburgh



firm's interests as John Clark had hoped for: 'The copyright question has proved a most serious difficulty, and our American friends are not slow to profit by it.'<sup>689</sup>

The full significance of this comment is unclear. Certainly, in order to secure the US copyright, a certain proportion of each volume had to be printed in America from type set on American soil. In order to get round this difficulty, the Clarks supplied Scribners with plates for most of the work, and also with loose type so that certain of the articles amounting, it would seem, to some thirty pages in toto per volume, could be set and printed in the US.<sup>690</sup> But this procedure, although irksome, was surely a fairly minor problem, unlikely to have significantly affected the terms concluded with the American firm.

And indeed, these terms would seem to have been reasonably satisfactory from the Clarks' point of view, although there is no formal record of them. It would appear from the account books, however, that Scribners were to pay a total of £1250 for the plates of the four volumes. This figure was payable in four instalments as the volumes appeared. Scribners also paid for incidentals such as the Consul's certificate, and packing charges, and possibly also for the carriage of the plates across the Atlantic although this is unclear.<sup>691</sup> It would also seem that they paid the Edinburgh firm a royalty on copies sold in the US (perhaps this royalty only became payable after a certain number of copies had been disposed of). In 1899, for example, the Clarks received £128 14s.7d. from Scribners, a royalty on 1391 volumes sold, 45c being payable on each volume. (The royalty was at the rate of 7½% in most instances, but sometimes rose to 10%, presumably in the case of leather-bound volumes.)<sup>692</sup> When one



considers that the actual cost of a set of plates produced for Scribners was £66 16s.6d.,<sup>693</sup> it becomes obvious that the American firm was making a not inconsiderable contribution to the editorial costs of the work. The part which income from America played in the overall profit-and-loss accounts of the Dictionary will be considered shortly. Certainly, despite their private complaints about the difficulties they had faced in reaching agreement with Scribners, the Clarks were publicly delighted that terms had been concluded with that firm. 'We rejoice that our two houses are again to be united in the publication of so important an enterprise.'<sup>694</sup>

#### V) Considerations of promotion and distribution

A future Part deals in detail with the Clarks' general approach to promotion and distribution. But it is worth examining here the firm's promotion and distribution strategy in the case of a single work, the Dictionary. Clearly, effective promotion and efficient distribution were held to be vital to its success. To promote the work, between twenty and thirty thousand copies of a prospectus were printed,<sup>695</sup> and review copies (it is uncertain how many) were distributed. The results of this strategy are, of course, difficult to quantify. The work seems, in general, to have been favourably reviewed, but this did not always affect the sales. A positive review (in the Guardian) which the firm expected would result in the sale of several hundred copies seemed, at least at first, 'to have done no good.'<sup>696</sup> But the very fact that such a comment was made indicates that it was normal for a good review to generate sales. And even if it did not, the benefits of the favourable climate of opinion towards a work which would be engendered by such a review were not to be minimised.

When it came to distributing the work, although the firm never employed door-to-door canvassers.<sup>697</sup> There was always the possibility of selling direct to the customer, thereby cutting out the booksellers. Jealous of their good relationship with the trade, the Clarks clearly attempted to avoid direct selling as much as possible, but it always remained a temptation, especially as the firm was aiming at such a clearly-definable, and easily-reachable target audience. Moreover, in selling direct, the firm could supply the work more cheaply than it could be obtained through the trade: while this inevitably antagonised booksellers, it might well, if the customer were an impecunious student or pastor, have secured sales which would otherwise have been lost. Thus, occasionally, the firm sold direct. For example, when one W.E. Adam of Manchester requested that he be supplied with a copy of the Dictionary at a reduced rate, presumably stressing in doing so his financial stringency, he was told that the retail price of £1 1s.0d. after discount of 25% was the lowest possible one, given the production costs, and then informed that if he would 'kindly consider [it] a private matter, [the Clarks would] be glad to send [him] a copy at the rate of 15<sup>s</sup>/- per Volume':<sup>698</sup> that is, 3s.0d. less than the normal trade price. Sometimes, discounts were given to members of a particular institution, or pastors of a given denomination. In the case of the Dictionary, for example, the Primitive Methodist Book Room in London was supplied with copies cheaply on the understanding that they were to be offered at a reduced price to impoverished Primitive Methodist ministers. No doubt the firm's motive here was as much to further the beneficial influence of their work as it was to maximise sales. But the arrangement provoked



considerable antagonism from the trade, largely due, however, to the fact noted earlier that the Book Room broke the conditions of the agreement by circulating an advertisement to some Congregational and Baptist ministers offering the book at 19s.6d., a reduction of 1s.6d. on the price for which the booksellers would have supplied it after discount.<sup>699</sup> But the bulk of the work's sales were through normal retail outlets.

#### VI) Considerations of payment to authors

The final factor affecting the profitability of the work was the rate of payment to the editor and his team of contributors. There are no specific data available on the rate of payment to contributors; such general figures relating to the editorial costs of the work as have been preserved will be considered below in the section on the profitability of the Dictionary.

The Clarks, therefore, sought to fill a significant gap in the market with a work which had the maximum sales potential; having created that work, they endeavoured to secure its widest possible distribution. How successful in financial terms did the whole enterprise prove to be?

#### c) Profitability

Although sales of the first volume of the Dictionary were not as steady as the Clarks might have hoped for (expecting a good sale during the Assembly season in Spring 1898, they were disappointed that only two copies were disposed of)<sup>700</sup> nevertheless they were sufficiently high for a second impression to be required before the end of the financial year 1897-98. It is impossible to isolate the cost of either of these impressions, but the data we have available<sup>701</sup> give a full picture of the income and expenditure relating to the



work over 1897-98, and enables us to assess its profitability.

There follows a simplified version of this financial data.

TABLE II: 22

Dictionary of the Bible: Volume One accounts 1897-98			
<u>Outlay</u>		<u>Income</u>	
Composition (1)	£1040 11s. 0d.	Sales	
Blockmaking (2)	£19 17s. 6d.	Cloth 1692 $\frac{3}{4}$	
1st set stereos	£96 16s. 6d.	copies (11)	£1551 4s. 6d.
2nd set stereos (3)	£66 16s. 6d.	Morocco - 339	
Printing-1st imp.(4)	£75 9s. 9d.	copies (12)	£374 11s. 0d.
Printing-2nd imp.(4)	£68 15s. 0d.	Income from	
Paper - 1st imp.	£121 9s. 8d.	Scribners (13)	£377 9s. 6d.
Paper - 2nd imp.	£120 16s. 5d.		
Maps (5)	£92 10s. 0d.		
Binding (6)	£156 13s. 9d.		
Promotion	£90 0s. 5d.		
Advertising (7)	£105 10s. 4d.		
Contributors' fees (8)	£1325 18s. 3d.		
Insurance on Hastings	£77 0s. 0d.		
Proportion of Lists	£10 0s. 0d.		
Miscellaneous (9)	£8 6s. 0d.		
	£3476 11s. 1d.		£2303 5s. 0d.
Discounts on printing	£127 10s. 3d.	Loss	£1045 15s. 10d.
(10)	£3349 0s. 10d.		£3349 0s. 10d.

(1) Includes miscellaneous costs such as that for the purchase of Hebrew and Coptic type, and £27 10s. 0d. for proofs. (110 formes at 5/-).

(2) The cost of 84 blocks, of which 53 were used in the first volume.

(3) This second set of stereos would be for Scribners.

(4) The size of these impressions was 2160 each.

(5) 6100 copies of seven maps.

(6) Cloth - 1950 copies at 10d.

Morocco - 359 copies at 3s.9d.

50 copies at 3s.3d.

(7) Includes £79 8s.4d. in outside publications, and £26 2s.0d. in the Expository Times and the Critical Review.

(8) Includes £169 2s.3d. paid to Hastings on account of royalties. He must have had a royalty agreement with the firm. Selbie received £150, and R.M. Boyd, who had presumably undertaken some editorial duties, received £10 14s.6d. The rate of payment to contributors is not specified. Presumably this total includes payment for contributions which were still to appear in future volumes, unless payment was only made on publication.

(9) Includes the cost of packing cases for sending stereos to Scribners; the cost of type sent to them so that they could print certain articles from the Dictionary from type set in the US in order to conform to US copyright law; the cost (£1 11s.0d.) of a Consular Certificate; and the cost of a stamp for the lettering on the spine of the work (£3 2s.0d.).

(10) The account book erroneously totals this £3349 10s.10d.

(11) These sales were at a variety of rates -

10% + $\frac{13}{12}$	799 $\frac{1}{4}$	@ 18/-	£719 6s. 6d.
10% ordinary	240	@ 18/-	£216 0s. 0d.
7 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	294 $\frac{1}{4}$	@ 18/6	£272 3s. 8d.
5%	310 $\frac{1}{4}$	@ 19/-	£294 14s. 9d.
Net	48	@ 20/-	£48 0s. 0d.
28/- - 30%	1	@ 19/7	19s. 7d.

It will be seen that the percentages were calculated on a base price of £1. 0s. 0d.

(12) These sales, too, were at a variety of rates -

10% + $\frac{13}{12}$	144	@ 21/9	£156 12s. 0d.
10% ordinary	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	@ 21/9	£90 16s. 1d.
7 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	43	@ 22/5	£48 3s. 11d.
5%	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	@ 23/-	£75 6s. 6d.
Net	3	@ 24/2	£3 12s. 6d.

It will be seen that the percentages were calculated on a base price of £1 4s.2d.

(13) This income includes £3 19s.2d. paid for miscellaneous items, such as packing cases; £61 0s.4d. paid for maps; and £312 10s.0d. paid in accordance with the agreement reached with the Clarks for a set of plates.

At first sight, the loss over 1897-98 seems sizable.<sup>702</sup> One notices that the largest single item of expenditure was the editorial work, which cost £1325 18s. 3d., 38.13% of the total outlay. One notices also that the income from Scribners, although not inconsiderable, went a comparatively small way towards offsetting the loss.

The crucial factor, however, is that although a second impression of 2160 copies had been printed and the printing paid for by the end of the financial year, only 84 copies had been disposed of. Over 1897-98, 2031 $\frac{3}{4}$  copies were sold, and 212 $\frac{1}{2}$  given away as presentation



and review copies. Out of the 4320 printed, therefore, 2076 remained. So, at a total cost of £3349 0s.10d., 4320 copies were produced: the unit cost to the firm was 15s.6d. per copy, and each sale would yield a profit of 2s.6d. per copy, a return on investment of 16.13%. The loss of £1045 15s.10d. would be wiped out by the time a further 1218 copies of the second impression were sold.<sup>703</sup> On the remaining 858 copies of the second impression<sup>704</sup> a profit of £736 9s.0d.<sup>705</sup> would be realised, leaving out of the reckoning copies sold in morocco bindings. Thus, the two impressions would yield a return on the initial investment (3349 0s.10d.) of 21.98%.<sup>706</sup> These calculations ignore on the one hand the income from Scribners, and on the other the royalty payable to Hastings, but this figure of 21.98% is a remarkable one especially as the object of some of the initial expenditure - such as the promotion and advertising budget - should be seen as building up an awareness of the work as a whole, and as such should not in total be charged against the first volume. 709 copies of the second impression were in fact sold over 1898-99. A third impression, if required, would produce even more spectacular results: its costs would amount to £373 3s.6d. (again excluding whatever royalty Hastings received).<sup>707</sup> The unit cost would amount to  $\frac{£373\ 3s.6d.}{2160} = 3s.5d.$  The profit per copy sold would be 14s.7d. The return on investment would be 426.82%, and the breakeven point 19.21% of the print run.

The costings of the second volume, produced in 1898-99 in an impression of 4320 copies are similar to those of the first. Its sales were at a corresponding level, and it would yield a similar return.

Obviously, substantial overall profits would not be shown in the



annual accounts until the whole work had appeared, and the origination costs of the five volumes had been recovered. But if the quality of the work were maintained, and if sufficient copies were sold, the Dictionary would prove to be extremely profitable. These, of course, are major qualifications. It was to the credit of Hastings and the Clarks that the work met the needs of a sufficiently large number of people to guarantee the sales figures which were essential if it were to break even. Had further impressions of each volume not been required, the firm's position would have been very different.

### 3. Conclusions

It would seem from these two case studies that, while very real risk was involved in the firm's issue of major reference works involving a large investment, in fact, due to the Clarks' shrewd assessment of the market, and due to the scholarship and literary competence of the editorial teams, large profits accrued.

Section F: Miscellaneous theological works

The remaining theological titles on the Clark list fit in to none of the preceding categories. Many of these monographs and miscellaneous works were initially received unsolicited by the firm, who, like any established publishers, were regularly made the recipients of MSS from would-be-published authors. While some of the miscellaneous titles issued by the Clarks were important works by well-known figures therefore, a good proportion of them were by authors unknown outwith their immediate circles.<sup>708</sup>

From the letter books, one receives the impression that the publishing of miscellaneous works was, financially speaking, more of a hit-or-miss affair than the issue of titles in the other categories handled by the firm, where the potential market could, it seems, be more accurately estimated. In consequence, it would appear that the miscellaneous works were more likely to make a loss than were the others. Although the investment was small, and the loss in consequence not substantial, nevertheless losses on a range of titles did mount up, causing some alarm to the firm. Towards the end of the century, the Clarks were more reluctant to commit themselves to the issue of miscellaneous works, feeling that publishers were flooding the market with more titles than it could absorb, and that losses were therefore all the more likely. Thus they averred 'It is a mistake to publish too many books',<sup>709</sup> being of the opinion that 'considering the enormous mass of books [then] being issued from the Press, far greater caution [was] necessary than [had formerly been] the case.'<sup>710</sup> These comments date from 1899: in fact, we find very similar views being expressed in the previous decade. In September 1887, John M. Clark was doubtful

about the sales potential of an MS which he had received: 'we have published so much of recent years for which we have not been, & probably never shall be, recouped.'<sup>711</sup>

In accepting miscellaneous theological works for publication, there were two courses open to the Clarks: either they could take the entire risk themselves or else they could reach some kind of risk-sharing agreement with the author. In certain cases they went so far as to publish on commission, the author bearing the entire risk. What factors influenced their decision to publish or not to publish, in the light of a flooded market and their previous experiences of loss? And how, having decided to publish, did they calculate the degree of risk they were prepared to bear? Finally, how profitable did the firm's miscellaneous publications in fact prove to be? This section addresses these and similar questions, dealing first with works published at the Clarks' own risk, and then with works in the case of which the risk was in some way shared with, or borne totally by, the author.

### 1. Publication at the firm's risk

There is no doubt that, wherever possible, the Clarks preferred to take the entire risk. It was, they felt, 'the simpler plan...more pleasant for both Author & Publisher'.<sup>712</sup> More pleasant it might be, but only if the work had a reasonable chance of success. What factors did the Clarks consider before agreeing to publish at their own risk? How well were the authors remunerated? How profitable or otherwise did the works prove to be?

#### a) Selection policy

If a theological work were to be published at the Clarks' risk, it



had to pass a number of tests.

i. The quality of the work

In the first place, the work's content and style had to be of unquestionable merit.

As always, the Clarks were prepared to look favourably on a work whose scholarship was demonstrably competent. There was no question, for example of James Moffatt's The Historical New Testament being rejected: he was, the firm felt, 'a scholar of high standing, the peer of such men as Professor Denney, & [the] book [would] be a credit to him for scholarship.'<sup>713</sup> Or again, the quality of another book which, it was felt, would be 'useful to...students' led to its acceptance at the firm's risk, despite the fact that the market was in such a depressed state that Sir Thomas could not envisage the demand for it being large.<sup>714</sup> Equally, a work whose scholarship was clearly defective would be certain to be rejected. For instance, an MS from one E.J. Nurse of Edgbaston was turned down because it was deemed to be 'full of inaccuracies', 'totally uncritical', and 'inconsistent'.<sup>715</sup>

But even a work of proven ability and accuracy was not guaranteed publication, for the firm had discovered that scholarship did, 'unfortunately...[, ] not always ensure a large sale for a book'.<sup>716</sup> It was difficult to predict how successful a work would be from a commercial point of view: thus the Clarks had been frequently surprised to observe that 'some books of marked ability [fell] dead from the press, while others, undoubtedly inferior, [took] the public fancy'.<sup>717</sup> The author to whom this remark was addressed had his work Words to Young Christians (1893)

published by the firm at their risk, but it was by no means their invariable practice to issue every miscellaneous work of proven quality which was offered to them. In the case of several other categories of publication, we have seen that the Clarks were ready to proceed with works of quality even if it was extremely doubtful whether they would break even. When it came to the miscellaneous works, however, although the firm did take the risk of certain titles in the case of which a profit was by no means guaranteed, in most cases where the quality was high but the sales potential dubious they would have seem to have suggested sharing the risk with the author. It would appear therefore that in this area of their publishing, commercial factors played a larger part in their decision-making than in the others. Or perhaps it was simply that it was practical in the case of smaller works to expect the author to share in the comparatively small investment, whereas it would have been financially unrealistic to expect, say, Hastings to share the risk of the Dictionary or Exell of the Interpreter.

If he were to have some prospect of having his work accepted by the Clarks, an author had to demonstrate not only the competence of his scholarship, but also the effectiveness of his literary style. The firm was inclined to be favourably-disposed towards one work because there was 'a freshness about it'.<sup>718</sup> Three months earlier they had gently pointed out to another author that his style, which reviewers had found 'tough', 'difficult', 'knotted' and 'gnarled', had adversely affected the sale of an otherwise excellent monograph, and had, by way of explanation, contrasted its performance with that of a title by an unknown American, the Outline of Christian Theology by W. Clarke which had sold 1700 copies in a few months, with little

advertising. Its sales were due largely, the Clarks felt, to the simplicity of the author's style.<sup>719</sup> If quality of style was important, so too was the title, which could of course be readily changed with the author's agreement. 'The Title is of great importance [to the sales potential of the book], & would require to be very carefully considered',<sup>720</sup> one author was told; another had it pointed out to him that his working title A Bishop's Anathema would 'never do',<sup>721</sup> while a third changed the title of his book from The Problem of Philosophy to What is Thought?, only to discover that the Clarks were concerned over the italicised is which they felt did not 'look well.'<sup>722</sup>

These factors, quality of content and of style were taken into account when the Clarks were considering a work. A well-written work of indubitable value would be seriously considered, but quality alone was not enough to guarantee its acceptance, certainly at the firm's own risk. Other factors were also taken into consideration.

#### ii. The nature of the work

If a miscellaneous work were to be published by the Clarks, it had to be the kind of work which, in their experience, was likely to perform well. As a general principle, it can be said as we noted earlier in the Section on Series that the Clarks considered collections of lectures, sermons, and previously-published or posthumous material to be most unlikely to be profitable, and avoided them almost irrespective of their quality in theological terms.

This principle is clearly illustrated in the firm's letter books.

Hence, for example:

Without exception I think, we find that collected



articles on such topics [It is not clear what the subject of the MS in question was.] which have already either appeared in Reviews, or have formed the subject of Lectures or addresses, never pay the cost of production. 723

Admittedly, that letter refers to collections on particularly abstruse themes rather than to collections in general, but the picture given by the letter-books is that it in fact expresses the firm's general attitude. Again, the Clarks refused to take the entire risk of an MS because, although they considered it to be 'very good', they feared that it was 'too much in the form of sermons to have much prospect of success':<sup>724</sup> they felt that 'nowadays [sermons] very rarely pay cost of production.'<sup>725</sup> Unless they had the support of some kind of editorial apparatus, posthumously-published collections of material were also 'impossible' to market.<sup>726</sup> Finally, works which, though of good quality, were presented in a form which was unlikely to be acceptable to the audience at which the book was aimed did not have much prospect of being published at the Clarks' risk. Hence the Rev. James Aitchison of Falkirk was told that while the firm saw much in an MS which he had submitted which was 'good & deeply interesting', nevertheless they could not accept it as it seemed to 'fall between two stools', appearing to be aimed more at a popular readership than at critics and scholars, and yet, running as it did to six hundred pages, being 'scarcely likely to take with the ordinary public'.<sup>727</sup>

All this is not to deny that, on occasion, the Clarks did publish collections of lectures, sermons, and posthumous material at their own risk. But it was their normal practice, when publishing MSS of this type, to share the risk with the author, and the salutary experience gained in these undertakings only served to strengthen

their resolve to avoid taking the full risk of such collections except in special cases. What is significant is that, once again, these decisions were being made on purely commercial rather than theological grounds. No matter how good the Clarks considered the MS of a miscellaneous work to be, they were most unlikely to publish it at their risk if it were not presented in a form which they felt would produce an acceptable level of sales.

Once an MS had passed the test of quality and the test of form, its physical length was assessed, as this had a considerable influence upon its marketability.

### iii. The size of the work

The Clarks' frequently-re-iterated view was that small works, especially if they were on recondite subjects, were unlikely to make a profit, except if part of a series. For example: 'Our experience is that small books on abstruse subjects never pay.'<sup>728</sup> Or again: 'we very seldom can make a small book remunerative where there is not a large sale.'<sup>729</sup> Whereas small books had to be sold more cheaply than larger titles, and hence brought in a smaller return per copy sold, they nevertheless had to be advertised as widely as larger books if they were to become known. And the advertising expenditure was the same whether a book were large or small. Whereas larger books could support reasonable advertising therefore, small books, unless their sales were, in the Clarks' terms, spectacular, could not. Another problem was that it cost almost as much to bind a small volume as it did a large: once again, the large volume, producing more per copy sold, was better able to cover its binding costs than the small, with its low return per copy sold. In general

therefore, small books, unless part of a series in which case the advertising costs per volume would be significantly lower, were unlikely to be profitable, and so, regardless of their quality were not published by the Clarks at their risk.

There were, of course, exceptions to this rule. Thomas Adamson's The Spirit of Power, submitted to the firm via James Hastings, was as we saw published with great speed at the firm's risk, although the Clarks made the general point to Adamson that small books were unlikely to pay, and then itemised particular reasons why the work in question would be unlikely to succeed.<sup>730</sup> It is uncertain why the firm were prepared to publish at their risk in that instance: perhaps they were swayed by Hastings' enthusiastic advocacy of the work.

But the general principle seems to have been that, regardless of the merit and quality of a work, if it appeared likely to be a commercial failure on account of its size it was not undertaken by the firm.

#### iv. General factors

While they were not crucial, one or two other factors could affect the Clarks' decision when they were evaluating an MS. It helped, for example, if a work were not too closely linked with any one denomination, for such a denominational stamp would curtail the circulation of the book. If the work were identified closely with a Presbyterian denomination sales in England would inevitably be restricted.<sup>731</sup> To take this factor into account was, once again, to be influenced by purely commercial judgements. It helped also if a work came to the Clarks with the recommendation of some churchman or academic such as Hastings. For example, as we have seen, it was



at Hastings' suggestion that the Adamson work on The Spirit of Power was published. Thus, too, V.H. Stanton's The Jewish and the Christian Messiah was published at the Clarks' risk because it came to them with the recommendation of Canon Westcott.<sup>732</sup> If such recommendations guaranteed the quality of the work in question, they would also, if they were publicly announced, help to generate sales following publication. Thus, for example, the Clarks conceded that if A.B. Bruce could be persuaded to write an introduction to A.H. Moncur Sime's The Epic of God it would very possibly help the commercial prospects of the work.<sup>733</sup> So while the recommendations of leading authorities guaranteed the quality of works under consideration, such recommendations could also foster the commercial success of the works once they had been published.

#### v. The potential profitability of the work

It will have become clear that, in considering miscellaneous works for publication at the firm's risk, the Clarks based their decisions on the commercial prospects of the MSS in question. In this, the key principle which they brought to bear was significantly different from the criterion which undergirded their assessment of MSS belonging to their other categories of publication.

If a work were judged to be of merit, and likely to yield a profit, the Clarks were usually prepared to publish it at their risk. The next factor to be considered was the method of remunerating the author. A number of different systems were used; the level and method of payment to the author seems to have been decided on in the light of the potential profitability of his work. This once again served to safeguard the Clarks' profits.

b) Payment to authors

Very few of the firm's contracts with their authors appear to have been preserved, so for details of terms we are dependant upon references in the letter books. It would seem that, regardless of the terms agreed, the copyright remained with the author in most cases.<sup>734</sup> The Clarks employed two main methods of remuneration - profit-sharing, and royalty payments - but there were variations in practice within each of these categories. It is never clearly stated what principle guided the firm in deciding which method of remuneration should be used in the case of a given book. We may assume, however, that in concluding terms with an author, the firm were seeking to minimise their own risk.

There are in the letter books at least sixteen clear statements of terms agreed with authors. Of these sixteen, four were profit-sharing agreements of one kind or another, and the other twelve royalty agreements.

i. Profit-sharing agreements

In the case of one work, A. Cave's Introduction to Theology, the author was promised payment of £25 on the first edition, but only if that edition were entirely sold out.<sup>735</sup> This was a form of profit-sharing which minimised the risk to the firm, for they would have in their hands the profit on the entire edition before having to give any remuneration to the author. Perhaps these terms were stipulated because the Clarks regarded the book as being an especial risk - an earlier letter to Cave mentioned the depressed state of the market -<sup>736</sup> but it is surprising that they were not prepared to do as they did in other cases and share the profits of the book in a more equitable way

with the author once it had broken even.

The other three profit-sharing agreements noted involved the firm in sharing a stated proportion of the profits with the author. Under a half-profits arrangement, the firm published Paton J. Gloag's Introduction to the Catholic Epistles (1887).<sup>737</sup> The terms proposed to J. McDonald Inglis (60% profits)<sup>738</sup> and concluded with W.F. Skene (half-profits)<sup>739</sup> included an element of risk-sharing as well as profit-sharing. Inglis was to pay £15 towards the costs of producing his work: this sum would be repaid after the book had broken even upon selling three hundred copies. He would then receive 60% of the income on the sales of the rest of the edition. Skene was to pay £25 towards the costs of producing his work (the total cost of printing 750 copies and of binding one third of these would be £50) this sum would be repaid when the work broke even, and any profits resulting from further sales divided equally between author and publisher.

#### ii. Royalty agreements

One would assume that the profit-sharing agreements were concluded in cases where the risk to the firm was considerable, and that the signing of a royalty agreement indicated that in the Clarks estimation, the risk was less. In fact, however, seven of the twelve royalty agreements noted were profit-sharing agreements in disguise.

In those cases, the authors were promised a royalty of 10% of the nominal retail selling price on sales of their works above a certain number of copies. The number of copies on which the royalty was not payable varied between 300 and 450: what the firm were doing in most



of these cases was to recover their costs before beginning to pay a royalty. This was clearly stated in at least one case. J. Hamlyn Hill was promised a royalty on sales of his edition of Tatian's Diatessaron from the 401st copy, it being pointed out to him that it would certainly take sales of four hundred copies to reimburse the firm for their outlay.<sup>740</sup> On the other hand, when R. Johnstone was offered a royalty of 10% of the selling price of his commentary on 1st Peter on sales over 350 copies, he was informed that it would take sales of considerably more than 350 copies to reimburse the firm.<sup>741</sup> In general, however, under these arrangements, the firm hoped to recover their costs before paying the royalty and were, in effect sharing their profits with the author, none too generously it could be argued. The average trade discount on the nominal retail price was 42%.<sup>742</sup> Once the work had covered its costs, the firm were therefore left with 58% of the total retail price of each copy sold, yet only 10% of this price was shared with the author. Considering that he had received nothing while the work recovered the publisher's outlay, he might well have felt somewhat aggrieved that a larger percentage of the income did not come his way once the book had broken even. By concluding agreements such as these, the Clarks were certainly protecting their own interests.<sup>743</sup>

Five instances were noted where the royalty was payable on sales of the entire edition. In the case of three of these, 10% was paid,<sup>744</sup> and at least one of these three books, a work by George Matheson made a loss. The author received a cheque for £33 14s. Od., 10% of the selling price of the 321 copies of the book which had been disposed of, and it was pointed out to him by Thomas Clark that the firm was far from making a profit on the work.<sup>745</sup> In one case,

that of A.B. Bruce's Pauline Conception of Christianity, where the author was a prestigious scholar with a good sales record, the firm offered a 12½% royalty.<sup>746</sup> In another case, the royalty was calculated differently. For his work on The Ritschlian Theology (1899) A.E. Garvie was to receive a royalty of 10% on the net wholesale price of the first four hundred copies sold (that is, until the work had reached its estimated break-even point), and thereafter a royalty of 15% on the net wholesale price.<sup>747</sup> It is difficult to pinpoint the distinctive factor which led the Clarks to pay a royalty from the first copy in these particular cases. With the exception of Bruce's book, these works could not have been expected to sell better than many of those whose authors were not remunerated until their work had recovered its costs.

When a work had begun to yield royalties to its author according to the particular terms of his agreement with the Clarks, he received a payment in respect of copies sold in Britain and the Colonies, and also in respect of sales in the United States. Because books were exported to America at a low cost to undercut pirates or to deter would-be pirates, the author received a lower royalty on copies destined for the US. The normal Clark rate in such cases was 5% on the British selling price; again Garvie's Ritschlian Theology proves to be an exception to the rule. On both American and Colonial sales, Garvie was to be paid 10% of the price the Clarks received from their agents, which usually was half of the British published price.<sup>748</sup> This was only a difference in the method by which the royalty was calculated: what Garvie would receive would be the equivalent of the normal 5% of the British selling price.

In calculating the extent of their payment to authors, the Clarks seem to have had in mind the same governing principle which directed their evaluation of MSS: they sought to publish competent works while minimising the risk to themselves. What was the outcome of this strategy? How far did they succeed, by prudent selection and costings, in insulating themselves against loss? How profitable did these miscellaneous theological works in fact prove to be?

### c) Profitability

#### i. Factors affecting profitability

In fact, the profitability of a given title was influenced by a number of factors besides the quality of the MS and the rate and system of payment to the author. A book's financial success could be influenced by the selling price, by the level of the production costs, and even by the conditions pertaining at the time it was published.

#### I) The selling price

Based on the production costs of a certain work, a selling-price could be calculated which, if the whole edition sold out, would guarantee the firm an adequate return on its investment. If however, this 'ideal' selling price was above what the Clarks felt would be the buying public's perception of the value of the work, the price would militate against sales. In such cases, the firm were prepared to reduce the nominal selling-price of the work in question in the hope that, although their return on each unit sold would be correspondingly less, a sufficient number of buyers would be attracted to ensure that the edition would at least break even. Thus, for example, the retail price of G. Elmslie Troup's Words to



Young Christians (1893) was fixed at 4s.6d., even although the production costs had been so high that it would take the sale of almost the whole edition at that price to cover costs and Troup's royalty. Of this selling price one of the Clarks commented 'It certainly cannot be less, but I fear it might injure the sales were we to make it more.'<sup>749</sup> In general, it can be said that the Clarks kept the retail price as low as was consistent with profitability. The case of G.C. Workman's monograph on The Text of Jeremiah (1889) provides another example of a book with high origination costs being sold at as low a price as possible (9s.0d. retail): on this occasion the reason was the Clarks' expectation that it would be recommended to students of Hebrew who could afford to buy it only if the price did not exceed a given level.<sup>750</sup> And a reprint of Peter Bayne's The Free Church of Scotland (1893) was issued 'at a mere fraction over the actual cost price': the motive for this was a desire to ensure the popularisation of the work, the firm claiming to be 'very anxious for Dr Bayne's sake that it should be largely circulated'.<sup>751</sup>

## II) The production costs

The normal print run for a Clark theological work was either 750 or 1000 copies: editions of both lengths were priced to break even when sales reached around 400 copies.<sup>752</sup> The profitability of a work would be threatened if there were any unanticipated increases in the production costs, and there was one factor which could not be accurately assessed when a work was being costed prior to typesetting, the charge for alterations which the author might wish to make at proof stage. Making extensive corrections to type was extremely time-consuming, and the printers charged accordingly, except where they were merely correcting their own errors. Several Clark works

made a loss simply because the author had insisted on virtually rewriting his work when it was in proof. Thus J.E.H. Thomson, whose Books which Influenced our Lord (1891) was in any case selling badly, had it drawn to his attention that there had been an 'unfortunate charge of £25 for "Authors [sic] Alterations" on proofs'.<sup>753</sup> In order to prevent their careful costings being unbalanced by such charges, it became customary for the Clarks to charge authors for the cost of alterations to proofs above a certain sum. Thus, W.F. Skene agreed to pay the cost of all alterations on proofs (excluding printers' errors) over 5s.0d. per 16pp. sheet.<sup>754</sup> J. Hamlyn Hill agreed to similar conditions in the case of his translation of Tatian's Diatessaron (1894).<sup>755</sup> And later still, it seems to have been the Clarks' custom, where they were taking the entire risk, to ask the author to pay the cost of all alterations, as opposed to corrections, made at proof stage.<sup>756</sup> By this means, the firm protected themselves from losses arising from this unpredictable element in the costing of a book.

### III The date of publication

The success of a work could, in the short term at least, be affected both by the time of year at which it was published and by any special conditions pertaining at the time of publication. If the Clarks had some control over the first of these factors, they had absolutely none over the second. We find them expressing disquiet, for example, over delays in producing Hamlyn Hill's edition of the Diatessaron: 'we are losing the best of the publishing season', they wrote in November 1893, 'and the Booksellers will immediately be so occupied with Xmas Books that it may not have a fair chance.'<sup>757</sup> But at least in that case they could do something in an attempt to have the



book ready at a propitious time. Among the many factors over which the firm had no control was the Boer War, which, as has been noted, significantly affected the book trade. Publication of J. Hutchison Stirling's What is Thought? was delayed in the hope that hostilities would cease and business improve. The work was eventually published on 5 February 1900; a letter dated 18 January reveals the Clarks' concern at the influence of the war on its prospects:

Surely Ladysmith will have been relieved by that time!  
 [Publication day. In fact, Ladysmith was not relieved until 28 February 1900.]<sup>758</sup> And although that event will not probably mean the end of the War, still...this waiting gets wearisome, & it may be wiser after all to publish your book soon than to wait for the rush of books which is sure to come when things get more settled. <sup>759</sup>

Given that these various factors had an influence upon their performance how profitable did the miscellaneous publications prove to be?

#### ii. Case studies

Having noted the concern which the Clarks took to ensure that they bore the risk only in the case of works which were likely to make a profit, it comes as something of a surprise to discover that many works, especially those published in the 1880s and earlier, seem to have failed to break even. The only source of information, of course, is the letter books, and the firm was perhaps more likely to have occasion to write to authors about loss-making titles than about those which presented no cause for concern. But there are several references to losses in the letter books for the 1880s. A poem by John Cole on the Life of St. Augustine proved to be 'a complete failure'.<sup>760</sup> A sale of 321 copies of George Matheson's Growth of the Spirit of Christianity (1877) did not, Thomas Clark noted, reimburse the firm by a long way.<sup>761</sup> Some works published in the



last decade of the century seem to have made a loss also. James MacGregor's The Apology of the Christian Religion (1891) was still showing a debit balance of £70 by 1893, when it was said 'there seems very little hope now of this heavy loss being reduced as there is no demand for the book.'<sup>762</sup> W.S. Bruce's The Ethics of the Old Testament (1894) was euphemistically said to have been 'disappointing financially'.<sup>763</sup>

Given the Clarks' care in the evaluation of MSS, one would expect to find that the miscellaneous theological works published by the firm in the 1890s were profitable. In practice, as the following three case studies show, things seem to have been more haphazard. No matter how carefully an MS had been evaluated, the market could prove fickle.<sup>764</sup>

I) Paton J. Gloag's Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels

Gloag's work on the Synoptic Gospels was published in the autumn of 1895 at a retail price of 7s.6d. Production costs of the edition were as follows:

Printing (806 copies) (Includes typesetting)	£62 12s.10d.
Paper	£9 9s. 7d.
Binding (6½d per copy)	£21 16s. 6d.
Back Stamp	16s. 6d.
Proportion of Lists	10s. 0d.
Advertising	£8 4s. 4d.
Prospectus	8s. 7d.
	<u>£103 18s. 4d.</u>

The unit production cost on the whole run was therefore 2s. 7d.; the unit cost of the copies available for sale after the distribution of eighty presentation copies was 2s.10d. The average income per copy sold was 4s.8½d.<sup>765</sup> If the entire edition were sold, the return on investment per unit would be 4s.8½d.-2s.10d. = 1s.10½d., a percentage return on investment of 66.17%. The work would break even when

$\frac{\text{£}103\ 17\text{s.}4\text{d.}}{4\text{s.}8\frac{1}{2}\text{d.}} = 441$  copies were sold. That is, breakeven point was 54.71% of the print run, or 60.74% of the copies available for sale.

The work was therefore potentially successful. Over 1895-96, actual expenditure was £93 8s.4d. (only 420 copies being bound up), and the income on sales of 283 copies was £66 12s.4d. There was therefore a deficit of £26 16s.0d. But only 38.98% of the copies available for sale were disposed of in the financial year of issue. If this rate of sales were continued, the work would break even in the following financial year. In fact, over 1896-97, a profit of £42 12s.10d. was realised: the work would be £42 12s.10d.-£26 16s.0d. = £15 16s.10d. into profit overall. But the work's performance was not as healthy as these figures would lead one to expect. Curiously, although in June 1897 £18 6s.1d. was paid to the author in respect of sales of his work (probably a royalty of 12½%), he paid £50 0s.0d. to the account of the book in April 1897. Sales of the title were slow, only sixty-two copies being disposed of over 1897-98, and possibly Gloag had guaranteed to underwrite any loss. But it seems strange that he should have paid as much as £50 0s.0d. as the book was slowly approaching its breakeven point. A profit of £6 15s.0d. was shown on the following financial year's trading. (1897-98)

It is of some interest that four '25th copies' were distributed over 1895-96, indicating that, out of sales of only 283 copies, 96 had gone to a maximum of four booksellers. These would, of course, include the Clarks' London agents, Simpkin, Marshall.

## II) S.D.F. Salmond's The Christian Doctrine of Immortality

Salmond's work was clearly more successful than the Clarks had anticipated. Two editions were required within the financial year

of its first publication (in December 1895 and May 1896), yet no moulds or stereotypes had been made of the original typesetting; this omission necessitated the complete re-setting of the book. It is not easy to disentangle the costs of the two editions: what follows is an estimate. The retail price was 14s.0d.

A. Costs of the first edition (1078 copies)

Printing and typesetting	£132 13s. 3d.
Paper	£28 10s. 2d.
Binding (7½d. per copy)	£33 13s. 6d.
Back Stamp	15s. 6d.
Proportion of Lists (½ of the 1895-96 figure)	£1 10s. 0d.
Advertising (⅔ of the 1895-96 figure)	£9 15s. 5d.
Prospectus	£1 8s. 4d.
Miscellaneous	10s. 10d.
Royalty*	£75 1s. 1d.
	<u>£283 18s. 1d.</u>

\*Salmond received a royalty of 12½% = 1s.9d. But it was only paid on 858 copies of the first edition. True, 111 presentation copies were distributed, but this still leaves 109 copies on which no royalty was paid. Perhaps this shortfall was Salmond's contribution to the costs of alterations at the proof stage, which amounted to £43 10s. 0d.

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The unit production cost on the whole run was therefore 5s.3d.; the unit cost of the copies available for sale after the distribution of 111 presentation copies was 6s.10½d. The average income per copy sold was 8s.10d.<sup>766</sup> If the entire edition were sold, the return on investment per unit would be 8s.10d. - 6s.10½d. = 1s.11½d., a percentage return on investment of 28.48%. The work would break even when  $\frac{£283\ 18s.\ 1d.}{8s.\ 10d.} = 643$  copies were sold. That is breakeven point was 59.64% of the print run, or 66.49% of copies available for sale. Even the first edition, therefore, was costed to be profitable, given reasonable sales.



B. Costs of the second edition (1080 copies)

Printing and typesetting*	£85 19s. 5d.
Paper	£29 7s. 0d.
Binding (7½d. per copy)	£33 14s. 9d.
Proportion of Lists (½ of the 1895-96 figure)	£1 10s. 0d.
Advertising (⅓ of the 1895-96 figure)	£4 15s. 9d.
Royalty (on the whole run at 12½%)	£94 10s. 0d.
	<u>£249 16s. 11d.</u>

\* The printing and typesetting figure is smaller than that charged for the first edition largely because there were fewer corrections at proof stage. The charge for these in the case of the first edition was £43 10s.0d.: in the case of the second edition, it was only £9 12s.6d.

The unit production cost on the run was therefore 4s.7d. The average income per copy sold was, as before, 8s.10d. If the entire edition were sold, the return on investment per unit would be 8s.10d. - 4s.7d. = 4s.3d. a percentage return on investment of 92.72%. The edition would break even when  $\frac{£249\ 16s.11d.}{8s.10d.} = 566$  copies were sold. That is, breakeven point was 52.4% of the print run.

These figures are extremely good. And, as moulds were made of the second typesetting, profit from the third edition, if and when it was required, would be even greater. In fact, the work was in its fourth edition, entirely reset, by 1901.

C. Estimated costs of the third edition (if 1080 were printed)

Making stereos from moulds (Estimate)	£10 0s. 0d.
Moulds*	£14 10s. 1d.
Presswork (Estimate)	£25 0s. 0d.
Paper	£29 0s. 0d.
Binding (7½d per copy)	£33 14s. 9d.
Advertising (Estimate)	£5 0s. 0d.
Proportion of Lists (Estimate)	£1 10s. 0d.
Royalty (on the whole run at 12½%)	£94 10s. 0d.
	<u>£213 4s. 10d.</u>

\* In fact the moulds were charged against the second edition.

The unit production cost on the run was therefore 3s.11d. The average income per copy sold was, as before, 8s.10d. If the entire edition were sold, the return on investment per unit would be 8s.10d.-3s.11d. = 4s.11d., a percentage return on investment of 125.53%. The edition would break even when  $\frac{\text{£}213\ 4\text{s.}10\text{d.}}{8\text{s.}10\text{d.}} = 483$  copies were sold. That is, breakeven point was 44.72% of the print run.

As long as the demand did not suddenly dry up once a new edition had been printed, therefore, the work would have been extremely profitable.

Over 1895-96, it showed a profit of £109 11s.9d. 2158 copies were printed at a cost of £432 15s.0d. (only 1485 were bound). Sales of 1227 copies had realised £542 6s.9d. Over 1896-97, the work realised £238 11s.11d., and, over 1897-98, £71 10s.11d.

It is interesting that such a high proportion of the costs was accounted for by the author's royalty. On the first two editions, he received £169 11s.1d., whereas the copies sold would have realised £370 2s.0d. for the publishers, before their general overheads were charged. (This figure would be realised on these editions after breakeven point had been reached, it being borne in mind that there would be no return on presentation copies.) The sum realised by a 12½% royalty was, of course, artificially high, because it was calculated on the nominal retail price of the work, whereas the firm had to supply to the retailer at a price which would enable him to sell to his customers at the expected 25% discount. Thus the firm's profits were squeezed.

It is interesting also, that over the financial year 1895-96, twenty-eight '25th copies' were distributed, indicating that twenty-eight

booksellers had purchased two dozen copies of the work.<sup>767</sup>

### III) T. Adamson's The Spirit of Power

Early in December 1896, James Hastings forwarded to the Clarks the MS of a very short work (around eighty pages in length) by the Rev. T. Adamson of Glasgow on The Spirit of Power. Adamson was eager to see it in print 'to catch the New Year if possible', and his work clearly had won Hastings' approbation. The Clarks, as we have seen, outlined the problems which would face such a work, especially at that particular time of year - small books did not pay outwith a series, the printers were 'simply blocked with work', booksellers shops were quite full to overflowing so that they had little time for theological titles - but they agreed to issue the book at their risk, and there-and-then despatched Adamson's MS to the printers.<sup>767a</sup> How did it fare in the market place?

#### Costs of the first edition (1086 copies)

Printing and typesetting	£7 2s. 3d.
Paper	£3 4s. 2d.
Binding (1.33d per copy)	£6 1s. 3d.
Back Stamp	8s. 0d.
Advertising	£6 17s. 6d.
Proportion of Lists	10s. 0d.
	<u>£24 3s. 2d.</u>

The unit production cost on the whole run was therefore 5.33d.; the unit cost of copies available for sale after the distribution of 102 presentation copies was 5.89d. The average income per copy sold was 7.85d.<sup>768</sup> If the entire edition were sold, the return on investment per unit would be 7.85d. - 5.33d. = 2.52d., a percentage return on investment of 47.27%. The work would break even when  $\frac{£24\ 3s.\ 2d.}{7.85d.} = 739$  copies were sold. That is, breakeven point was 68.04% of the print run, or 75.1% of the copies available for sale.



This impression very quickly sold out, and realised a profit of £2 18s.11d., and the Clarks, ill-advisedly as it transpired, ordered a second printing of 1080 copies. As the work had to be reset, this second impression cost almost as much as the first to produce, but sales were slow, and at the end of the financial year 1896-97, 920 copies of the new impression were still in stock, and it was showing a loss of £5 2s.8d. By the end of the following financial year a further fifty-six copies only had been disposed of. Due to the extent of advertising undertaken that year, the work showed a loss of 15s.9d. The Clarks had, therefore, misjudged the demand for this title. The profits realised by the first impression were more than cancelled out by the losses incurred by the second.

It is interesting to note that over the financial year 1896-97, forty-one '25th copies' were distributed, indicating that of the total sales of the two impressions over that year, 984 copies were sold in batches of two dozen. This would almost suggest that the Clarks did not accept orders for smaller quantities. This in turn might provide an explanation for the failure of the second impression: although the first impression sold quickly to the booksellers, thereby encouraging the Clarks to imagine that the demand was large, the interest shown in the work by the public may have been less. The booksellers would therefore have been left with unsold copies, and would have no need to order further stock from Edinburgh.

Despite the care with which the Clarks evaluated works before accepting them for publication, and the careful consideration which was clearly given to the means by which the author should be

remunerated, the profitability of a work could not be guaranteed. It was clearly difficult to estimate the demand for a title. If the Clarks underestimated in the case of the work by Salmond, they clearly overestimated in the case of Adamson's title, with financially damaging results. What about those cases where the Clarks felt they had to share the risk with the authors? Was this minimising of risk to themselves sufficient to ensure that they did not make a loss?

## 2. Risk-sharing and commission publishing

A significant proportion of the miscellaneous theological works issued by T. & T. Clark appeared under risk-sharing or commission agreements.

### a) The firm's attitude

The letter books give the distinct impression, however, that in many cases, the Clarks were not in favour of such agreements. Thus one author was told (and this would seem to have been hardly true), 'we very rarely publish otherwise than at our own risk.'<sup>769</sup> Other letters state clearly that the firm was not in favour of either risk-sharing or commission publishing. A risk-sharing agreement was under discussion when J. Hamlyn Hill was told 'we always shrink from undertaking the publication of a Work which we feel confidently will be unremunerative to the Author.'<sup>770</sup> As for commission publishing, J. Hutchison Stirling was informed 'We are always unwilling except in very special circumstances to allow the Author to take the entire risk of publication.'<sup>771</sup> What were the reasons for the Clarks' apparently strong antipathy towards publishing other than at their own risk?

According to the letter books, they were not in favour of risk-

sharing and commission agreements for two reasons. In the first place, the works likely to be issued under such agreements would almost certainly make a loss, and the Clarks found it distasteful to see an author suffering financially. Secondly their reputation was likely to suffer as a result of such losses, since the author would be tempted to conclude that they were not promoting his work adequately. Concern for the author's financial position was given as the reason for declining a risk-sharing proposal from the Rev. Dr Stock of Huddersfield, who was told 'we do not like to undertake where we feel quite satisfied a friend would lose, not only his trouble, but his money besides.'<sup>772</sup> Similarly, H.E. Ryle was told seventeen years later in 1896 that it was 'always unsatisfactory to publish work which [was] unremunerative to Authors.'<sup>773</sup> Concern for the reputation of the firm in the eyes of the author is mentioned, for example, in a letter to A.H. Moncur Sime, where it is pointed out that the Clarks did not usually publish on commission because where there was a commission agreement the author tended to blame the publisher if the book failed.<sup>774</sup> And in agreeing to issue a work by J. Hutchison Stirling on commission, the Clarks pointed out that, should the book fail, he would have to accept that it would not have been for lack of effort on the part of the publisher.<sup>775</sup>

In contrast to this evidence in the letter books as to the firm's attitude towards risk-sharing and commission agreements, the fact remains that a significant proportion of their books were issued under such agreements.<sup>776</sup> What is the reason for this apparent discrepancy between their attitude and their actions?

It would seem that the Clarks were quick to suggest risk-sharing or



commission publishing agreements in the case of works which, though not certain to break even, were considered to be eminently worthy of publication because of the quality of their contents. Such works the firm wished to have on their list, but they wished too to minimise the risk to themselves, and thus sought to share it with the author. Thus, when Richard Chandler submitted an MS, the firm was quick to point out its quality - 'There are many Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews, but perhaps none exactly on your lines'; they went on to discuss the work's chances of commercial success - 'you must be prepared for some loss'; and finally agreed to publish the work on commission - 'we shall do our very best for the sales.'<sup>777</sup>

Where a work was of demonstrable quality, then, the firm showed themselves willing to proceed under a risk-sharing or commission agreement. Once again, as in the wider miscellaneous theological publishing programme, the Clarks are seen to have been seeking to publish quality works while at the same time protecting their own economic interests.<sup>778</sup>

They did not wish, however, to be regarded as being a 'commission publisher' in the sense of what would today be termed a 'vanity publisher', a firm prepared to issue any MS submitted regardless of its quality, provided the author would bear the risk. To deviate into this kind of publishing would have harmed the firm's reputation and standing as a seriously-intentioned house. Hence MSS of poor quality were summarily rejected, and the firm made it clear that, while they might on occasion publish on commission, they were not to be regarded as a commission house. Herein lies the explanation of the many anti-commission statements in the letter books.

An interesting commentary on the Clarks' attitude to commission publishing appears in a letter to Frank Ballard, whose work on The Miracles of Unbelief was published in 1900:

If we undertake more than we can give our entire attention to, all books must suffer, & that is obviously unfair to Authors. There are plenty of Publishers in London who will accept an unlimited number of books provided the Authors pay cost of production - & there is no doubt that far too many books are published now-a-days; only a comparatively small number of them ever succeed. As we usually take the entire risk & cost of production ourselves, owing to the class of books we publish, it is impossible for us - certainly it would be unwise of us - to accept all that are offered to us. 779

#### b) Kinds of agreement

Having decided to publish a work without taking the entire risk themselves, the Clarks had next to make up their minds what was the best kind of agreement to conclude with the author. The choice lay between an agreement whereby the risk was in some way shared between author and publisher, or one in which it was stipulated that the author should take the entire risk. In making this decision, the Clarks would seem, once again, to have been motivated by their own financial interests: the greater the likelihood of loss, the less prepared the firm was to share the risk.

#### i. Risk-sharing

The general principle governing the firm's risk-sharing agreements was that the author contracted to pay a stated proportion of the cost of printing, paper and binding. (Advertising costs were usually borne by the firm.) In most cases, the author paid half the cost of production: thus, for example, when Robert Watts' work on the Reign of Causality (1887) was accepted, he was asked to pay £35 towards the production costs, which would amount to over £70.<sup>780</sup> Again, W.F. Skene contributed £25 towards the £50 production costs



of his work on The Lord's Supper (1891)<sup>781</sup> This down-payment by the author, usually paid, it would seem, upon publication, was sometimes referred to as a 'guarantee'.

The sum paid by the author was returned to him after a stated number of copies of the work had been sold, usually when it reached its breakeven point. Occasionally, the 'guarantee' seems to have been repaid in stages as the work gradually recovered its costs: thus J.E.H. Thomson, having paid £55 towards the production of his Books which Influenced Our Lord (1891), received that sum back in two stages. £35 was repaid on 1 February 1892, and the remaining £20 on 12 May 1893.<sup>782</sup>

After a work the risk of which had been shared had recovered its costs, and the 'guarantee' had been returned to the author, he either received a royalty from the Clarks on the remaining copies of the edition, or shared an agreed proportion of their profits. When the firm was considering publishing A.H. Moncur Sime's work on The Epic of God, they proposed that Sime should pay half the production costs. After the book had broken even, he would receive a 15% royalty on the net wholesale price, and 10% on overseas sales. This might seem to be less than generous in the light of the author's financial commitment to the project.<sup>783</sup> The more common arrangement, profit-sharing, would seem to have been fairer. W.F. Skene was to receive half of any profits realised by his work.<sup>784</sup> And, in discussing terms with J. McDonald Inglis for a work which does not in the event seem to have been published by them, the firm offered him also 50% of the profits after the work had recovered its costs: that at least would seem to be the implication of their comment 'we will divide the



profits with you accounting for sales at 60% of the selling price.'<sup>785</sup>

These then were the normal terms included in the firm's risk-sharing agreements. Certain agreements, however, included different terms:

in the case of W.D. Killen's work The Ignatian Epistles Entirely Spurious (1886), for example, the Clarks bore the main cost of

production, but asked the author to be responsible for the

advertising costs, and for the cost of any Greek Type required in

the book.<sup>786</sup> When Robert Watts submitted an unidentified work, the

firm clearly considered the financial implications of publishing it

at their own risk. They then wrote to Watts saying that it was

impossible for them to take the whole risk, and then added 'Do you

see any possibility of guaranteeing the sale of a number of copies?'<sup>787</sup>

The implication seems to be that the firm was ready to consider

taking the risk if Watts would undertake to dispose of a certain

number of copies, perhaps by having the work adopted as a college

text. This was a form of risk-sharing. In the case of the work by

C.M. Mead discussed earlier, Romans Dissected (1891) which was

published under the pseudonym of E.D. McRealsham, it was agreed that

the author, who lived in Berlin, should pay for the printing of the

work in that city. The Clarks would meet the cost of binding and

advertising. Once the work had broken even, Mead was to receive

40% on the retail price of each copy sold.<sup>788</sup>

Almost every risk-sharing agreement made by the firm therefore, was

unique in some particular. Having assessed the likely cost of

production, and the potential sales of a work, the firm appear to

have drawn up the terms which would give the book the best chance of

success, while minimising the risk to themselves.

ii. Commission publishing

In the case of works which, though valuable theologically, seemed extremely unlikely to make a profit, the firm were willing to sign a commission agreement with the author, thus guaranteeing the book's publication while ensuring that the firm made no loss. When the possibility of publishing Richard Chandler's work on Hebrews was under discussion, it was proposed that the author would bear the entire cost of production and advertising. The firm would pay him 50% of the retail price on all copies sold, making payment on the August or February after publication, and thereafter on an annual basis. The costings of this work are not available, but such an agreement would only yield the firm a few pence per copy sold.<sup>789</sup>

The terms agreed with Professor Laidlaw of Edinburgh in respect of the publication of the recently-deceased E.A. Thomson's sermons (Memorials of a Ministry (1892) ) seem to have been more typical of the firm's normal practice. Thomson's family were to undertake the cost of production (and presumably advertising), and the Clarks' return was to be a commission of 10% on the net wholesale price of copies sold in the UK and the Colonies, and a commission of 5% on copies sold to America.<sup>790</sup> Once again we have no costings for this work.<sup>791</sup> An agreement containing yet another mix of terms was concluded with C. Salmond in respect of James McGregor's book of Studies in the History of New Testament Apologetics (1894).

McGregor (who lived in New Zealand) was to cover all costs; the Clarks would retain the 'usual Publisher's Commission' of 10% on the net wholesale price on UK and Colonial sales (excluding those to Canada), with an additional 10% on US and Canadian sales.<sup>792</sup> The income from transatlantic sales being less than that from British and Colonial sales, it is understandable that the Clarks should wish



to secure a larger proportion of that income. (It is not clear whether they were to receive a straight 20% of the income from the US sales, or 10% + 10% of the remaining 90%.) It is surprising that, in the case of the work by Thomson referred to above, the firm sought a smaller commission in the case of transatlantic sales.

The absence of detailed costings prevents us from assessing the firm's income in these cases. It was no doubt small, and very possibly did not cover the Clarks' incidental expenses in preparing the works for publication, seeing them through the press, and organising advertising and distribution. But, if a small loss were made, the Clarks had the satisfaction of knowing that they were aiding in the circulation of works which they believed to be of some value at no substantial risk to themselves.

Another kind of commission publishing was the distribution of a work which its author had already had printed at his own expense through another agency. On the face of it, this kind of agreement might seem appealing to the publisher: in return for his commission, all he has to do is to superintend the advertising and distribution of a work which has already been seen through the press. There is no evidence that the Clarks ever reached this kind of agreement. There is, however, one example of their rejecting a suggestion that they should distribute a book in this way. The rejection was made not on the grounds that they would never contemplate such an arrangement, but because the quality of production of the work in question was poor, and it might have prejudiced the good name the Clarks had for 'high class work'.<sup>793</sup>

How profitable did works published under risk sharing and commission



agreements prove to be?

c) Profitability

The Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles<sup>794</sup> gives detailed information on the costings of some of the titles published under risk-sharing, if not commission agreements. Two case-studies follow.

i. J.H. Crawford's The Brotherhood of Man

Crawford's work was published in September 1895 at a retail price of

5s.0d. Production costs of the edition were as follows:

Typesetting/Printing (808 copies)	£49 8s. 8d.
Paper	£11 9s. 0d.
Binding (6½d. per copy)	£21 0s.10d.
Back Stamp	11s. 0d.
Proportion of Lists	10s. 0d.
Advertising	£9 2s. 6d.
Prospectus	15s. 5d.
Miscellaneous	10s.10d.
	<u>£93 8s. 3d.</u>

The unit production cost on the whole run was therefore 2s.4d.; the unit cost on the copies available for sale after the distribution of 83 presentation copies was 2s.7d. The average income per copy sold

was 3s.2d.<sup>795</sup> If the entire edition were sold, the return on

investment per unit would be 3s.2d. - 2s.7d. = 7d., a percentage

return on investment of 22.58%. The work would break even when

$\frac{£93\ 8s.\ 3d.}{3s.\ 2d.} = 590$  copies were sold. That is, breakeven point was

73% of the print run, or 81.37% of the copies available for sale.

The work, therefore, had the potential to realise a modest profit.

Over 1895-96, actual expenditure was £81 14s.11d. (only 360 copies being bound up), and the income totalled £81 3s.0d., of which

£41 3s.0d. was yielded by sales of 259 copies, the remainder coming

from Crawford, who contributed £40 0s.0d., just under half of the

production costs. The Clarks' deficit on the work within the

financial year in which it was issued was only 11s.11d.: this would be recovered by the time four more copies had been sold. Crawford's contribution had therefore effectively protected the firm from immediate loss: their investment was virtually recovered within the financial year of issue, and there would be presumably no need to repay Crawford until sales had realised a further £40. (He received £20 10s.0d. in the financial year 1897-98). In fact, over 1895-96, 35% of the copies available for sale were disposed of. Considering that a work's largest sales will in normal circumstances come within the first few months after publication, this percentage did not augur well for the success of Crawford's book. Even if, as was most unlikely, sales continued at the same pace, it would be at least a year before The Brotherhood of Man broke even. This being the case, it was clearly prudent of the Clarks to issue the book under a risk-sharing agreement.

Over 1896-97, a profit of £6 15s.7d. was shown, while the following financial year saw a deficit of £19 18s.3½d.: this was due to the fact that repayment of just over half his investment was made to Crawford. Once this payment was made, the loss on the work was shared equally by the author and the publishers. The work showed a profit of £1 11s.9d. on the year's trading over 1898-99. It is of some interest that, over 1895-96 three '25th copies' were distributed, indicating that out of sales of only 259 copies, seventy-two had gone to a maximum of three booksellers, including, no doubt, the wholesalers.

ii. J. Hamlyn Hill's A Dissertation on the Gospel  
Commentary of St. Ephraem the Syrian

Hill's work was published in May or June 1896 at a retail price of



7s.6d. Although it was issued under a risk-sharing rather than a commission agreement, Hill in fact paid the largest part of the production costs of the edition, which were as follows:

Typesetting/Printing (538 copies)	£31 5s. 0d.
Paper	£3 17s. 0d.
Binding (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per copy)	£15 2s. 7d.
Back Stamp	12s. 6d.
Proportion of Lists	£1 0s. 0d.
Advertising	£2 6s. 2d.
Additional charge*	£4 0s. 6d.
	<u>£58 3s. 9d.</u>

\* This additional amount, for the production of stereos from moulds, is noted in the accounts for the book, but is not actually included in the charge against it. Just over a quarter of the work - 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  sheets - was involved. The most likely explanation is that additional copies of a section of the work were required by the author for separate distribution: this is substantiated by the fact that the charge includes £1 18s.8d. levied for 'altering headlines.' If this were the case, it would explain why the additional charge was not set against the book.

The accounts also note that a prospectus was produced, but no charge is listed against this. Possible, the work being published so near the end of the financial year, the printer's account for the prospectus had not been received by the time the Clarks' accounts were being made up.

The unit production cost on the whole run was therefore 2s.2d.; the unit cost of those available for sale after the distribution of 65 presentation copies was 2s.6d. The average income per copy sold was 4s.10d.<sup>796</sup> If the entire edition were sold, the return on investment per unit would be 4s.10d. - 2s.6d = 2s.4d., a percentage return on investment of 93.33%. The work would break even when  $\frac{£58\ 3s.9d.}{4s.10d.} = 241$  copies were sold. That is, breakeven point was 44.79% of the print run, or 50.95% of the copies available for sale.

The work was therefore potentially highly profitable because the selling price was high given the level of the production costs.

Whether it lived up to this potential depended, of course, on how



well it sold. Only 50 copies - 10.57% of those available for sale - had been disposed of by the end of the financial year in which the book was published, but those copies had been sold in the few weeks remaining between the date of publication and the end of the financial year. Moreover, the work had appeared in early summer, when business was slack. The real test would come in the first full financial year after publication.

Over 1895-96, actual expenditure was £43 5s.0d. (only 150 copies being bound up), and the income totalled £42 3s.8d., of which £12 3s.8d. was yielded by sales of fifty copies. The remainder came from Hill, who contributed £30, which almost covered the typesetting and printing costs. The Clarks' deficit on the work within the financial year in which it was issued was therefore only £1 1s.4d.: this would be recovered by the time four more copies had been sold. Once again, the author's contribution had effectively protected the firm from immediate loss, their investment being virtually recovered within the financial year of issue. If the book failed to make a profit in the longer term, however, £15 would no doubt be returned to Hill, the loss being thus divided equally between the two parties.

Over 1896-97, a profit of 4s.5d. was shown (Income from sale totalled only £8 16s.1d., while the major charge against the work was £6 17s.11d. spent on advertising.) Over 1897-98 there was a deficit of 12s.7d. Over 1898-99, there was no outlay. One copy of the book was sold, bringing in 4s.10d. It is of some interest to note that, over 1895-96, one '25th copy' was distributed, indicating that out of sales of only fifty copies, two dozen had gone to one bookseller, probably the wholesaler.

It is clear, from the foregoing analysis and from these case studies, that risk-sharing agreements while not guaranteeing that there would be no losses, at least reduced the extent of those losses. Commission agreements would, in theory, remove them altogether.

### 3. Conclusions

This whole section on the firm's miscellaneous theological publishing has demonstrated that, while maintaining the quality of their product and retaining their commitment to publishing important works, the Clarks sought to minimise the risk to themselves by ensuring that the works they issued had a reasonable expectation of breaking even. This was, of course, simply sound publishing sense, but it was more evident in the Clarks' approach to the miscellaneous works than in their approach to some of the other titles on their list, in the case of which even although a much larger investment was involved, they were more ready to put theological importance before profitability.

## Section G: Conclusion

In Part II, drawing on evidence from the letter books, and on the accounts for individual titles, we have been able to reach some tentative conclusions about the profitability of the different categories of theological publication on T. & T. Clark's list, and about the motivation which prompted the firm's involvement in those areas of religious publishing. It is not possible at this stage to put the categories of publication in strict order of profitability, but some general observations can be made. In the 1890s, the best return was produced by the major reference works, by the transatlantic co-editions, and by such 'live' series as the Primers and Handbooks. The return on translations, on works exported to the US, and on the miscellaneous theology list seems to have been at best modest, while periodicals, imports from the US, and the older series were, for the most part, unprofitable lines. The Clarks' sense of mission, although all-pervasive, was most evident in those cases where, despite there being little prospect of financial success, they nonetheless persevered with a project which they considered to be of value. After examining in Part III other general factors which had a bearing on the level of return achieved by Clark publications, we will pass on in Part IV to consider the annual accounts for the four financial years beginning 1895-96. In conclusion, we will be able to compare the tentative observations about the profitability of each category made here with the actual performance figures of each category as established in Part IV, and to assess with some degree of accuracy the overall profitability of the firm.



PART III: The Cost-Effectiveness of the Clarks'

Promotion and Distribution

### PART III

In the earlier sections of this thesis, we began by examining the history and stated publishing policy of T. & T. Clark, and then moved on to investigate in detail the motivation underlying the issue of works in each of the major categories of publication handled by the firm, and to assess the profitability of these categories. We discovered that while, inevitably, profitability was a major goal, nevertheless in many cases the firm were prepared to accept considerable financial risk in issuing works which they felt made important contributions to scholarship. In general, however, a reasonable return on investment seems to have been realised, if not by each individual title, then at least by each category of publication.

The profitability of a work, however, depends not merely on its academic competence or popular appeal, or on the efficiency of its production and costing, but also on the success and cost-effectiveness of the publisher's system of promotion and distribution. These factors are considered in this third Part. Can we assess how successful the Clarks' advertising and promotional strategy was in maximising sales of their products? And, if successful, how cost-effective was it: did the sales generated by a promotional campaign justify the expenditure on that campaign? Further, having created a demand for their publications, how efficiently did the firm meet that demand? What were their distribution channels? And how cost-effective was this distribution system?

## Section A: Advertising and promotion

### 1. Advertising

It would be a relatively simple matter to assess the total sum spent by T. & T. Clark on advertising over the years for which we have figures: it is much more difficult to assess how fruitful that advertising was in terms of generating sales, let alone how cost-effective it proved to be. For the firm's records provide no means of assessing the relationship between advertising and sales, and indeed it is likely that the Clarks themselves had only a general perception of this relationship, and had not the means of preparing a statistically quantifiable assessment. In searching the letter books for references to the firm's advertising strategy, we can expect to do no more than arrive at an understanding of this general perception.<sup>1</sup>

#### a) Advertising policy

In a letter to their new advertising agent J.F. Spriggs<sup>2</sup> the firm outlined their view of the place of advertising in their promotional strategy:

You may possibly wonder that we do not advertise more extensively, but the fact is that we know exactly the class who buy our Books - which, as you know are not of a 'popular' order - & can reach them far more effectively by our catalogues and circulars. <sup>3</sup>

In other words, the firm held that while advertising was useful in certain cases, the audience at which Clark publications were targetted could be most efficiently reached through direct-mail promotion.

In fact, however, the Clarks advertised more widely than this quotation would lead us to expect, and the costings for each work



included a sizable sum expended on this kind of promotion. The major advertising campaign on behalf of a work usually took place immediately after its initial launch, or the launch of a new edition.<sup>4</sup> But some titles were advertised continuously. In line with this we find the firm urging Scribners to advertise more extensively,<sup>5</sup> and undertaking continuing promotions themselves. Advertising for S.R. Driver's Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, first published in 1891, was continued, for example, even when the book was temporarily out of print in 1897. Such advertising the Clarks considered to be 'judicious' as it would keep the work 'constantly before the public'.<sup>6</sup> The firm used advertising therefore, to inform the wider public of new titles, and to keep in the public eye successful works from the back list.

But there are many examples also of their discovering that advertising was ineffective. W.S. Bruce's Ethics of the Old Testament (1895) was advertised in 1899 in a new, extensively-circulated Church of Scotland serial, St Andrew without a single enquiry being generated.<sup>7</sup> The Interpreter and the Critical Review were both advertised extensively with no appreciable results.<sup>8</sup> The Presbyterian Review was advertised both 'judiciously'<sup>9</sup> and 'regularly'<sup>10</sup> without the circulation being significantly increased. And the firm wrote to G.T. Ladd about their promotional activities on behalf of his Doctrine of Sacred Scripture (1883)

We are keeping up a run of advertising in the direction you indicate, but the book is not going off. When better known it may succeed better. 11

All these examples are of works which, for one reason or another failed to win the kind of reputation among potential purchasers which

would have resulted in larger sales. Of Ladd's book, the firm commented 'When better known it [might] succeed better.' Clearly it was not becoming 'better known' despite extensive advertising: the Clarks were discovering what Stanley Unwin, four decades later, knew well, that 'it pays to advertise a book if it shows signs of being successful without advertising, but...it does not pay to advertise at all extensively a book that shows no signs of catching on.'<sup>12</sup> Thus, a book which had won favour in the eyes of its reviewers and hence of its potential audience, W.N. Clarke's Outline of Christian Theology (1898) sold satisfactorily with very little advertising, while another work which did not share its high repute, D.W. Simon's Reconciliation by Incarnation (1898) sold poorly despite extensive advertising.<sup>13</sup>

The Clarks, therefore, aimed to reach the core of the potential market through direct mail: they recognised, however, that advertising was essential in the case of new titles, which had to be drawn to the attention of the widest possible market, and particularly effective in the case of back-list titles with a proven record of success. Even the most extensive advertising could, however, do little to improve the sales of titles which were performing badly. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the firm, while accepting that some advertising was necessary, regarded it, except in the case of a very few titles, as being far less cost-effective than the other methods of publicity and promotion.

#### b) Advertising strategy

Given that some advertising was essential, it was vital, if the advertising budget were to be spent as effectively as possible, to



select the most appropriate periodicals as platforms, and to phrase the advertising copy as appealingly as possible.

Appendix C gives a fairly full list of the periodicals used by the Clarks for advertising purposes. It includes the trade press, denominational publications, and general theological serials, both scholarly and popular. Advertisements for a particular title were inserted in those publications whose readership came closest to coinciding with the potential market for the work in question. In this respect, the British Weekly, for example, proved highly effective: 'we well know its value as an Advtg. medium for our publications.'<sup>14</sup> There was, on the other hand, little point in advertising in journals whose theological position was antipathetic to that taken by the Clarks' authors: Scribners were taken to task for advertising works by Robert Watts ('the orthodox of the orthodox!') using commendatory quotations from the equally orthodox C.H. Spurgeon in the 'advanced' liberal journal New World, whose readers were most unlikely to be potential customers for Clark publications.<sup>15</sup>

Having selected a suitable list of periodicals in which to advertise a given title, the Clarks found it expedient to concentrate their advertising at certain times of the year, avoiding the other months. The Christmas numbers were always avoided: 'They are naturally filled up with Xmas Gift Books - of which we have really none - & it is practically useless for us to advertise in them.'<sup>16</sup> The bulk of advertising for a new work was concentrated around the time of publication, and thereafter it would be advertised at the start of the spring and autumn publishing 'seasons'. Special advertisements



would appear in the Scottish denominational publications around the time of the Churches' annual General Assemblies, when many ministers from outlying parts would be within reach of an Edinburgh bookshop. Appendix C contains case-studies of the firm's advertising of certain new titles, showing expenditure on a monthly basis over the first year of publication.

Not only was it important to select the most appropriate periodicals in which to advertise, and the time of year at which advertisements proved to be most effective, but it was also vital to phrase the text of the advertisements as tellingly as possible. In fact, the Clarks' normal procedure was simply to give full details of the work in question and then to quote from favourable reviews. The firm sought to be guided in its advertising as in everything else by standards of honesty and honour.<sup>17</sup>

The effectiveness of an advertisement would be maximised, then, if it were inserted in an appropriate periodical at an appropriate time of year, and if it were appropriately worded.

### c) Advertising budget

How much capital did the Clarks expend on advertising? They seem to have considered that, even in the case of the smallest book, it was necessary to spend between £10 and £15 in this way. Thus, when they were discussing the publication under a commission agreement of J.M. Hodgson's Theologia Pectoris, the comment was made regarding advertising outlay that 'if worked judiciously £10 to £15 should suffice.'<sup>18</sup> In fact, however, as Appendix C illustrates, the actual expenditure in certain cases fell considerably below £10.

On a comparatively few occasions, the Clarks exchanged advertisements with another publisher: in such cases, for the most part, no money changed hands. For instance, in 1879, the Clarks inserted a one-page advertisement for James Nisbet's publications in one of the Bible Class Handbooks; Nisbet for his part carried a page of Clark advertising in the Catholic Presbyterian.<sup>19</sup> Such exchanged advertisements were not necessarily 'free': very possibly, had the page in question not been assigned to Nisbet, it would have been sold to another publisher. But exchanges of this nature permitted both houses to experiment with a new advertising medium for a minimum of outlay. In some cases, an exchange agreement could include a financial element. For example, when Elliot Stock solicited a page of advertising from the Clarks for the Churchman at £2 15s.0d., the Edinburgh firm agreed to comply only on the express condition that Stock would advertise in an issue of the Monthly Interpreter.<sup>20</sup>

So that we can compare the firm's advertising expenditure on different titles, the following table<sup>21</sup> analyses the figures for some of the 1895-96 titles, and expresses the expenditure on advertising (including that credited to the accounts of the Critical Review and the Expository Times) as a proportion of the expenditure on all aspects of the work's production, and as a proportion of its turnover. All these figures relate to the financial year in which the titles were issued, and exclude the 'Proportion of Lists', a sum charged to the account of each book as its contribution to the firm's general promotional expenses.

TABLE III: 1

Advertising outlay on some 1895-96 titles

Title	Date of publication	Total outlay borne by the Clarks 1895-96	Advertising expenditure	Turnover 1895-96	Advertising expenditure as a proptn. of the Clarks' outlay	Advertising expenditure as a proptn. of turnover
<u>S.R. Driver Deuteronomy</u>	?	£436 7s. 3d.	£25 2s. 1d.	£523 8s. 0d.	5.75%	4.79%
<u>G.F. Moore Judges</u>	Sept. 1895	£295 6s. 9d.	£24 14s. 11d.	£258 9s. 0d.	8.37%	9.57%
<u>E.P. Gould St. Mark</u>	Feb. 1896	£190 5s. 5d.	£24 14s. 11d.	£201 1s. 6d.	13.00%	12.30%
<u>W. Sanday Romans</u>	July 1895	£574 3s. 3d.	£27 14s. 11d.	£621 6s. 8d.	4.83%	4.46%
<u>G.P. Fisher History of Christian Doctrine</u>	March 1896	£208 9s. 5d.	£4 2s. 4d.	£202 12s. 8d.	1.97%	2.03%
<u>P.J. Gloag Synoptic Gospels</u>	Oct. 1895	£93 8s. 4d.	£8 4s. 4d.	£66 12s. 4d.	8.79%	12.33%
<u>J. Crawford Brotherhood of Mankind</u>	Sept. 1895	£81 14s. 11d. (shared by the author)	£9 2s. 6d.	£41 3s. 0d.	11.16%	22.17%
<u>S.D. Salmond Immortality</u>	Dec. 1895	£432 5s. 0d.	£14 11s. 2d.	£542 6s. 9d.	3.36%	2.68%
<u>C.J. Hefele Councils of the Church (Vol 5)</u>	?	£168 19s. 6d.	£1 17s. 6d.	£64 8s. 3d.	1.1%	2.91%
<u>J.S. Candlish Ephesians (Bible Class Handbook)</u>	Oct. 1895	£68 2s. 7d.	3s. 7d.*	£63 6s. 0d.	0.25%	0.26%

\* No doubt this work was also advertised in general announcements of the series.



No particularly clear pattern emerges from this table. In the case of most of the items, the figure expressing expenditure as a proportion of the total outlay marches in tandem with that expressing expenditure as a proportion of turnover. This would suggest that, however successful the advertisements may have been in generating sales, they could hardly, on the face of it, have been cost-effective: had they been so, one would have expected the proportion of turnover to decrease as the proportion of outlay increased. The advertising in the case of the Brotherhood of Mankind would seem to have been especially lacking in cost-effectiveness.

Two observations can be made. In the first place, although greater sums were spent on promoting books which were larger and cost more to produce, and smaller sums on low-budget productions, the firm did not allocate a regular percentage of the outlay for advertising purposes. Clearly, some other factor guided them in ascertaining how extensively a particular work should be advertised.

In the second place, there is considerable variety in the figures expressing the advertising expenditure as a proportion of the turnover. From this it could be argued that the firm's advertising was more cost-effective in some cases than in others. According to this interpretation, in the cases where a reasonable sum was spent on advertising (we would exclude the works by Hefele and Candlish as being statistically aberrant), the lower the advertising budget was when expressed as a proportion of turnover, the more effective the advertisements were proving to be. In contrast, the higher the advertising budget was when expressed as a proportion of turnover, the less effective the advertisements were proving to be. However, this

view presupposes a correlation between sales and advertising which is not proven. The Clarks' advertisements were, one supposes, all written and inserted with equal wisdom and acumen. We should therefore not automatically blame the quality of the advertising in cases where sales were poor, without first examining other factors, such as the reputation which the work had obtained through being reviewed. If these factors were militating against the work, it seems hardly fair to blame the advertising for its lack of cost-effectiveness. In cases where sales were good, on the other hand, we have no evidence that the high turnover was due to the advertising rather than to the other factors referred to above. Once again, it seems unreasonable to praise the advertising for being cost-effective simply on the grounds of high sales which may have been only tenuously linked to the advertising expenditure. The relationship between advertising and sales is difficult to define: it is therefore impossible to assess the cost-effectiveness of the advertising budget. We are left with two general conclusions. Firstly, the Clarks felt that some advertising was essential. Secondly, this advertising had some fairly indeterminate effect on sales, particularly in drawing attention to new works, and in keeping successful titles before the public eye.

## 2. Catalogues and brochures

We confess, however, that we have more faith, for our class of books in direct 'circularising' than in Press advertising. 22

We know from experience that we get far greater returns from the circulation of our Catalogues than from Advertisements. 23

Although the success and cost-effectiveness of direct mail promotion is as impossible to quantify as it was in the case of advertising,



the very clear impression given by the letter books is that this kind of promotion was much cheaper, more successful in terms of generating orders, and hence far more successful and cost-effective than press advertising. Two categories of promotional material were regularly circulated to booksellers and potential customers; catalogues itemising all or most of the firm's list, and brochures highlighting particular, usually new, titles.

#### a) Catalogues

Four different catalogues were produced regularly, usually at least once a year. There was a UK retail catalogue, a UK trade catalogue, giving trade prices, a catalogue for the Colonial market, and one produced for Scribners to distribute in the US: in it the US retail price was given, titles for which Scribners did not hold the American franchise being excluded. These catalogues were widely distributed: Philip Schaff was informed in 1885 that thirteen thousand copies of a new catalogue were being sent out,<sup>24</sup> while, two years later S.D.F. Salmond was told that between twenty and thirty thousand copies of the general catalogue were distributed each year.<sup>25</sup> These catalogues were sent to clergymen (Ten thousand copies of the new catalogue were dispatched in January 1896 to 'Clergymen of all Denominations'<sup>26</sup>) and to booksellers who could be supplied with substantial quantities overprinted with their name and address for distribution to customers. (Macmillan and Bowes in Cambridge were sent five hundred copies of a new catalogue, overprinted in this way, in 1883.<sup>27</sup>) It is not unreasonable to suppose that the bulk of the Clarks' business was generated by these catalogues which, compared with advertising, were relatively inexpensive: the cost of printing catalogues over 1895-96 seems to have totalled less than one hundred pounds.<sup>28</sup> To this should be added the postal charges involved in



distributing catalogues. These are unspecified, but must have been considerable.

b) Brochures

Brochures, leaflets or postcards were frequently produced to advertise new titles, periodicals and 'live' series, and were distributed to bookseller and potential customer alike. The Clarks were aiming at a clearly-defined target audience (the theological fraternity) and considered that such direct-mail 'circularising' was the most effective way of hitting the target. A campaign could be targetted at a specific sub-group within the theological fraternity: thus when Samuel Green's book The Ancient Faith was published in 1897, postcards were sent to two thousand Congregational and Baptist ministers, the Clarks claiming 'we think this is the most direct way of reaching them.'<sup>29</sup> The author was frequently consulted when the list of those who were to receive promotional material was being drawn up. When, for example, the booksellers were showing a singular lack of interest in and enthusiasm for C. Newman Hall's new work on The Lord's Prayer (1883), the firm told him that it was 'very necessary' to 'make an effort in the direction of [his] congregation and friends', and asked him to send to George Street 'a list of individuals (ladies as well as gentlemen) to whom [they] could send circulars.'<sup>30</sup>

Promotional items were sent out in very large quantities indeed.

'Many thousand' copies of a prospectus advertising the Monthly Interpreter were circulated;<sup>31</sup> by February 1885 the Presbyterian Review had been promoted by means of three thousand copies of a prospectus,<sup>32</sup> and over the next year a further seven to twelve thousand copies were distributed.<sup>33</sup> 'An immense number' of copies

of a prospectus advertising Thayer's edition of Grimm's Lexicon was circulated,<sup>34</sup> while between twenty and thirty thousand copies of yet another prospectus advertising the Dictionary of the Bible were printed.<sup>35</sup> All this 'circularising' was not invariably successful, failing miserably, for instance, in the case of the Presbyterian Review which sold only ninety copies despite extensive promotion in this way.<sup>36</sup> But where the product met a genuine need, and where the target audience was clearly defined and easily accessible by direct-mail solicitation, it was without doubt the best means of promotion. The following Table compares the cost of advertising with the cost of printing a prospectus in the case of some of the titles published in the financial year 1895-96. No record has been kept of the cost of distributing copies of the prospectus once it had been printed.<sup>37</sup>

TABLE III: 2

Comparison of advertising costs with cost of printing a prospectus for some 1895-96 titles

Title	Advertising Expenditure	Cost of printing Prospectus
S.R. Driver - Deuteronomy	£25 2s. 1d.	£6 0s. 5d.
G.F. Moore - Judges	£24 14s. 11d.	None
E.P. Gould - St. Mark	£24 14s. 11d.	None
W. Sanday - Romans	£27 14s. 11d.	None
G.P. Fisher - History of Christian Doctrine	£4 2s. 4d.	£1 14s. 9d.
P.J. Gloag - Synoptic Gospels	£8 4s. 4d.	8s. 7d.
J. Crawford - Brotherhood of Man	£9 2s. 6d.	15s. 5d. (3000 copies)
S.D.F. Salmond - Immortality	£14 11s. 2d.	£1 19s. 2d. (4000 copies)
C.J. Hefele - Councils of the Church (Vol.5)	£1 17s. 6d.	£1 11s. 3d. (4000 copies)
J.S. Candlish Ephesians (B.C.H.)	3s. 7d.	None

One might have expected that prospectus advertising would have been used in every case. Possibly the works by Moore, Gould and Sanday were promoted in general leaflets advertising the International Critical Commentary series, to which they belonged.



There was probably some cross-fertilisation between direct mail promotion and press advertising. Receipt of a prospectus might well have persuaded a potential customer to purchase a work which he had previously seen advertised; conversely an advertisement might well have propelled into the bookshop a would-be customer whose interest in a work had previously been awakened by a review or a prospectus. No one element of the firm's promotion strategy can therefore be considered in isolation. But catalogues and brochures must have been among the most cost-effective elements of that promotion strategy, even though their precise cost-effectiveness is unquantifiable.

### 3. Review copies

It was the Clarks' considered opinion that there was a direct relationship between good reviews and sales, and in consequence their promotional strategy included the distribution of sizable numbers of review copies to editors. Their faith in the power of the reviewer is illustrated by quotations such as the following. Of the slow-selling Doctrine of Sacred Scripture by G.T. Ladd (1883), the firm wrote to Scribners 'when we get reviews it may move';<sup>38</sup> when buying the Eras of the Christian Church series from the Christian Literature Publishing Company, the Clarks asked for as many gratis copies of each volume as possible for distribution to editors, saying as an inducement 'The larger the number you can send, the greater the probability of repeat orders.'<sup>39</sup> But if good reviews helped to increase sales, poor reviews inevitably diminished them. The firm anticipated that their edition of F.E. König's Religious History of Israel (1885) would be 'a dead loss' to them, at least part of the explanation for this being that 'all the reviewers [were] down upon



the translation.<sup>40</sup> However if there was a risk involved in distributing review copies, it was far offset by the potential benefits that could accrue from positive reviewing.

Statistics, where available, confirm that large numbers of review copies were distributed.<sup>41</sup> In purchasing works from American houses, the Clarks usually asked for as many review copies as could be spared as they did in the case of the series referred to above.<sup>42</sup> Twenty-nine review copies of E. de W. Burton's Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek (1894), a work of American origin, were distributed.<sup>43</sup> In the case of works which they had themselves originated, larger numbers of editors' copies were sent out by the Clarks. Thus, for example, at least sixty editors received copies of C.H.H. Wright's Biblical Essays (1886).<sup>44</sup> At the request of J. Vernon Bartlett, an author who wanted more review copies of his work on the Apostolic Age distributed than the sixty which was at that time the Clarks' normal figure, and who agreed to bear half the cost of the additional copies, eighty review copies of that work were sent out.<sup>45</sup>

Considerable wisdom had to be exercised in the distribution of review copies if they were to bear the maximum fruit. 'We know something of the ways of Editors!', the Clarks commented. Such ways had to be complied with if the soil in which review copies fell was to prove fertile.<sup>46</sup> At least three principles were involved. In the first place, it was essential to select as recipients of review copies the periodicals whose editors were most likely to be interested in and sympathetic to the work in question. Given that Victorian religious periodicals represented a wide spectrum of attitudes and emphases, this was very far from easy. One obviously avoided periodicals

which were theologically more advanced or more conservative than the theological position of one's own publications. One editor in fact wrote to the Clarks notifying them that their publications were not sufficiently liberal to be noticed in his journal (the New World) and asked that no further review copies be sent except at his specific request.<sup>47</sup> In some cases however, although one would rather not have sent a particular book for review to a given journal, it was politic to let the editor have one, since failure to send a review copy might result in the appearance of an even more damaging notice than would have been printed had a copy been sent. Hence, for example, when D.W. Simon requested that review copies of his Reconciliation by Incarnation (1898) should, for some reason, personal or theological, not be sent to the editors of the British Weekly and the Christian World he was told, the Clarks no doubt speaking on the basis of past experience,

If we purposely omit papers...it tells against us in other ways & may do us serious injury, for the Editors take offence & the almost certain result is a slashing review not only of the book withheld but of other of our publications also...You will be far wiser to face those two papers boldly.<sup>48</sup>

One's list of periodicals whose editors were to receive copies of a given work had always to contain fewer titles than the number of books available for free distribution, for inevitably, after publication, requests for review copies would be received from editors omitted from the list.<sup>49</sup> These it would have been foolish to ignore.

The second principle was that, contrary to the opinion of many authors, review copies bore the most luxuriant fruit if sent to editors rather than direct to those who contributed reviews to the theological press. In writing to J. Beveridge of Wolverhampton, the Clarks made their



views on this clear:

Experience has proved to us that it is not wise to send to private individuals for review in particular Magazines. Editors generally resent this, & prefer that the Review copy should be sent to their office direct. <sup>50</sup>

The third and final principle was that if the distribution of review copies were to prove fruitful, editors who did not print reviews quickly, or who made do with brief notices, should not be constantly harried either by the author or the publisher, great though the temptation to do this might be. Such harrying would only prove to be counter-productive. There were times, however, when the Clarks felt that some polite communication with an editor was essential. Thus, after the Guardian had reviewed only one Clark title in a volume of issues, despite having received copies of nearly all of the firm's new publications, the editor received a note which began 'We trust you will pardon us for drawing your attention to the following', explained the position, and went on to urge greater consideration for Clark issues.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, the editor of the Methodist Times had his attention drawn to the fact that despite his having been sent a copy of the first volume of the Dictionary of the Bible, a work, it was pointed out, of recognised importance, he had not published a review of it.<sup>52</sup> Such careful handling of editors - not harrying them, but monitoring their performance and gently intervening when necessary - was essential if the kind of relationship with the press which was conducive to favourable reviewing was to be maintained.

The distribution of review copies, if wisely done, could be a most effective means of promotion. There was an element of unpredictability which was absent from say, the distribution of



catalogues and brochures, but in general, if the work were competent, a judicious scattering of review copies would yield a pleasing crop of notices, and these in turn both directly and indirectly through being quoted in advertisements (another example of the interplay between two elements of the promotion strategy) would lead to further sales.

Once again, the cost-effectiveness of this means of promotion is unquantifiable. The following Table itemises the total cost to the Clarks (calculated on the unit production cost) of review copies distributed in the case of some of the titles published in the financial year 1895-96.<sup>53</sup> No record appears to have been kept of the postal costs of distributing review copies.

TABLE III: 3

Cost of review copies distributed of some 1895-96 titles

Title	No. of review copies *	Cost of review copies *
S.R. Driver - Deuteronomy	80	£21 11s. 0d.
G.F. Moore - Judges	60	£17 14s. 6d.
E.P. Gould - St. Mark	70	£12 6s. 10d.
W. Sanday - Romans	100	£22 5s. 0d.
G.P. Fisher - History of Christian Doctrines	60	£15 10s. 0d.
P.J. Gloag - Synoptic Gospels	75	£8 14s. 0d.
J. Crawford - Brotherhood of Man	75	£7 12s. 0d.
S.D.F. Salmond - Immortality	105	£21 1s. 0d.
C.J. Hefele - Councils of the Church (Vol.5)	50	£7 16s. 0d.
J.S. Candlish - Ephesians (B.C.H.)	120	£3 15s. 10d.

\* Both these figures are approximations. The number of presentation copies listed in the Stock and Sales Book includes those given to the author: an arbitrary figure has been deducted from these totals to arrive at the number quoted above. The total cost price of the review copies is based on a rough estimate of the unit production cost of the work in question.

The fact that the distribution of review copies was comparatively expensive underlines the fact that, if this element of the promotion

strategy were to be both successful and cost-effective, considerable wisdom was called for in its execution.

#### 4. Other means of promotion

There were a number of other minor elements in the overall promotion strategy.

In the case of magazines, readers could be asked to encourage their friends and colleagues to take out a subscription. This strategy was followed (with, however, no appreciable results) in the case of the Presbyterian Review.<sup>54</sup> Again, copies of a periodical could be distributed gratis in an attempt to induce more people to subscribe. This was done in the cases of the Monthly Interpreter,<sup>55</sup> and of the Critical Review, several thousand copies of which were given away for this purpose. This free distribution was, the firm felt, 'the most effectual way' of promoting a periodical:<sup>56</sup> even more effective, it is implied, than the circulation of prospectuses.

In the case of books, the theological and trade press would often carry announcements of forthcoming titles (as opposed to advertisements for them) at no charge to the publisher. Thus the Clarks wrote to J. Hamlyn Hill, author of a work on St. Ephraem's Commentary (1896) 'We sent the Announcement you kindly drew up to several papers of literary standing.'<sup>57</sup> Again, reviews of Clark publications could feature prominently in the Expository Times and the Critical Review. As we noted earlier, the firm were not enthusiastic about the appearance in their journals of reviews which extensively criticised their publications; they were more than happy, however, to give house-room to enthusiastic appreciations. Thus John M. Clark wrote to Hastings

I am hopeful that even already some good has resulted from your kind references to our books in the E.T.,



175

and when the 'Enlargement' becomes a fact, I quite 58 59  
believe that additional impetus will be given.

A review of Hamlyn Hill's forthcoming edition of Tatian's Diatessaron (1894) appeared in the Expository Times, and was used for promotional purposes: gratis copies of the issue containing the review were sent to some potential customers, and the notice was kept in type, so that additional copies could be run off and circulated to announce the work.<sup>60</sup> A final additional means of promoting books was the insertion of advertising material at the back of other publications, where it would catch the reader's attention at a time when, having just completed one book, he would be most susceptible to the blandishment of another. The Bible Class Handbook series was open also to advertising material from other publishers,<sup>61</sup> but, for the most part, these end-of-book advertising opportunities were used by the Clarks themselves. Most of their titles, it would appear contained some advertising, and only one author, J. Hamlyn Hill seems ever to have objected to this. Hamlyn Hill, who had been raising trouble at every turn over the issue of his edition of the Diatessaron, clearly felt that the Clarks had no right to defile his book with advertisements, even although it was being issued at their risk. He was promptly told 'We were certainly quite entitled to insert them'<sup>62</sup> and equally promptly responded by seeking payment for the inclusion of this advertising matter at the end of his book. He was thereupon once more put in his place: 'Such a thing is unheard of in publishing.'<sup>63</sup> The Clarks, of course, continued to use this valuable means of advertising, which was targetted at their existing audience.

These additional arrows in the quiver of promotional strategy were cheap in financial terms, but valuable indeed in terms of the impact



which they could have.

### 5. Conclusions

We have seen that the success and cost-effectiveness of the three chief methods of promoting books – by advertising, brochures and review copies – varied considerably, but that these three strategies were each inter-related, and each indispensable. While it is impossible to quantify their effectiveness or exact impact on the profitability of the firm's publishing programme, it is certain that they were essential to the continuing vitality of T. & T. Clark.<sup>64</sup>

The Table which follows gathers together the financial data on the three main elements of the firm's promotional strategy in respect of those titles issued in the financial year 1895–96, whose promotion we have examined in this section.

TABLE III : 4

Promotional expenditure on certain titles issued 1895-96

Title	Total outlay 1895-96 borne by the Clarks	Advertising budget + % of outlay rep- resented by this figure	Expenditure on prospectus etc + % of outlay rep- resented by this figure	Expenditure on review copies + % of outlay rep- resented by this figure	Total prom- otional expend- iture + % of outlay represent- ed by this figure	'Proportion of lists' contribution 1895-96
<u>S.R. Driver Deuteronomy</u>	£436 7s. 3d.	£25 2s. 1d. 5.75%	£6 0s. 5d. 1.37%	£21 11s. 0d. 4.93%	£52 13s. 6d. 12.07%	£3
<u>G.F. Moore Judges</u>	£295 6s. 9d.	£24 14s. 11d. 8.37%	No prospectus	£17 14s. 6d. 6%	£42 9s. 5d. 14.38%	£3
<u>E.P. Gould St. Mark</u>	£190 5s. 5d.	£24 14s. 11d. 13%	No prospectus	£12 6s. 10d. 6.48%	£37 1s. 9d. 19.49%	£3
<u>W. Sanday Romans</u>	£574 3s. 3d.	£27 14s. 11d. 4.83%	No prospectus	£22 5s. 0d. 3.87%	£49 19s. 11d. 8.7%	£3
<u>G.P. Fisher History of Christian Doctrine</u>	£208 9s. 5d.	£4 2s. 4d. 1.97%	£1 14s. 9d. 0.83%	£15 10s. 0d. 7.43%	£21 7s. 1d. 10.24%	£3
<u>P.J. Gloag Synoptic Gospels</u>	£93 8s. 4d.	£8 4s. 4d. 8.79%	8s. 7d. 0.45%	£8 14s. 0d. 9.31%	£17 6s. 11d. 18.56%	10s.
<u>J. Crawford Brotherhood of Mankind</u>	£81 14s. 11d. (shared by author)	£9 2s. 6d. 11.16%	15s. 0d. 0.91%	£7 12s. 0d. 9.29%	£17 9s. 6d. 21.37%	10s.
<u>S.D. Salmond Immortality</u>	£432 5s. 0d.	£14 11s. 2d. 3.36%	£1 19s. 2d. 0.45%	£21 1s. 0d. 4.86%	£37 11s. 4d. 8.69%	£3
<u>C.J. Hefele Councils of the Church (Vol 5)</u>	£168 19s. 6d.	£1.17s. 6d. 1.1%	£1 11s. 3d. 0.92%	£7 16s. 0d. 4.61%	£11 4s. 9d. 6.65%	£3
<u>J.S. Candlish Ephesians (Bible Class Handbooks)</u>	£68 2s. 7d.	3s. 7d. 0.25%	No prospectus	£3 15s. 10d. 5.56%	£3 19s. 5d. 5.82%	5s.

Thus, up to 21% of the total outlay in the first year of issue could be devoted to promotional expenditure. (This percentage excludes the 'Proportion of Lists' contribution). It was clearly in the Clarks' best interests to spend this sum as cost-effectively as possible; otherwise the profitability of the venture would be jeopardised.

## Section B: Distribution

If the firm were to benefit from the interest in their publications which the promotional strategy had created, it was essential that their distribution network be efficient and cost-effective. This section examines the evidence which has bearing on T. & T. Clark's distribution in an attempt to evaluate its efficiency and cost-effectiveness. Once again, it will be difficult to marshal hard statistical data; it may be possible, however, to gain a general impression of the firm's perception of the effectiveness of their distribution system.

### 1. Sales to the trade

#### a) The system

Appendix D contains a full list of all the accounts serviced by the firm between 1895 and 1901, including retail outlets, wholesalers, and foreign booksellers.

The Clarks serviced booksellers throughout the UK. They would seem to have had no regular system of representation, most shops being informed of new Clark titles through the trade catalogue. From time to time at least, however, the London trade and some of the Scottish booksellers were visited by a member of the firm. There is a reference to John M. Clark's attempts to subscribe Newman Hall's The Lord's Prayer to the trade in London in 1883.<sup>65</sup> And the first part of S.D.F. Salmond's Bible Class Primer on The Shorter Catechism (1887) was 'shown round the trade in Edinburgh and Glasgow.'<sup>66</sup> Sales to these outlets were usually considered firm: there is no evidence that works were supplied on sale-or-return to any shops. Two retailers, however, James Thin and J.G. Hitt, both of Edinburgh, seem to have



kept in stock certain Clark titles, which were clearly still the firm's property as they are itemised as stock in hand in the Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles.<sup>67</sup> It is not clear what arrangement the Clarks had with these firms. In general, relationships with the retail outlets were good, and there seem to have been few serious problems with bankrupt or recalcitrant book-sellers. When payment was long delayed, the Clarks did not hesitate to take action through the appropriate channels: R. Lindsay of Glasgow, for example, was, in 1879 threatened with action through the Trade Protection Society if he did not immediately remit the sum he owed.<sup>68</sup>

The Clarks, as well as supplying direct to English firms, also used the services of two London wholesalers. Simpkin, Marshall, and Hamilton, Adams, who were to combine at the end of the century. These firms both kept in stock a very full selection of Clark publications - in December 1895, for example, Hamilton, Adams had goods on hand to the value of £332 0s.4d., while Simpkin, Marshall's stock of Clark titles was valued at £291 6s.5½d. -<sup>69</sup> this stock, it would seem, was still the Edinburgh firm's property.<sup>70</sup> The wholesalers were informed of new publications well in advance: the firm were in touch with Simpkin, Marshall about the forthcoming Dictionary of the Bible as early as January 1896, at the same time as the very first public announcement of the work was being sent to editors of periodicals.<sup>71</sup> The connection with the wholesalers was a very valuable one for the Clarks at least in terms of volume distribution. The following table lists the value of sales, presumably after deduction of the wholesaler's discount, to the two London firms between 1881 and 1900.<sup>72</sup>

TABLE III: 5

## Sales to the London wholesalers, 1881-1900

Calendar Year	Sales to Simpkin Marshall	Sales to Hamilton Adams
1881 (June - Dec).	£699 5s. 0d.	£612 6s. 4d.
1882	£1423 8s. 4d.	£1179 11s. 7d.
1883	£1429 16s. 10d.	£1444 4s. 1d.
1884	£1453 7s. 3d.	£1431 16s. 9d.
1885	£1447 7s. 2d.	£1413 0s. 2½d.
1886	£1483 12s. 6d.	£1532 17s. 11d.
1887	£1471 9s. 0½d.	£1467 10s. 1½d.
1888	£1416 11s. 8d.	£1350 13s. 8d.
1889	£1366 3s. 4d.	£1515 11s. 11d.
1890	£1720 8s. 10½d.	£1489 0s. 7½d.
1891	£2034 1s. 6½d.	£1667 7s. 3½d.
1892	£2266 10s. 3d.	£2107 2s. 4½d.
1893	£1946 0s. 5d.	£1803 15s. 11d.
1894	£1802 2s. 8½d.	£2034 12s. 4½d.
1895	£2124 0s. 3½d.	£2248 1s. 6½d.
1896	£2135 3s. 8d.	£2414 5s. 10d.
1897	£2539 6s. 9d.	£2662 15s. 7½d.
1898	£2822 19s. 9½d.	£2922 5s. 1d.
1899	£3090 14s. 8d.	£3751 12s. 4d.
1900	£3344 14s. 3d.	£3418 3s. 10d.

These are very important figures, showing as they do that, after a static period in the 1880s, the firm's sales through the wholesale outlets increased fairly consistently. This increase reflected the growth pattern of their total sales, which expanded in step with the development of publishing policy under John M. Clark over the last decade of the century.

Another wholesale firm was used by the Clarks on one occasion. The English distribution of the Monthly Interpreter was, as we have seen, entrusted to the firm of Kegan Paul, who also procured advertising for that journal.<sup>73</sup> There was some friction between the two firms on the question of territories. The Clarks had been willing to concede that Scottish customers who normally dealt with Kegan Paul should obtain their supplies of the Monthly Interpreter from them also; they expected that the English firm would reciprocate by



permitting them to supply the journal to such English accounts as they were in the habit of servicing. Kegan Paul took issue with this, whereupon the Clarks retorted that such a reciprocal agreement was the only way forward. 'To act otherwise would surely be altogether one-sided especially as regards us who have all the risk.'<sup>74</sup> This somewhat unhappy partnership terminated after the demise of the Monthly Interpreter.

We have discussed fully in an earlier section the distribution of Clark titles through foreign publishers, who agreed to market an edition of a work in their country. The Clarks also sold to foreign booksellers, chiefly in Europe, North America, and the Colonies. Such sales could only be made, of course, if the bookseller were outwith the territory covered by a foreign publisher with whom the Clarks had an agreement, or if the work in question were not covered by the distribution agreement for the area in which the bookseller operated. Appendix D gives a full list of the overseas accounts which were serviced by the Clarks. The firm had a good working relationship with many of these foreign booksellers: to one, for example, the Clarks felt free to send some new titles which had not been requested, accompanied by the following note:

Although we have no order from you for [the enclosed] we think you will readily dispose of them as they are both good works and suitable to your class of customers, and we hope to be favoured with a repeat at an early date.<sup>75</sup>

The general impression received, therefore, is of a reasonably effective distribution system handling Clark titles in increasing volume as the century drew to a close.

#### b) Trade terms

There was little point, however, in distributing large quantities of



books if the return to the publishers was inadequate. The general impression given by the letter books is that the Clarks were operating on fairly tight margins. One author who had been complaining about the royalty he was offered was reminded 'Most booksellers now (at least in large towns) give their private customers 3d. off the 1/- so that they expect a larger discount than formerly, which takes at least 40% from the selling price.'<sup>76</sup> Eight years later, in 1894, A.B. Bruce was told that the average trade discount was 42%<sup>77</sup> while in 1900 another author who had been complaining about the Clarks' terms was told that after the deduction of trade discount the firm did not get back much more than half of the published price in the case of sales to America.<sup>78</sup> What, in fact, were the terms on offer to the trade?

#### i. Terms for UK retailers

The terms on offer to UK retail booksellers were listed in the firm's trade catalogues. These catalogues itemised retail and trade prices for each title: in 1889, there was a discount of 25% on general publications, and 10% on subscription titles. By 1900, a 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % discount seems to have been offered on general publications, subscription titles still carried a discount of 10%, and the limited number of net books were sold to the trade at a discount of 25%. A further 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % discount was allowable on general publications, provided the account were settled within the six-month period in which the sale took place. (Accounts were due to be paid half-yearly, by 1 February and 1 August.) Booksellers could choose to pay by bill accounts relating to general publications (bills could be dated at three months if the sum involved were between ten and thirty pounds, at four months if it were between thirty and fifty pounds, and at

six months if it were over fifty pounds.) In addition, the 'odd book' system operated, twenty-five books being supplied for the price of twenty-four, or thirteen for the price of twelve and a half. The Clarks undertook to pay for the carriage of consignments of books as far as London. The effects of these discounts on the profitability of individual titles, and hence on the profitability of the business as a whole have been taken into consideration in the calculations in Part II.

The Clarks were opposed to any further special discounts, which they viewed as affecting adversely both the title in question, and their trade in general. Consequently, as we have seen they were not in favour of pre-publication special offers, feeling that they caused 'trouble and unpleasantness' with those who claimed not to have heard of a work before publication.<sup>79</sup> Consequently, also, they were not in favour of remaindering. If in part it was because they felt that to sell off a poor-selling title at a reduced price was rather unfair to the author,<sup>80</sup> it was chiefly because they considered that remaindering had a detrimental effect on their reputation as successful publishers. Thus Thomas Clark wrote to George Matheson 'I have a strong feeling against any work of my publishing being offered at a reduced price through the booksellers as it affects my other publications.'<sup>81</sup>

The firm was almost equally lacking in enthusiasm about net books. We have already examined their discussion as to whether the Dictionary of the Bible should be issued under a net pricing arrangement. In the end, as we saw, it was not, and very few nineteenth century Clark titles were net books since, in the Clarks' experience, 'Most of the Booksellers refuse [d] to stock [such books].'<sup>82</sup> In the 1902 Colonial Catalogue, only the following



books were noted as being net:

- W.F. Moulton and A.S. Geden A Concordance to the Greek Testament (1897) £1 6s.0d. (£1 11s.6d in  $\frac{1}{2}$  Morocco)
- Ernest D. Burton Syntax of the Moods and Senses in New Testament Greek (Revised edition, 1901) 5s.6d.
- Willibald Beyschlag New Testament Theology (1894) 18s.0d.
- Hermann Schultz Old Testament Theology (1892) 18s.0d.
- Julius Kaftan The Truth of the Christian Religion (1893) 16s.0d.
- H. von Schubert The Gospel of St Peter (1893) 1s.6d.
- Carl Brockelman Lexicon Syriacum (1895) £1 10s.0d.
- C.A. Briggs General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scripture (1899) 12s.0d.
- F. Godet Introduction to the New Testament (2 vols published by 1901) 12s.6d. and 6s.0d. 83

ii. Terms for UK wholesalers

Whereas on general publications retailers were offered a discount of 25% or 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % on the nominal retail price, plus an additional 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % discount, presumably on the discounted price, if their accounts were settled within the six-month period in which the purchase was made, the wholesalers Hamilton, Adams and Simpkin, Marshall were supplied at a discount of 25% or 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % plus an additional discount of 10%, again presumably on the discounted price. And whereas on subscription titles retailers were offered a flat rate 10% discount on the retail price, the wholesalers were supplied at a discount of 10% plus an additional 5%. In a very limited number of cases, the wholesalers seem to have been supplied at the same rate as the retailers: possibly these cases involved US publications, or certain works issued on commission. Presumably, the wholesalers supplied to the retail trade on the same terms as the Clarks did, and they would therefore have been left with a very small margin: in the case of general publications it would have been 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of 75% or 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ % of the nominal retail price; in the case of subscription works it



would have been 5% of 90% of the retail price.<sup>84</sup> The terms agreed with Kegan Paul for the distribution of the Monthly Interpreter departed from this norm. The magazine had a retail price of 1s.0d. and a trade price of 8½d., and on this the distributors claimed an additional 10% discount.<sup>85</sup> They were authorised to supply to 'bona fide exporters to Foreign countries, or the colonies', and to W.H. Smith at 8½d. plus 10% discount: in respect of copies supplied to these customers, Kegan Paul no doubt claimed an additional 10% discount for themselves.<sup>86</sup> On entering this agreement, the Clarks while commenting that Kegan Paul's terms 'allow[ed] very little to the publisher' nevertheless considered that 'their name [might] be of service.'<sup>87</sup> In the long term, as we have seen, the agreement was profitable to neither party.

### iii. Terms for foreign booksellers

In general, the Clarks supplied colonial booksellers on the same terms as their UK customers. When a bookseller from elsewhere in the world wished to open an account, however, terms were usually laid down by the firm on an ad-hoc basis, according to their estimate of the credit-worthiness of the customer, and of the volume of orders he seemed likely to send to Edinburgh. In assessing this second factor, the Clarks based their judgement largely on the degree of enthusiasm for their publications which was evinced by the bookseller. It is not clear which party paid for the shipping of goods: the bookseller had to cover the cost of the consul's export certificate, where appropriate, plus the cost of packing cases.<sup>88</sup> Some examples of terms follow, listed in ascending order of generosity. C.F. Roper of New York was offered 10% on such subscription titles as the Clarks could supply him with (Scribners holding the franchise on

the Ante-Nicene Library and the St. Augustine series); on general publications he was promised 30% discount plus an additional 2½% for cash with order, a method of payment upon which the Edinburgh firm insisted in his case.<sup>89</sup> Wise, Coffin and Co. of Dunedin were offered 10% on subscription titles, and on general works 25% or 30% plus an additional 5% discount on settlement. The 'odd book' arrangement was to apply, and there was no pre-payment clause.<sup>90</sup> Rowsell and Hutchison of Toronto were offered identical terms, with the exception that the additional discount on general works was to be 10%.<sup>91</sup> On condition that they undertook to order more than one hundred pounds worth of books per year, more generous terms still were offered to the Toronto Willard Tract Depository. On subscription titles, they were to be allowed 10% discount plus a further 5%. On the firm's general titles, they were to be given a straight discount of 45% on the nominal retail price. It was to be understood that all outstanding sums had to be paid by 1 February and 1 August each year.<sup>92</sup> Very similar, although not quite so generous terms were concluded with W.J. Gage of Toronto: again these were dependent upon a reasonable level of sales being maintained. Gage was to be allowed 10% plus a further 5% discount on subscription titles. On the firm's general titles, he was to be allowed a discount of 30% plus a further 10%, plus an additional 5% on the amount of his invoice if the remittance were sent immediately upon receipt of the goods. Gage was in fact receiving a discount of 30% plus 10% of 70% plus 5% (70% - 10% of 70%), the equivalent of a straight discount of 40.15%, somewhat less than the 45% discount allowed to the Willard Depository.<sup>93</sup>

A wide range of terms were therefore offered by the Clarks in their



dealings with UK retailers and wholesalers, and with foreign booksellers. The discounts offered and the margins remaining were presumably carefully calculated by the firm so that profits albeit modest ones, would accrue, for in examining the costings of individual titles, we have seen that in many cases the income from sales to the trade was sufficient to yield, if not a spectacular profit, then at least an adequate one.

## 2. Direct selling

It must have been a great temptation to the Clarks, servicing as they were a clearly-defined target audience with whom they had regular contact by means of direct-mail advertising, to eliminate the role of the middleman, and sell directly to their customers using parcel post. The threat from the booksellers of retaliation and boycott must have seemed less intimidating to highly-specialised publishers such as T. & T. Clark, who had very close links with the market they were serving, than to general publishers, whose success depended on maximising sales to a diffuse audience. It was a temptation which the Clarks managed to resist, out of a sense of loyalty to the trade, as well as out of a realisation that such a course was, after all, in their own best interests. These two elements - loyalty to the trade and the firm's own interests - feature in a letter to B. Broomhall, who as we saw earlier had asked for special concessions on Clark titles for Wesleyan local preachers:

We have great difficulty in complying with your request - not because we are unwilling to assist Wesleyan Local Preachers in the way you indicate, but on account of the Booksellers through which we deal. They make their living by selling books, & the question arises, is it right to pass them over in this way. In almost every case where we have responded to similar requests, complications with the trade have followed. 94



The Clarks no doubt realised that, if they sold direct, not only would they incur the wrath of the booksellers, but also they would be incessantly importuned by allegedly penniless students, priests and clergy all laying claim to greater discounts than were given to the trade.<sup>95</sup> And so direct selling remained the exception rather than the rule. The Clarks were never involved in door-to-door canvassing operations;<sup>96</sup> they claimed that they had 'very few private Accounts, & in nearly every case refer [ed] private correspondents to local booksellers';<sup>97</sup> they were even reluctant to supply books at special rates to their authors, having found from experience that 'it [was] a most dangerous thing to give special terms even to the author of a book...as it [led] to endless complications with the Booksellers.'<sup>98</sup>

There are, however, some examples of exceptions to this rule. It is almost certain that the firm's subscription series would have been sold direct to the public as well as routed through the booksellers. And the Clarks were at least prepared to consider publishing an individual work on subscription in order to ensure that there was a sufficiently large market for it before going to press. When the viability of a translation of a work by Nebe was being discussed, they commented 'if it were published at all it must be by subscription ensuring a large number of purchasers beforehand':<sup>99</sup> this work would certainly have been sold direct to the subscribers.

There were, moreover, certain categories of purchaser whom the Clarks were prepared to consider supplying direct at a discount. In the first place, works which were suitable for use as student texts were from time to time sold in bulk to college principals, because the Clarks considered 'It [was] absolutely necessary with [their] class of books to give every consideration to Divinity Students (many of

them being simply unable to give the regular price)'.<sup>100</sup> Divinity students would, after all, help to form the backbone of the firm's regular market once they had qualified; it was both wise and politic to encourage them in the habit of purchasing Clark books in their students years. Hence, provided stated quantities were ordered, individual volumes from the subscription series were supplied to college principals at the subscription price, whereas the non-subscription price normally applied in the case of purchases of individual volumes.<sup>101</sup> Hence, too, general works were supplied direct, sometimes at considerable discounts, and hence, as we noted earlier, the Critical Review was supplied to students for an annual subscription of 4s.0d. as opposed to 6s.0d.<sup>102</sup>

In the second place, certain libraries were supplied direct at a discount by the firm. Volumes of the Ante-Nicene Library were available on special terms to missionary libraries.<sup>103</sup> And another library, which had clearly requested a free grant of books, was told that if works were ordered from the catalogue (on the terms which would have been given by retail booksellers), the firm would 'add to [the order] as much as [they could] as a presentation to your library': this was, in effect, another way of giving a discount.<sup>104</sup>

In the third place, works were sometimes supplied direct at discount to denominational organisations. We have already seen that in dealing with a request for special concessions on their publications for Wesleyan local preachers, the Clarks referred to the fact that they had responded positively to similar requests in the past and that complications with the Trade had almost invariably ensued.<sup>105</sup> It was clearly their practice to listen sympathetically to such requests, and to agree to meet them where possible. Sometimes the



complications with the booksellers arose because of indiscretions on the part of those receiving special terms: we have already seen that, having been supplied with copies of the first volume of the Dictionary of the Bible at a reduced rate for the express purpose of selling it cheaply to Primitive Methodist ministers, the Rev. T. Mitchell of the Primitive Methodist Book Room in London put the cat among the pigeons by circulating an advertisement to some Congregational and Baptist ministers offering the volume to them at the low price of 19s.6d. Not surprisingly, the booksellers were up in arms.<sup>106</sup> A very complicated correspondence took place with Mitchell over the following two years on the subject of the supply of Clark publications to the Primitive Methodist Denomination at special terms. Mitchell had asked to be supplied with books for lay preacher's libraries at a discount of 50%. The Clarks explained that, because of the costings of their titles, this would be impossible. Instead, they proposed an elaborate scheme by which they would in effect be giving the Primitive Methodists a sizable discount without bringing the wrath of the Trade upon them. They promised to give Mitchell a donation which would vary in size according to the extent of his purchases. On orders worth up to fifty pounds, they would give a donation of 5% of the cost of the order. For purchases worth between fifty and one hundred pounds, the donation would amount to 7½%, while it would reach 10% in the case of more costly orders.<sup>107</sup> A year later, different, and even more complex terms were in operation, the Clarks giving additional discounts, plus a 10% donation in return for all orders. Clearly Mitchell had been buying extensively, for the 1900 letter begins 'We thank you most cordially for the kind interest you take in promoting the circulation of our publications,' and continues by stating that the Clarks were 'anxious to meet [his] wishes as far



as it [was] in [their] power.' The discounts which were agreed were as follows: 10% + 5% on subscription titles, 30% + 10% on general publications, with 'odd books' at the increased rate of twenty-six for the price of twenty-four or thirteen for the price of twelve, and 21% discount on net books. All this was in addition to the 10% donation. Although in a sense such terms could be justified by the fact the fact that the Primitive Methodist Bookroom was a retail outlet, it is clear that they could have caused considerable resentment among booksellers, especially since the discount was being passed on to the final purchasers in at least some cases, and it is small wonder that the Clarks concluded by stating 'We trust in the assurance contained in your letter that the terms will be kept strictly private.'<sup>108</sup>

In the fourth place, presumably where the firm felt there was a genuine need, and took pity on a correspondent, works were supplied direct to individual customers at a discount. We have seen, for example that W.E. Adam was supplied with a copy of the first volume of the Dictionary of the Bible at a greatly reduced rate.

This direct selling involved the Clarks in much additional work, led to disputes with the Trade, and, since discounts frequently equalled those given to booksellers, produced little additional profit.

Hence the firm's motivation for selling direct must have been based on their desire to be of service to the theological community, and to engender goodwill among the theological colleges and their students.

### 3. Free grants

All publishers, but especially those who are known to be committed to

a cause, find themselves inundated with requests for free grants of their publications. The Clarks were no exception, and very often they seem to have complied with requests which they considered to be reasonable. Apart from a desire to promote goodwill, the only possible motive for agreeing to supply publications free was a commitment to assist the spread of scholarship. And goodwill must be seen as a commodity of questionable value in those content to beg for, rather than to buy one's publications. One example: a set of the Ante-Nicene Library was supplied, apparently at no cost, to the library of the London Tract Society in 1886.<sup>109</sup>

The Clarks' distribution system, therefore, was complicated, and made more so by their willingness to assist where possible those who requested free grants or books at reduced rates. In general, however, it seems to have been reasonably efficient and cost-effective.

The firm's promotional strategy and their distribution system therefore, while not perfect, reasonably effectively alerted members of the target audience to the existence of Clark titles, and supplied them with such works as they wished to order, all this being done in a way which contributed to the overall efficiency of the business.

PART IV: The Overall Profitability of the Firm



## PART IV

In an earlier section we attempted to assess the profitability of the different categories of publication issued by T. & T. Clark, basing our analysis on the firm's statements of intent and on data relating to individual titles. We were able to arrive at interim conclusions. The time has now come for us to take a wider view by examining the Clarks' annual accounts in order to extract hard data with bearing on the financial performance of each category as a whole, and to reach firm conclusions about the overall profitability of T. & T. Clark in the 1890s.

### Section A: The profitability of each category of publication

#### 1. Introduction

In this Section we will examine and compare the financial performance of the eight main categories of publication issued by the firm, categories which, for the most part, correspond to those discussed Part II. These are

<u>Category A</u>	Series of completely British origin, and translations Patristic works
<u>Category B</u>	Translations, including series such as the <u>Foreign Theological Library</u>
<u>Category C</u>	Works of transatlantic origin, excluding co-editions
<u>Category D</u>	Co-editions produced with Scribner
<u>Category E</u>	Periodicals
<u>Category F</u>	Major reference works requiring large investment
<u>Category G</u>	Miscellaneous theological works
<u>Category H</u>	Legal publications

We would expect an examination of the relative profitability of these categories in the 1890s to reveal considerable differences: some, such as Category B were mature categories with well-established, live back-lists, while others, such as Category D were in the very earliest stages of evolution, still building up a reputation, and requiring

considerable outlay to launch new titles.

The Stock and Sales Book - Individual Titles<sup>1</sup> covers the four financial years beginning 1895-96. The accounts for each financial year (which ran from July to June) contain two main sections. The first deals with the performance of the Clark list on a title-by-title basis, while the second presents a summary of income and outlay over the year in question. In this second section, on the credit side is detailed the sums realised by those titles which yielded a profit, and any other income the firm may have had. Set against this are the losses made by those titles which failed to break even, together with the firm's operational overheads. The tables which follow are based on data drawn from both these sections of the annual accounts.<sup>2</sup>

The compilation of the tables was somewhat complicated by the fact that the Stock and Sales Book deals with most of the Clark series for accounting purposes as individual items. It was therefore impossible to calculate a separate profit or loss figure for each title in the series. Where a given category contained both individual titles, and series listed as individual items, it was necessary, for the purpose of the tables, to itemise data for individual titles and series separately in order to reach meaningful conclusions. This process adds considerably to the complexity of the annual tables, which, for each category, contain the following sections:

(Profit)

- (a) The total number of profit-making items, excluding series counted as one item. The limited number of works which exactly broke even making neither profit or loss, including



those on which there was no sale and no expenditure over the year in question are included here.

- (b) The total number of profit-making series counted as one item.
- (c) The total number of profit-making lines, including series counted as one item (a + b).
- (d) The total outlay on profit-making items, excluding series counted as one item.
- (e) The turnover on profit-making items, excluding series counted as one item (d + f).
- (f) The total profit on profit-making items, excluding series counted as one item.
- (g) The average profit per profit-making item, excluding series counted as one item (f/a).
- (h) The outlay on profit-making series counted as one item.
- (i) The turnover on profit-making series counted as one item (h + j).
- (j) The profit on profit-making series counted as one item.
- (k) The total outlay on all profit-making lines (d + h).
- (l) The total profit on all profit-making lines (f + j).
- (m) The total turnover on all profit-making lines (e + i).

(Loss)

- (n) The total number of loss-making items, excluding series counted as one item.
- (o) The total number of loss-making series counted as one item.
- (p) The total number of loss-making lines, including series counted as one item (n + o).
- (q) The total outlay on loss-making items, excluding series counted as one item.



- (r) The turnover on loss-making items, excluding series counted as one item  $(q - s)$ .
- (s) The total loss on loss-making items, excluding series counted as one item.
- (t) The average loss per loss-making item, excluding series counted as one item  $(s/n)$ .
- (u) The outlay on loss-making series counted as one item
- (v) The turnover on loss-making series counted as one item  $(u - w)$ .
- (w) The loss on loss-making series counted as one item.
- (x) The total outlay on all loss-making lines  $(q + u)$ .
- (y) The total loss on all loss-making lines  $(s + w)$ .
- (z) The total turnover on all loss-making lines  $(r + v)$ .

(Synthesis)

- (aa) Total number of items in the category, excluding series counted as one item  $(a + n)$ .
- (ab) The total number of items in the category (excluding series counted as one item) expressed as a percentage of the grand total of items (excluding series counted as one item).
- (ac) The total number of lines in each category, including series counted as one item  $(c + p)$ .
- (ad) The number of items (excluding series counted as one item) in the category to make a profit expressed as a percentage of the total number of items (excluding series counted as one item) in the category  $(\frac{a}{aa} \times 100)$ .
- (ae) The average outlay per item in the category (excluding series counted as one item)  $(\frac{d + q}{aa})$ .
- (af) The average turnover per item in the category (excluding series counted as one item)  $(\frac{e + r}{aa})$ .

- (ag) The total outlay on the category  $(k + x)$ .
- (ah) The total profit on the category  $(1 - y)$ . This figure is arrived at by subtracting the total loss on loss-making items from the total profit on profit-making items. As the notes accompanying the tables indicate, the firm's profit on trading before deduction of overheads was slightly greater than the sum total of the profits realised by the different categories. This is because of various other sources of income such as incoming royalties, and, notably, the commission earned on sales of the annual volumes of Session Cases which the Clarks published. Since they appear to have borne no risk in respect of these volumes, merely receiving a commission of  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ , the Session Cases are not included in Category H.<sup>3</sup>
- (ai) The profit realised by the category expressed as a percentage of the total profit.
- (aj) The percentage return on investment on the category over the year in question  $(\frac{ah}{ag} \times 100)$ .
- (ak) The average profit per item in the category, excluding series counted as one item  $(\frac{f - s}{aa})$

The tables for each year are followed by notes, and then by a commentary section which analyses some of the material presented in the tables, and features some additional data. In order to give an overview of the performance of categories as a whole, the tables include figures for both backlist and new titles. However, the largest proportion of the investment would be expended on new titles. So that this factor can be taken into account, the commentary sections list the number of titles published in each category in the



year in question, give the total investment, turnover and profit/loss on these, and express these figures as percentages of the category total. The increase in the number of items in each category over the preceding year is given where these data are available (1896-97, 1897-98 and 1898-99). In some cases, this increase is less than the total of new titles appearing in the category: this is because some other titles have gone out of print over the year.

For each year, the profitability of each category is assessed in the commentary section according to six criteria:

- I) The average profit per profit-making item: as a rule of thumb it can be said that the higher this is the more profitable the category.
- II) The average loss per loss-making item: here, although something of a simplification, it can be said that the lowest figure will indicate the most profitable category.
- III) The percentage of items in the category to make a profit: the higher this figure is, the more profitable the category is likely to be.
- IV) The difference between the size of a category (excluding series counted as one item) expressed as a percentage of the total issue (ab), and the contribution made by that category expressed as a percentage of the total net profit realised by all items on the list (excluding series counted as one). A category which has say 12% of the total number of items yet produces 15% of the total profit is more lucrative than one containing say 20% of the total number of items which produce only 19% of the total profit.



V) The average profit per item in the category: the higher this figure is, the more profitable the category.

VI) The percentage return on investment: once again, the higher this figure is the better.

The categories are tested against these criteria, and then, according to their performance when measured by each criterion, are ranked in order from one to eight, the results being entered on a grid:

Placing:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I								
II								
III								
IV								
V								
VI								

Positions 1 to 8 on the grid are valued from 8 to 1 respectively.

The total number of points achieved by each category can thus be calculated, and a rough assessment of profitability arrived at.

This detailed analysis for the four financial years is followed by a section which presents some conclusions on the performance of the different categories, and makes some preliminary observations on the profitability of the firm as a whole.

## 2. Data

TABLE IV: 1 Annual performance 1895-96

Category	(a) Total profit- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)*	(b) Total profit- making series counted as one item	(c) Total profit- making lines (Incl. series counted as one item) (a + b)	(d) Total outlay on profit- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(e) Turnover on profit-making items (Excl. series counted as one item) (d + f)	(f) Total profit on profit- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(g) Average profit per profit- making item f/a
A	38	3 <sup>(1)</sup>	41	£ 434 13s. 1d.	£ 815 7s. 5d.	£ 380 14s. 4d.	£10 0s. 2d.
B	66	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	69	£ 192 13s. 2d.	£1,168 10s. 7d.	£ 975 17s. 5d.	£14 15s. 9d.
C	24	1 <sup>(4)</sup>	25	£ 53 11s. 3d.	£ 176 0s.11d.	£ 122 9s. 8d.	£ 5 2s. 0d.
D	7	-	7	£1,363 9s. 8d.	£2,010 17s. 5d.	£ 647 7s. 9d.	£92 9s. 8d.
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F <sup>(6)</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	103	-	103	£ 994 11s. 1d.	£2,140 0s. 6d.	£1,145 9s. 5d.	£11 2s. 2d.
H	37	-	37	£ 692 17s. 1d.	£1,068 0s. 0d.	£ 375 2s.11d.	£10 2s.10d.
All pub- lications	275	7	282	£3,731 15s. 4d.	£7,378 16s.10d.	£3,647 1s. 6d.	£13 5s. 3d.

\* The limited number of works which exactly broke even are, for convenience, included with profit-making lines. This includes lines where there was no sale.

TABLE IV: 1 Annual performance 1895-96 (continued)

Category	(h) Outlay on profit-making series counted as one item	(i) Turnover on profit-making series counted as one item (h + j)	(j) Profit on profit-making series counted as one item	(k) Total outlay on all profit- making lines (d + h)	(l) Total profit on all profit- making lines (f + j)	(m) Total turnover on all profit- making lines (e + l)
A	£295 1s. 8d.	£ 472 10s.10d.	£ 177 9s. 2d.	£ 729 14s. 9d.	£ 558 3s. 6d.	£1,287 18s. 3d.
B	£342 14s. 1d.	£1,264 3s.11d.	£ 921 9s.10d.	£ 535 7s. 3d.	£1,897 7s. 3d.	£2,432 14s. 6d.
C	£ 10 11s. 9d.	£ 30 10s. 0d.	£ 19 18s. 3d.	£ 64 3s. 0d.	£ 142 7s.11d.	£ 206 10s.11d.
D	-	-	-	£1,363 9s. 8d.	£ 647 7s. 9d.	£2,010 17s. 5d.
E	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	-	-	-	£ 994 11s. 1d.	£1,145 9s. 5d.	£2,140 0s. 6d.
H	-	-	-	£ 692 17s. 1d.	£ 375 2s.11d.	£1,068 0s. 0d.
All pub- lications	£648 7s. 6d.	£1,767 4s. 9d.	£1,118 17s. 3d.	£4,380 2s.10d.	£4,765 18s. 9d.	£9,146 1s. 7d.



TABLE IV: 1 Annual performance 1895-96 (continued)

Category	(n) Total loss- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(o) Total loss- making series counted as one item	(p) Total loss- making items (Incl. series counted as one item (n + o)	(q) Total outlay on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(r) Turnover on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item) (q - s)	(s) Total loss on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)
A	3	1 <sup>(2)</sup>	4	£ 84 10s. 9d.	£ 76 7s. 4d.	£ 8 3s. 5d.
B	5	-	5	£ 301 10s. 10d.	£ 139 0s. 8d.	£162 10s. 2d.
C	1	-	1	£ 0 9s. 0d.	£ 0 5s. 1d.	£ 0 3s. 11d.
D	2	-	2	£ 503 16s. 2d.	£ 461 1s. 8d.	£ 42 14s. 6d.
E	2 <sup>(5)</sup>	-	2	£1,165 1s. 9d.	£ 979 2s. 2d.	£185 19s. 7d.
F	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	9	-	9	£ 293 1s. 0d.	£ 199 0s. 7d.	£ 94 0s. 5d.
H	2	-	2	£ 4 19s. 4d.	-	£ 4 19s. 4d.
All pub- lications	24	1	25	£2,353 8s. 10d.	£1,854 17s. 6d.	£498 11s. 4d.

TABLE IV: 1 Annual performance 1895-96 (continued)

Category	(t) Average loss per loss- making item (Excl. series counted as one item) (s/n)	(u) Outlay on loss-making series counted as one item	(v) Turnover on loss-making series counted as one item (u - w)	(w) Loss on loss-making series counted as one item	(x) Total outlay on all loss- making lines (q + u)	(y) Total loss on all loss-making lines (s + w)	(z) Total turnover on all loss-making lines (r + v)
A	£ 2 14s. 6d.	£67 1s.10d.	£41 4s. 6d.	£25 17s. 4d.	£ 151 12s. 7d.	£ 34 0s. 9d.	£ 117 11s.10d.
B	£32 10s. 0d.	-	-	-	£ 301 10s.10d.	£162 10s. 2d.	£ 139 0s. 8d.
C	£ 0 3s.11d.	-	-	-	£ 0 9s. 0d.	£ 0 3s.11d.	£ 0 5s. 1d.
D	£21 7s. 3d.	-	-	-	£ 503 16s. 2d.	£ 42 14s. 6d.	£ 461 1s. 8d.
E	£92 19s.10d.	-	-	-	£1,165 1s. 9d.	£185 19s. 7d.	£ 979 2s. 2d.
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	£10 8s.11d.	-	-	-	£ 293 1s. 0d.	£94 0s. 5d.	£ 199 0s. 7d.
H	£ 2 9s. 8d.	-	-	-	£ 4 19s. 4d.	£ 4 19s. 4d.	-
All pub- lications	£20 15s. 6d.	£67 1s.10d.	£41 4s. 6d.	£25 17s. 4d.	£2,420 10s. 8d.	£524 8s. 8d.	£1,896 2s. 0d.

TABLE IV: 1 Annual performance 1895-96 (continued)

Category	(aa) Total no. of items in category (Excl. series counted as one) (a + n)	(ab) Category total as % of grand total of items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(ac) Total no. of lines (Incl. series) (c + p)	(ad) % of total items in category (Excl. series counted as one) to make a profit $\frac{a}{aa} \times 100$	(ae) Average outlay per item in category (Excl. series) $\frac{d + q}{aa}$	(af) Average turnover per item (Excl. series) $\frac{e + r}{aa}$
A	41	13.71%	45	92.68%	£12 13s. 4d.	£21 15s. 0d.
B	71	23.74%	74	92.95%	£ 6 19s. 2d.	£18 8s. 4d.
C	25	8.36%	26	96.00%	£ 2 3s. 2d.	£ 7 1s. 0d.
D	9	3.01%	9	77.77%	£207 9s. 6d.	£274 13s. 2d.
E	2	0.66%	2	0	£582 10s. 11d.	£489 11s. 0d.
F	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	112	37.45%	112	91.96%	£ 11 9s. 11d.	£ 20 1s. 10d.
H	39	13.04%	39	94.87%	£ 17 17s. 11d.	£ 27 7s. 8d.
All pub- lications	299	-	307	91.97%	£ 20 7s. 0d.	£ 30 17s. 7d.



TABLE IV: 1 Annual performance 1895-96 (continued)

Category	(ag) Total outlay (k + x)	(ah) Total profit on category (l - y)	(ai) Category profit (ah) as a % of total profit	(aj) % return on category $\frac{ah \times 100}{ag}$	(ak) Average profit per item in category (Excl. series) $\frac{f - s}{aa}$
A	£ 881 7s. 4d.	£ 524 2s. 9d.	12.35%	59.46%	£ 9 1s. 9d.
B	£ 836 18s. 1d.	£1,734 17s. 1d.	40.90%	207.29%	£11 9s. 0d.
C	£ 64 12s. 0d.	£ 142 4s. 0d.	3.35%	220.00%	£ 4 17s.10d.
D	£1,867 5s.10d.	£ 604 13s. 3d.	14.25%	32.38%	£67 3s. 9d.
E	£1,165 1s. 9d.	Loss £ 185 19s. 7d.	- 4.38%	-15.96%	Loss £92 19s.10d.
F	-	-	-	-	-
G	£1,287 12s. 1d.	£1,051 9s. 0d.	24.78%	81.65%	£ 9 7s. 9d.
H	£ 697 16s. 5d.	£ 370 3s. 7d.	8.72%	53.04%	£ 9 10s. 0d.
All publications	£6,800 13s. 6d.	£4,241 10s. 1d.		62.36%	£10 10s. 7d.

ii. Notes

- (1) The three series were the St Augustine Library, the Bible Class Primers, and the series of works by John Owen, of which no copies appear to have been sold over the year. There being no outlay on the series, it technically broke even.
- (2) The Ante-Nicene Library
- (3) The three series were the Foreign Theological Library and the collections of works by Calvin and Meyer.
- (4) The series of commentaries by Lange
- (5) The Critical Review and the Expository Times.
- (6) None of the reference works on the list over 1895-96 had required a sufficiently large investment to warrant inclusion in this category.
- (7) The actual profit figure before deduction of overheads was somewhat less than this. To this £4,241 10s. 1d. should be added £207 8s. 2d. (£16 3s. 4d. being realised from the sale of miscellaneous old stock, and £190 14s. 10d. from a variety of sources. It included income from the sale of other publishers' titles and the 7½% commission which the Clarks received on sales of volumes of Session Cases which they published on commission). From the new total of £4,448 18s. 3d. should be subtracted £451 3s. 8d: the actual profit figure was therefore £3,997 14 7d. (The £451 3s. 8d. was comprised of two elements; £325 8s. 6d. was paid to account of Geden's forthcoming Concordance; and royalty payments of £125 15s. 2d. pertaining to the next financial year were for some reason included at the foot of the 1895-96 accounts.)

iii. Commentary

The table contains figures for both backlist titles and new publications. Over 1895-96, there were twelve new titles, excluding additions to series counted as one item. Their distribution among the categories, the sum invested in them, and their turnover and profit/loss were as follows:

TABLE IV: 2 New titles 1895-96							
	No. of new titles	Outlay	% of total outlay on category (Excl. series counted as one item)	Turnover	% of total turnover on category (Excl. series counted as one item)	Profit/loss	% of total profit on category (Excl. series counted as one item)
A	1	£ 68 2s. 7d.	13.12%	£ 63 6s. 0d.	7.09%	£ 4 16s. 7d.	- 1.29%
B	1	£ 158 19s. 6d.	34.19%	£ 64 8s. 3d.	4.92%	£104 11s. 3d.	-12.84%
C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D	5	£1,687 16s. 0d.	90.38%	£2,058 9s. 8d.	83.27%	£370 13s. 8d.	61.30%
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	4	£ 641 3s. 3d.	49.79%	£ 692 5s. 9d.	29.59%	£ 51 2s. 6d.	4.86%
H	1	£ 582 0s. 1d.	83.40%	£ 693 6s. 9d.	64.9%	£111 6s. 8d.	30.07%
All	12	£3,148 1s. 5d.	51.73%	£3,571 16s. 5d.	38.68%	£423 15s. 0d.	13.45%

L: Loss

(The total outlay figures on which the above percentages are based are drawn from (d) and (q) in Table IV:1; the turnover figures from (e) and (r); the total profit/loss from (f) and (s))

Around half of the total outlay was on new titles, and while these generated 38.68% of turnover, they realised only 13.45% of profit. Expenditure on the new Category D was absorbed largely by new titles, which generated 61.3% of the category profit. Most surprising, perhaps, is the fact that the one title issued in Category H realised a third of the profit to come from that category.

The profitability of the categories as a whole can be assessed using the six criteria noted in the Introduction. In the case of 1895-96, the following results are obtained:



Plac- Cri- ing terion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	D	B	G	H	A	C	-	-
II	C	H	A	G	D	B	E	-
III	C	H	B	A	G	D	-	-
IV*	D	B	H	A	G	C	E	-
V	D	B	H	G	A	C	E	-
VI	C	B	G	A	H	D	E	-

\* It can be calculated from (f) and (s) that the profit from items excluding series counted as one was contributed by the categories as follows :

A	11.83%
B	25.84%
C	3.87%
D	19.20%
E	- 5.90%
G	33.39%
H	11.75%

The difference between the sizes of the categories expressed as a percentage of the total issue and their yield expressed as a percentage of the total net profit realised by all items excluding series counted as one was therefore as follows :

A	-1.88	B	+2.1	C	-4.49	D	+16.19
E	-6.56	G	-4.06	H	-1.29		

Letting positions 1 - 7 in the table above be valued at 7 to 1 respectively (there being no titles in category F over 1895-96) :

$$\begin{aligned}
 A &= 3 + 5 + 4 + 4 + 3 + 4 = 23 \\
 B &= 6 + 2 + 5 + 6 + 6 + 6 = 31 \\
 C &= 2 + 7 + 7 + 2 + 2 + 7 = 27 \\
 D &= 7 + 3 + 2 + 7 + 7 + 2 = 28 \\
 E &= 0 + 1 + 0 + 1 + 1 + 1 = 4 \\
 G &= 5 + 4 + 3 + 3 + 4 + 5 = 24 \\
 H &= 4 + 6 + 6 + 5 + 5 + 3 = 29
 \end{aligned}$$

The order of profitability according to the above tests is therefore as follows :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B	H	D	C	G	A	E

TABLE IV: 3 Annual performance 1896-97

Category	(a) Total profit- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)*	(b) Total profit- making series counted as one item	(c) Total profit- making lines (Incl. series counted as one item) (a + b)	(d) Total outlay on profit- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(e) Turnover on profit-making items (Excl. series counted as one item) (d + f)	(f) Total profit on profit- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(g) Average profit per profit- making item f/a
A	25	3 <sup>(1)</sup>	28	£ 515 1s. 7d.	£ 698 5s. 2d.	£ 183 3s. 7d.	£ 7 6s. 6d.
B	63	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	66	£ 134 11s. 3d.	£ 529 2s. 4d.	£ 394 11s. 1d.	£ 6 5s. 3d.
C	24	0	24	£ 43 15s. 7d.	£ 137 2s. 10d.	£ 93 7s. 3d.	£ 3 17s. 10d.
D	9	0	9	£ 303 11s. 9d.	£ 999 19s. 2d.	£ 696 7s. 5d.	£ 77 7s. 6d.
E	1	0	1	£ 295 9s. 4d.	£ 299 19s. 9d.	£ 4 10s. 5d.	£ 4 10s. 5d.
F	1 <sup>(5)</sup>	0	1	£ 868 3s. 6d.	£ 1,044 0s. 4d.	£ 175 16s. 10d.	£ 175 16s. 10d.
G	100	0	100	£ 613 4s. 3d.	£ 1,471 19s. 7d.	£ 858 15s. 4d.	£ 8 11s. 9d.
H	37	0	37	£ 122 16s. 7d.	£ 435 5s. 1d.	£ 312 8s. 6d.	£ 8 8s. 11d.
All pub- lications	260	6	266	£ 2,896 13s. 10	£ 5,615 14s. 3d.	£ 2,719 0s. 5d.	£ 10 9s. 0d.

\* The limited number of works which exactly broke even are, for convenience, included with profit-making lines. This includes lines where there was no sale.

TABLE IV: 3 Annual performance 1896-97 (continued)

Category	(h) Outlay on profit-making series counted as one item	(i) Turnover on profit-making series counted as one item (h + j)	(j) Profit on profit-making series counted as one item	(k) Total outlay on all profit- making lines (d + h)	(l) Total profit on all profit- making lines (f + j)	(m) Total turnover on all profit- making lines (e + i)
A	£347 14s. 7d.	£ 610 4s. 11d	£ 262 10s. 4d.	£ 862 16s. 2d.	£ 445 13s. 11d.	£1,308 10s. 1d.
B	£227 16s. 8d.	£1,176 0s. 3d.	£ 948 3s. 7d.	£ 362 7s. 11d.	£1,342 14s. 8d.	£1,705 2s. 7d.
C	-	-	-	£ 43 15s. 7d.	£ 93 7s. 3d.	£ 137 2s. 10d.
D	-	-	-	£ 303 11s. 9d.	£ 696 7s. 5d.	£ 999 19s. 2d.
E	-	-	-	£ 295 9s. 4d.	£ 4 10s. 5d.	£ 299 19s. 9d.
F	-	-	-	£ 868 3s. 6d.	£ 175 16s. 10d.	£1,044 0s. 4d.
G	-	-	-	£ 613 4s. 3d.	£ 858 15s. 4d.	£1,471 19s. 7d.
H	-	-	-	£ 122 16s. 7d.	£ 312 8s. 6d.	£ 435 5s. 1d.
All pub- lications	£575 11s. 3d.	£1,786 5s. 2d.	£1,210 13s. 11d.	£3,472 5s. 1d.	£3,929 14s. 4d.	£7,401 19s. 5d.



TABLE IV: 3 Annual Performance 1896-97 (continued)

Category	(n) Total loss- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(o) Total loss- making series counted as one item	(p) Total loss- making items (Incl. series counted as one item (n + o)	(q) Total outlay on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(r) Turnover on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item) (q - s)	(s) Total loss on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)
A	19	1 <sup>(2)</sup>	20	£ 348 6s. 1d.	£ 229 9s. 1d.	£ 118 17s. 0d.
B	8	0	8	£ 376 12s. 7d.	£ 208 0s. 6d.	£ 168 12s. 1d.
C	9	1 <sup>(4)</sup>	10	£ 459 15s. 1d.	£ 235 3s. 8d.	£ 224 11s. 5d.
D	1	0	1	£ 636 16s. 9d.	£ 548 7s. 3d.	£ 88 9s. 6d.
E	1	0	1	£ 965 6s. 1d.	£ 919 12s. 2d.	£ 45 13s. 11d.
F	0	0	0	-	-	-
G	19	0	19	£ 744 1s. 2d.	£ 433 10s. 11d.	£ 310 10s. 3d.
H	5	0	5	£ 76 6s. 5d.	£ 23 10s. 10d.	£ 52 15s. 7d.
All pub- lications	62	2	64	£3,607 4s. 2d.	£2,597 14s. 5d.	£1,009 9s. 9d.

TABLE IV: 3 Annual performance 1896-97 (continued)

Category	(t) Average loss per loss- making item (Excl. series counted as one item) (s/n)	(u) Outlay on loss-making series counted as one item	(v) Turnover on loss-making series counted as one item (u - w)	(w) Loss on loss-making series counted as one item	(x) Total outlay on all loss- making lines (q + u)	(y) Total loss on all loss-making lines (s + w)	(z) Total turnover on all loss-making lines (r + v)
A	£ 6 5s. 0d.	£47 3s. 9d.	£21 2s. 6d.	£26 1s. 3d.	£ 395 9s.10d.	£ 144 18s. 3d.	£ 250 11s. 7d.
B	£21 1s. 6d.	-	-	-	£ 376 12s. 7d.	£ 168 12s. 1d.	£ 208 0s. 6d.
C	£24 19s. 0d.	£18 17s. 4d.	£15 12s. 0d.	£ 3 5s. 4d.	£ 478 12s. 5d.	£ 227 16s. 9d.	£ 250 15s. 8d.
D	£88 9s. 6d.	-	-	-	£ 636 16s. 9d.	£ 88 9s. 6d.	£ 548 7s. 3d.
E	£45 13s.11d.	-	-	-	£ 965 6s. 1d.	£ 45 13s.11d.	£ 919 12s. 2d.
F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G	£16 6s.10d.	-	-	-	£ 744 1s. 2d.	£ 310 10s. 3d.	£ 433 10s.11d.
H	£10 11s. 0d.	-	-	-	£ 76 6s. 5d.	£ 52 15s. 7d.	£ 23 10s.10d.
All pub- lications	£16 5s. 8d.	£66 1s. 1d.	£36 14s. 6d.	£29 6s. 7d.	£3,673 5s. 3d.	£1,038 16s. 4d.	£2,634 8s.11d.

TABLE IV: 3 Annual performance 1896-97 (continued)

Category	(aa) Total no. of items in category (Excl. series counted as one) (a + n)	(ab) Category total as % of grand total of items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(ac) Total no. of lines (Incl. series) (c + p)	(ad) % of total items in category (Excl. series counted as one) to make a profit $\frac{a}{aa} \times 100$	(ae) Average outlay per item in category (Excl. series) $\frac{d + q}{aa}$	(af) Average turnover per item (Excl. series) $\frac{e + r}{aa}$
A	44	13.66%	48	56.81%	£ 19 12s. 5d.	£ 21 1s. 9d.
B	71	22.04%	74	88.73%	£ 7 4s. 0d.	£ 10 7s. 8d.
C	33	10.24%	34	72.72%	£ 15 5s. 0d.	£ 11 5s. 8d.
D	10	3.10%	10	90.00%	£ 94 0s. 10d.	£154 16s. 8d.
E	2	0.62%	2	50.00%	£580 7s. 9d.	£609 15s. 11d.
F	1	0.31%	1	100.00%	£868 3s. 6d.	£1,044 0s. 4d.
G	119	36.95%	119	84.03%	£ 11 8s. 0d.	£ 16 0s. 0d.
H	42	13.04%	42	88.09%	£ 4 14s. 10d.	£ 10 18s. 6d.
All pub- lications	322		330	80.74%	£ 20 4s. 0d.	£ 25 10s. 0d.



TABLE IV: 3 Annual performance 1896-97 (continued)

Category	(ag) Total outlay (k + x)	(ah) Total profit on category (l - y)	(ai) Category profit (ah) as a % of total profit	(aj) % return on category $\frac{ah \times 100}{ag}$	(ak) Average profit per item in category (Excl. series) $\frac{f - s}{aa}$
A	£1,258 6s. 0d.	£ 300 15s. 8d.	10.40%	23.90%	£ 1 9s. 3d.
B	£ 739 0s. 6d.	£1,174 2s. 7d.	40.61%	158.87%	£ 3 3s. 8d.
C	£ 522 8s. 0d.	Loss £ 134 9s. 6d.	- 4.65%	-25.74%	Loss £ 3 19s. 6d.
D	£ 940 8s. 6d.	£ 607 17s. 11d.	21.02%	64.64%	£60 15s. 7d.
E	£1,260 15s. 5d.	Loss £ 41 3s. 6d.	- 1.42%	- 3.26%	Loss £20 11s. 9d.
F	£ 868 3s. 6d.	£ 175 16s. 10d.	6.08%	20.25%	£175 16s. 10d.
G	£1,357 5s. 5d.	£ 548 5s. 1d.	18.96%	40.39%	£ 4 12s. 0d.
H	£ 199 3s. 0d.	£ 259 12s. 11d.	8.98%	130.37%	£ 6 3s. 8d.
All pub- lications	£7,145 10s. 4d.	£2,890 18s. 0d. (6)	99.98%	40.45%	£ 5 6s. 0d.

## ii. Notes

- (1) The three series are the collection of works by John Owen, the Bible Class Primers and the Ante-Nicene Library.
- (2) The St Augustine Library.
- (3) The works of Calvin, the Foreign Theological Library, and the series of commentaries by Meyer.
- (4) Lange's Commentaries.
- (5) Moulton and Geden's Concordance. £325 8s. 6d. had been credited towards the cost of the work in the 1895-96 accounts, and this allowed the Clarks to show a notional profit of £175 16s. 6d. on the title by mid-1897.
- (6) The actual profit figure before deduction of overheads was somewhat higher than this, totalling £4,281 14s. 4d., the difference being made up by commission on the sales of Session Cases, which at 7½% realised £223 0s.11d., and by various incoming royalties.

## iii. Commentary

The category totals for 1896-97 show the following increases over the previous year:

A	3
B	0
C	8
D	1
E	0
F	1
G	7
H	3
	—
	23
	—

The preceding tables contain figures for both backlist titles and new publications. Over 1896-97, twenty-four new titles were published - double the figure for the preceding year - excluding additions to series counted as one item. Their distribution among the categories, the sum invested in them, and their turnover and profit/loss were

as follows :

TABLE IV: 4 New titles 1896-97

	No. of new titles	Outlay	% of total outlay on category (Excl. series counted as one item)	Turnover	% of total turnover on category (Excl. series counted as one item)	Profit/loss	% of total profit on category (Excl. series counted as one item)
A	3	£ 250 9s. 2d.	29.00%	£ 193 12s. 11d.	20.87%	£ 56 16s. 3d.	-88.31%
B	2	£ 239 6s. 1d.	46.81%	£ 98 5s. 4d.	13.33%	£141 0s. 9d.	-62.41%
C	8	£ 443 19s. 1d.	88.16%	£ 221 15s. 2d.	59.56%	£222 3s. 11d.	169.34%
D	1	£ 636 16s. 9d.	67.71%	£ 548 7s. 3d.	35.41%	£ 88 9s. 6d.	-14.55%
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	1*	£ 868 3s. 6d.	100.00%	£1,044 0s. 0d.	100.00%	£175 16s. 6d.	100.00%
G	7	£ 490 18s. 5d.	36.16%	£ 253 13s. 3d.	13.31%	£237 5s. 2d.	-43.27%
H	2	£ 65 18s. 7d.	33.10%	£ 17 2s. 9d.	3.73%	£ 48 15s. 10d.	-18.79%
All	24	£2,995 11s. 7d.	46.05%	£2,376 16s. 8d.	28.93%	£618 14s. 11d.	-36.19%

L: Loss

(The total outlay figures on which the above percentages are based are drawn from (d) and (q) in Table IV: 3; the turnover figures from (e) and (r); the total profit/loss from (f) and (s).)

\* There would have been a loss on this work over 1896-97 had not £325 8s. 6d. worth of outlay been accounted for the previous year.

These figures contrast markedly with those for the preceding year. Twice as many new titles were issued, one of them, that in Category F, requiring a very large investment. Nevertheless, expenditure on new titles fell slightly: even including the Category F item, the outlay per title was, on average, much lower than it had been over the previous year. Turnover on new titles fell by one third, and whereas the 1895-96 issues generated 13.45% of that year's profit from individual titles excluding series counted as one item, those for 1896-97 produced a loss which amounted to 36.19% of the remaining profit on individual titles. Only three of the twenty-four new titles broke even over the year. The two works issued in Category H performed much less satisfactorily than had their counterpart the



previous year.

The profitability of the categories as a whole can be assessed using the six criteria noted in the Introduction. In the case of 1896-97, the following results are obtained :

Plac- Cri- ing terion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	F	D	G	H	A	B	E	C
II	F <sup>(1)</sup>	A	H	G	B	C	E	D
III	F <sup>(1)</sup>	D	B	H	G	C	A	E
IV <sup>(2)</sup>	D	F	H	E	G	B	A	C
V	F	D	H	G	B	A	C	E
VI	B	H	D	G	A	F	E	C

- (1) F is, of course, an exceptional category, containing no loss-making items.
- (2) It can be calculated from (f) and (s) that the profit from items excluding series counted as one was contributed by the categories as follows :

A	3.76%
B	13.21%
C	- 7.67%
D	35.55%
E	- 2.40%
F	10.28%
G	32.07%
H	15.18%

The difference between the sizes of the categories expressed as a percentage of the total issue and their yield expressed as a percentage of the total net profit realised by all items excluding series counted as one was therefore as follows :

A	-9.9	B	-8.83	C	-17.91	D	+32.45	E	-3.02
F	+9.97	G	-4.88	H	+ 2.14				

---

Letting positions 1 - 8 in the table above be valued at 8 to 1 respectively :

$$\begin{aligned}
 A &= 4 + 7 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 22 \\
 B &= 3 + 4 + 6 + 3 + 4 + 8 = 28 \\
 C &= 1 + 3 + 3 + 1 + 2 + 1 = 11 \\
 D &= 7 + 1 + 7 + 8 + 7 + 6 = 36 \\
 E &= 2 + 2 + 1 + 5 + 1 + 2 = 13 \\
 F &= 8 + 8 + 8 + 7 + 8 + 3 = 42 \\
 G &= 6 + 5 + 4 + 4 + 5 + 5 = 29 \\
 H &= 5 + 6 + 5 + 6 + 6 + 7 = 35
 \end{aligned}$$

The order of profitability according to the above tests is therefore as follows :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
F	D	H	G	B	A	E	C

Category F owes its position to the exceptional nature of the case. Most notable is the fact that Categories B and C have moved down the ranking from their 1895-96 positions.

TABLE IV: 5 Annual performance 1897-98

Category	(a) Total profit- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)*	(b) Total profit- making series counted as one item	(c) Total profit- making lines (Incl. series counted as one item) (a + b)	(d) Total outlay on profit- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(e) Turnover on profit-making items (Excl. series counted as one item) (d + f)	(f) Total profit on profit- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(g) Average profit per profit- making item f/a
A	41	4 <sup>(1)</sup>	45	£ 339 9s. 3d.	£ 797 15s.11d.	£ 458 6s. 8d.	£ 11 3s. 7d.
B	67	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	70	£ 223 6s. 0d.	£ 788 9s. 5d.	£ 565 3s. 5d.	£ 8 8s. 9d.
C	30	1 <sup>(3)</sup>	31	£ 64 2s. 1d.	£ 147 2s. 2d.	£ 83 0s. 1d.	£ 2 15s. 4d.
D	10	0	10	£ 575 7s.10d.	£1,048 18s. 2d.	£ 473 10s. 4d.	£ 47 7s. 0d.
E	1	0	1 <sup>(4)</sup>	£ 304 9s. 4d.	£ 310 2s. 2d.	£ 5 12s.10d.	£ 5 12s.10d.
F	1	0	1	£ 37 16s. 6d.	£ 203 5s. 7d.	£ 165 9s. 1d.	£165 9s. 1d.
G	118	0	118	£1,236 10s. 8d.	£2,031 9s.11d.	£ 794 19s. 3d.	£ 6 14s.10d.
H	38	0	38	£ 91 3s.11d.	£ 404 14s. 4d.	£ 313 10s. 5d.	£ 8 5s. 0d.
All pub- lications	306	8	314	£2,872 5s. 7d.	£5,731 17s. 8d.	£2,859 12s. 1d.	£ 9 6s.11d.

\* The limited number of works which exactly broke even are, for convenience, included with profit-making lines. This includes lines where there was no sale.



TABLE IV: 5 Annual performance 1897-98 (continued)

Category	(h) Outlay on profit-making series counted as one item	(i) Turnover on profit-making series counted as one item (h + j)	(j) Profit on profit-making series counted as one item	(k) Total outlay on all profit- making lines (d + h)	(l) Total profit on all profit- making lines (f + j)	(m) Total turnover on all profit- making lines (e + l)
A	£244 12s. 1d.	£ 553 8s. 3d.	£ 308 16s. 2d.	£ 584 1s. 4d.	£ 767 2s.10d.	£1,351 4s. 2d.
B	£297 6s. 0d.	£ 983 16s. 1d.	£ 686 10s. 1d.	£ 520 12s. 0d.	£1,251 13s. 6d.	£1,772 5s. 6d.
C	£ 21 1s. 4d.	£ 32 8s. 0d.	£ 11 6s. 8d.	£ 85 3s. 5d.	£ 94 6s. 9d.	£ 179 10s. 2d.
D	-	-	-	£ 575 7s.10d.	£ 473 10s. 4d.	£1,048 18s. 2d.
E	-	-	-	£ 304 9s. 4d.	£ 5 12s.10d.	£ 310 2s. 2d.
F	-	-	-	£ 37 16s. 6d.	£ 165 9s. 1d.	£ 203 5s. 7d.
G	-	-	-	£1,236 10s. 8d.	£ 794 19s. 3d.	£2,031 9s.11d.
H	-	-	-	£ 91 3s.11d.	£ 313 10s. 5d.	£ 404 14s. 4d.
All pub- lications	£562 19s. 5d.	£1,569 12s. 4d.	£1,006 12s.11d.	£3,435 5s. 0d.	£3,866 5s. 0d.	£7,301 10s. 0d.

TABLE IV: 5 Annual performance 1897-98 (continued)

Category	(n) Total loss- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(o) Total loss- making series counted as one item	(p) Total loss- making items (Incl. series counted as one item (n + o)	(q) Total outlay on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(r) Turnover on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item) (q - s)	(s) Total loss on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)
A	4	0	4	£ 112 1s.11d.	£ 46 12s. 0d.	£ 65 9s.11d.
B	6	0	6	£ 527 13s. 4d.	£ 282 12s. 4d.	£ 245 1s. 0d.
C	6	0	5	£ 268 14s. 9d.	£ 102 7s. 2d.	£ 166 7s. 7d.
D	5	0	5	£1,420 11s. 9d.	£1,211 5s. 9d.	£ 209 6s. 0d.
E	1	0	1 <sup>(5)</sup>	£1,030 1s. 8d.	£ 979 19s.11d.	£ 50 1s. 9d.
F	1	0	1 <sup>(6)</sup>	£2,849 9s.10d.	£2,053 4s. 6d.	£ 796 5s. 4d.
G	9	0	9	£ 302 11s. 7d.	£ 154 16s. 2d.	£ 147 15s. 5d.
H	4	0	4	£ 22 6s. 5d.	£ 19 16s. 2d.	£ 2 10s. 3d.
All pub- lications	36	0	36	£6,533 11s. 3d.	£4,850 14s. 0d.	£1,682 17s. 3d.

TABLE IV: 5 Annual performance 1897-98 (continued)

Category	(t) Average loss making item (Excl. series counted as one item) (s/n)	(u) Outlay on loss-making series counted as one item	(v) Turnover on loss-making series counted as one item (u - w)	(w) Loss on loss-making series counted as one item	(x) Total outlay on all loss-making lines (q + u)	(y) Total loss on all loss-making lines (s + w)	(z) Total turnover on all loss-making lines (r + v)
A	£16 7s. 6d.	-	-	-	£ 112 1s.11d.	£ 65 9s.11d.	£ 46 12s. 0d.
B	£40 16s.10d.	-	-	-	£ 527 13s. 4d.	£ 245 1s. 0d.	£ 282 12s. 4d.
C	£27 14s. 7d.	-	-	-	£ 268 14s. 9d.	£ 166 7s. 7d.	£ 102 7s. 2d.
D	£41 17s. 2d.	-	-	-	£1,420 11s. 9d.	£ 209 6s. 0d.	£1,211 5s. 9d.
E	£50 1s. 9d.	-	-	-	£1,030 1s. 8d.	£ 50 1s. 9d.	£ 979 19s.11d.
F	£796 5s. 4d.	-	-	-	£2,849 9s.10d.	£ 796 5s. 4d.	£2,053 4s. 6d.
G	£16 8s. 4d.	-	-	-	£ 302 11s. 7d.	£ 147 15s. 5d.	£ 154 16s. 2d.
H	£ 0 12s. 7d.	-	-	-	£ 22 6s. 5d.	£ 2 10s. 3d.	£ 19 16s. 2d.
All publications	£46 14s.11d.	-	-	-	£6,533 11s. 3d.	£1,682 17s. 3d.	£4,850 14s. 0d.



TABLE IV: 5 Annual performance 1897-98 (continued)

Category	(aa) Total no. of items in category (Excl. series counted as one) (a + n)	(ab) Category total as % of grand total of items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(ac) Total no. of lines (Incl. series) (c + p)	(ad) % of total items in category (Excl. series counted as one) to make a profit $\frac{a}{aa} \times 100$	(ae) Average outlay per item in category (Excl. series) $\frac{d + q}{aa}$	(af) Average turnover per item (Excl. series) $\frac{e + r}{aa}$
A	45	13.15%	49	91.11%	£ 10 0s. 8d.	£ 18 15s. 4d.
B	73	21.34%	76	91.78%	£ 10 5s. 9d.	£ 14 13s. 5d.
C	36	10.52%	37	83.33%	£ 9 4s. 11d.	£ 6 18s. 7d.
D	15	4.38%	15	66.66%	£133 1s. 4d.	£150 13s. 7d.
E	2	0.58%	2	50.00%	£667 5s. 6d.	£645 1s. 0d.
F	2	0.58%	2	50.00%	£1,443 13s. 2d.	£1,128 5s. 0d.
G	127	37.13%	127	92.91%	£ 12 2s. 4d.	£ 17 4s. 3d.
H	42	12.28%	42	90.47%	£ 2 14s. 0d.	£ 10 2s. 0d.
All pub- lications	342	99.96%	350	89.47%	£ 27 10s. 0d.	£ 30 18s. 10d.

TABLE IV: 5 Annual performance 1897-98 (continued)

Category	(ag) Total outlay (k + x)	(ah) Total profit on category (l - y)	(ai) Category profit (ah) as a % of total profit	(aj) % return on category $\frac{ah \times 100}{ag}$	(ak) Average profit per item in category (Excl. series) $\frac{f - s}{aa}$
A	£ 696 3s. 3d.	£ 701 12s. 11d.	32.13%	100.78%	£ 8 14s. 7d.
B	£1,048 5s. 4d.	£1,006 12s. 6d.	46.10%	96.02%	£ 4 7s. 9d.
C	£ 353 18s. 2d.	Loss £ 72 0s. 10d.	- 3.29%	-20.35%	Loss £ 2 6s. 4d.
D	£1,995 19s. 7d.	£ 264 4s. 4d.	12.09%	13.23%	£17 12s. 4d.
E	£1,334 11s. 0d.	Loss £ 44 8s. 11d.	- 2.03%	- 3.33%	Loss £22 4s. 5d.
F	£2,887 6s. 4d.	Loss £ 630 16s. 3d.	-28.89%	-21.84%	Loss £315 8s. 2d.
G	£1,539 2s. 3d.	£ 647 3s. 10d.	29.64%	42.04%	£ 5 1s. 11d.
H	£ 113 10s. 4d	£ 311 0s. 2d.	14.24%	273.97%	£ 7 8s. 0d.
All pub- lications	£9,968 16s. 3d.	£2,183 7s. 9d. (7)	99.99%	21.90%	£ 3 8s. 11d.

### ii. Notes

- (1) The four series were the collection of works by John Owen, the Bible Class Primers, and the Ante-Nicene and St Augustine libraries.
- (2) Calvin's Works, the commentaries by Meyer, and the Foreign Theological Library
- (3) Lange's Commentaries.
- (4) The Critical Review.
- (5) The Expository Times
- (6) The first volume of the Dictionary of the Bible. The loss would have been greater had not £250 been accounted for under overheads in the previous financial year.
- (7) The actual overall profit before deduction of overheads was in fact somewhat larger. To this should be added £306 6s. 6d., comprised of £228 16s. 2d. commission on sales of the Session Cases, various royalty incomes and discounts from suppliers. The total profit on trading was therefore £2,489 14s. 3d.

### iii. Commentary

The category totals for 1897-98 show the following increases over the previous year:

A	1
B	2
C	3
D	5
E	0
F	1
G	8
H	0
	—
	20
	—

The preceding table contains figures for both backlist titles and new publications. Over 1897-98, twenty-three new titles were published,



one fewer than over 1896-97, excluding additions to series counted as one item. Their distribution among the categories, the sum invested in them, and their turnover and profit/loss were as follows :

TABLE IV: 6 New titles 1897-98							
	No. of new titles	Outlay	% of total outlay on category (Excl. series counted as one item)	Turnover	% of total turnover on category (Excl. series counted as one item)	Profit/loss	% of total profit on category (Excl. series counted as one item)
A	1	£ 80 12s. 5d.	17.85%	£ 23 17s. 4d.	2.82%	£ 56 15s. 1d.	-14.44%
B	2*	£ 519 16s. 7d.	69.22%	£ 279 11s. 0d.	26.09%	£240 5s. 7d.	-75.05%
C	4	£ 214 19s. 2d.	64.58%	£ 82 7s. 9d.	33.02%	£132 11s. 5d.	159.00%
D	5	£1,078 18s. 8d.	54.05%	£ 968 9s. 0d.	42.84%	£110 9s. 8d.	-41.81%
E	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	1*	£2,849 9s.10d.	98.68%	£2,053 4s. 6d.	90.99%	£796 5s. 4d.	126.22%
G	10	£ 782 11s.10d.	50.84%	£ 833 16s. 8d.	36.13%	£ 51 4s.10d.	- 7.91%
H	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
All	23	£5,526 8s. 6d.	58.75%	£4,241 6s. 3d.	40.07%	£1,285 2s.3d.	-109.20%

L: Loss

(The total outlay figures on which the above percentages are based are drawn from (d) and (q) in Table IV:5; the turnover figures from (e) and (r); the total profit/loss from (f) and (s).

\* The losses on B and F would have been greater over 1896-97 had not £107 8s. 0d. of the outlay on Dillmann's Genesis (Category B) and £250 0s. 6d. of the outlay on the first volume of the Dictionary of the Bible (Category F) been accounted for the previous year.

Although one fewer title was issued than over the previous year, the total outlay on new titles rose by around 84%. The largest element in this increase, however, was the sum invested in the Dictionary of the Bible. 40% of turnover was generated by new titles, as opposed to 28.93% over 1896-97, but despite these sales there was a loss on the new works which amounted to 109.2% of the remaining profit on individual titles. Eight of the twenty-three titles broke even over the year. The profitability of the categories as a whole can be assessed using the six criteria noted in the Introduction. In the case of 1897-98, the following results are obtained :

Plac- Crit- ing erion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	F	D	A	B	H	G	E	C
II	H	A	G	C	E	D	E	F
III	G	B	A	H	C	D	E,F	-
IV <sup>1)</sup>	A	D	G	H	E	E	C	F
V	D	A	H	G	B	C	E	F
VI	H	A	B	G	D	E	C	F

- 1) It can be calculated from (f) and (s) that the profit from items excluding series counted as one was contributed by the categories as follows :

A	33.38%
B	27.20%
C	- 7.08%
D	22.45%
E	- 3.77%
F	-53.60%
G	54.99%
H	26.42%

The difference between the size of the categories expressed as a percentage of the total issue and their yield expressed as a percentage of the total net profit realised by all items excluding series counted as one was therefore as follows :

A	+20.23	B	+ 5.86	C	-17.6	D	+18.07	E	-4.35
F	-54.18	G	+17.86	H	+14.14				

Letting positions 1 - 8 in the table above be valued at 8 to 1 respectively :

$$\begin{aligned}
 A &= 6 + 7 + 6 + 8 + 7 + 7 = 41 \\
 B &= 5 + 4 + 7 + 4 + 4 + 6 = 30 \\
 C &= 1 + 5 + 4 + 2 + 3 + 2 = 17 \\
 D &= 7 + 3 + 3 + 7 + 8 + 4 = 32 \\
 E &= 2 + 2 + 1.5 + 3 + 2 + 3 = 13.5 \\
 F &= 8 + 1 + 1.5 + 1 + 1 + 1 = 13.5 \\
 G &= 3 + 6 + 8 + 6 + 5 + 5 = 33 \\
 H &= 4 + 8 + 5 + 5 + 6 + 8 = 36
 \end{aligned}$$

The order of profitability according to the above tests is therefore as follows :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	H	G	D	B	C	E,F=	

Once again, Category F owes its position to the exceptional nature of the case.



TABLE IV: 7 Annual performance 1898-99

Category	(a) Total profit-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)*	(b) Total profit-making series counted as one item	(c) Total profit-making lines (Incl. series counted as one item) (a + b)	(d) Total outlay on profit-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(e) Turnover on profit-making items (Excl. series counted as one item) (d + f)	(f) Total profit on profit-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(g) Average profit per profit-making item f/a
A	40	4 <sup>(1)</sup>	44	£ 440 12s. 2d.	£ 728 19s. 9d.	£ 288 7s. 7d.	£ 7 4s. 0d.
B	67	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	70	£ 227 12s. 5d.	£ 732 17s. 10d.	£ 505 5s. 5d.	£ 7 10s. 10d.
C	29	1 <sup>(3)</sup>	30	£ 25 7s. 2d.	£ 141 14s. 2d.	£ 116 7s. 0d.	£ 4 0s. 3d.
D	7	0	7	£ 279 1s. 6d.	£1,426 16s. 9d.	£1,147 15s. 3d.	£163 19s. 4d.
E	1	0	1 <sup>(4)</sup>	£ 956 1s. 10d.	£1,048 19s. 8d.	£ 92 17s. 10d.	£ 92 17s. 10d.
F	1	0	1 <sup>(5)</sup>	£ 298 12s. 6d.	£ 784 19s. 11d.	£ 486 7s. 5d.	£486 7s. 5d.
G	124	0	124	£1,280 13s. 3d.	£2,337 15s. 10d.	£1,057 2s. 7d.	£ 8 10s. 6d.
H	37	0	37	£ 81 13s. 9d.	£ 286 18s. 10d.	£ 205 5s. 1d.	£ 5 10s. 11d.
All publications	306	8	314	£3,589 14s. 7d.	£7,489 2s. 9d.	£3,899 8s. 2d.	£ 12 14s. 10d.

\* The limited number of works which exactly broke even are, for convenience, included with profit-making lines. This includes lines where there was no sale.

TABLE IV: 7 Annual performance 1989-99 (continued)

Category	(h) Outlay on profit-making series counted as one item	(i) Turnover on profit-making series counted as one item (h + j)	(j) Profit on profit-making series counted as one item	(k) Total outlay on all profit- making lines (d + h)	(l) Total profit on all profit- making lines (f + j)	(m) Total turnover on all profit- making lines (e + i)
A	£270 7s. 2d.	£ 523 19s. 7d.	£253 12s. 5d.	£ 710 19s. 4d.	£ 542 0s. 0d.	£1,252 19s. 4d.
B	£297 6s. 3d.	£ 963 8s. 6d.	£666 2s. 3d.	£ 524 18s. 8d.	£1,171 7s. 8d.	£1,696 6s. 4d.
C	£ 6 4s. 9d.	£ 38 13s. 0d.	£ 32 8s. 3d.	£ 31 11s. 11d.	£ 148 15s. 3d.	£ 180 7s. 2d.
D	-	-	-	£ 279 1s. 6d.	£1,147 15s. 3d.	£1,426 16s. 9d.
E	-	-	-	£ 956 1s. 10d.	£ 92 17s. 10d.	£1,048 19s. 8d.
F	-	-	-	£ 298 12s. 6d.	£ 486 7s. 5d.	£ 784 19s. 11d.
G	-	-	-	£1,280 13s. 3d.	£1,057 2s. 7d.	£2,337 15s. 10d.
H	-	-	-	£ 81 13s. 9d.	£ 205 5s. 1d.	£ 286 18s. 10d.
All pub- lications	£573 18s. 2d.	£1,526 1s. 1d.	£952 2s. 11d.	£4,163 12s. 9d.	£4,851 11s. 1d.	£9,015 3s. 10d.



TABLE IV: 7 Annual performance 1898-99 (continued)

Category	(n) Total loss- making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(o) Total loss- making series counted as one item	(p) Total loss- making items (Incl. series counted as one item (n + o)	(q) Total outlay on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(r) Turnover on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item) (q - s)	(s) Total loss on loss-making items (Excl. series counted as one item)
A	5	0	5	£ 55 6s. 2d.	£ 41 10s. 2d.	£ 13 16s. 0d.
B	7	0	7	£ 150 10s. 3d.	£ 32 12s. 3d.	£ 117 18s. 0d.
C	7	0	7	£ 158 14s. 8d.	£ 78 13s. 4d.	£ 80 1s. 4d.
D	10	0	10	£1,470 18s. 9d.	£ 762 3s.10d.	£ 708 14s.11d.
E	1	0	1 <sup>(6)</sup>	£ 289 8s.10d.	£ 255 12s. 8d.	£ 33 16s. 2d.
F	2	0	2 <sup>(7)</sup>	£3,157 7s. 8d.	£2,680 10s. 7d.	£ 476 17s. 1d.
G	13	0	13	£ 450 5s. 7d.	£ 237 8s. 7d.	£ 212 17s. 0d.
H	5	0	5	£ 7 3s. 1d.	£ 1 1s. 6d.	£ 6 1s. 7d.
All pub- lications	50	0	50	£5,739 15s. 0d.	£4,089 12s.11d.	£1,650 2s. 1d.



TABLE IV: 7 Annual performance 1898-99 (continued)

Category	(t) Average loss per loss- making item (Excl. series counted as one item) (s/n)	(u) Outlay on loss-making series counted as one item	(v) Turnover on loss-making series counted as one item (u - w)	(w) Loss on loss-making series counted as one item	(x) Total outlay on all loss- making lines (q + u)	(y) Total loss on all loss-making lines (s + w)	(z) Total turnover on all loss-making lines (r + v)
A	£ 2 15s. 2d.	-	-	-	£ 55 6s. 2d.	£ 13 16s. 0d.	£ 41 10s. 2d.
B	£16 16s.10d.	-	-	-	£ 150 10s. 3d.	£ 117 18s. 0d.	£ 32 12s. 3d.
C	£11 8s.10d.	-	-	-	£ 158 14s. 8d.	£ 80 1s. 4d.	£ 78 13s. 4d.
D	£70 17s. 6d.	-	-	-	£1,470 18s. 9d.	£ 708 14s.11d.	£ 762 3s.10d.
E	£33 16s. 2d.	-	-	-	£ 289 8s.10d.	£ 33 16s. 2d.	£ 255 12s. 8d.
F	£238 8s. 6d.	-	-	-	£3,157 7s. 8d.	£ 476 17s. 1d.	£2,680 10s. 7d.
G	£16 7s. 6d.	-	-	-	£ 450 5s. 7d.	£ 212 17s. 0d.	£ 237 8s. 7d.
H	£ 1 4s. 4d.	-	-	-	£ 7 3s. 1d.	£ 6 1s. 7d.	£ 1 1s. 6d.
All pub- lications	£33 0s. 0d.	-	-	-	£5,739 15s. 0d.	£1,650 2s. 1d.	£4,089 12s.11d.

TABLE IV: 7 Annual performance 1898-99 (continued)

Category	(aa) Total no. of items in category (Excl. series counted as one) (a + n)	(ab) Category total as % of grand total of items (Excl. series counted as one item)	(ac) Total no. of lines (Incl. series) (c + p)	(ad) % of total items in category (Excl. series counted as one) to make a profit $\frac{a}{aa} \times 100$	(ae) Average outlay per item in category (Excl. series) $\frac{d + q}{aa}$	(af) Average turnover per item (Excl. series) $\frac{a + r}{aa}$
A	45	12.64%	49	88.88%	£ 11 0s. 5d.	£ 17 2s. 5d.
B	74	20.78%	77	90.54%	£ 5 2s. 0d.	£ 10 6s. 11d.
C	36	10.11%	37	80.55%	£ 5 2s. 3d.	£ 6 2s. 5d.
D	17	4.77%	17	41.17%	£102 18s. 10d.	£128 15s. 4d.
E	2	0.56%	2	50.00%	£622 15s. 4d.	£652 6s. 0d.
F	3	0.84%	3	33.33%	£1,152 0s. 0d.	£1,155 3s. 5d.
G	137	38.48%	137	90.51%	£ 12 12s. 8d.	£ 18 16s. 0d.
H	42	11.79%	42	88.09%	£ 2 2s. 4d.	£ 6 17s. 0d.
All pub- lications	356		364	85.95%	£ 26 4s. 0d.	£ 32 10s. 6d.

TABLE IV: 7 Annual performance 1898-99 (continued)

Category	(ag) Total outlay (h + x)	(ah) Total profit on category (l - y)	(ai) Category profit (ab) as a % of total profit	(aj) % return on category $\frac{ah \times 100}{ag}$	(ak) Average profit per item in category (Excl. series) $\frac{f - s}{aa}$
A	£ 766 5s. 6d.	£ 528 4s. 0d.	16.49%	68.93%	£ 6 2s. 0d.
B	£ 675 8s. 11d.	£1,053 9s. 8d.	32.90%	155.96%	£ 5 4s. 9d.
C	£ 190 6s. 7d.	£ 68 13s. 11d.	2.14%	36.09%	£ 1 0s. 0d.
D	£1,750 0s. 3d.	£ 439 0s. 4d.	13.71%	25.08%	£25 16s. 6d.
E	£1,245 10s. 8d.	£ 59 1s. 8d.	1.84%	4.74%	£29 10s. 10d.
F	£3,456 0s. 2d.	£ 9 10s. 4d.	0.29%	0.27%	£ 3 3s. 5d.
G	£1,730 18s. 10d.	£ 844 5s. 7d.	26.37%	48.77%	£ 6 3s. 3d.
H	£ 88 16s. 10d.	£ 199 3s. 6d.	6.22%	224.17%	£ 4 14s. 10d.
All pub- lications	£9,903 7s. 9d.	£3,201 9s. 0d. (8)	-	32.32%	£ 6 6s. 4d.



ii. Notes

- (1) The four series were the collection of works by John Owen, the Bible Class Primers, and the Ante-Nicene and St Augustine libraries.
- (2) Calvin's Works, the commentaries by Meyer, and the Foreign Theological Library.
- (3) Lange's Commentaries.
- (4) The Expository Times.
- (5) The first volume of the Dictionary of the Bible.
- (6) The Critical Review.
- (7) Moulton and Geden's Concordance, and the second volume of the Dictionary of the Bible.
- (8) The actual overall profit before deduction of overheads was in fact somewhat larger. To this should be added £194 17s. 6d., comprised of £130 0s. 9d. commission on sales of the Session Cases, miscellaneous income of £17 15s. 3d., and various discounts from suppliers totalling £47 1s. 6d. The total profit on trading was therefore £3,396 6s. 6d. This figure is somewhat at variance with the balance in the Stock and Sales Book; however, some serious accounting errors were made by the Clarks. Notably, one work, which made a loss of £78 4s.11d., was included twice in the debit balance summary, while another was credited with having shown a profit of £11 12s. 6d., when in fact it made a loss of that amount.

iii. Commentary

The category totals for 1898-99 show the following increases over the previous year :

A	0
B	1
C	0
D	2
E	0
F	1
G	10
H	0
<hr/>	
	14
<hr/>	

The preceding table contains figures for both backlist titles and new publications. Over 1898-99, eighteen new titles were published, five fewer than over 1897-98, excluding additions to series counted as one item. Their distribution among the categories, the sum invested in them, and their turnover and profit/loss were as follows :

TABLE IV: 8 New titles 1898-99

	No. of new titles	Outlay	% of total outlay on category (Excl. series counted as one item)	Turnover	% of total turnover on category (Excl. series counted as one item)	Profit/loss	% of total profit on category (Excl. series counted as one item)
A	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	1	£ 79 14s. 4d.	21.08%	£ 7 5s. 6d.	0.95%	£ 72 8s. 10d <sup>L</sup>	-18.70%
C	2	£ 124 10s. 2d.	67.63%	£ 62 11s. 10d.	28.40%	£ 61 18s. 4d <sup>L</sup>	-170.64%
D	2	£ 614 1s. 3d.	35.08%	£ 355 17s. 1d.	16.25%	£258 4s. 2d <sup>L</sup>	-58.81%
E	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
F	1	£3,022 11s. 7d.	87.45%	£2,572 15s. 11d.	74.29%	£449 15s. 8d <sup>L</sup>	-4726.26%
G	12	£1,044 9s. 7d.	60.34%	£1,024 3s. 1d.	39.76%	£ 22 6s. 6d <sup>L</sup>	- 2.64%
H	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
All	18	£4,885 6s. 11d.	52.36%	£4,022 13s. 5d.	34.74%	£864 13s. 6d <sup>L</sup>	-38.44%

L: Loss

(The total outlay figures on which the above percentages are based are drawn from (d) and (q) in Table IV:7; the turnover figures from (e) and (r); the total profit/loss from (f) and (s).)

Five fewer titles were issued than over the previous year, and the total outlay on new titles fell by around 11%, despite the fact that 1898-99 saw the publication of the second volume of the Dictionary of the Bible. 34.74% of turnover was generated by new titles as opposed to 40.07% over 1897-98, and 28.93% over 1896-97. Around 64% of the turnover on new titles was generated by one work - the

Dictionary of the Bible volume. The loss on new titles amounted to 38.44% of the remaining profit on individual titles, a significant improvement on the previous year's figure. Seven of the eighteen titles broke even in the course of the year.

The profitability of the categories as a whole can be assessed using the six criteria noted in the Introduction. In the case of 1898-99, the following results are obtained :

Plac- Crit- ing erion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	F	D	E	G	B/A=		H	C
II	H	A	C	B/G=		E	D	F
III	B/G=		A/H=		C	D	E	F
IV <sup>1)</sup>	D	E	F	A	G	H	B	C
V	E	D	A/G=		B	H	F	C
VI	H	B	A	G	C	D	E	F

- 1) It can be calculated from (f) and (s) that the profit from items excluding series counted as one was contributed by the categories as follows :

A	12.20%
B	17.22%
C	1.61%
D	19.51%
E	2.62%
F	0.42%
G	37.53%
H	8.85%

The difference between the size of the categories expressed as a percentage of the total issue and their yield expressed as a percentage of the total net profit realised by all items excluding series counted as one was therefore as follows :

A	-0.44	B	-3.56	C	-8.5	D	+14.74
E	+2.06	F	-0.42	G	-0.95	H	-2.94

---



Letting positions 1 - 8 in the table above be valued at 8 to 1 respectively :

$$\begin{aligned}
 A &= 3\frac{1}{2} + 7 + 5\frac{1}{2} + 5 + 5\frac{1}{2} + 6 = 32\frac{1}{2} \\
 B &= 3\frac{1}{2} + 4\frac{1}{2} + 7\frac{1}{2} + 2 + 4 + 7 = 28\frac{1}{2} \\
 C &= 1 + 6 + 4 + 1 + 1 + 4 = 17 \\
 D &= 7 + 2 + 3 + 8 + 7 + 3 = 30 \\
 E &= 6 + 3 + 2 + 7 + 8 + 2 = 28 \\
 F &= 8 + 1 + 1 + 6 + 2 + 1 = 19 \\
 G &= 5 + 4\frac{1}{2} + 7\frac{1}{2} + 4 + 5\frac{1}{2} + 5 = 31\frac{1}{2} \\
 H &= 2 + 8 + 5\frac{1}{2} + 3 + 3 + 8 = 29\frac{1}{2}
 \end{aligned}$$

The order of profitability according to the above tests is therefore as follows :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	G	D	H	B	E	F	C

### 3. Conclusions

The results of this detailed study do not permit us to put the eight categories of publication into an overall order of profitability.

The pattern was significantly different in the case of each of the three years we have examined :

1895-96	B, H, D, C, G, A, E
1896-97	F, D, H, G, B, A, E, C
1897-98	A, H, G, D, B, C, E, F
1898-99	A, G, D, H, B, E, F, C

No category held a consistent position in terms of profitability in relation to the other categories. It is only to be expected, of course, that the profitability of categories would vary from year to year. Within a given year, several titles which were expensive but slow-selling and therefore slow to break even might be issued in a category: the same year might see a higher proportion than usual of steady, but not spectacularly selling backlist titles in the same category requiring to be reprinted. Given such conditions, the category in question was unlikely to perform well over that year.

With the exception of Category F, the vacillations in the performance of which are easily explicable in terms of the special nature of the case, the categories which showed the most variation were A and B. The following Table charts this variation by listing how these categories performed over the three years in question in terms of the six criteria on which our assessment of their profitability was based.

		Av. profit per profit-making item	Av. loss per loss-making item	Percentage of items to make profit	Diff. between size of category and size of profit	Av. profit per item in category	Percentage return
A	'95-96	£10 0s. 2d.	£ 2 14s. 6d.	92.68%	-1.88	£ 9 1s. 9d.	59.46%
	'96-97	£ 7 6s. 6d.	£ 6 5s. 0d.	56.81%	-9.9	£ 1. 9s. 3d.	23.9%
	'97-98	£11 3s. 7d.	£16 7s. 6d.	91.11%	+20.23	£ 8 14s. 7d.	100.78%
	'98-99	£ 7 4s. 0d.	£ 2 15s. 2d.	88.88%	-0.44	£ 6 2s. 0d.	68.93%
B	'95-96	£14 15s. 9d.	£32 10s. 0d.	92.95%	+2.1	£11 9s. 0d.	207.29%
	'96-97	£ 6 5s. 3d.	£21 1s. 6d.	88.73%	-8.83	£ 3 3s. 8d.	158.87%
	'97-98	£ 8 8s. 9d.	£40 16s.10d.	91.78%	+5.86	£ 4 7s. 9d.	96.02%
	'98-99	£ 7 10s.10d.	£16 16s.10d.	90.54%	-3.56	£ 5 4s. 9d.	155.96%

The high ranking of Category A over 1897-98 owed a great deal, therefore, to the improvement in its own level of return. But the fact that it also ranked high over 1898-99, a year in which its performance figures were not dissimilar to those of 1895-96, indicates that its high ranking owed at least as much to the fact that the other categories yielded a smaller return than in the earlier years. If between 1896-97 and 1897-98 the Category A profit increased by 133.3%, the total profit fell by 24.47%. And whereas the Category A profit in 1895-96 (£524 2s. 9d.) was almost identical to that in 1898-99 (£528 4s. 0d.), the total net profit fell from £4,241 10s. 1d. to £3,209 9s 0d., a drop of 24.33%.



Category B's position in 1895-96 was obviously due to its own successful performance. A high percentage return was shown because of reasonable sales of many titles which required no investment over the year in question.

Of the other categories, the most that can be said is that H, G, and D tended to be among the more profitable, while E and C tended to be among the less profitable. It is interesting to note the steady improvement of Category G over the years in question. When we merge the figures in the earlier sections, the ranking is as follows :

1	Category H (29 + 35 + 36 + 29½)	= 129.5
2	Category D (28 + 36 + 32 + 30)	= 126
3	Category A (23 + 22 + 41 + 32½)	= 118.5
4=	Category B (31 + 28 + 30 + 28½)	= 117.5
	Category G (24 + 29 + 33 + 31½)	= 117.5
6	Category F (42 + 13.5 + 19 - 3 years only)	= 74.5
7	Category C (27 + 11 + 17 + 17)	= 72
8	Category E (4 + 13 + 13½ + 28)	= 58.5

Categories H and D are also consistently in the first four when assessed by the important fourth criterion, the relationship between the size of the category expressed as a percentage of the entire list, and the size of the profit produced by it expressed as a percentage of the total profit.

Besides differentiating between the performance of the various categories, the preceding analysis enables us to make some preliminary observations about the financial performance of the firm as a whole over the four years. The picture emerges of declining



profitability between 1895-96 and 1897-98, with an upturn in 1898-99. Outlay mounted steadily, from £6,800 13s. 6d. in 1895-96 through £7,145 10s. 4d. in 1896-97 to £9,968 16s. 3d. in 1897-98 before falling back slightly to £9,903 7s. 9d. in 1898-99. Turnover did not increase in proportion to the outlay. It reached £11,042 3s. 7d. in 1895-96, fell to £10,036 8s. 4d. over the following year, and then rose to £12,152 4s. 0d. in 1897-98, and £13,104 16s. 9d. in 1898-99. For three years profit (and average profit per item) fell steadily, from £4,241 10s. 1d. (£10 10s. 7d.) through £2,890 18s. 0d. (£5 6s 0d.) to £2,183 7s. 9d. (£3 8s.11d.), and then rose in 1898-99 to £3,201 9s. 0d. (£6 6s. 4d.). Percentage return plummeted from 62.36% through 40.45% to 21.9% before rising in 1898-99 to 32.32%.

Five of the six criteria which we used to assess the profitability of the various categories (I, II, III, V and VI) can be equally well used to assess the profitability of the firm as a whole over the four years in question :

Plac- Crit- erion	1	2	3	4
I	'95-96	'98-99	'96-97	'97-98
II	'96-97	'95-96	'98-99	'97-98
III	'95-96	'97-98	'98-99	'96-97
V	'95-96	'98-99	'96-97	'97-98
VI	'95-96	'96-97	'98-99	'97-98

Letting positions 1 to 4 be valued at 4 to 1 respectively :

$$1895-96 = 4 + 3 + 4 + 4 + 4 = 19$$

$$1896-97 = 2 + 4 + 1 + 2 + 3 = 12$$

$$1897-98 = 1 + 1 + 3 + 1 + 1 = 7$$

$$1898-99 = 3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 = 12$$

This analysis confirms that the three years beginning with 1895-96 saw the profitability of the Clarks' business in a downward spiral, and that the decline seems to have been arrested in 1898-99. When the publishing strategy of the firm is taken into account, it is clear that the downward spiral is to be explained in terms of growing pains rather than terminal decline. 1896-97 and 1897-98 saw major investment in new titles, investment which, by 1898-99 had begun to bear fruit.

These figures, of course, refer to the firm's overall performance. It should be pointed out that the series counted as one item performed significantly better than the average. An outlay on such series of £715 9s. 4d. in 1895-96 produced a profit of £1,092 19s.11d., a return of 152%. The following year, over which the general percentage return fell, saw an increase in this figure in respect of the series counted as one item to 184% (outlay £641 12s. 4d; profit £1,181 7s. 4d.). This figure was more or less maintained over 1897-98, return on investment running at 178% (outlay £562 19s. 5d., profit £1,006 12s.11d.), while over 1898-99 outlay amounted to £573 18s. 2d., and profit totalled £952 2s.11d., a return of 165% on the investment. Series publishing would therefore seem to have been more profitable than the rest of the Clarks' operation. It must be remembered however that these series were not only mature, having active backlists, but also closed, requiring no investment on new titles, and the high return is explained by these factors. These series, therefore, were the legacy of the past, which enabled the firm to lay the foundations of future prosperity by launching the titles which would ensure that business remained buoyant in the coming decades.

This assessment of the firm's overall profitability has ignored the important issue of overheads. Enough data exist to enable us to calculate much more accurately the return received by the Clarks on their investment, and these data are examined in Section B.



Section B: The profitability of the firm as a whole

1. Introduction

Enough data exist for the years 1896-97, 1897-98, and 1898-99 to enable us to calculate accurately the return on capital received by the Clarks. (In the case of 1895-96, it is impossible to estimate the value of stock in hand: we cannot therefore accurately calculate the level of return yielded that year.) The calculations for each year can be made in three stages:

- 1) Where a = total annual overheads  
       c = total annual outlay on publications  
       d = total annual income from sales  
       we can say that f (gross profit) = d - (a + c)
- 2) Where e = the total prior outlay on stock in hand  
       at the beginning of the year  
       we can say that g (total capital committed) = a + c + e.  
       The premises at 38, George Street were owned personally by Sir Thomas Clark;<sup>4</sup> an annual rental features among the firm's overheads, this rental being paid to Sir Thomas. Consequently the capital invested in the building is not taken into account in the calculations in this section.
- 3) The return on capital during the year was therefore

$$\frac{f \times 100}{g} \%$$

In this Section, we establish these data, and then run the formulae.

2. Data

a) Total annual overheads

The total annual overheads for 1896-97 amounted to £1,286 3s. 8d., those for 1897-98 to £1,175 17s. 7d., and those for 1898-99 to £1,323 13s. 1d. The following table shows how these totals were arrived at.<sup>5</sup>

TABLE IV: 10 Overheads 1896-97, 1897-98 and 1898-99

Category of expenditure	1896-97	% of <sup>(1)</sup> total	1897-98	% of <sup>(1)</sup> total	1898-99	% of <sup>(1)</sup> total
Property (rent/rates/gas)	£ 190 6s. 6d. <sup>(2)</sup>	12.49%	£ 195 13s. 10d. <sup>(2)</sup>	14.31%	£ 196 2s. 10d. <sup>(2)</sup>	12.78%
Salaries	£ 599 3s. 6d. <sup>(3)</sup>	39.32%	£ 627 13s. 0d. <sup>(3)</sup>	45.90%	£ 651 4s. 0d. <sup>(3)</sup>	42.44%
Travelling expenses	£ 32 12s. 3d. <sup>(4)</sup>	2.14%	£ 44 11s. 4d. <sup>(4)</sup>	3.25%	£ 29 1s. 1d. <sup>(4)</sup>	1.89%
London and Edinburgh Shipping Co.	£ 31 3s. 5d.	2.04%	£ 33 2s. 11d.	2.42%	£ 35 4s. 0d.	2.29%
Insurance	£ 56 8s. 4d. <sup>(5)</sup>	3.70%	£ 31 17s. 6d. <sup>(5)</sup>	2.33%	£ 20 5s. 0d. <sup>(5)</sup>	1.31%
Catalogues etc.	£ 120 12s. 11d. <sup>(6)</sup>	7.91%	£ 103 1s. 8d. <sup>(6)</sup>	7.53%	£ 130 14s. 5d. <sup>(6)</sup>	8.52%
Cost of early stages of Dictionary of the Bible	£ 131 8s. 3d.	8.62%	-	-	-	-
Bad debt contingency	£ 20 0s. 0d.	1.31%	£ 30 0s. 0d.	2.19%	£ 75 0s. 0d.	4.88%
To Scribner for US advertising	£ 50 0s. 0d. <sup>(7)</sup>	3.28%	£ 50 0s. 0d. <sup>(7)</sup>	3.65%	£ 50 0s. 0d. <sup>(7)</sup>	3.25%
1/3 cost of alterations to type	£ 49 8s. 8d. <sup>(8)</sup>	3.24%	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	£ 242 7s. 7d. <sup>(8)</sup>	15.90%	£ 251 7s. 4d. <sup>(8)</sup>	18.38%	£ 346 11s. 9d.	22.59%
	£1,523 11s. 5d.		£1,367 7s. 7d.		£1,534 3s. 1d.	
Deduct contribution charged to books to cover cost of promot- ional material, the 'proportion of lists'	£ 192 15s. 0d.		£ 191 10s. 0d.		£ 210 10s. 0d.	
	£1,330 16s. 5d.		£1,175 17s. 7d.		£1,323 13s. 1d.	
Further deductions	£ 44 12s. 9d. <sup>(9)</sup>		-		-	
	£1,286 3s. 8d.		£1,175 17s. 7d.		£1,323 13s. 1d.	



- (1) These figures are expressed as a percentage of the total before deductions were made.
- (2) These figures break down as follows :

	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99
Rent (George St. and Greenside premises)	£171 17s. 7d.	£171 17s. 7d.	£171 18s. 3d.
Rates	£ 15 17s. 1d.	£ 21 15s. 6d.	£ 21 17s. 6d.
Gas	£ 2 11s.10d.	£ 2 0s. 9d.	£ 2 7s. 1d.
	£190 6s. 6d.	£195 13s.10d.	£196 2s.10d.

- (3) The salaries were paid as follows :

	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99
Davidson	£273 0s. 0d.	£279 0s. 0d.	£290 0s. 0d.
Elder	£ 57 4s. 0d.	£ 57 4s. 0d.	£ 57 4s. 0d.
Corrigal	£127 0s. 0d.	£131 0s. 0d.	£135 0s. 0d.
Ryan	£ 44 0s. 6d.	£ 49 6s. 0d.	£ 54 10s. 0d.
Banks	£ 32 15s. 0d.	£ 42 15s. 0d.	£ 45 6s. 0d.*
Stoddart	£ 53 14s. 0d.	£ 56 8s. 0d.	£ 57 4s. 0d.
Christmas gifts	£ 11 10s. 0d.	£ 12 0s. 0d.	£ 12 0s. 0d.
	£599 3s. 6d.	£627 13s. 0d.	£651 4s. 0d.

\* The accounts err by £3 16s. 0d. in calculating the total sum paid to Banks in 1898-99.

- (4) These travelling expenses were largely paid in respect of journeys made by John Maurice Clark and his brother Thomas. Occasionally, payment was made in respect of journeys made by Matthew Davidson, one of their staff, and by Professor S.D.F. Salmond. The cost of travelling to Glasgow amounted to between 7s. 0d. and 9s. 0d; a trip to Aberdeen cost £2 4s. 0d., and one to London £8 12s. 0d.
- (5) Except for the 1898-99 figure, these sums include the premiums for insurance on James Hastings' life.
- (6) This figure was more than cancelled out by the amount raised by debiting a small sum, the 'proportion of the lists', from most of the firm's titles. The total raised in this manner is deducted at the foot of the table.
- (7) This represented half of the Scribner firm's advertising outlay on Clark titles.
- (8) These miscellaneous sums cover a large number of payments to trade societies, and other firms. They also include petty cash payments, which totalled £169 6s. 9d. in 1896-97, £133 12s. 8d. in 1897-98, and £287 3s. 2d. in 1898-99. The petty cash books have not been preserved, but these sizable



sums may have included outlay on postages. Some examples of the miscellaneous payments in 1897-98 :

Trade Protection Society	£ 1 1s. 0d.
Burn and Baillie (Plumbers)	£ 0 4s. 6d.
Desk and chair	£ 7 17s. 2d.
Publishers' Association	£ 5 5s. 0d.
Milne and Barclay (Painters)	£ 6 18s. 0d.
Addressing 625 envelopes	£ 0 4s. 6d.
Packing paper	£13 8s. 9d.
Stationery	£ 2 13s. 4d.
New College Book Scheme	£ 1 1s. 0d.
Mahood Testimonial	£ 0 10s. 0d.
Advertising not charged to individual titles	£39 13s. 3d.

- (9) This sum in part represents other income received by the Clarks, generated for example by sales of other publishers' works. Almost three quarters of the £44 12s. 9d., however, was accounted for in terms of discounts granted by Duncan, Hunter, Rosenbluth and Sinclair. It is not clear what transactions these would be in respect of.

b) Number of titles in print

If we can calculate the number of titles which were in print during each of the three years we are examining, we will be in a position to estimate the nominal share of overheads borne by each title on the list. We have already calculated the number of individual titles in the Clark catalogue: 322 in 1896-97, 342 in 1897-98 and 356 in 1898-99. To these figures must be added the number of titles in the eight series counted as single lines in the accounts. No titles were added to these series between 1896-97 and 1898-99, except for one Bible Class Primer.

TABLE IV: 10<sub>a</sub> Number of volumes in Clark series

Series	No. of titles
John Owen's Works	24
Bible Class Primers	35 ('96-97)
	36
	('97-98 & '98-99)
Ante-Nicene Library	24
St. Augustine Library	16
Calvin's Works	46
Meyer's Commentaries	20
Foreign Theological Library	173
Lange's Commentaries	25

The number of volumes in these series therefore totalled 363 in 1896-97, increasing to 364 by the end of the following financial year. (Although one work might extend to several volumes, these volumes were sold separately in the case of these series, and so legitimately count as individual titles for the purposes of the present analysis.) This means that the total number of titles in print and the nominal share of overheads borne by each title was as shown in the following Table :

TABLE IV: 11 Share of overheads per title in print

Year	Total number of titles in print	Total overheads	Share of overheads per title (approx.)
1896-97	685	£1,286 3s. 8d.	£1 17s. 6d.
1897-98	706	£1,175 17s. 7d.	£1 13s. 2d.
1898-99	720	£1,323 13s. 1d.	£1 16s. 9d.

These are sizable figures. In 1896-97, the average profit per title (excluding series counted as one item) was £5 6s. 0d., excluding overheads. Our estimate of the amount contributed to the overheads by each title would represent 35.37% of this. In 1897-98, the average profit per title (again excluding series counted as one) was £3 8s. 11d: it would take 48.12% of this sum to cover the title's contribution to the overheads. In 1898-99, the average profit per title (excluding series counted as one) was £6 6s. 4d. Our estimate of the amount contributed to the overheads by each title would represent 29.08% of this.



c) Total annual outlay on publications

These figures are as calculated in Section A :

1896-97 - £7,145 10s. 4d.

1897-98 - £9,968 16s. 3d.

1898-99 - £9,903 7s. 9d.

d) Total annual income from sales

These figures also are as calculated in Section A - they are the totals of the turnover columns :

1896-97 - £10,036 8s. 4d.

1897-98 - £12,152 4s. 0d.

1898-99 - £13,104 16s. 9d.

e) Total prior outlay on stock in hand at the start of the year

When we come to estimate the firm's total prior outlay on stock in hand at the start of the three financial years 1896-97, 1897-98 and 1898-99, some degree of guesswork is inevitably involved. There are two principal reasons why our final figures can only be notional ones.

In the first place the Stock and Sales Book does not include stock figures for four of the major series issued by the Clarks: the Foreign Theological Library, the Ante-Nicene Library and the series of works by St Augustine and H.A.W. Meyer. The firm presumably kept its stock records for these series elsewhere. For the present calculations, the stock in hand was estimated for the three financial years as follows, on the basis of reprint and binding figures :

Foreign Theological Library 3,460 vols bound, 22,490 in sheets.  
(On the basis of an average of 20 bound copies and 130 in sheets for each of 173 volumes.)



Ante-Nicene Library 320 vols bound, 1,280 in sheets. (On the basis of an average of 20 bound copies and 80 in sheets for each of 16 volumes)

St Augustine's Works 160 vols bound, 320 in sheets. (On the basis of an average of 10 bound copies and 20 in sheets for each of 16 volumes)

H.A.W. Meyer's Commentary 200 volumes bound, 800 in sheets. (On the basis of 10 bound copies, 40 in sheets for each of 20 volumes)

The second cause of uncertainty in making the present calculations is even more extensive in its implications. Our method of procedure is to establish the value at trade prices of the stock in hand, and then to work back from that figure in an attempt to calculate the Clarks' initial outlay. This would be straightforward if the firm's percentage return on its investment were constant. In fact, of course, it was not: it varied from title to title, and the average varied from year to year. We assume here a return of 40% on bound stock: that is, we take the value of stock at trade prices as being 140% of the Clarks' initial outlay on the residual stock from the print run. A further problem arises when it comes to the unbound stock. The binding costs per unit did not comprise a standard proportion of the total unit production cost in the case of every title, rather varying according to the cost of the book. In some cases, binding costs amounted to 25% of the unit production cost; in others, they were as low as 8%. Here we assume for all titles that binding costs would amount to 15% of the unit production cost. In the case of unbound stock, still assuming a return of 40%, we take the value of stock at trade price as being 164.7% of the Clarks' initial outlay.<sup>6</sup> Although somewhat artificial, these calculations allow for a reasonably accurate estimate of the prior outlay on stock in hand.

At the start of financial year 1896-97, the firm had in hand 177,384 units of stock at a total catalogue trade value of £45,614.41.<sup>7</sup> This comprised 27,945 units of bound stock with a catalogue trade value of £5,278.92, and 149,439 units of unbound stock with a catalogue trade value of £40,335.49. In fact, however, when additional discounts were taken into account, the Clarks received only 85% of the catalogue trade price. The stock value can therefore be said to have been as follows :

Bound stock      £ 5,278.92 \* 85% = £ 4,487.08

Unbound stock    £40,335.49 \* 85% = £34,285.16

Using the procedures outlined above, the outlay on this stock can be calculated as follows :

Bound stock      Outlay =  $\frac{£ 4,487.08}{140} \times 100 = £3,205.05$

Unbound stock    Outlay =  $\frac{£34,285.16}{164.7} \times 100 = £20,816.73$

The firm's total outlay on stock in hand can therefore be estimated at £24,021.78.

At the start of financial year 1897-98, the firm had in hand 178,050 units of stock at a total catalogue trade value of £46,286.56. This comprised 29,153 units of bound stock with a catalogue trade value of £5,548.40, and 148,897 units of unbound stock with a catalogue trade value of £40,738.16. Taking into account additional discounts, the stock value can therefore be said to have been as follows :

Bound stock      £ 5,548.40 \* 85% = £ 4,716.14

Unbound stock    £40,738.16 \* 85% = £34,627.43

Again using the procedures outlined above, the outlay on this stock can be calculated as follows :



$$\begin{aligned} \text{Bound stock} \quad \text{Outlay} &= \frac{\pounds 4,716.14}{140} \times 100 = \pounds 3,368.67 \\ \text{Unbound stock} \quad \text{Outlay} &= \frac{\pounds 34,627.43}{164.7} \times 100 = \pounds 21,024.54 \end{aligned}$$

The firm's total outlay on stock in hand can therefore be estimated at £24,393.21.

At the start of financial year 1898-99, the firm had in hand 181,693 units of stock at a total catalogue trade value of £50,074.72. This comprised 31,882 units of bound stock with a catalogue trade value of £6,677.33, and 149,811 units of unbound stock with a catalogue trade value of £43,397.39. Taking into account additional discounts, the stock value can therefore be said to have been as follows :

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Bound stock} \quad \pounds 6,677.33 * 85\% &= \pounds 5,675.73 \\ \text{Unbound stock} \quad \pounds 43,397.39 * 85\% &= \pounds 36,887.78 \end{aligned}$$

Once again using the procedures outlined above, the outlay on this stock can be calculated as follows :

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Bound stock} \quad \text{Outlay} &= \frac{\pounds 5,675.73}{140} \times 100 = \pounds 4,054.09 \\ \text{Unbound stock} \quad \text{Outlay} &= \frac{\pounds 36,887.78}{164.7} \times 100 = \pounds 22,396.95 \end{aligned}$$

The firm's total outlay on stock in hand can therefore be estimated at £26,451.04.

### 3. Calculations

We are now in a position to use the formulae noted in the Introduction to calculate with reasonable accuracy the level of return which the Clarks received on their capital investment.

#### a) Gross profit

Gross profit (f) = d - (a + c). In the case of 1896-97 :

$$\begin{aligned} f &= \pounds 10,036 \text{ 8s. 4d.} - (\pounds 1,286 \text{ 3s. 8d.} + \pounds 7,145 \text{ 10s. 4d.}) \\ &= \pounds 1,604 \text{ 14s. 4d.} \end{aligned}$$



In the case of 1897-98 :

$$f = \text{£}12,152 \text{ 4s. 0d.} - (\text{£}1,175 \text{ 17s. 7d.} + \text{£}9,968 \text{ 16s. 3d.})$$

$$= \text{£}1,007 \text{ 10s. 2d.}$$

In the case of 1898-99 :

$$f = \text{£}13,104 \text{ 16s. 9d.} - (\text{£}1,323 \text{ 13s. 1d.} + \text{£}9,903 \text{ 7s. 3d.})$$

$$= \text{£}1,877 \text{ 16s. 5d.}$$

b) Total capital committed

Total capital committed (g) = a + c + e

In the case of 1896-97, g =

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{£} 1,286 \text{ 3s. 8d.} \\ +\text{£} 7,145 \text{ 10s. 4d.} \\ +\text{£}24,021 \text{ 15s. 7d.} \\ \hline = \text{£}32,453 \text{ 9s. 7d.} \\ \hline \end{array}$$

In the case of 1897-98, g =

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{£} 1,175 \text{ 17s. 7d.} \\ +\text{£} 9,968 \text{ 16s. 3d.} \\ +\text{£}24,393 \text{ 4s. 2d.} \\ \hline = \text{£}35,537 \text{ 18s. 0d.} \\ \hline \end{array}$$

In the case of 1898-99, g =

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{£} 1,323 \text{ 13s. 1d.} \\ +\text{£} 9,903 \text{ 7s. 9d.} \\ +\text{£}26,451 \text{ 0s. 10d.} \\ \hline = \text{£}37,678 \text{ 1s. 8d.} \\ \hline \end{array}$$

c) Return on capital

Return on capital over the year =  $\frac{f \times 100}{g} \%$

In the case of 1896-97, the return =

$$\frac{\text{£} 1,604 \text{ 14s. 4d.}}{\text{£}32,453 \text{ 9s. 7d.}} \times 100 \%$$

$$= 4.94\%$$

In the case of 1897-98, the return =

$$\frac{\pounds 1,007 \text{ 10s. 2d.}}{\pounds 35,537 \text{ 18s. 0d.}} \times 100 \% \\ = 2.83\%$$

In the case of 1898-99, the return =

$$\frac{\pounds 1,877 \text{ 16s. 5d.}}{\pounds 37,678 \text{ 1s. 8d.}} \times 100 \% \\ = 4.98\%$$

This series of figures confirms that the downward spiral had been arrested. The investment which was to lay the foundation of the Clarks' future prosperity, investment which seriously affected the firm's profitability over 1896-97 and 1897-98 was beginning to pay off. And in a decade which saw the bank rate rise from 2.5% to 5%, and the return on government consols nominally fixed at 2.75%, vary between 2.8% and 2.5%,<sup>8</sup> this level of return may be said to have been reasonable, if certainly not spectacular.

Conclusions



## Conclusions

We began by noting that any committed religious publisher experiences a tension between motives spiritual and motives financial, between the desire to serve God, and the temptation to serve mammon. We have discovered that T. & T. Clark did not consider it incongruous to view their activities as a spiritual mission while at the same time paying due regard to profitability, but rather conscientiously balanced the demands of Christian service and the demands of the accountant. We have established beyond doubt that their commitment to God was not opportunistic lip-service: they were frequently prepared to hazard investment on works of doubtful profitability because they considered them to be of theological value.

It is against this background that their attitude to the works of the progressive theologians should be considered. Their decision to publish moderately 'advanced' theology was not primarily determined by financial considerations. It might have been supposed that they moved into this area of publishing merely because they foresaw that the theology of the higher critics was the theology of the future, and that a solid back-list of works by the new theologians would help to ensure the firm's survival and development. It might have been supposed that they limited their involvement to the works of moderate theologians because of the damage which might have been done to the firm's reputation if they became too closely involved with more radical thinkers. In fact, however, the chief factor influencing their decision making was, as we have seen, their commitment to promulgating truth as they saw it. If this commitment to truth led to their issuing progressive theological works

it was also responsible for their excluding works of a heterodox or over-speculative nature. The Clarks were not naive. They knew as well as anyone the financial implications of their decision to build a particular kind of list. And indeed, as we have seen, the new series and the major reference works certainly laid the foundation for the future development of the firm. But it is clear that the decision was prompted by altogether higher motives.

Although the motives were the higher ones, we have seen that T. & T. Clark's accounts showed a reasonable annual level of return. We are now in a position to make some final comments on the contribution to that profit made by the different categories of publication on the list. At the end of Part II we drew some tentative conclusions (based largely on the costings for certain individual titles, and on the firm's own observations) on the relative profitability of the different categories of publication. These tentative conclusions are largely confirmed by the results of our investigations in Part IV.

In Part II we concluded that the best return was likely to be yielded by the major reference works, by the co-editions produced with Scribner, and by the 'live' series, such as the Bible Class Primers and Bible Class Handbooks. While no clear rank order of profitability emerges from Part IV, it is confirmed there that co-editions were among the most profitable categories. So, too, were the 'live' series, although the success of their performance was in the earlier years not enough to cancel out the poorer showing of some of the other series in Category A and put that Category among the most profitable. Major reference works did not produce as good a return as our studies in Part II would have led us to expect.



This, however, was due to the fact that the Dictionary of the Bible was absorbing a large level of investment without as yet producing a significant return.

In Part II we concluded that a modest return was likely to be yielded by works exported to the US, by translations, and by miscellaneous theological works. Part IV confirms the substantial accuracy of these projections. Miscellaneous theology (Category G) appears somewhere in the centre of the ranking for each year as, except in 1895-96, does Category B (translations). Exports to the US are not considered as a separate category in Part IV, since copies of works from most categories on the firm's list were sold to America.

In Part II we concluded that the least profitable works on the Clark list were likely to be the periodicals, the titles imported from the US, and the older and moribund series. These conclusions are in part confirmed by Part IV. Periodicals and imports from the US showed consistently poor levels of return. But the firm's general series programme (Category A) while performing badly over 1895-96 and 1896-97, improved its performance considerably over 1897-98 and 1898-99, probably due to the success of the newer series.

All this is less conclusive than one would have hoped for. It is perhaps in the last analysis most satisfactory to cut across the categories and conclude that, the inevitable and not infrequent exceptions apart, the profitability of works depended on the point in their life-cycle which they had reached. Some items on the Clark list, individual titles as well as series, were old and moribund.



They had performed well over the years, and there was still some demand for them, but they reflected the thinking of a previous generation, and they were becoming increasingly unprofitable. At the other end of the spectrum there were very new items, individual titles and series, which were demanding large investment, to get them under way, but which had not yet established themselves in the market-place. It was the Clarks' hope that such works would become increasingly profitable. In the centre of the spectrum were the completed and well-established series and thriving backlist titles from which the bulk of the profit was produced, profit which was used both to support the older titles towards a gracious demise, and to fund new investment. A publishing house is a vibrant organism: if it is well managed, new shoots will develop into mature, self-supporting branches; inevitably, in time, these will become dead wood. But publishing is more uncertain than arboriculture, and the management challenge lies in anticipating what kind of publications must be undertaken if the list is still to be thriving in ten years' time.

The Clarks did successfully anticipate. The moderately progressive works in which they invested guaranteed the continuing development of the firm, even if the overall returns were not spectacular. But, as we have seen, they trod that path directed as much by a sense of mission as by business imperatives. Had you put it to John Maurice Clark that his firm seemed to be a living denial of Christ's asseveration that one cannot serve both God and mammon, he would probably have retorted that he was serving God and God alone, and that any financial success which accrued was to be interpreted as being a reward for faithful service.

Appendices

Appendix AMacNiven and Wallace, Edinburgh

MacNiven and Wallace, an Edinburgh bookselling firm which ventured briefly into publishing, was established in 1878. The Bookseller records that following the dissolution of the partnership of MacLaren and MacNiven, MacNiven had taken into partnership one Alexander D.L. Wallace, who like MacNiven himself, had been an old apprentice of John MacLaren.<sup>1</sup> The new business had its address at 144, Princes Street, and traded as MacNiven and Wallace.

Beginning in 1879, the young firm, 'ambitious to overstep the old borders, did a little tentative publishing.'<sup>2</sup> In fact, a fairly wide range of works was issued, chiefly in the following series:

Bible Class Primers  
 Cabinet of Biography  
 Evangelical Classics  
 Evangelical Succession Lectures  
 Household Library of Exposition  
 Jewel Poets  
 St Giles Lectures

The firm had the good fortune to appoint as literary advisor the rising William Robertson Nicoll, who at that stage was still Free Church Minister in Kelso.<sup>3</sup> In 1881, The Bookseller paid quiet tribute to their output: 'They have published very few books at present, but those which they have issued are not only marked by the soundness of their literary judgement, but by the taste displayed in the selection of paper, print and binding.'<sup>4</sup>

In 1882, the expanding firm took over John MacLaren and Son, the partnership established by MacLaren in 1878 upon the dissolution of his previous one with MacNiven, and moved to 132, Princes Street.<sup>5</sup>



Although the firm continued its bookselling operation the publishing experiment seems to have virtually come to an end in 1884. The reason for this is not clear, although The Publishers' Circular claimed it was simply because the partners found 'that the retail trade and the library required all their energies and attention.'<sup>6</sup> When the firm's publishing activities ceased two of the successful series were transferred to other publishers, the Bible Class Primers to T. & T. Clark,<sup>7</sup> and the Household Library of Exposition to Hodder and Stoughton.<sup>8</sup> Some individual titles also migrated to other houses; for example Louisa Gray's Mine own people went to Nelson (BL has an 1884 Nelson edition), and a Life of Carlyle by Robertson Nicoll's brother Henry went to Ward Lock, who issued it in 1885.

MacNiven and Wallace did continue to publish some works. 'They say they have now given up publishing, except on 'commission''<sup>9</sup> As well as publishing on commission they acted as Hodder's Scottish agents, certainly for the British Weekly; they issued The Theological Review and Free Church College Quarterly (which also bore Hodder's imprint: T. & T. Clark were later to take over this work as The Critical Review);<sup>10</sup> and they published the annual Scottish Church and University Almanac.<sup>11</sup>

## Appendix B

### 'Incomparable Encyclopaedist': a biographical study of Dr James Hastings of the 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics'<sup>1</sup>

#### A: Introduction

The lives of scholars afford few materials for biographies such as idle people love to read. These are spent in retirement, and though they often contain histories of profound interest, they are in the main mental histories, and few but the men themselves are aware of them; and, knowing that every thinking mind has a history as well as their own, there are but few who consider the vicissitudes of their own inner life of sufficient importance to be made known to the world.

These words, written by Andrew Bruce Davidson while he was contemplating the life of the German scholar Heinrich Ewald<sup>2</sup> could be applied equally well to the life of Dr James Hastings. Of the small quantity of manuscript material which appears to have survived<sup>3</sup> only a fraction has any autobiographical bearing. When it comes to printed sources, many are obituaries and tributes, which, although they may be factually accurate as far as they go, tend by their very nature to present Hastings in the most favourable light possible. But there are also detailed newspaper reports from different phases of his career, the newsletter of the church where he served in Dundee, and, most important of all, his own writings (often unsigned) in the monthly journal which he founded, the Expository Times. This appendix aims to present as full a portrait of James Hastings as is possible, given the limitations of the sources.

#### B: Birth and early life

Like George Macdonald, who was twenty-six years his senior, James Hastings was the son of a miller in the small Aberdeenshire town of



Huntly. Another great contemporary, Sir William Robertson Nicoll was born 'in the same strath', at Lumsden.<sup>4</sup> James Hastings was born on 26 March 1852, the son of James Hastings (who, together with an uncle carried on business as a meal miller at the Mill of Huntly<sup>5</sup>) and Hope Ross.<sup>6</sup> There was at least one other member of the family, a brother Alexander, who was to sub-edit the Northern Scot for over thirty years before emigrating to Canada.<sup>7</sup> Hastings' parents were members of the Free Church of Huntly, and they, together with an aunt, Isobel, had signed the call to the future Principal of New College and virtual leader of the Scottish Free Church, Robert Rainy in 1850.<sup>8</sup> It may be assumed, as Hastings was born during Rainy's pastorate, that he was baptised by him.

Hastings' earliest spiritual experiences, therefore, would have been received in the context of the Free Church, in which he was afterwards to minister. His early formal education was received at the Free Church School in Huntly.<sup>9</sup> Another spiritual influence may have been the revival meetings which were held in the Castle Park in Huntly in 1860: to these a nine-year-old, William Robertson Nicoll, was taken by his father and he recalled being greatly impressed by the revival hymns and addresses.<sup>10</sup> It is not unlikely that Hastings would have attended also, and been similarly impressed. What is certain is that he claimed that, 'in his youth he had studied the Gospels, and come face to face then with their central Figure, and that since that time his faith had never been seriously disturbed.'<sup>11</sup> Probably at the age of twelve, in 1864, Hastings transferred to the Old Aberdeen Grammar School,<sup>12</sup> which was situated in School Road.<sup>13</sup>



There he remained until 1871 or 1872: in the bursary competition of 1871 he came seventh, and was awarded the Adam Bursary, worth £15.<sup>14</sup> The bursary competition took place in November<sup>15</sup> so presumably Hastings did not move on to Aberdeen University until the following year. His academic career was successful, but not meteoric, and he was awarded a second class honours MA degree in Classics in 1876.<sup>16</sup> While at University, he maintained himself,<sup>17</sup> at least in part by acting as tutor to the family of the Elgin Academy English master, one John Mitchell.<sup>18</sup>

From the beginning, Hastings would appear to have been motivated by the desire to impart knowledge, and was initially drawn to school teaching. Upon his graduation, he became a housemaster at the school known as The Gymnasium, in the Chanonry, Old Aberdeen.<sup>19</sup>

There is also a reference to Hastings acting as an assistant to Dr Donald Shearer at the Free Church School, Huntly.<sup>20</sup> It is not clear, however, whether this took place between Hastings' leaving Aberdeen University and taking up his position at the Gymnasium, or whether, and perhaps more likely, it took place between his leaving Free Church College and entering his first charge. It is not certain whether the ministry had been in Hastings' mind from the first; if not, the realisation that school teaching was not his permanent vocation came quickly, for in 1877 he entered the Aberdeen Free Church College as a student for the ministry.<sup>21</sup> Throughout his course, however, he remained on the teaching staff at the Gymnasium.

A partisan northern newspaper could describe the Aberdeen Free Church College as 'that institution despised by southern ministers'.<sup>22</sup>

Certainly, it was not without difficulty that the General Assembly of the Church had been persuaded to recognise the need for and authorise the existence of a northern college,<sup>23</sup> but it quickly proved itself by the quality and calibre of the men it produced, men such as Hastings himself, and the colleague who was to become his editorial assistant, John A. Selbie. R.G. Philip has outlined the history of the college between 1855 and 1900,<sup>24</sup> and described its life and work at the time when Hastings was a student. His student years saw the Free Church fraught with major theological controversy as the Church Courts, between 1877 and 1881 were preoccupied with the case of William Robertson Smith, who had formerly lectured at the Aberdeen College.<sup>25</sup> Robertson Smith pioneered within the Free Church a positive attitude towards the work of the higher critics. It was an attitude which Hastings was to share: perhaps his vision of the need to communicate effectively the results of scholarly research to the ordinary minister arose from his awareness that Robertson Smith's position had been worsened by the absence of such effective communication in the case of his findings. As a student at Aberdeen, Hastings would no doubt have been involved in the Free Church Students' Association, the Theological Society, and the Missionary Society, and would have taken part in mission work in the city. During his college days, he was a member of the Free North Church, and was involved in its Sabbath School and other activities.<sup>26</sup>

It is not clear when Hastings left the College, but he left ready to begin his life's work of teaching, while only having begun his own learning, which was for him a life-long process. James Moffat was later to say that Hastings 'believed in knowledge',<sup>27</sup> and



A.J. Gossip commented that 'he never wearied in the quest for truth, was one of those whose religion is, in great degree, a thirst to know, to see things as they are, to cut through mere approximation to reality.'<sup>28</sup> Hastings' belief in knowledge was based on an awareness that 'the topics which arrest the attention are no longer the niceties of intellectual distinctions in theology, but such fundamental matters as the nature of God and His entrance into the life of man in every part of the world.'<sup>29</sup> It follows that the whole field of human knowledge and experience is the proper and legitimate preserve of the theologian: this understanding underpins the philosophy of the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. But Hastings was not content with the mere acquisition of knowledge: 'he loved to teach', and teaching was his 'true vocation'.<sup>30</sup> This desire to teach found expression in two ways. Firstly, he was himself a preacher. When he assumed his Dundee charge, it was said of him 'he is first of all a preacher of the Gospel. He believes he has a message for his generation, and has said that his greatest happiness is in delivering it.'<sup>31</sup> But secondly, he saw his role as being the education of his ministerial colleagues. In this context it was said of him that 'the main purpose of all his scholarly labours was to make the pulpit a greater power because enriched with knowledge.'<sup>32</sup> Although these two outworkings of his desire to teach are closely linked, it is inevitable that there would be certain tensions between them, and these are investigated in the pages which follow. It is evident, however, that in his own mind the pastoral ministry was of prime importance. On leaving Dundee, for instance, he said that 'he never could contemplate the possibility of giving up



the preaching of the Gospel for the purposes named [his scholarly work], though they, too, might be regarded as an indirect form of preaching.'<sup>33</sup> It is almost as if he saw himself as having a part in the ministry of his colleagues, their preaching being enriched by his scholarship. It was Moffat's view that 'his entire life-work was knit together by the passion for teaching, either through himself or through others.'<sup>34</sup> In the sections which follow, we will investigate Hastings' pastoral ministry, his literary ministry, and the success with which he managed to integrate these two.

C: The teacher as pastor

1. His charges

a) Broughty Ferry

James Hastings' first pastoral responsibilities were in connection with the East Free Church, Broughty Ferry, near Dundee, For three months he was responsible for discharging the pastoral duties during one of the Rev J.E. Somerville's long absences through illness. Of his time there, the dates of which are uncertain, it could be said (albeit in a popular paper) that 'he speedily became a great favourite, and his ministrations were so appreciated that on his election to Kinneff he was made the recipient of valuable presentations.'<sup>35</sup>

b) Kinneff

In 1884, Hastings was ordained and inducted by the Presbytery of Fordoun to the charge of Kinneff, vacant since the departure of the Rev Alexander Watt.<sup>36</sup> His stipend - on which he financed the first issues of the Expository Times - was £160.<sup>37</sup> There is little evidence with bearing on Hastings' Kinneff period which lasted until

1898. There is no record of the spiritual fruitfulness of his ministry, but one lasting material result was the reconstruction of the church building. This achievement is described thus in the colourful prose of the Aberdeen Weekly Journal:<sup>38</sup>

The congregation was a small one of farmers, crofters and cottars. They were housed in a building that had seen better days, and the young minister determined to have it rebuilt and made more worthy of its purpose. To raise the money for such a scheme was beyond the means of the congregation. But they did their best, and the minister was equal to the burden laid upon his shoulders. But the minister who sets out to raise money for church building has a harder and more disagreeable task than he can possibly anticipate. After much canvassing Dr Hastings found himself in a position to carry out his plans, and the present United Free Church at Kinneff is one of the monuments in stone and lime to his zeal and energy.

The church at St Cyrus was similarly rebuilt during Hastings' time there.

Hastings came to Kinneff largely unknown outwith his own circle.

When he left, it was as editor of the Expository Times, which, if not yet profitable, was rapidly growing in influence, and as the driving force behind the most important contemporary theological publishing project, the Dictionary of the Bible. In recognition of these activities, Aberdeen University had awarded him an honorary DD in 1897.

c) Willison Free Church, Dundee

The Willison Free Church in Dundee commemorated the Rev John Willison (1680-1750), whose writings on religious subjects were varied and widely popular, and who was the author of One Hundred Gospel Hymns.<sup>39</sup>

The church had been vacant since the translation to Dumbarton of the Rev Alexander S. Inch.<sup>40</sup> Hastings had preached in the Willison Church at the October 1897 communion services,<sup>41</sup> and so impressed had the congregation been with his preaching that he seemed to be the



natural choice when the vacancy arose. There was, however, a general impression that Hastings was reluctant to leave Kinneff on account of the opportunities for literary work which the relatively light pastoral duties associated with a comparatively small congregation afforded. The Kinneff church was therefore not greatly concerned when the Willison congregation began to show an interest in Hastings, 'because there were certain circumstances which led them to infer that he was not at all likely to accept' the proposal.<sup>42</sup> However, the Dundee Church persevered in its proposal; Hastings agreed to his name going before the Willison congregation; and in due course a call was issued, enthusiastically endorsed by the members and adherents.

The Willison Church submitted to the Fordoun Presbytery four reasons in favour of Hastings' translation.<sup>43</sup> Firstly, in the light of inner-city depopulation due to movement out to 'more distinctively residential quarters' it was held to be 'of the utmost importance that the pulpit should be occupied by a Minister so qualified by ability, sympathy and experience that the unity of the congregation [might] be preserved, and its power to carry on Christian work in an important sphere maintained.' The church recognised in Hastings these qualities. Secondly, 'the special and well known services rendered by Dr Hastings to biblical science and study, [marked] him out as one whom, in the highest interests of the youth of the Church, it would be well to have settled in Willison Church', where he could be involved in forming the personal character of many young people, and encouraging them it is implied, to become involved in biblical study and Christian scholarship. Thirdly, it was felt that Hastings



was 'at that point of his ministerial career where, combining as he [did] adequate experience, proved power, and freshness of sympathy, he [might], with the greatest advantage to the Church at large, and to Willison Church in particular, be transferred to the sphere of large and varied life now inviting him.' Finally, the virtual unanimity in favour of the call was felt to add to its weight.

The Kinneff congregation, understandably, was reluctant to see Hastings depart. They considered that it was important to maintain the strength of the Church in rural areas, and that this strength would not be upheld if all the outstanding pastors gravitated towards the cities. They held, moreover, that settlement in a rural charge was most conducive to Hastings' full use of his literary gifts. They felt that if their pastor accepted the call, it would only be 'through a stern sense of duty'.<sup>44</sup> However, after due consideration, Hastings accepted the call. In his first pastoral letter, he wrote to his new congregation 'I have come to you because you have called me, and because your call has been so harmonious and so hearty that I recognise in it the voice of God.'<sup>45</sup>

Hastings was inducted to his new charge on Wednesday 22 June 1898; the following evening, a social was held in the Kinnaird Hall; and, on Sunday 26 June the new pastor was introduced to the church by the Rev Thomas Adamson of Glasgow.<sup>46</sup> The Dundee Advertiser carried full reports of these occasions.<sup>47</sup> At the Kinnaird Hall social, Hastings addressed the congregation outlining his attitude as he assumed the new responsibilities. The Dundee Advertiser reported his message as follows:

He knew that the congregation had behind it a successful history, and he knew also that its success had been largely due to the eminence of the men who had been in the pastorate. He regarded it as at once a very great honour and responsibility that he should be standing there in the succession of such a pastorate. He could not stand in the shoes of his predecessors. He had not the weight, he had not, in many respects, the abilities of the men who had gone before him. But it was at least true that he had a message, and he trusted and prayed that he should have strength and ability to deliver it to them. It had been said that he came before them with a reputation. Fortunately for him it was not a reputation as a great preacher or even as an efficient pastor, because if it were he should have the arduous duty of endeavouring to live up to it. Such reputation was rather as a scholar or writer. He would not have them think that this was not in their way and nothing to them, and he would not belittle it. Everything he had done in that line had been in connection with Biblical work and directly towards efficiency in the pulpit. He was not a literary man, therefore, in the ordinary sense of the term, in respect of his literary work being apart from his pulpit and pastoral work. He had always found it possible to make use of everything he had written, and he had found it directly useful in the work of the pulpit and the pastorate. At the same time it demanded a little time. He was not there with the intention of not doing the work they had called him to do. If he had not seen it possible for him to do it, he should certainly not have undertaken the work. At the same time he wished to say that they would bear with him if he found it necessary for a little time to decline outside engagements, and reserved himself as far as possible for the direct work of the Willison congregation.

And indeed, Hastings threw himself with enthusiasm into the work of the church, and into Christian work in Dundee. His time at Willison Church co-incided with the Union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, which took place in 1900. (Hastings was present at the 1899 General Assembly which approved the Union, which he enthusiastically supported).<sup>48</sup> But his pastorate at Dundee was to last for less than three and a half years.

It is interesting to compare his sentiments on entering into the Willison ministry, quoted above, with his comments to the congregation in a pastoral letter dated 2 October 1901<sup>49</sup> which will be



be discussed in more detail in a later section. This letter read, in part

When I became your pastor, fully three years ago, it was well known that I was engaged upon important theological work which had to be continued. It seemed probable then that the heavier part of it would have been finished by this time. But that is not the case, and it must go on for some time yet. As it is entirely occupied with the study of the Bible, it does not hinder, but rather helps me in preparing for the pulpit. But it demands time, and I have been feeling lately that the burden I had to carry was rather heavy. The Calls that have come to me are from much smaller congregations, and you will readily understand that on that account I am somewhat drawn to them.

At the same time I have greatly enjoyed my ministry in Willison. I accepted your call in the firm conviction that it was from God, and that conviction is as firm now as ever. The office-bearers and workers have been most considerate in trying to relieve me of as much of the work as they could; and I have made true and lasting friendships. For these reasons it is no light matter to think of the possibility of my pastorate over you coming soon to an end. I believe that nothing would have induced me to think of that, if it had not been that I have recently felt that I am overtaxing my strength, and that if I were not able to do as much pastoral visitation in the future as I have been doing in the past, God's work amongst you might suffer.

I have been greatly exercised in mind since I first heard of the Calls, and I cannot yet say my way is clear. I am sure that I shall have your sympathy and your prayers, so that I may be guided to a decision in accordance with the will of God.

The Calls to which Hastings referred had come, firstly, from the congregation of St 'Cyrus in the Presbytery of Brechin and Fordoun, and secondly, from the congregation of the United Free Church at Stow, in the Presbytery of Galashiels.<sup>50</sup> What was the condition of Hastings' health which led to this termination of his city ministry? There is no evidence that at any time during his Willison ministry he was performing less than efficiently. (The only references to his health in the monthly news-sheets are to attacks of influenza at the beginning of 1900,<sup>51</sup> and at the time of the General Assembly



in 1901.<sup>52</sup> Hastings himself only refers to 'overtaxing' his strength, so there would seem to be little grounds for John Anderson's comment<sup>53</sup> that 'within two years after his settlement at Dundee his health broke down.' Clearly there would be an inner tension between the strenuous demands of the Willison ministry which he felt (or suspected he ought to feel) was his priority, and the ever-increasing demands of his literary ministry as he realised that the Dictionary of the Bible was not an end, but only a beginning. Curiously enough, he claimed that he was leaving Dundee not in order to gain more leisure for literary work, but because the pastoral work at Willison 'had been too heavy for him, even if he had no other work than the ordinary duties of the post. His successor must be a man of stronger physique than he was.'<sup>54</sup> This seems an extraordinary statement: surely, relieved of his taxing editorial duties a man of Hastings' stamina could have coped with the demands of a pastorate even of the size of Willison. The indication is that Hastings' deepest instincts, whatever he might say publicly, or admit to himself, lay towards his literary work. Hastings did not approach the congregations at St Cyrus and Stow personally, but he clearly let it be known that he would welcome the opportunity of moving to a smaller church: 'it got to be known through private friends that he was feeling the pressures,' claimed the Rev A.L. Robertson of Montrose in putting the St Cyrus case to the Dundee Presbytery.<sup>55</sup> For its part, the Willison Church regretted losing Hastings, but 'did not desire to place any barrier in Dr Hastings' way in connection with his proposed translation.' The representative at the Presbytery meeting clearly testified to the effectiveness of Hastings' ministry.

'Dr Hastings left the church larger than ever it was, stronger than ever it was, and better fitted for the work it had to do. It had not suffered from Dr Hastings' literary work. As a matter of fact, he had done pastoral work the extent of which might make some members of the Presbytery blush.'<sup>56</sup> The St Cyrus call was received first, and accepted by Hastings. And so he returned north, close to his former parish of Kinneff.

A farewell gathering was held by the Willison Church on 13 November 1901. The church presented its former pastor with twenty-one volumes of Ruskin's works.<sup>57</sup>

d) St Cyrus United Free Church

If in pastoring Willison, Hastings had been working in a church which commemorated a religious writer of a former age, so in going to St Cyrus he was entering a parish notable, ecclesiastically, as having been the scene of another literary pastor's labours.

Alexander Keith, author of a popular work on prophecy had been an incumbent there.<sup>58</sup> The United Free Church at St Cyrus was vacant following the departure of the Rev George Anderson due to ill-health at the end of a ministry which spanned forty years. Interestingly, Hastings was one of five candidates initially considered by the church. 'The final voting lay between the Rev Dr Hastings, Dundee, and the Rev Mr Robertson, Edinburgh, the former receiving 49 votes, and the latter 24.' It is clear that the call to Hastings was not unanimous: when it was being moderated one member of the church asked for his dissent to be recorded 'as he considered the whole thing was wrong.'<sup>59</sup> On behalf of the St Cyrus Church, the Rev A.L.



Robertson put to the Dundee Presbytery two reasons in favour of Hastings' translation to fill the vacant charge. One was the esteem in which Hastings was held in the St Cyrus area, and the second was the probable benefit which the more limited responsibilities of a smaller country charge would bring to Hastings' literary work.<sup>60</sup>

Once Hastings had accepted the call, he would appear to have been enthusiastically welcomed. The induction proper was followed by a dinner at the St Cyrus Hotel, and that by a social in the church. On the Sunday, Hastings was introduced by the Rev Dr Black of Inverness, who preached at the morning service. Hastings himself preached in the evening, striking a characteristic note. He preached from Revelation 1:17-18, according to the Revised Version.

He said he had chosen that text because it contained the whole substance of the Gospel which a modern minister had to preach. The theme of the text was Christ, and it represented Christ both in His person and His work ... it was not simply Jesus as He once was upon the earth that they had to preach, but that Jesus risen and glorified. At the conclusion of his sermon he said that a book had recently come into his hands called 'The Twentieth Century New Testament'. The title was startling, but he agreed with it, for the old Bible had to be made new to every generation; the old story of the Cross had to be brought home to the conscience of men in their own day.<sup>61</sup>

If Hastings' literary work did not slacken after the move to St Cyrus, nor did his commitment to the church. As at Kinneff, he presided over the demolition and reconstruction of the church building. The new building, constructed at a cost of £1,800,<sup>62</sup> was dedicated on 12 October 1904,<sup>63</sup> and thereafter it could be said that 'there are very few country congregations of the very limited membership of that at St Cyrus that have the satisfaction of worshipping in so handsome a building. It is not claiming for Dr Hastings



a larger measure of credit than is due to him to say that at St Cyrus, as at Kinneff, the building of a new church was the result of his initiative, his determination to see the thing accomplished, and his energy and resource in overcoming all difficulties.<sup>64</sup> The income of the church - a measure of the commitment and enthusiasm of the membership - increased during Hastings' pastorate, from £182 in 1903, to £255 in 1908.<sup>65</sup>

In the course of his ministry at St Cyrus, Hastings celebrated twenty-five years in the ministry, and this was marked by a social event at which no fewer than four presentations were made to the pastor and his family. The large amount of money collected for the presentations indicated, it was felt, how much Dr Hastings was 'appreciated by his people for his personality and for the sake of his ministerial work amongst them', and could also be taken 'as a token of their esteem and regard for him in his wider sphere - that of scholar, theologian, and author.'<sup>66</sup> Appropriate tributes to Hastings were paid by Principal Iverach of Aberdeen, and by Dr John Selbie, Hastings' co-editor.<sup>67</sup>

Although Hastings appears to have enjoyed very cordial relations with his congregation, there is little evidence with bearing on his daily work among them. Catherine Robertson Nicoll has preserved a recollection of the joy surrounding a village bazaar held in August 1902, which she was invited to open, and a cameo of family life at the St Cyrus manse. Hastings met her and her father at Montrose she recalls,

and we drove in a slow brougham to St Cyrus where the only topic was the bazaar of the next day. The whole village was

responding. A fisherman had made a little child's chair; a carpenter had sent a garden seat; some farmers had sent sheep. The atmosphere of the Manse was very happy and I enjoyed all the excitement. Nan, the schoolgirl daughter, was finishing an ingenious bedspread that had been made by many members of the congregation; each had contributed a shilling and a square piece of calico on which his or her name was embroidered in blue. This was given to me next day when I opened the bazaar, and I proudly possess it still.

On the great day more and more contributions kept coming in. I remember Colonel Forsyth Grant of Ecclesgreig arriving with his boy and bringing a fox terrier for sale. This fox terrier was greatly coveted by Edward Hastings, a fair boy of twelve, and he led it about all day. His parents were against pet animals, so he had to part with it when a purchaser carried it off.<sup>68</sup>

Hastings resigned his charge on 24 September 1911; he was entertained to a dinner by members of the congregation on 6 October 1911,<sup>69</sup> and thereafter, at the end of October, he moved to 11 King's Gate, Aberdeen, where he was to live for the rest of his life.<sup>70</sup> There is no evidence with bearing on the motivation which lay behind this move. Hastings was fifty-nine, and, even though he could not have foreseen the problems which World War One was to bring, he must have been conscious that many years' work on the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics remained to be done. Having fulfilled his calling to the pastoral ministry, he must now have felt able to commit himself totally to the second strand of his life's work, the ministry of the printed word.

## 2. His pastoral gifts

### a) Preaching skill

One of Hastings' obituarists commented that he 'never ceased to be a preacher himself: I would say, a great preacher',<sup>71</sup> while another felt able to describe him as 'one of the greatest preachers of his day.'<sup>72</sup> Robertson Nicoll held that Hastings 'was certainly



convinced that preaching might become more weighty, more rousing, more winning,<sup>73</sup> and what he wished for preaching in general seems to have been true of his own preaching in particular, for in the opinion of one he was 'an instance ... of a man discovering a pulpit gift late in life. He was a better preacher in his later years than he had ever been.'<sup>74</sup>

Hastings did not believe in reading his sermons,<sup>75</sup> and used few notes. 'He preached ... with a directness and an emotional appeal seldom found.' 'He talked quite simply about great things, and you felt that they were great to him, and moved him deeply.' But if 'his style was simple, his simplicity was the simplicity of a scholar': in his sermon preparation he was 'content with nothing less than the consultation of the best authorities.' These obituary tributes to his preaching ability are borne out by comments made at other times. When Hastings left the Willison Church, for example, the Interim Moderator, G.R. MacPhail commented that his ministry had been 'especially rich in that clear, simple expository power which he possessed as few ministers did.'<sup>76</sup>

And what of the content of his preaching? In his first sermon at St Cyrus, he claimed that what was required at that time was 'preaching from the Bible instead of from the newspaper,'<sup>77</sup> and his own ministry appears to have been firmly rooted in biblical exposition. He believed wholeheartedly in the biblical revelation of God in Christ, and this formed the basis of his preaching. To those who felt that, because there was now no certainty about the facts of the Gospel and that therefore 'they need not ... greatly



disturb themselves about Christ, or the things of Christ', he said

This is a complete mistake. I say it deliberately, and after being for the last ten years in close touch with all the historical and theological questions involved, that the essential facts of Christianity are better established today than they have ever been since the time when people began to dispute about them. There are many things that are being keenly disputed still, but they are not the things we have to rest upon for salvation.<sup>78</sup>

In his pastoral ministry, of course, he was careful to target his preaching at the specific needs of the congregation. Hence, on his arrival at the Willison Church, he wrote to the membership 'It will be some time before I am able to adapt my preaching to you so that you may get the greatest amount of good out of it.' He felt that only once he had visited each member, and got to know them and their needs, would he be able to 'reach [them] properly' in his preaching.<sup>79</sup>

The extensiveness of Hastings' preaching programme can be illustrated from his activities within the Willison Church. Apart from the two regular Sunday services (at 11.00 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. until January 1901; thereafter at 11.00 a.m. and 6.30 p.m.), he preached over the winter months at a weeknight prayer meeting, and a Sunday Bible Class, and took a series of monthly public lectures.

The prayer meeting, held between eight and nine on Wednesday evenings, was divided into two parts, the first being devoted to prayer, the second to preaching.<sup>80</sup> Over the years he was at the church, Hastings followed a consistent programme of teaching at these midweek services. Over 1898-99 he spoke about the Life and Work of Christ; over 1899-1900 he dealt with the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit; while over 1900-01 he spoke on 'In the Steps of Jesus' - how Christlikeness

could be attained through the work of the Holy Spirit. In September 1901, he began a fourth series, in which he planned to deal with the growth of the church.<sup>81</sup>

The Bible Class met on Sundays at 5.15 p.m. Hastings, feeling that 'the closer we keep to the central facts of the Gospel the more interesting as well as profitable will the Bible Class be',<sup>82</sup> concentrated for the most part over the three winters he had with the Class on the life of Christ. Over 1900-01, for example, he preached on the death, resurrection and present life of Christ, and in the spring of 1901 also found time, during the second part of the class, to study Tennyson's In Memoriam, explaining it and criticising its religious opinions.<sup>83</sup> The Bible Class would seem to have been attended by late teenagers. A Junior Bible Class was formed which Sunday School leavers attended until they were old enough to join Hastings' class.

The monthly lectures were held on Sunday evenings over Hastings' first winter at Dundee. They were reported in the local press (and, at least in the case of the first, in the British Weekly)<sup>84</sup> and were held to have been fruitful in strengthening the faith of Hastings' hearers in the face of 'infidel propaganda.'<sup>85</sup> On 13 November 1898 he spoke on 'The Natural History of Satan'; on 11 December 1898, on the question 'Is there a single undeniable miracle?'; on 8 January 1899 on 'Can we not do without miracles?'; on 12 February 1899 on the miracle of the resurrection of Christ; and on 13 March 1900 on the question 'Will a Human Saviour do?'



On leaving the Willison Church, Hastings commented that it was difficult for a pastor, in the course of an on-going ministry, to assess how successful his preaching was proving: 'We cannot tell what progress we are making.' It is very often only when a minister leaves a church that he is told how helpful his preaching has been. And there would seem to be little doubt that Hastings' preaching was effective. As he himself put it, with gentle modesty, 'when a change of ministry occurs, those who have been helped sometimes say so. And I have been greatly cheered with what has been said to myself on this occasion.'<sup>86</sup>

b) Pastoral skill

In introducing Hastings to the church at St Cyrus, Dr Black of Inverness recalled visiting the Willison Church some eighteen months previously, and, while there, asking an office-bearer how Dr Hastings found time for everything. 'Well, sir,' he was told, 'he neglects nothing. He not only preaches well, but he visits the Sabbath school, the mission district, and the congregation as well as any other minister could possibly do.'<sup>87</sup> It would seem clear from contemporary comments that Hastings was not only powerful as a preacher, but effective as a pastor. His qualities were many. His 'tenderness' was noted;<sup>88</sup> he was a good listener, apt, in point of fact, 'to undertalk and overliten, with his eyes full upon the speaker's';<sup>89</sup> his commitment was beyond question - one of the speakers on behalf of the Willison Church at the Presbytery meeting which discussed Hastings' translation to St Cyrus said of him as was noted earlier that 'he had done pastoral work the extent of which might make some members of the Presbytery blush';<sup>90</sup> above all, he was able to



empathise with his congregation - thus James Moffat could write in his obituary notice of Hastings<sup>91</sup> that he

dispelled from his congregation the notion that to be learned is to be inhuman. [He] showed them that a bookman could be alive to the sorrows, the humble stir and aims, and even the sports of the bookless. It is not reading, it is selfishness, which makes people indifferent to their kind, and selfishness is just as likely to spring out of the bookless ranks of commercial life as out of the learned class.

Hastings' pastoral commitment is clear from the extent of his activities at the Willison Church.<sup>92</sup> He was available for consultation in the manse, 12, Clarendon Terrace, every Thursday evening. He could also be seen at the church between the Sunday services, or before the Wednesday Prayer Meeting. But his major task, and one that had been enjoined upon him at his induction,<sup>93</sup> was the visiting of his congregation which, including adherents, consisted of over nine hundred people. His immediate task was to visit the office-bearers and those who were unwell; thereafter, he launched into an ambitious visitation programme, covering each of the twenty-five districts over the winter months of his first year in the church. By February 1899, sixteen districts had been covered; by April 1899 the work was almost completed. Clearly, Hastings announced his intention of visiting a district beforehand; this would explain the sternness of his comment 'In only a very few cases have I found the members of the Congregation out. I shall return to them, I hope. But they will not expect me for some time.'<sup>94</sup> This visitation, on top of Hastings' continuing responsibilities in the church, was a considerable achievement. It is all the more breathtaking when one considers that he was, at the same time, editing (and largely writing) a monthly magazine, and meticulously preparing the later volumes of

the Dictionary of the Bible for press. It was probably at the time of this visitation programme that he began the frequently-reported habit of making the most of the time by correcting proofs in his cab as he drove from house to house.<sup>95</sup> His pastoral duties at both Kinneff and St Cyrus were, one supposes, prosecuted with similar commitment. In the context of the latter charge he was referred to as 'this busiest of ministers.'<sup>96</sup>

c) Social involvement

Another facet of Hastings' pastoral work was a social involvement arising from a belief that there was a social dimension to the gospel he preached. Thus, for example, he was an enthusiastic advocate of prohibition, both at Dundee, where he was President of the Congregational Temperance Society,<sup>97</sup> and in Aberdeen.<sup>98</sup> His main involvement in this area, however, was in the launching of the Combined Christian Movement in Dundee.<sup>99</sup> The main aim of this movement was, it is true, to encourage spiritual reform in Dundee rather than a reform of social injustices, but Hastings quoted with approval Dr Dale of Birmingham who said 'John Wesley and George Whitefield did more for the social redemption of England than all the politicians of this century and the last, whose names are associated with great reforms; under God they created those moral and spiritual forces which have rendered all reforms possible.' It was Hastings' view too that spiritual revival would in due course inspire social reform: in majoring on the first he asked his readers not to imagine that he believed in the second less. Hastings saw two obstacles to revival in Dundee among the higher social classes at which he was aiming. (He implied that he felt the working classes were being reached



adequately by church missions.) One was the lack of unity among Christians. The sceptics, he held, thought that the Gospel spelt sectarianism, 'and they do not think it is worth the trouble it would cost them to make a choice between the rival denominations.' The second obstacle was the belief that the core facts of the Gospel were now in dispute among even the clergy, a fact which Hastings refuted utterly. The Combined Christian Movement, which would seem to have been inspired by Hastings in early 1901, was designed to overcome these obstacles. Ministers from all denominations would be invited to lay aside their sectarian differences, and unite around the basic doctrines of the faith. For 'the Gospel is not a matter of rival churches. It is Christ.' Moreover, this rallying round the core doctrines by a large number of ministers would, Hastings implied, give the lie to those who said that the facts of the Christian faith were in dispute. He recognised that facts alone, unaccompanied by faith, do not make a Christian, but hoped that a demonstration of solidarity behind the facts would lead to many finding faith.

Hastings was enthusiastic about the response to his call. Ministers and office-bearers from almost all denominations represented in the city agreed to participate,<sup>100</sup> their 'simple bond of union' being 'faith in a risen and living Redeemer.' A united ministers' prayer meeting was begun, and a week of meetings planned for early April 1901. These were unique in that around eighty ministers from Dundee participated, showing their solidarity with the central doctrines of the Holy Spirit and the Person of Christ - the afternoon sessions were on the Holy Spirit, those in the evening on the Person of Christ - subjects surely suggested by Hastings. The co-operation of the



press, by publishing detailed reports of these meetings, was seen as being vital. Addressing the editor in the second of two articles on the Movement, Hastings commented 'we look to you to bring us into touch with those whom we cannot otherwise reach.'

The Movement was not without its critics. There were those who condemned it as a failure before it had even begun. But Hastings felt that the Movement had benefitted from this opposition since ministers who were involved were not simply quietly assenting to the core doctrines, but had to stand up and be counted. 'It became clear that those who had the courage to take part in the meetings and give their testimony were thoroughly in earnest', an earnestness which added weight to their words. Following the spring meetings, an interdenominational district-by-district visitation programme was planned for winter 1901-02. Nothing would be done in favour of any particular church or denomination: ministers and office-bearers of different churches would work together to further the gospel.

On his translation to St Cyrus, Hastings' involvement with the Movement ceased. But in his commitment to it can be discerned the enthusiasm which informed his literary work: the desire for unity among Christians rather than division; the desire for the elucidation and presentation of the facts of the gospel; the desire that the church should be aware of the nature of the opposition, and armed to resist it. Time and time again he stated his basic doctrinal position: 'As long as we hold by the resurrection of Christ, it does not matter how we stand to the times, since we are in harmony with eternity.'<sup>101</sup>

D: The teacher as editor1. His aims

The Dyke Acland medal, with which Hastings was presented on 27 June 1913, had been given by Sir Thomas Dyke Acland 'to be awarded biennially to a distinguished scholar whose studies and work were specially directed to the popularisation of the exact knowledge of the Bible.'<sup>102</sup> In replying to the presentation, Hastings made it clear that he accepted this phrase as giving an accurate description of his editorial aims. It was clearly his intention, as we have noted earlier, to mediate the proven results of scholarship on biblical and theological issues to the men in the world's pulpits, so that their preaching could be enriched and made more relevant.

As a country minister himself, he had sensed the temptation to ignore the world of scholarship: accounting for the genesis of the Expository Times he once said (surely tongue-in-cheek) 'After I had visited all the congregation as often as it was reasonable to expect, I wondered what I might do now. I might have begun gardening, but I was much more interested in books.'<sup>103</sup> He would be well aware that ministers with fewer scholarly inclinations than he had could easily isolate themselves from current thinking. And if this was bad for them - they would become 'out-of-date, unaired, and musty in their thinking, which to him was a crime in this ever new and every fascinating world'<sup>104</sup> - it was also bad for their preaching and thus for their congregations. For Hastings felt that the new theological freedom which was being experienced in Scotland was producing among many people a scepticism about the facts of the gospel, and about its



contemporary validity. If the Gospel were to be preached with power and relevance, it must be presented, not in the dress of scholarship fifty years old, but with the dress of contemporary scholarship, which must be shown to be not incompatible with a living faith.

It was probably this need which the obituarist had in mind when he wrote that Hastings possessed 'a remarkable power of gauging the needs of the time':<sup>105</sup> another commentator, John Selbie, went even further, observing that Hastings 'saw needs which were felt but vaguely and inarticulately.'<sup>106</sup> Thus Hastings aimed to 'equip the modern preacher for his work by enabling him to combine evangelical teaching with the results of Biblical criticism; the preacher should have zeal with knowledge.'<sup>107</sup>

Hastings' own attitude towards the higher criticism is somewhat ambiguous. Whereas William Robertson Nicoll claimed that Hastings, although holding by 'the great evangelical tradition', had been greatly impressed by the work of Welhausen, and 'was from the beginning in sympathy with what is known as the Higher Criticism',<sup>108</sup> Hastings himself stated publicly that 'He had no interest in what was called the higher criticism, but he had an interest in truth.'<sup>109</sup> Possibly he was pointing out that he owed no allegiance to higher criticism as a movement in and of itself, but that he was glad to accept its findings when they could be shown to be incontrovertibly accurate. In any case, his sympathies, as demonstrated by the Dictionary of the Bible 'were with "moderate" as distinguished from "advanced" criticism.'<sup>110</sup> He was even criticised because it was felt that, in the work 'the freer play of the human intellect [had] been avoided rather than encouraged, and that on this account the highest and



finest forms of religious conception [had] in some important matters been missed.'<sup>111</sup> Whatever his precise position, it is clear that he welcomed balanced research into the biblical text, seeing it as changing emphases, perhaps, but as undergirding rather than undermining the essential message. Through his works, he wanted to share with his fellow-preachers what he saw as the enriching validity of much new research. While 'he admitted that the march of scholarship had left the old way of thinking behind, and also the way of illustrating the old doctrine,' he held that 'the old methods had passed away, but the doctrines of grace had been left on a surer foundation than ever. Historical Christianity was on a firmer basis than ever before, and scholarship had done it.'<sup>112</sup>

## 2. His works

### a) Periodicals

Having decided that literature, rather than gardening, was going to claim his free time at Kinneff, Hastings began by launching two periodicals. One was the Sunday School, which contained material to help Sunday School teachers in their work: it, however, was bought over by the Sunday School Union of England, and merged in their Chronicle.<sup>113</sup> The other, first issued in October 1889, was a theological review, The Expository Times, which Hastings was to edit, and largely write, until his death thirty-three years later. The early history of this journal is considered in detail in the main text.

### b) The Dictionary of the Bible

The main text contains an in-depth study of this major project also.

c) Other works

As well as the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Hastings was responsible for a number of other works over the next two decades. A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, prepared with the assistance of J.A. Selbie and J.C. Lambert, was issued in two volumes, which appeared in 1906 and 1908. This work was specifically aimed at the preacher, and all the contributors had been drawn from the ranks of those scholars who were, or who had been preachers.<sup>114</sup> It contained much extra-biblical material on the historical interpretation of Christ's person, work, and teaching which would have been inappropriate in the Dictionary of the Bible.<sup>115</sup>

The first volume of a work on The Literature of Religion of Israel appeared in 1907.

Two years later there was issued a completely new one-volume Dictionary of the Bible, produced for the benefit of those whose financial or intellectual resources precluded their using the five-volume one.<sup>116</sup> In this work, Hastings was again assisted by Selbie and Lambert, together with Shailer Mathews, Professor of Theology and Dean of Divinity School at the University of Chicago. This work was translated into Chinese<sup>117</sup> and sold at least 4,000 copies in that language.

The Great Texts of the Bible appeared in twenty volumes, plus an index volume, between 1910 and 1919, while The Greater Men and Women of the Bible was issued between 1913 and 1916 in six volumes.

The Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, in the preparation of which Hastings was again assisted by Selbie and Lambert, was issued in two



volumes in 1915 and 1918. It aimed, according to the preface of the first volume, to perform the same kind of service for the rest of the New Testament as the Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels had done for the first four books. According to the Elgin Courant, it was understood to have been Hastings' intention to complete the series with works devoted to the Church of the Fathers, the Medieval Church, the Reformation Church, and the Modern Church, an intention never carried out.<sup>118</sup>

In 1915, a work edited by Hastings appeared entitled The Christian Doctrine of Prayer, the first in a series of books on Great Christian Doctrines, which was intended to bridge the great gulf between the systematic theology lecture room and the preacher's study.<sup>119</sup> The series ultimately consisted of three volumes: the second, on Faith appeared in 1919, and the third, on Peace, in 1922.

Another work issued in 1915 in which Hastings had a hand was Sub Corona, edited by him in collaboration with Henry Cowan, Professor of Church History at Aberdeen University. Appearing in the Clark series The Scholar as Preacher, this work contained twenty sermons which had been preached in Aberdeen University Chapel by Principals and Professors of Scottish Theological Faculties. 'The title came from the fact that an ancient stone crown surmounts the Chapel of King's College.'<sup>120</sup>

Over 1920 and 1921, six volumes appeared in the series of children's sermons issued as The Children's Great Texts of the Bible. Each issue of the Expository Times included a section featuring three or



four sermons to children. This collection was published to provide preachers, teachers, Sunday-school superintendents and parents with simple messages for children.<sup>121</sup>

Another long-standing project, which was just coming to fruition at the time of Hastings' death, was The Speaker's Bible, which aimed to facilitate the pulpit ministry of contemporary preachers. In a draft preface found among his papers after his death, and published in the volume on Hebrews, he lamented the fact that the churches were empty because preachers had nothing to say. The Speaker's Bible offered the expositor 'sermons that are shorn of their wordiness, carefully arranged and aptly illustrated,' and, furthermore 'preserved all that is worth preserving of the modern interpretation of the Bible.'<sup>122</sup> The first volume of this series was issued before Hastings' death; the remainder appeared under the editorship of Edward Hastings. All were published in Aberdeen, the only work of James Hastings not to appear under the Clark imprint. Alasdair MacLeod comments of this series that, 'like much of Hastings' later "scissors-and-paste" works, these volumes are often dull, and lack the quality and depth of his great dictionaries and encyclopaedias.'<sup>123</sup>

Hastings is remembered as an editor rather than a writer, but it must not be forgotten that he also wrote extensively, contributing material to the Expository Times each month, and also writing articles for the works he edited. He wrote the word studies contained in the Dictionary of the Bible, and these were highly praised by one reviewer at least.<sup>124</sup> He contributed a 'Survey of the Great Religious Books of Twenty Years' to the 'What Men are Thinking'

section of the Daily Mail Year Book of the Churches for 1908. And he also pursued original research in the field of the language of the English versions of the Bible.<sup>125</sup> Of his style, A.J. Gossip commented that it 'had not, I think, any particular lustre or distinction; but it was lucid in a high degree, and could make really difficult things simple to grasp and understand - quite curiously so.'<sup>126</sup>

d) The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics

Of the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, James Moffat claimed that, although 'conceived and fashioned in Scotland', it was 'an international work.'<sup>127</sup> This was true both in terms of the range of scholarship represented, and of the influence of the work. In the ranks of major Scottish publishing achievements, Hastings' Encyclopaedia comes second only to the Encyclopaedia Britannica. The material in this section is drawn largely from Alasdair I. MacLeod's unpublished paper, 'James Hastings and the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics', which the present writer has been given permission to use.

The Dictionary of the Bible had included material on Biblical Theology, and it was Hastings' initial intention in the new work simply to carry the story of Christian theology down to his own day. He quickly concluded, however, that such an approach would be anachronistic: 'the development of comparative religion demanded a re-orientation of Christian theology, and its pursuance within the context of the religious life of the world.'<sup>128</sup> A Dictionary of Theology, Hastings held, must now be a Dictionary of Religion, because



A doctrine that has life in it cannot be usefully described without taking into account the manifestations of that doctrine in the religious life of the world. These manifestations are not versions of the Christian doctrine, nor are they perversions. They are parts of the complete doctrine, and must be taken account of in any scientific description of it.<sup>129</sup>

Hastings gave a further statement of his position in a review in 1909 of The Being and Attributes of God by Professor Francis J. Hall of the Western Theological Seminary in Chicago. While not altogether agreeing with Hall's doctrinal conclusions, he made no criticism of his method, and wrote:

While other men are circling about Calvin or Arminius, Simeon or Newman, like children in a merry-go-round, and never getting away, this man has studied every article in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, and opened his mind to the revelation that is there sent to him, believing that he is bound in his doctrine of God to account for all that God tells him of Himself through the Ainus and the Apaches, as well as through the children of Israel. And this larger study has not only enlarged his circle of belief; it has altered the position of its centre. Its centre now is not Calvinism or Newmanism. It is not even the Christ of these men. It is that larger, fuller Christ, who was, and is, and is to be.<sup>130</sup>

The major factor behind the launch of the Encyclopaedia, then, was Hastings' commitment to research into comparative religion, which, properly approached, he saw as enriching rather than undermining Christian faith. Drawing on the evidence of comments in the Expository Times, MacLeod postulates that Hastings' interest in comparative religion was first fired by his reading J.G. Frazer's Golden Bough, and Tylor's Primitive Culture.<sup>131</sup> Given his enthusiasm for new knowledge, it is understandable that Hastings would be fascinated by the subject. In 1902, he claimed that there were two reasons for the growth of interest in comparative religion. In the first place, missionary enterprises had not had the success expected of them, and it was beginning to be appreciated that missionaries



had to study and understand the worship which they were failing to supplant. In the second place, there was a growing recognition, which Hastings clearly shared, of the universality of religion.<sup>132</sup>

The state of his thinking four years later is demonstrated by an article in the Expository Times for January 1906.<sup>133</sup> He began by quoting with approval some words of Professor Sanday 'We are learning by degrees to think of Christianity not as something entirely isolated in the history of the world, but as the climax and crown of other religions' and then developed the thought as follows:

How many of us does his 'we' cover? Not very many yet. Most of us are still ignorant of any claim that other religions have on our attention. Some of us are still passionately denying that there are more religions than one.

Very well, there are not more religions than one. A new start is necessary; suppose we all start with that. But what do we mean by one religion? Do we mean the Christian? Then the statement is absurd. For if we restrict the name of religion to Christianity, what have we to call the creed and worship of others by? Let us start with the statement that there is one religion in the world. Let us say that all the so-called religions, ancient and modern, cultured and savage, are manifestations of one great human interest, and let us call it religion. Then we shall be ready to go forward. And if we find, as most certainly we shall find, that there are things in Christianity which prove its kinship with other expressions of the spirit of religion, we shall not be in any danger of losing our faith in Christ, we shall see that we have obtained an unexpected but most powerful reason for cherishing it as we never did before.

For convenience sake we may use the word in the plural still. But now we shall know what we mean by it. And having discovered that religion is that one touch of nature which makes the whole world kin, we shall be ready to follow the steps by which men in all the generations have 'sought the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him.' And when beliefs or practices of religion arise in our path which seem a reflexion, if not even a caricature, of the things which are most sacred to us in Christianity, we shall not start away with fear. We shall the more eagerly follow their course till they reach that purification, that new birth (if it may be so called) which they obtain in Christianity, where everything rose so utterly beyond the commonplace in religion that the

first disciples could not repress their astonishment, but declared that, beyond, all things had become new.

But if the Encyclopaedia was inspired primarily by Hastings' genuine interest in religion, there were two additional dimensions to his aim. The first was apologetic. Although asserting that the Church was on the verge of a new controversy - a conflict over the Bible and comparative religion was to follow those which had raged over geology, the higher criticism, and archaeology - Hastings was insistent that the issue should be squarely faced.

What are we to do with the whole subject of Comparative Religion in its relation to the interpretation of the Bible? Shall we speak of it ignorantly as an enemy of our religion? ... Shall we say that common sense - convenient synonym for ignorance - enables us to brush it aside? Or shall we study Comparative Religion a little, and if we find that it asks us to change our ideas of the interpretation of the Bible once more, agree to change them, and discover the Bible itself more divine than before?<sup>134</sup>

Hastings was conscious that the results of study into comparative religion were being used as ammunition by enemies of the church, in books such as John M. Robertson's Pagan Christs, published by the Rationalist Press Association, and a work largely based on it, F.J. Gould's Concise History of Religion. Hastings described Robertson as 'the most successful apologist, not for Christianity but for agnosticism in the present day', but attributed his success to the ignorance of Christians: 'if we were to become students of Comparative Religion, his present advantage over us would be lost. It is on the supposition that he knows Comparative Religion better than we do that he comes to lecture us. It is because we know so little about it that he is so successful as a lecturer.'<sup>135</sup> It was the desire to fill this gap in the Church's knowledge by providing



reliable scholarship which could be used in the defence of the faith that provided part of the motivation for the Encyclopaedia.<sup>136</sup>

The second, additional aim which inspired Hastings in the production of the Encyclopaedia was his desire to facilitate the pulpit ministry of the Church. If their preaching was to be relevant, ministers must share and be shaped by the new attitudes to religion which had arisen over the previous few decades.<sup>137</sup> People were now interested in God's nature and his self-revelation throughout the world, and the minister, according to Hastings

must first see that the pulpit now demands a greater range of topic than formerly, and at the same time greater accuracy in the handling of every topic that is touched. He must know that the topics which arrest the attention are no longer niceties of intellectual distinction in theology, but such fundamental matters as the nature of God, and His entrance into the life of man in every part of the world.<sup>138</sup>

It was to ensure that ministers had understanding of these issues, and authority in speaking on them, that the Encyclopaedia was produced.<sup>139</sup>

As in all his works, Hastings sought to ensure that the Encyclopaedia achieved what he intended for it by urging his team of contributors to combine impeccable scholarship with lucidity of expression.<sup>140</sup>

The work was to be scholarly in the sense that every article would be 'expected to contain a full critical account of its subject,' and it would not 'give a mere popular resume [sic] of the topics covered by it.' Thus Hastings wrote to Moses Gaster, one of the contributors:

The [Encyclopaedia] will be neither a popular rehash nor a mere abstract ... There is to be no bias if I can help it. The work is to be scholars' works, it must be scientific.<sup>141</sup>

But everything should be done to ensure the clarity of each contribution. A detailed apparatus should list sources. 'Everything



should be done (by transliteration, translation and the like) to make the articles intelligible to all readers.' The material should be well-organised 'in order to avoid repetition', the style 'succinct and clear as possible'.

It was well that ground rules such as these should be laid down in advance to ensure that production of the Encyclopaedia proceeded as smoothly as possible.

The publication of the Encyclopaedia was a major enterprise for the editor, and involved a major risk for the publishers. (The Clarks in fact took out a £1,000 life insurance policy on Hastings in 1905, since, as they explained to him 'once those Dictionaries are under weigh it would naturally be serious for our Firm were anything to happen to you before they are completed.'<sup>142</sup> Hastings' intention was that the Encyclopaedia should cover the combined field of Religion and Ethics, which he saw as being inseparable.<sup>143</sup> After much consultation with teams of leading specialists, lists were drawn up of the subjects to be covered in the work, and these were assigned to the contributors.<sup>144</sup> 882 scholars contributed to the Encyclopaedia: it was Hastings' aim to enlist the support of the leading authorities, and frequently they were willing to co-operate.<sup>145</sup> MacLeod comments, however, that 'in many cases [Hastings] only got the greatest British authority on the subject, and sometimes the one he knew best. Over half the contributors came from the British Isles. [Scholars from] America, Germany, and France made up the bulk of the remainder.'<sup>146</sup> One of the innovative features of the work was the arrangement of so much of its data in major thematic articles of composite authorship. As Hastings explained, 'On every important topic which belongs

to more than one religion there will be a series of articles by different authors, each author describing the subject according to the religion of which he is an authority.<sup>147</sup> By using this approach, the Encyclopaedia was said to have set the trend in the English-speaking world for the 'across-the-board' study of one phenomenon or one group of phenomena in religion.<sup>148</sup> To assist with all the editorial work which a project of this magnitude involved, Hastings, certainly after the move to Aberdeen if not before, employed a small permanent staff. From 1918 until 1920, for example, Agnes Mure MacKenzie worked for him.<sup>149</sup> After six years' work, the first volume of the Encyclopaedia appeared in 1908. The work was issued at the rate of one volume per year until 1916, by which time nine volumes had been issued. The remaining three volumes appeared in 1918, 1920 and 1921, the delay being caused by the War. Although not published until 1926, four years after his death, the Index volume was drawn up according to Hastings' own design: he had directed the work on it for nearly a year before his death.<sup>150</sup>

The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics was in general a critical success, and presumably, in the long term, a financial success for its publishers (there are no contemporary figures). MacLeod assesses the achievement of the Encyclopaedia as follows.<sup>151</sup> He feels that it

certainly reflected world scholarship better than its great contemporary rival, Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, published at Tübingen in five volumes between 1909 and 1913. [E.J.] Sharpe says the latter is tendentious in comparison,<sup>152</sup> and half a century ago Pinard de la Boulaye in his survey of the history of comparative religion accused R.G.G. of reflecting over-much the opinions of liberal German Protestantism whereas E.R.E. was more developed and eclectic.<sup>153</sup> R.G.G. in fact paid E.R.E. a significant tribute:



in it the Anglo-Saxons, who up till now have leaned so much on German theology, have emancipated themselves; not only so, they have surpassed us in wealth of material and fulness of individual contribution.<sup>154</sup>

In the Biblical and Theological articles Hastings' aim as usual was to reflect middle-of-the-road scholarly opinion. This pleased most people, but disappointed radicals and conservatives. As [B.B.] Warefield wrote:

In has a general tone, it is true, which is not in all respects agreeable to us. This tone, for lack of a better phrase, may be spoken of, perhaps, as 'Liberal'. Every point of view is certainly, on occasion, admitted to its pages. But the point of view which is least in evidence in them - shall we say is least welcome in them - is the point of view of Evangelical Christianity.<sup>155</sup>

### 3. His editorial gifts and strategy

Hastings was, it was claimed, 'a born editor'.<sup>156</sup> One of his greatest assets as an encyclopaedist was his innate zeal for acquiring and organising information. We have already noted his unwavering commitment to knowledge - 'Scholarship [is] the search for truth'<sup>157</sup> - and this commitment was matched by what a contemporary called an 'encyclopaedic mind':

There is not the slightest doubt that the encyclopaedic mind will in future be one of the greatest assets to learning, for without such co-ordination and arrangement we should be lost in a flood of learning, vast but unavailable. Dr Hastings has this mind to an extraordinary degree.<sup>158</sup>

His own knowledge extended far beyond contemporary theology, his studies including, for example, a detailed examination of the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, undertaken with a view to illustrating the precise meanings of words in the early English translations of the Bible.<sup>159</sup> Books were constantly passing across his desk for review, and of these he was said to have read around fifty per month.<sup>160</sup> Like Robertson Nicoll, Hastings combined the gift of being able quickly to assess the contents of a volume



with an equal facility for effectively and succinctly summarising the essence of the work for the benefit of his readers.<sup>161</sup> But his major literary resource was his own extensive personal library, which included 27,000 volumes at St Cyrus,<sup>162</sup> and ultimately 60,000 volumes at King's Gate, Aberdeen.<sup>163</sup> The range of material held in this library is evident from the following description:

when it is remembered that the library is essentially theological, although it contains almost every literary classic, that only the best books are admitted to its shelves, and that there are no false-backs or 'dead' books, the hazardous word unique may well be applied to it. Dr Hastings has no fewer than six rooms, not to mention several landings and lobbies, crammed from floor to ceiling with books, magazines, and papers. Among his books there are many valuable works of great historical interest. Each one has a story of its own, and we regret that we are able only to quote but a few. In what is called 'The Library', we find the famous 'Tudor Translations'. Again in another room we find a beautiful set of Ruskin, presented to Dr Hastings by a former congregation. There also we find the rare Strickland's 'Princesses of England and Queens of Scotland', in beautiful preservation. In the Hall there is a wonderful set of Burton's 'Arabian Nights', of which only 30 copies were printed, and were sold originally at £100 each. Below them stands the 'Acta Sanctorum', or Legends of the Saints, arranged Quixotically according to their birthdays. This set is bound in exceedingly handsome morocco, and belonged originally to the Marquis of Ripon, whose crest it bears. Again in the study there are to be found the 168 volumes of the Patrologia Latina and the 212 volumes of the Patrologia Graecia, containing all the writings of the Latin and Greek authors on Christ. In another corner we find a copy of the first edition of Johnson's Dictionary, and so on.

Another feature of the collection is a 'library of libraries'. In other words, catalogues of famous Libraries, like the Bodelian (sic) Library in Oxford, the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, the University Library of Dublin, and John Rylands' famous Library in Manchester. Dr Hastings also possesses the great Continental catalogues published year by year, such as Heinrich's German catalogue, Lorenz's French catalogue, and, as Dr Hastings himself would modestly put it, 'the others'.<sup>164</sup>

But in his work he did more than simply rely on his own knowledge and reading. He saw himself as being 'directly dependent upon those who [had], by concentrating upon some limited field, made themselves



masters of it, and [could] write with exceptional authority upon it.'<sup>165</sup> His breadth of reading was helpful here too, enabling him to identify who the 'best men' were,<sup>166</sup> for it was his aim to locate 'the most capable writer on every subject.'<sup>167</sup> By and large, as we have noted, he was successful in achieving this goal, enlisting contributors from every theological background and from none:

From his seat in the editorial chariot he had to guide a very motley team - a team which included men of all religions and no religions, of many peoples and tongues. He had to keep in hand Christians and Jews, Protestants and Roman Catholics, Mohammedans and Parsees, Russians and Japs, Frenchmen and Germans. One day he would receive an article from a resident in an Episcopal Palace, another day one from a political convict in a Russian penal settlement.'<sup>168</sup>

It is clear that considerable skill would have been required to maintain editorial control over material from such a wide range of scholars. To his task, Hastings brought, first of all a commitment to accuracy which he insisted his contributors should share. It was his aim to be a populariser of exact knowledge of the Bible: it followed that he must ensure the greatest possible accuracy in each piece of work before publishing it.<sup>169</sup> If he expected these standards of accuracy in the small details of the work he published, he expected them too in the whole philosophical basis of that work, for it was authoritative scholarship he wanted, not speculation or tentative ideas.<sup>170</sup> Thus T. & T. Clark wrote to Marcus Dods on the subject of the second volume of the Dictionary of the Bible that 'As Dr Hastings says in his letter to you, for all our sakes, & for the sake of truth, we must make the Work as accurate as possible.'<sup>171</sup> Hastings also brought to his task a systematic and methodical approach. This governed his entire attitude towards his work: 'He wasted no time in finding rest and change of occupation, and never threw away

small scraps of leisure that most men thought lightly of, but always found something to do in all those moments.'<sup>172</sup> All the paperwork generated by the Encyclopaedia project was apparently so systematically controlled that only once did a manuscript go astray. On that occasion, Hastings is said to have 'pursued it to where the Cleansing Department had heaped up the contents of the city's dustbins ready for destruction, and after hours of search, a grubby, but a happy, figure retrieved the invaluable work of a world famous, thin-skinned, foreign scholar!'<sup>173</sup> To the task, Hastings brought tact combined with firmness. He, certainly, was not thin-skinned. He was, as Selbie pointed out at the semi-jubilee celebration, a good manager of men.<sup>174</sup> He insisted on punctuality in the delivery of articles, was emphatic on the point of good English style, sought comprehensiveness and orderliness of treatment, and was not afraid to wield the blue pencil if he thought it necessary.<sup>175</sup> It could be said 'In dealing with a multitude of authors, and with a great variety of temperaments, I believe he has never had any serious hitch.'<sup>176</sup> Finally, according to William Robertson Nicoll, he brought to his task the essential qualities of patience and gentleness.<sup>177</sup>

Some of these characteristics of Hastings' editorial strategy are illustrated by the correspondence between him and Moses Gaster, one of the contributors to the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.<sup>178</sup>

Hastings required tact, firmness and much patience with this author, since pressure of work, and a painstaking scholarship led to his contributions being inevitably late in arriving. Thus the editor's letter to Gaster on 21 December 1905 - 'Could you let me have an



article on Abracadabra ... I am now getting in the work on A.<sup>179</sup>

Five months later, his tone was more insistent: 'The early sheets of the Dictionary of Religion are now being made up. Could I have Abracadabra?'<sup>180</sup> Three months after that plea, however, in August 1906, the contribution was still not forthcoming - 'Could you possibly send me the article Abracadabra at once? I should be greatly obliged.'<sup>181</sup> - and although Gaster gave Hastings to believe that the article (which was only to be five hundred words in length) was then in the process of being written,<sup>182</sup> the editor had to send a further urgent request for Abracadabra in October of that year, by which time he was, he claimed 'completely at a standstill for want of it.'<sup>183</sup> Nor is this an isolated example. Most if not all of Gaster's contributions seem to have reached Hastings almost intolerably late. The editor's patience must have been taxed by an author who, after apologising that an article had been delayed due to the extensiveness of the work on primary sources which had been necessary, and promising that 'the whole of the MS' would be sent off 'in the course of the next few days' nevertheless had not despatched his copy more than three weeks later.<sup>184</sup> The article in question was that on Birth, and its non-arrival led to Gaster receiving the following cryptic telegram from Hastings. 'Please send birth at a standstill.'<sup>185</sup> And yet, when an article was received, Hastings responded gratefully, and with encouragement. Thus, when Birth was in his hands, he wrote to Gaster 'I have received your article, and am very glad. I am working through it at once, and I can see that it is an article of very great value.'<sup>186</sup>

But if the correspondence with Gaster reveals Hastings' persistence and tact, it also illustrates his firmness. In the spring of 1911, as Gaster was about to address himself to the article on Divination, he fell seriously unwell, an illness caused at least in part by over-work. His eyesight was affected to the extent that he seems to have been unable to read for a time. Nevertheless, apparently using secretarial help, he pressed ahead with the article which was delivered to Hastings in June 1911. Gaster had (he claimed) been under the impression that, in the case of this contribution, length was not an issue, and that he could write as extensively as he considered the subject demanded. He was greatly perturbed when Hastings asked for major cuts. The editor appears, in fact to have sought a reduction by more than one third; but when Gaster retorted that it would be impossible to cut by more than a third without damaging the basic structure of the article, Hastings concurred. Thereupon Gaster most unwillingly set about extensively pruning, deleting many illustrative quotations which he had laboriously culled from the primary sources. The point is that, knowing as he did the courageous commitment with which Gaster had written his article, it could have been far from easy for Hastings to insist on cuts. And yet firmness was necessary if the Encyclopaedia were to have the right balance of content, and Hastings had the necessary strength of character to insist.<sup>187</sup>

Not all of Hastings' team of contributors would have caused him as much concern as did Gaster. But the Gaster correspondence gives some indication of the enormous complexity of the task which faced



him in bringing his vision of the Encyclopaedia to fruition, and of the single-mindedness and strength of purpose which he brought to bear upon the undertaking.

The complex myriad of editorial processes involved in producing the Encyclopaedia, and Hastings' all-pervading influence over them is described in the following contemporary article:

The first thing, Dr Hastings pointed out, was to decide what such an Encyclopaedia would include. There was no previous model by which to be guided, for Dr Hastings' (sic) work is the first of its kind, although German enterprise has lately paid him the compliment of copying his plan with great fidelity. He therefore prepared from the immense range of his reading a list of suitable topics.

These he printed in sheets and sent to twenty theological authorities, asking them at the same time to place their name against any subject they would be willing to write on, and also to place against other subjects the names of the people they thought best fitted to write thereon with authority. Also, he asked them to revise his list of topics, adding any subjects they thought should be included, and cutting out any they might deem superfluous. With his twenty lists, Dr Hastings now prepared a second sheet, gathering and averaging the information of his correspondents. This list was again carefully revised, and a period of four years was devoted to this task alone. The enormous research it involved, the excellence of the method, and the value of its results need not be emphasised. While topics from Christianity, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and so on were being collected, Dr Hastings read through complete sets of various periodicals like 'Folk-lore' and the journal of the Anthropological Institute.

With his final list of subjects, Dr Hastings was at last ready to make an actual beginning. The men chosen by his committee of twenty were commissioned to write, and the treatment of their manuscripts makes our next topic. Each manuscript as it is received is read by Dr Hastings himself, by Dr Selbie (late minister at Maryculter), his chief assistant, and a fellow-student of Dr Hastings, and, thirdly, by Miss Macdonald, one of Dr Hastings' home staff. Their corrections are incorporated in four type-written copies, one of which is sent to the author, who sees the suggestions made; another is sent to Dr Selbie, who is also resident in Aberdeen; a third is kept by Dr Hastings; and a fourth is sent to his American sub-editor, Dr Gray, a graduate of Harvard, and a distinguished student of Persian religions.



These four copies are again gathered, and all corrections incorporated on a clean copy, which is sent to the printer. Dr Hastings' publisher has all along been T. & T. Clarke (sic), of Edinburgh, and his printers, with one exception, have been Morrison and Gibb, of Edinburgh. The technical work is of special difficulty. The Encyclopaedia is printed in two types, one for important and one for minor articles, while the utmost care must be exercised with italics, brackets, cross references, and a thousand minor details which demand the most expert handling. Messrs Morrison and Gibb retain a staff of specially qualified men, who do nothing but print for Dr Hastings.

The printer gives eight 'proofs' of these articles, and two go to each of the four persons already mentioned. The same process of correction is again gone through, but now a truly herculean task is undertaken.

We have seen the thoroughness of every detail so far, but now comes the most remarkable process of all. Every statement, without any exception, is verified. Names of men, names of books, dates, quotations - all have to pass the ordeal of corroboration. If a quotation cannot be found through the book being unprocurable, then the author is asked to verify its accuracy. This is merely an instance of the minute care taken in the preparation of this work, by far the greatest portion of which is effected by the aid of the magnificent library Dr Hastings has gathered together. Four University graduates conduct this work, and the greatest possible accuracy is attained. When sixteen pages of matter have been in this way prepared, the printer provides what is called a 'sheet'. This sheet is again examined by Dr Hastings, and corrections made. A second proof is provided, and generally a third to 'make assurance doubly sure'.

One noteworthy aspect of the work has yet to be noted. Theological authorities are not all English-speaking, and many of the articles sent in are written in foreign tongues. These have to be translated. French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Swedish, Danish, Turkish, and many more have all to be rendered into readable idiomatic English. Dr Hastings now has practically one person for each language. French, for example, is translated by one of his home staff; German by Dr Grieve, of Glasgow; and Russian by the Professor of Russian at Cambridge.<sup>188</sup>

In view of the many people involved in the editorial process, the greatest compliment to Hastings' acumen and commitment to the project was perhaps that paid by Robertson Nicoll, who felt that his friend had stamped his image on all the work he had edited. 'To what extent he has revised the articles sent to him, how much he

may have suggested of the lines of treatment, we do not know, but we are certain that his own moderate and quiet spirit has touched the whole life of the Encyclopaedia, and that in every part.'<sup>189</sup>  
 'He had not a little of the power ... of seeming to write all his volumes by himself.'<sup>190</sup>

#### 4. His publishers, T. & T. Clark

With the exception of the Speakers' Bible, which was published from Aberdeen, all Hastings' works were issued by T. & T. Clark. As we have seen in the main text his plans and approach readily harmonised with the Clarks' strategy: if it is difficult to imagine how his work could have been effectively issued other than by T. & T. Clark, who gave it unswerving commitment backed by capital, it is equally difficult to imagine how the firm would have developed had it not been for the works by Hastings which for many years were one of their chief pre-occupations.

Each party realised the debt owed to the other. According to A.J. Gossip, Hastings was 'really moved' by his gratitude to the Clarks for all the opportunities they had given him;<sup>191</sup> for his part, John M. Clark was conscious of all the firm owed to Hastings, both for the work he himself produced, and for his contribution to the Clark publishing programme by occasionally suggesting books for publication, and by favourably reviewing Clark titles where he felt such reviews were justified. Wrote Clark 'My brother and I are most grateful to you for all the help and advice you so kindly give us.'<sup>192</sup>

The relationship between editor and publisher ripened into deep friendship. The final volume of the Encyclopaedia of Religion and



Ethics has what Robertson Nicoll called 'the brief and significant dedication',<sup>193</sup> 'To Sir John Maurice Clark, Baronet, Publisher and Friend.' After Hastings' death, Sir John paid a similar tribute: 'I have lost a very dear friend with whom I have always had the happiest business relations.'<sup>194</sup> That relationship was not without its problems and misunderstandings, but it was never seriously threatened, since both parties were quick to be conciliatory. Thus, for example, Sir John wrote to Hastings in 1904, following a misunderstanding:

I am grateful to you for writing to me so frankly. Please always do so if there is anything which leads you to think that there has been the slightest misunderstanding between us: for I am sure that half-more than half-the troubles & breaches of friendship in this life are due simply to misunderstandings.<sup>195</sup>

Hastings had earlier summed up his attitude to his publishers in print as follows:

We have found, in spite of all that is said against modern trade, and especially the publishing trade, that there are men who can and do conduct their business as 'always in the great Taskmaster's eye'<sup>196</sup>

E: An integrated life

1. The working life

It was almost inevitable that tensions would arise in Hastings' life between the demands of the pastoral and the literary dimensions of his ministry. This section examines his statements of motivation in an attempt to understand how he handled these tensions, and what priority he assigned to the different facets of his life's work. The key to a proper understanding of his vision of his role may be found, perhaps, in a telling comment he made at the celebration held to mark his semi-jubilee in the ministry. He was reported



then as saying that 'he chose to be an editor, but he was called to the ministry, and he had not forgotten that.'<sup>197</sup> According to the available evidence, how accurately does that sentence describe his motivation and his priorities?

Once again, the bulk of the extant data relate to his years at the Willison Free Church in Dundee. When he first heard that a call was likely to be presented to him by the Willison congregation, he was less than enthusiastic: 'everything seemed to me to be against [the call] and nothing in its favour.'<sup>198</sup> He listed several reasons which, he felt, would make it unlikely that he would accept the call to Dundee. He was 'comfortable' at Kinneff, and thought that he had still some work to do there. He felt for some reason that, as he put it, 'the Willison congregation thought when they were calling me that they were in reality calling another man': specifically, he seems to have doubted that the Willison congregation was aware of the nature of his preaching, and to have felt that, had they known his approach, they would not have wanted him.<sup>199</sup> Another reason for his reluctance to consider the possibility of a move to Willison was his awareness of the size of that charge, and the vastly-increased workload which the move would entail. 'I felt the weight of the larger sphere which I was proposed to be called to.' A final reason for remaining at Kinneff was directly related to the literary dimension of his ministry. 'I believed that the work I was doing in a literary way would not be so efficiently done if I had charge of a large city congregation as that of Willison is.' The Kinneff congregation, anxious to marshal as many reasons as possible against Hastings' translation, saw this as the key one.

It was felt at Kinneff that if he were to move, his literary work would, inevitably, suffer, and that therefore 'his translation to Willison Church would be a loss to the Church at large.'<sup>200</sup>

Hastings, in his mid-forties, was at a crucial turning-point. On the one hand there was Kinneff, where he had served for fourteen years, where he was greatly appreciated and at home, where he felt there was a work to be done by him, and where he had the necessary time to pursue his editorial enterprises; on the other hand there was Willison, largely an unknown factor, its response to him open to question, the one certain thing about the offered charge being the greatly-increased workload involved, a workload which would leave less time for literature.

What factors changed his mind? There was, firstly, the perseverance and importunity of the Willison vacancy committee, who pressed on even when Hastings gave them little encouragement. But secondly, there was the realisation that if 'the larger sphere' would bring additional burdens and responsibilities, it would also bring greater opportunities. His prime aim in life was to preach - 'I believe that I have a message to deliver, and I never feel so happy as when I am delivering that message from the pulpit' - and were he to go to Dundee he would be reaching more people with that message than he had ever done at Kinneff. Related to this point was the fact that he had clarification from Willison about the acceptability of his preaching to that church. When he realised that 'they had a pretty clear notion of the sort of preaching [he] was likely to give them if [he] were called to Willison' a major obstacle in his mind to the translation was removed. A third factor in changing his mind was



the realisation that the work-load would not be so heavy as he had expected. 'I saw then that the work would not probably be so absolutely engrossing as I thought at first it would be.' Probably, he was promised full support in his pastoral duties from the office-bearers of the church. Three years later, in leaving Willison, he was quick to praise them for their consideration in 'trying to relieve me of as much of the work as they could.'<sup>201</sup> It is obvious that he initially felt that the Willison pastorate would be so arduous as to leave him no time for writing, for, having formed this revised impression of the extent of the work-load which awaited him in Dundee, he could comment 'I came to see that it might be possible for me to continue the work I am presently engaged in even although I might be in charge of this large congregation.' But while it was vital for him to ensure in going to Dundee that sufficient time would be available for him to complete the Dictionary of the Bible, there is some indication that he was willing, at this point, to consider scaling down his literary ministry in favour of his pastoral ministry. It was said of him that he was 'anxious to be more of a preacher.'<sup>202</sup> a fourth factor in changing his mind over Willison may well have been a desire to commit himself more totally to preaching. His induction sermon at Dundee significantly took as its text Isaiah 61:1 - 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek.'<sup>203</sup> So while it is difficult for us to imagine that the fertile mind of James Hastings could ever have ceased to plan and execute literary works, it would seem that, in 1898, he foresaw a cutting-back in this area. On leaving Willison, he said, discussing his attitude to his literary work in 1898 that 'it seemed probable then that the heavier part of it would have been



finished by this time.'<sup>204</sup> So his move to Willison was made easier by a realisation that he would have available more time than he had anticipated for literary work, and by a desire to put the major emphasis on the preaching aspect of his ministry.<sup>205</sup> But the fifth, and ultimately most compelling factor affecting Hastings' attitude to the call from Willison was a sense of divine mission arising from the virtual unanimity with which it was issued. He found the effect of receiving this call 'simply overwhelming' at a time when he was perplexed about what his next step should be. 'I feel I am not at liberty to refuse it; I feel that it carries not only a large number of names; I feel it is not merely a matter of lengthy manuscript; but I feel ... that every name carries a beating heart and a very earnest prayer, and also I firmly believe that the call carries with it the voice of God.' And so, whether in joyful obedience, or, as the Kinneff congregation felt 'through a stern sense of duty',<sup>206</sup> Hastings decided to accept the call to Dundee, seeing it as clearly being the will of God for him, content that the Dundee congregation were aware of the style of ministry he would bring with him, and challenged by the prospect of a wider audience for his preaching. But doubts very probably still lingered as to his capacity to shoulder this larger burden as well as his extensive literary commitments.

There is very little data with bearing on Hastings' integration of the literary and pastoral facets of his ministry while at the Willison Church. Clearly, the Willison years were extremely busy ones: he could, for example, comment to his congregation in June 1900<sup>207</sup> 'This month completes two years of our fellowship as pastor and people. They seem the two longest years of my life, not because they have

been dull, but just for the very opposite reason.' Clearly, too, he neglected neither his pastoral work (witness the visitation programme), nor his editorial duties (witness the continued progress of the Dictionary of the Bible). How much this commitment cost him, we will never know.

Although he obviously let it be known to his friends that the Willison pastorate was proving a burden to him, the fact that he announced, in September 1901, detailed plans for his preaching at the Prayer Meeting over the winter months 1901-02<sup>208</sup> would suggest that he was not at that point considering the possibility of a rapid translation to a less onerous charge. And when calls were received from St Cyrus and Stow, he does not appear to have eagerly grasped at the opportunities of escape they afforded without carefully considering the issues.

In his pastoral letter to the congregation, dated 2 October 1901<sup>209</sup> he outlined the current state of his thinking. The calls had been received; he did not yet see the way ahead, and asked for the sympathy and prayers of the congregation 'so that [he might] be guided to a decision in accordance with the will of God.' He was certain that his interpretation of the initial call to Willison as being in line with God's will had been correct; his ministry there had been both an enjoyable and a fruitful one; but there were two factors which predisposed him to consider the new calls favourably. The first concerned his literary work. It did not interfere with, but rather enhanced his preaching, but it was highly time-consuming. And while in 1898 he had expected that his involvement in this area would decrease, this had not come about. But the second, and to him crucial, factor in the decision about leaving Willison concerned



his state of health. The pastoral work at the church had been 'overtaxing his strength', and he felt that, if he stayed in Dundee, he would be unable to do as much pastoral work in the future as he had done in the past, and God's work would suffer. It might have been argued that, had Hastings given up some of his literary responsibilities, he would have had more time and energy for pastoral work, but, perhaps due to a deep and unacknowledged sense of the priority of his editorial activities, he did not see things that way. Even if he had had no literary commitments, he claimed, he would still have found the pastoral duties at the Willison Church overtaxing: 'it had been too heavy for him, even if he had no work other than the ordinary duties of the post.'<sup>210</sup> By the time he was writing to his congregation, Hastings had almost certainly virtually made up his mind that it was right for him to leave Dundee. The Willison membership would not be surprised to learn that he had accepted the call to St Cyrus.

In going to Dundee, then, had he over-estimated his own capacity for work, and failed to combine successfully the two aspects of his ministry? And in leaving was he putting the emphasis on his literary, rather than his pastoral work? The church at St Cyrus felt that 'it was impossible for him to go on with his literary work and at the same time do the work falling upon him in connection with such a large city congregation.'<sup>211</sup> But the Dundee church, it seems, felt that his pastoral work had not been affected: 'Dr Hastings left the church larger than ever it was, stronger than ever it was, and better fitted for the work it had to do. It had not suffered from Dr Hastings' literary work.' And on the other hand T. & T. Clark and the theological journals testified that the quality of his



literary work had not suffered from his pastoral duties. He clearly felt, however, that the time had come when he could no longer continue to do both effectively. He had been called to the Willison Church, and had carried through a fruitful ministry there, but, even if he had abandoned his literary work, he did not consider that he would have been able to continue prosecuting his pastoral duties with the vigour they demanded. Consequently, he was drawn towards a smaller charge, where he could cope with the demands on his energy, and still have time for literary projects. It is hard not to feel, however, that the underlying, perhaps subconscious motive, lay in an awareness that his literary work was of wider, and more lasting importance to the Church at large than his pastoral ministry.<sup>212</sup>

But, outwardly at least, he seems to have held to the position that, whereas he came to editing by choice (and, by implication, could give it up by choice) he came to the pulpit with a sense of divine calling. The fullest statement of his exalted view of the Christian ministry is to be found in the text of his Charge to the Rev James Cameron, of Bonnethill Free Church, Dundee, at his ordination. This was reprinted in the Willison Free Church news-sheet for March 1900, together with a comment from Hastings which permits us to read it as a statement of his attitude to his own ministry: 'It lets you see what I consider a minister's work to be. It tells you what I am trying to be myself.' Cameron was told that in entering the ministry he had both chosen, and been chosen for a unique occupation: he had been set apart to be 'a saviour of men's souls'. This did not mean that he had been separated from his fellow-men, with their temptations and responsibilities, rather that he had been separated from all other occupations. The Christian religion was unique in

setting apart men for the single purpose of saving souls, unique in recognising lost souls as worth saving, and unique in having the power to save them. Cameron would only be able to prove his right to follow his occupation by saving souls. To do that, he must have a gospel to preach, a biblical gospel of judgement and mercy, offering a salvation which saves to the uttermost. And such a gospel could only be preached in the context of a deep and on-going study of the Bible. Hastings' closing paragraph seems to apply particularly to his own situation:

Your work in life is to be delivering a message. You will find that message in the Bible. But you will never make the mistake of running to the Bible for the message you are about to deliver. You will be a student of the Bible. You will study it prayerfully, systematically, and in every part. You will gather the very spirit of the Bible into you. You will persevere with your study until the Word of Christ dwells in you richly in all wisdom. Then, whilst each occasion has its own message specially provided for, the message will be far more than that of immediate preparation. It will be a message touched with the largeness of the Bible itself, and fitted, even beyond your own experience, though your experience will be steadily growing, to meet the case and catch the sympathy of every man, woman, and child who hears you. Be a student of the Bible, broadly, thoroughly, naturally; be also a man of prayer and self-denial, watching for souls as one who has to give account; and there is almost no success that I would not dare to predict for you.

With this sense of calling and commitment, Hastings approached his own ministry; but the editorial labours in which he chose to involve himself were in many ways an extension of this, for they aimed at encouraging a similar informed, enriching, biblical ministry in pulpits around the world.

## 2. The private life

Hastings' dual ministries consumed much of his time, but what of his private life? In 1884, the year of his ordination, he married Ann Wilson, daughter of the late Alexander Forsyth Wilson, corn-merchant,



of Elgin. The wedding took place in Elgin Parish Church on 26 June, and was conducted by the Rev Robert MacPherson.<sup>213</sup> She was, according to one account at least,

an ideal partner; and that, not merely on the personal and household side, but a woman whose acute mind with its breadth and its very marked business capacities, and its real knowledge of theology, and its unfailing interest in intellectual things kept putting its full weight in all his enterprises; and whose character and humour were an unfailing delight to him.<sup>214</sup>

The Hastings had two of a family: Edward Hastings, who graduated M.A. in 1913 and followed his father into the ministry,<sup>215</sup> and Ann Wilson Hastings ('Nan'), who graduated M.A. in 1915, and worked for a time as one of H.M. Inspectors of Factories at Manchester.<sup>216</sup>

Ann contributed an article to the final volume of the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,<sup>217</sup> and on Hastings' death, both his offspring assumed responsibility for editing the Expository Times.

For Hastings, 'there were no holidays, or next to none', according to William Robertson Nicoll.<sup>218</sup> This is something of an exaggeration: while at the Willison Church, for example, he took his annual month's leave each August, and while these holidays were no doubt not free from other work, they at least provided a refreshing change of scene. In 1898, he spent August in Yorkshire; in 1899, he was at Kirkmichael; in 1900 at Boat of Garten; in 1901 near Aviemore.<sup>219</sup> A journey to Switzerland in August 1914 was interrupted at Paris by the outbreak of war, and the return to London was tedious and difficult.<sup>220</sup> In 1920, the family holiday was to Kingussie.<sup>221</sup>

Cricket would appear to have been Hastings' foremost recreation.

A.J. Gossip claimed that 'he worked in a little annual holiday in England solely in order to see something better than our amateurish Scottish stuff, though that, too, interested him hugely.'<sup>222</sup>



Another writer held that, for Hastings, 'cricket was a positive passion.'<sup>223</sup> In Who's Who, he listed his recreations as being cricket and cycling. The sources make it clear that he played as well as watched cricket, and that he similarly took part in lawn tennis, golf, and bowls.<sup>224</sup>

Here was no arid intellectual, but a man who led a rounded life.

### 3. The inner life

'He had northern grit and love of learning. And he had the love of God and goodness in his heart.'<sup>225</sup> These words of tribute to Hastings were published, along with many others, immediately after his death. The immediacy of his death, and the inevitable emotional involvement of those who contributed the obituary notices and tributes meant that reflections on his character and temperament were almost certainly coloured. But if it is difficult to determine, from these tributes, the personality of James Hastings in all its fulness, it is worthwhile examining the descriptions we have been left in an attempt to see him as he was seen by some of his contemporaries.

It would seem to have been generally recognised that his was a living faith. A.J. Gossip pointed out how easy it was for a scholar, spending all his days contemplating critical questions, and matters of theological technique to lose something of the spontaneous wonder of a simple faith in Christ, and then went on to comment that the simplicity of Hastings' faith was never shaken.<sup>226</sup> Other friends made the same point.

This living faith . was apparently put into practice in daily life by Hastings, and gave purpose, direction and integration to all his doings. 'His hands found many things to do, and he did them

with all his might, because always his conscience claimed his very best from him, and because always he was offering it to Jesus Christ.'<sup>227</sup> This living faith also produced the Christlikeness of character to which tribute was paid, Gossip going so far as to say that Hastings 'had a real resemblance to the typical Christ of Art.'<sup>228</sup> One writer could 'say soberly, from an intimate acquaintance of many years, that [he had] known no man who incarnated in a higher degree the Christian spirit'.<sup>229</sup> Specific virtues were singled out: his humility - 'It never occurred to him to think he was a great man.'<sup>230</sup> 'He moved among us with such humility that it was easy to forget there was a giant in our midst;'<sup>231</sup> his common touch - 'he had the gift of graciously listening to the most ignorant talkers, leading them to feel that he enjoyed their opinions and that they were worth having;'<sup>232</sup> his gentleness, patience and the unhurrying tranquility with which he approached his work;<sup>233</sup> his vision, business acumen and persistence;<sup>234</sup> his thoroughness - the phrase 'a genius for taking pains' was applied to him;<sup>235</sup> his strong convictions - he was broadminded in championing the cause of theological freedom in the evangelical church,<sup>236</sup> and equally firm in opposing things of which he disapproved, such as spiritualism;<sup>237</sup> an absence of negative qualities - 'He had nothing little about him, no egotism, no envy, no harsh judging.'<sup>238</sup> In all the material consulted by the present author, no comments have been found which reflect adversely

239

on Hastings' character. In writing his appreciation, F.J. Rae was aware of the convention of saying nothing critical of the dead, but wanted it to be clearly understood that he was avoiding criticism not because of the convention, but because there was nothing critical to be said. We must take him at his word. 'I suppose that 'de



mortuus nil nisi bonum' applies even to a friend's tribute to a friend. But it is the simple truth that Dr Hastings was a man of whom I could say nothing ill if I tried.'

F: Conclusions

James Hastings' achievements were recognised both formally and informally in his lifetime. He was awarded an Honorary D.D. from Aberdeen University in 1897,<sup>240</sup> and an Honorary D.D. from Halifax University, Nova Scotia in 1920.<sup>241</sup> In 1913, as has been noted, he was awarded the Dyke Acland medal for his involvement in popularising exact knowledge of the Bible. The only other Scot to receive this distinction, at least in Hastings' lifetime, was George Adam Smith.<sup>242</sup> He was also a Fellow of the Anthropological Institute, and a member of the General Council of the Palestine Exploration Society.<sup>243</sup>

Informal recognition was expressed by his colleagues, his publishers, and by those reviewers (apparently the majority) who were in sympathy with his aims. On the publication of the final volume of the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Agnes Mure MacKenzie wrote to him as follows:

May I offer my congratulations on the completion of the E.R.E. Exegisti monumentum aere splendidius - if you will forgive such a mangling of poor Horace.<sup>244</sup>

The Latin phrase expresses MacKenzie's tribute to Hastings: 'You have completed a memorial more splendid [brilliant, magnificent] than bronze.'

On his death, the obituarists were for the most part aware of, and in sympathy with his desire to show that the higher criticism was not incompatible with evangelical belief, and largely considered



that he had been successful in fulfilling this aim. He was said, through his works to have 'lit a candle in a very dark place.'<sup>245</sup>

James Moffat summarised his contribution to theology as follows:

The cause of theological freedom in the evangelical Church, in particular, owes a heavy debt to the editorial enterprises which he carried through, and although his own writing was mainly unsigned in his magazine, he saw to it that by the books he persuaded others to write, and by the reviews he either wrote or had written for him, the truth of Christianity was not impaired or narrowed. It is beyond question that he did sound service to the cause of Biblical criticism and theological advance during the past quarter of a century. The popularity which he won was gained by a steady adherence to the beliefs of Christianity, interpreted by the fresh results of criticism; men came to see that he knew how these could be held without evasion, and that he was ready to put the best available information at the disposal of not only scholars but his fellow ministers. He steered a steady course between caution and rashness, and he showed many ministers how to teach and preach the larger views of Christianity persuasively and brightly.<sup>246</sup>

This view was later shared by William Fulton of Trinity College, Glasgow, who applied to Hastings words which Hastings himself had originally written of the late Sir Thomas Clark:

Scotland probably owes him more than can ever be acknowledged. For Scotland has passed through a great theological crisis with extraordinary ease and benefit, and the steady, evangelical, yet never intolerant hand that more than any other guided the theological reading of Scotland these trying years had not a little to do with it. And not Scotland only. England and America have claimed him as their own.<sup>247</sup>

Hastings retained his mental acuity to the end. He died, suddenly and unexpectedly, on Sunday, 15 October 1922.<sup>248</sup> The funeral took place from Beechgrove United Free Church, Aberdeen on Wednesday, 18 October. Taking part in the service were Principal Sir George Adam Smith and Professor Cowan of Aberdeen University, Professor Selbie of the United Free Church College, Aberdeen, and the Rev A.J. Gossip, minister of Beechgrove Church. Hastings' remains were later buried in Springbank Cemetery, Aberdeen.<sup>249</sup>

James Hastings and Sir William Robertson Nicoll, who was already unwell when his friend died, surviving him by just seven months, held the works of Christina Rossetti in high esteem, and of those works, the following, from the sequence Christ our all in all was a mutual favourite:<sup>250</sup>

How know I that it looms lovely that land I have never seen,  
 With morning-glories and heartsease and unexampled green,  
 With neither heat nor cold in the balm-redolent air?  
 Some of this, not all, I know; but this is so;  
 Christ is there.

How know I that blessedness befalls who dwell in Paradise,  
 The outwearied hearts refreshing, rekindling the worn-out eyes,  
 All souls singing, seeing, rejoicing everywhere?  
 Nay, much more than this I know; for this is so;  
 Christ is there.

O Lord Christ, Whom having not seen I love and desire to love,  
 O Lord Christ, Who lookest on me uncomely yet still Thy dove,  
 Take me to Thee in Paradise, Thine own made fair;  
 For whatever else I know, this thing is so;  
 Thou art there.<sup>251</sup>

Appendix CData on T. & T. Clark's advertising 1887-1895

The majority of the extant data on the Clarks' advertising policy are contained in the Advertisement Book 1886-1896,<sup>1</sup> which itemises the advertisements inserted in outside journals in respect of each title on the firm's list between 1887 and 1895, giving details of the journals used and the cost of each insertion. There are no corresponding records surviving for the years prior to 1887 or after 1895. This Appendix tabulates the data with bearing on five titles published in 1889, allowing us to examine the advertising expenditure on them over the first five years of their in-print life, and with bearing on one of the firm's major series, the Foreign Theological Library. From these tabulations, it should be possible to make some general observations about the firm's advertising policy.<sup>2</sup>

A: Examples of expenditure on individual titles



1. C.A. Briggs - Whither? A Theological Question for the Times

a) Advertising expenditure

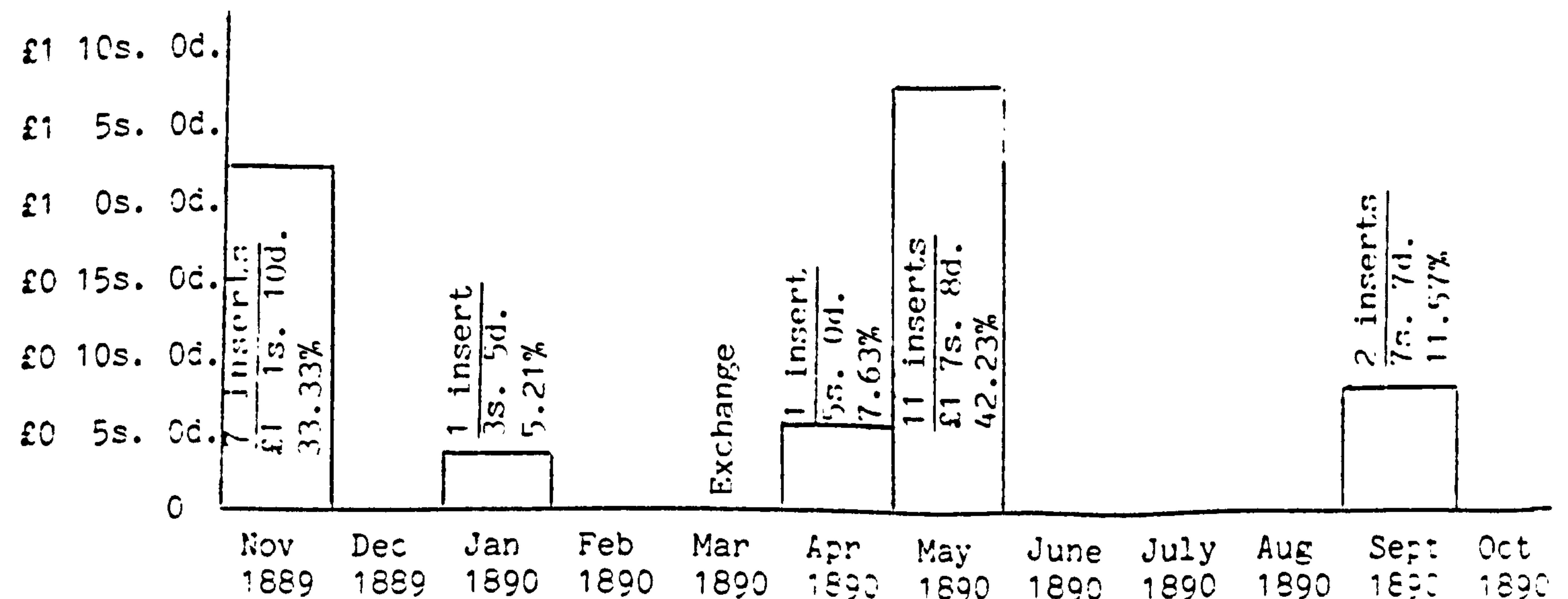
		Year of issue (1889-90)	1890-91	1891-92	1892-93	1893-94	1894-95
July	A B			1 £0 9s. 8d.			
Aug	A B						
Sept	A B		2 £0 7s. 7d.				
Oct	A B						
Nov	A B	5 £1 1s. 10d.		1 £0 3s. 6d.			
Dec	A B						
Jan	A B	1 £0 3s. 5d.					
Feb	A B						
Mar	A B	1 Exchange					
Apr	A B	1 £0 5s. 0d.					
May	A B	9 £1 7s. 8d.					3 £0 9s. 4d.
June	A B		1 £0 3s. 9d.				
Total	A B	13 £2 17s. 11d.	3 £0 11s. 4d.	2 £0 13s. 2d.			3 £0 9s. 4d.

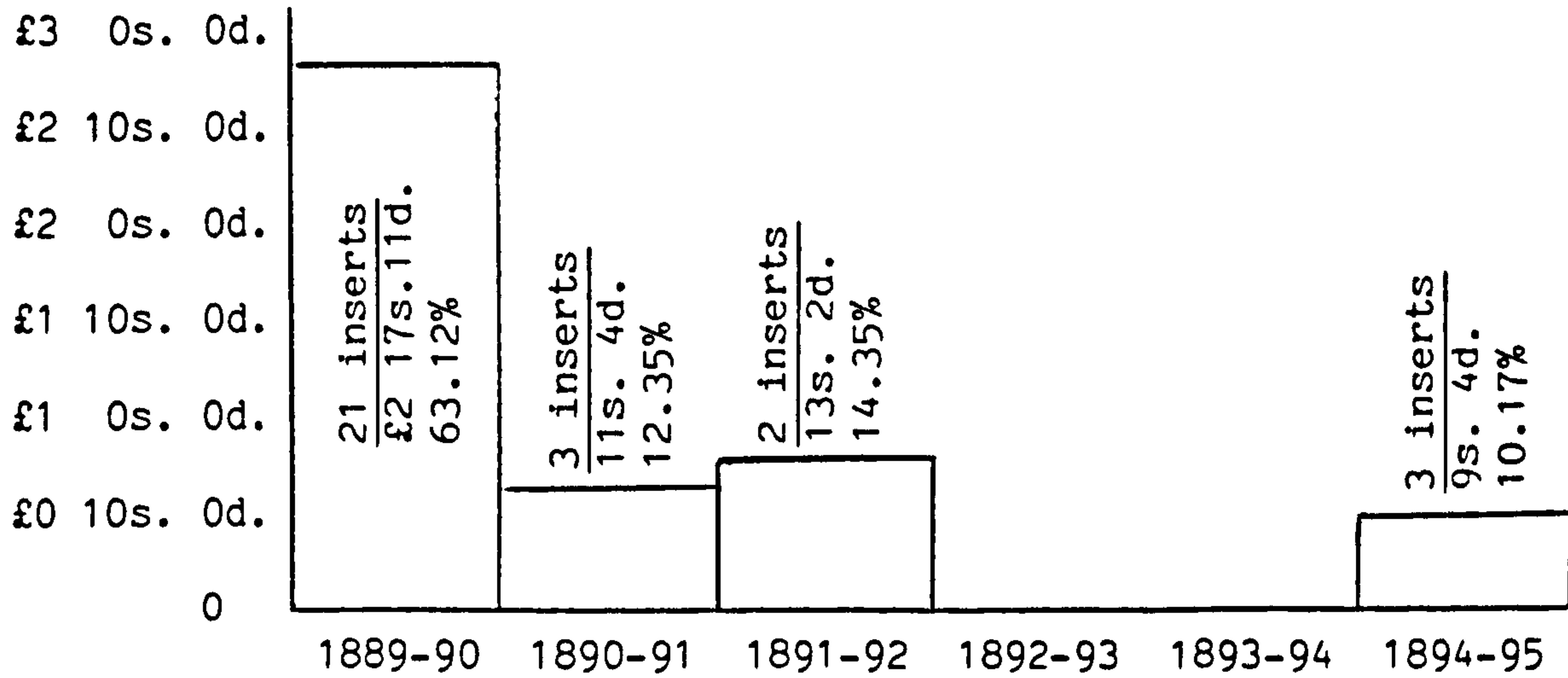
\* A = No. of periodicals used  
(not no. of insertions)  
B = Total expenditure

Total cost £4 11s. 9d.  
Total no. of periodicals used 17

b) Expenditure over the first twelve months after publication

(Total cost = £3 5s. 6d.)



c) Expenditure 1889-1895 (Total cost = £4 11s. 9d.)

Whither?, a one-volume work of American origin, was published at a nominal retail price of 7s. 6d. (trade price 5s. 8d.). The average cost of each advertisement inserted in the financial year during which the work was issued was 2s. 9d. The average cost per insertion in the next financial year was 3s. 9d.

2. A.B. Bruce - The Kingdom of Goda) Advertising expenditure

		Year of issue (1889-90)	1890-91	1891-92	1892-93	1893-94	1894-95
July	A				2		
	B				£0 3s. 6d.		
Aug	A						
	B						
Sept	A	4	1				
	B	£1 2s. 10d.	£0 2s. 0d.				
Oct	A	13	2	3	2		4
	B	£2 0s. 0d.	£0 5s. 11d.	£0 11s. 7d.	£0 9s. 0d.		£0 12s. 0d.
Nov	A	7	1	5	3		
	B	£1 5s. 6d.	£0 8s. 0d.	£0 9s. 4d.	£0 6s. 4d.		
Dec	A	3	1				
	B	£0 9s. 11d.	Exchange				
Jan	A	2	1	2			
	B	£0 7s. 11d.	£0 2s. 9d.	£0 13s. 0d.			
Feb	A	2	1				
	B	£0 5s. 9d.	£0 1s. 8d.				
Mar	A	9		2		1	
	B	£2 16s. 4d.		£0 5s. 5d.		Exchange	
Apr	A	1	1	1			
	B	£0 5s. 0d.	£0 2s. 6d.	£0 3s. 6d.			
May	A	12	6	2	2	1	1
	B	£2 4s. 7d.	£0 15s. 11d.	£0 8s. 5d.	£0 9s. 6d.	£0 1s. 6d.	£0 4s. 2d.
June	A	13	1		2		
	B	£2 9s. 2d.	£0 2s. 6d.		£0 5s. 9d.		
Total	A	36	15	14	10	2	7
	B	£13 7s. 0d.	£2 1s. 3d.	£2 11s. 3d.	£1 14s. 1d.	£0 1s. 6d.	£0 16s. 2d.

\* A = No. of periodicals used  
(not no. of insertions)

B = Total expenditure

Total cost  
Total no. of  
periodicals used

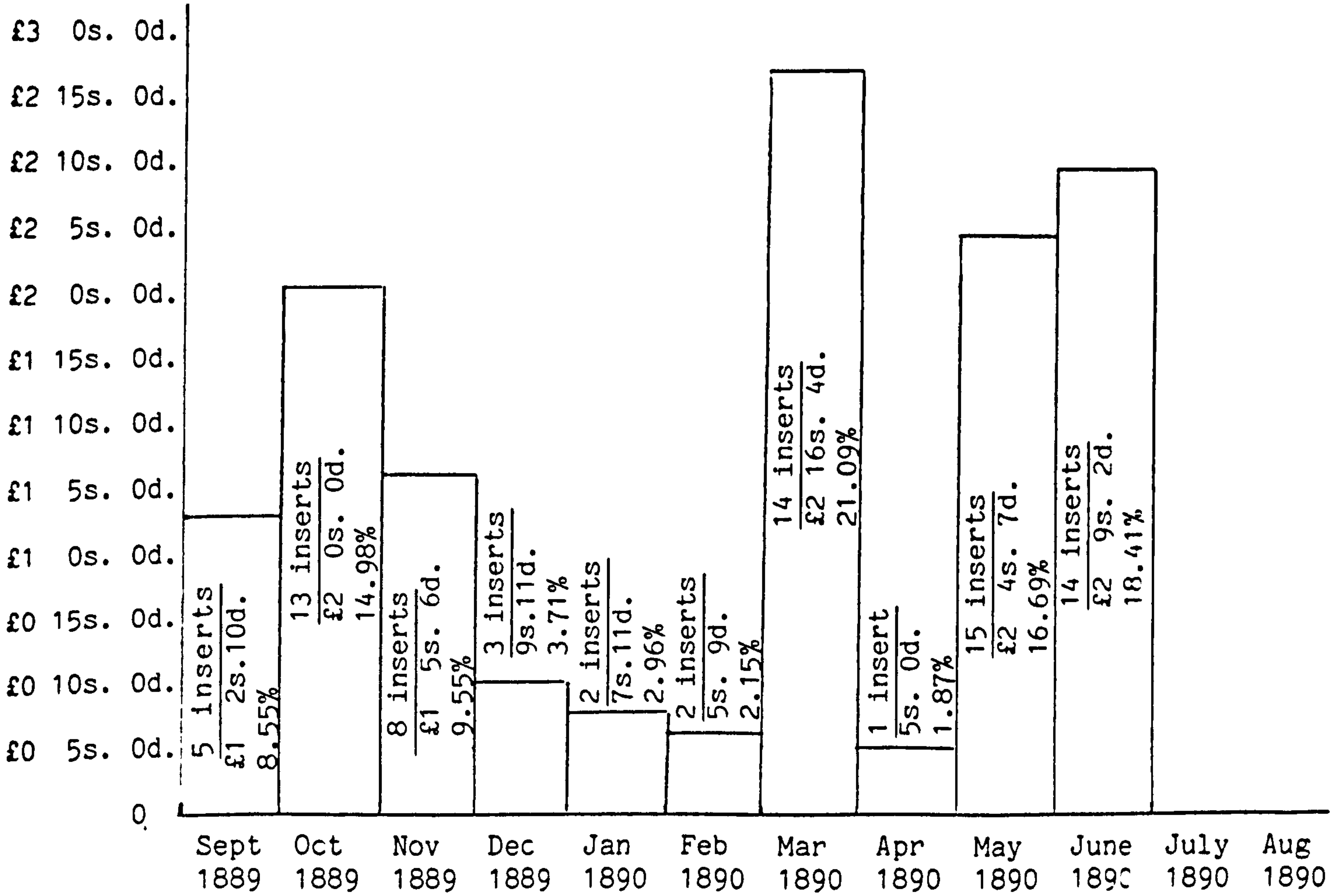
£20 11s. 3d.

52

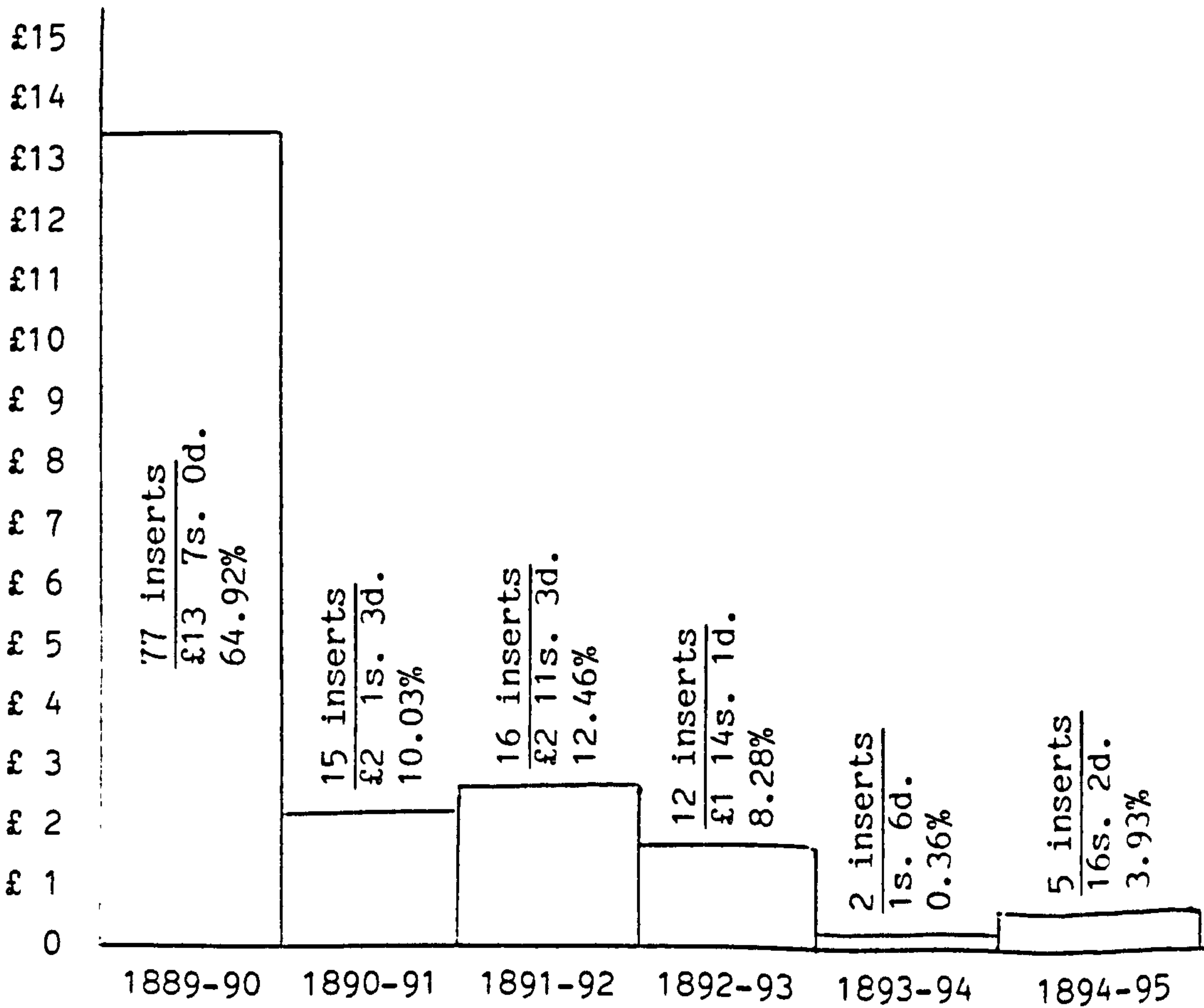


b) Expenditure over the first twelve months after publication

(Total cost = £13 7s. 0d.)



c) Expenditure 1889-95 (Total cost = £20 11s. 3d.)



The Kingdom of God, a work of Scottish origin, was published in one volume at a nominal retail price of 7s. 6d. (trade price 5s. 8d.).

The average cost of each advertisement inserted in the financial year during which the work was issued was 3s. 5d. The average cost per insertion in the next financial year was 2s. 9d.

3. F.J. Delitzsch Iris: Studies in Colour and Talks

about Flowers

a) Advertising expenditure

		Year of issue (1889-90)	1890-91	1891-92	1892-93	1893-94	1894-95
July	A						
	B				1 Exchange		
Aug	A						
	B						
Sept	A	6	1				
	B	£ 1 8s. 10d.	£ 0 2s. 1d.				
Oct	A	15	1	1	1		
	B	£ 3 16s. 1d.	£ 0 5s. 11d.	£ 0 6s. 3d.	£ 0 3s. 0d.		
Nov	A	8			1		
	B	£ 1 5s. 6d.			£ 0 3s. 0d.		
Dec	A	11	5				
	B	£ 1 10s. 7d.	£ 0 17s. 8d.				
Jan	A	2	1				
	B	£ 0 7s. 11d.	£ 0 2s. 9d.				
Feb	A	2					
	B	£ 0 7s. 8d.					
Mar	A	3		1	1		
	B	£ 0 5s. 7d.		£ 0 5s. 5d.	£ 0 3s. 0d.		
Apr	A	1					
	B	£ 0 5s. 0d.					
May	A	8					
	B	£ 0 13s. 8d.					
June	A						
	B						
Total	A	28	8	2	4		
	B	£ 10 0s. 10d.	£ 1 8s. 5d.	£ 0 11s. 8d.	£ 0 9s. 0d.		

\* A = No. of periodicals used  
(not no. of insertions)

B = Total expenditure

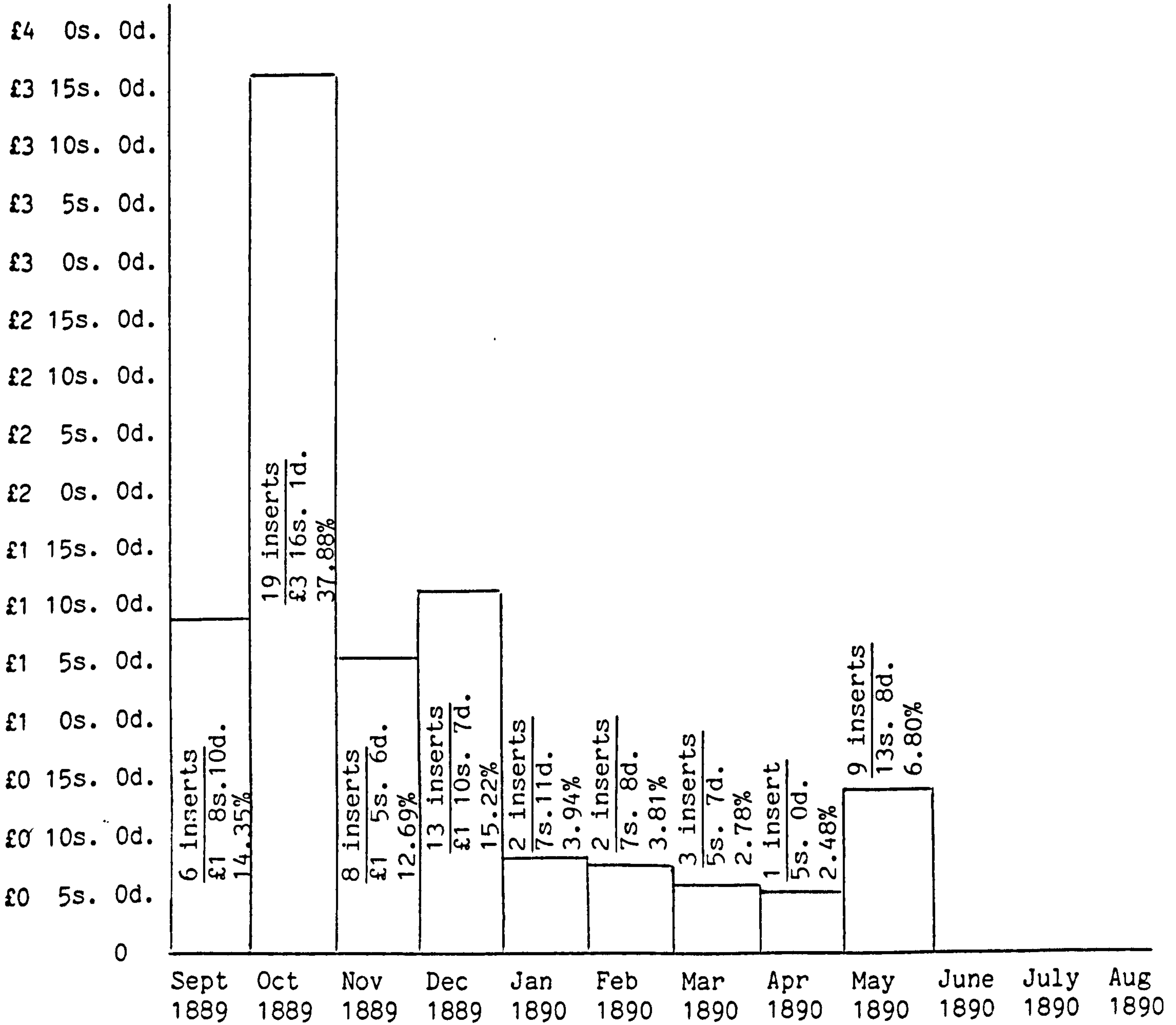
Total cost  
Total no. of  
periodicals used

£ 12 9s. 11d.

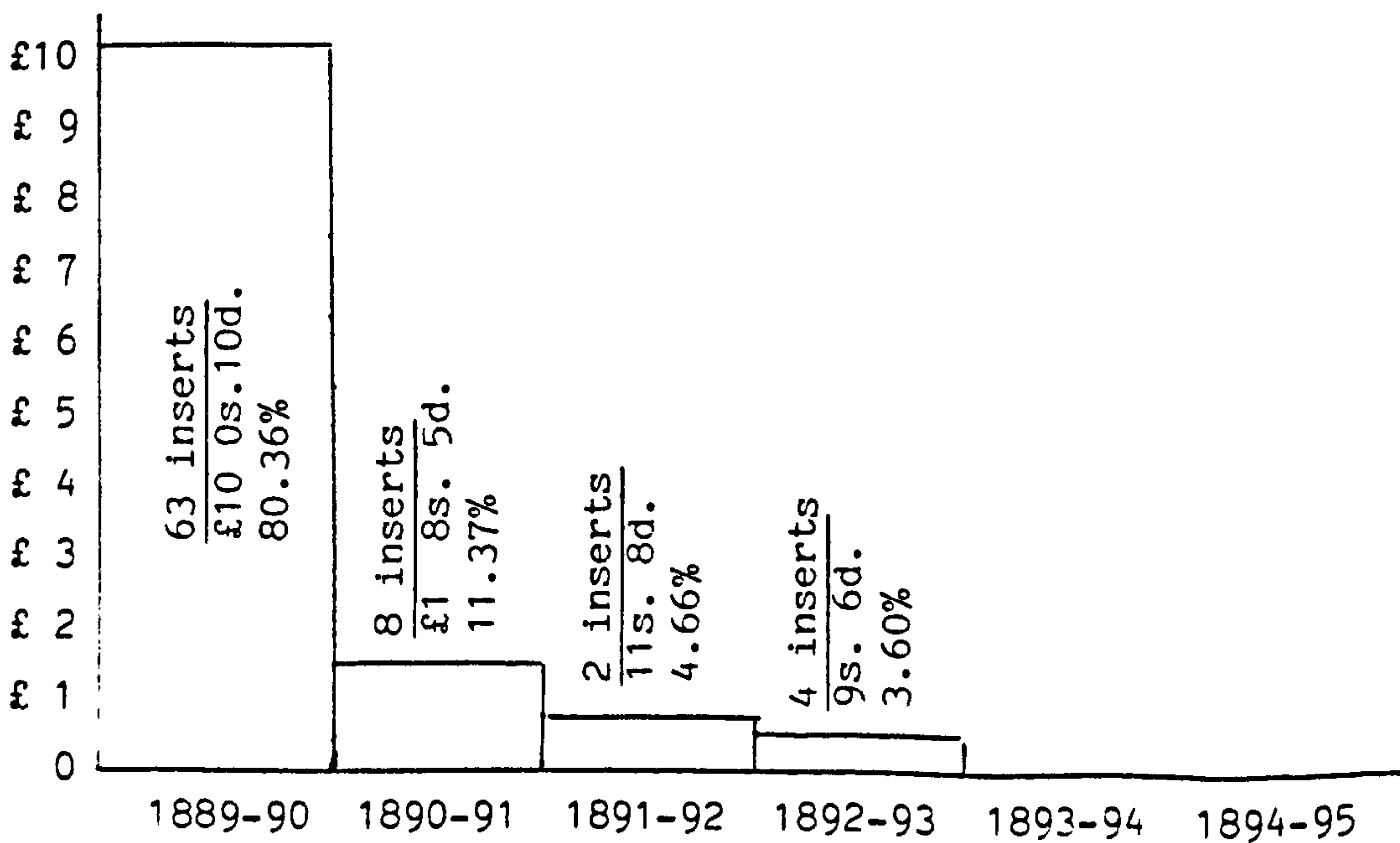
32

b) Expenditure over the first twelve months after publication

(Total cost = £10 0s.10d.)



c) Expenditure 1889-1895 (Total cost = £12 9s.11d.)





Iris, a one-volume translation from the German, was published at a nominal retail price of 6s. 0d. (trade price 4s. 6d.). The average cost of each advertisement inserted in the financial year during which the work was issued was 3s. 2d. The average cost per insertion in the next financial year was 3s. 7d.

4. Lichtenberger - History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century

a) Advertising expenditure

	Year of issue (1888-89)	1889-90	1890-91	1891-92	1892-93	1893-94	1894-95
July	A	4			1		1
	B	£0 16s. 3d.			Exchange		Exchange
Aug	A						
	B						
Sept	A	5	1				
	B	£1 2s. 2d.	£0 2s. 1d.				
Oct	A	11	2	1			
	B	£1 13s. 5d.	£0 5s. 11d.	2s. 7d.			
Nov	A	2	1				
	B	£0 6s. 5d.	£0 8s. 0d.				
Dec	A	1	1				3
	B	£0 3s. 0d.	Exchange				16s. 3d.
Jan	A	3	2				
	B	£0 12s. 11d.	£0 6s. 1d.				
Feb	A	2		1	2	3	
	B	£0 9s. 5d.	£0 4s. 8d.	5s. 9d.	3s. 4d.	£0 5s. 9d.	
Mar	A	20	1	2		2	
	B	£5 12s. 3d.	£0 3s. 11d.	5s. 5d.		£0 9s. 6d.	
Apr	A	9		1			
	B	£2 14s. 2d.		3s. 6d.			
May	A	4	11	1		2	
	B	£0 11s. 1d.	£1 4s. 7d.	Exchange		£0 6s. 1d.	
June	A	5	1	1		1	
	B	£1 7s. 8d.	£0 1s. 8d.	£0 1s. 8d.		£0 3s. 9d.	
Total	A	25	25	9	5	3	6
	B	£10 14s. 7d.	£6 5s. 1d.	£1 7s. 8d.	17s. 3d.	3s. 4d.	£1 5s. 1d.

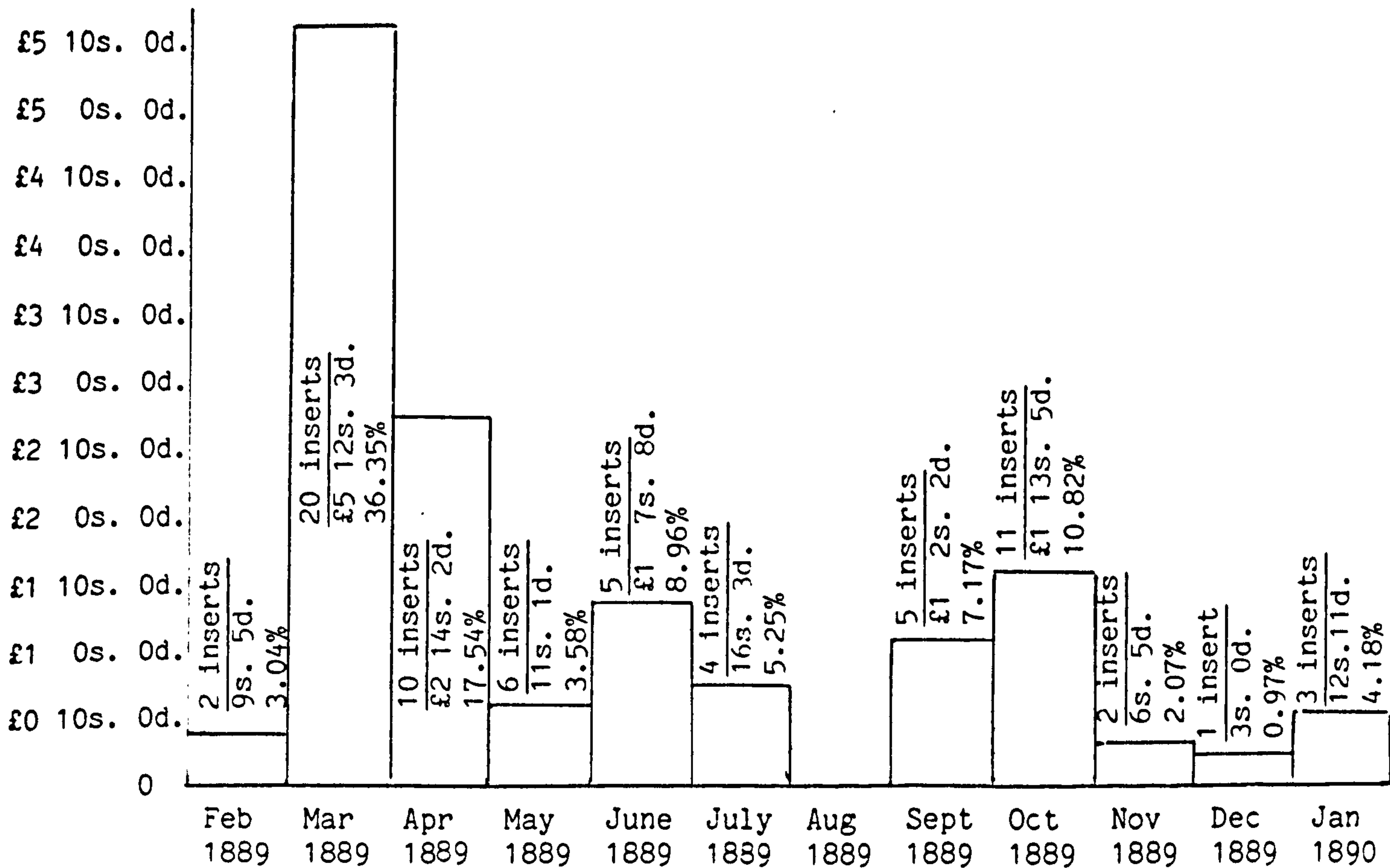
\* A = No. of periodicals used  
(not no. of insertions)

B = Total expenditure

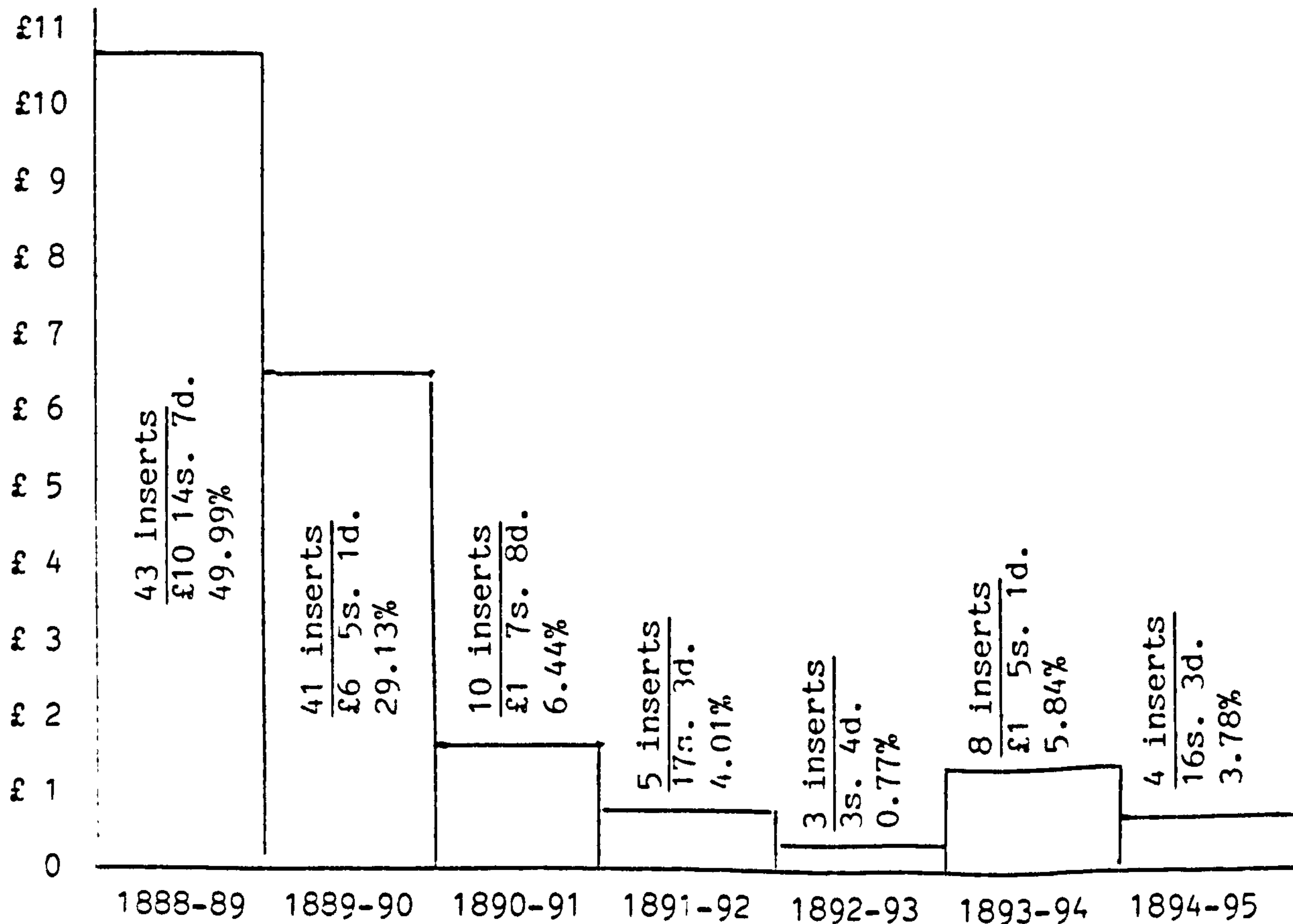
Total cost £21 9s. 3d.  
Total no. of periodicals used 42

b) Expenditure over the first twelve months after publication

(Total cost = £15 8s. 9d.)



c) Expenditure 1888-1895 (Total cost = £21 9s. 3d.)

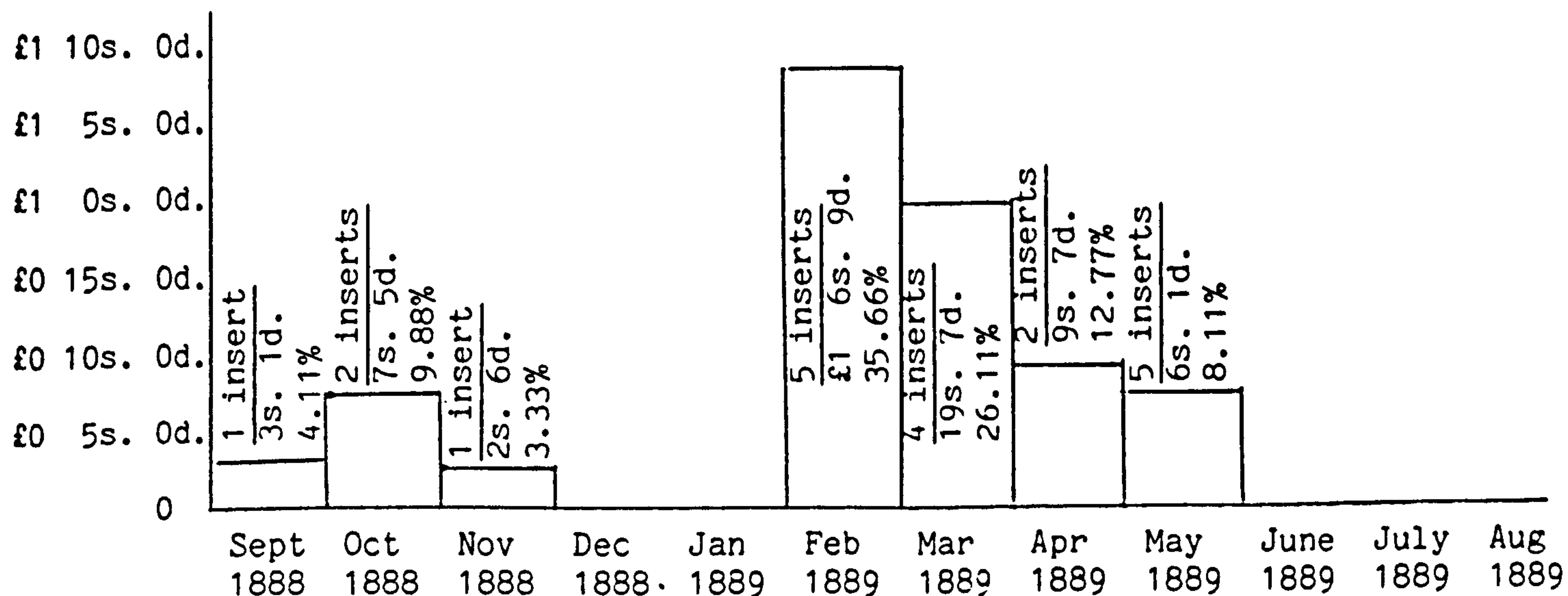






b) Expenditure over the first twelve months after publication

(Total cost = £3 15s. 0d.)



c) Expenditure 1888-1891 (Total cost = £5 1s. 4d.)



The Text of Jeremiah, a one-volume work of British origin, was published at a nominal retail price of 9s. 0d. (trade price 6s. 9d.). The average cost of each advertisement inserted in the financial year during which the work was issued was 3s. 9d. The average cost per insertion in the next financial year was 2s. 11d.

B: Example of expenditure on a continuing series

* #	1887-88	1888-89	1889-90	1890-91	1891-92	1892-93	1893-94	1894-95
July	A (First	2 £0 18s. 8d.	6 £2 10s. 1d.	2 £0 12s. 3d.	1 £0 7s. 0d.	2 £0 3s. 6d.	1 Exchange	1 Exchange
Aug	B five	4 £ 1 17s. 5d.	5 £1 10s. 10d.	3 £0 14s. 5d.	2 £0 10s. 1d.	2 £0 12s. 1d.	1 Exchange	1 Exchange
Sept	A months	3 £ 1 6s. 9d.	11 £2 8s. 8d.	14 £2 12s. 6d.	5 £1 16s. 10d.	5 £1 3s. 6d.	4 £1 7s. 8d.	1 £0 4s. 2d.
Oct	B £11 15s. 6d.	3 £ 1 0s. 9d.	3 £0 17s. 9d.	7 £4 14s. 2d.	6 £0 19s. 7d.	2 £0 6s. 10d.	3 £0 10s. 0d.	1 £0 3s. 3d.
Nov	A 6	7 £12 13s. 3d. <sup>†</sup>	1 £0 4s. 0d.	4 £1 3s. 0d.	1 £0 14s. 7d.	1 £0 12s. 0d.	1 £0 7s. 2d.	3 £0 9s. 3d.
Dec	B £ 3 19s. 4d.	3 £ 0 10s. 11d.	4 £1 11s. 6d.	2 £0 11s. 9d.	3 £2 10s. 8d.	1 £0 5s. 0d.	2 £3 3s. 4d.	
Jan	A 5	7 £ 1 16s. 11d.	4 £1 15s. 4d.	7 £3 6s. 10d.	1 £0 9s. 0d.	1 £0 9s. 0d.	6 £3 9s. 3d.	
Feb	B £ 1 7s. 8d.	6 £ 5 9s. 10d.	2 £0 10s. 3d.	12 £3 14s. 2d.	2 £4 0s. 5d.	1 £0 5s. 0d.	3 £0 6s. 0d.	2 £0 13s. 0d.
Mar	A 11	5 £ 2 7s. 4d.	1 £0 15s. 0d.	2 £0 2s. 6d.	1 £0 10s. 6d.	1 £0 5s. 0d.	1 Exchange	
Apr	B £ 5 4s. 2d.	5 £ 1 3s. 0d.	1 £0 1s. 10d.	9 £1 18s. 0d.	3 £0 9s. 4d.	6 £0 13s. 2d.	6 £0 13s. 2d.	3 £0 4s. 3d.
May	A 7	9 £ 6 5s. 7d.	1 £0 2s. 0d.	2 £0 10s. 0d.	1 £0 3s. 11d.	1 £0 3s. 11d.	1 £0 3s. 8d.	
June	B £ 1 13s. 1d.	31 £35 10s. 5d.	25 £12 7s. 3d.	33 £19 19s. 7d.	17 £12 11s. 11d.	13 £3 7s. 11d.	19 £10 0s. 3d.	12 £1 13s. 11d.
Total	A £31 4s. 5d.							

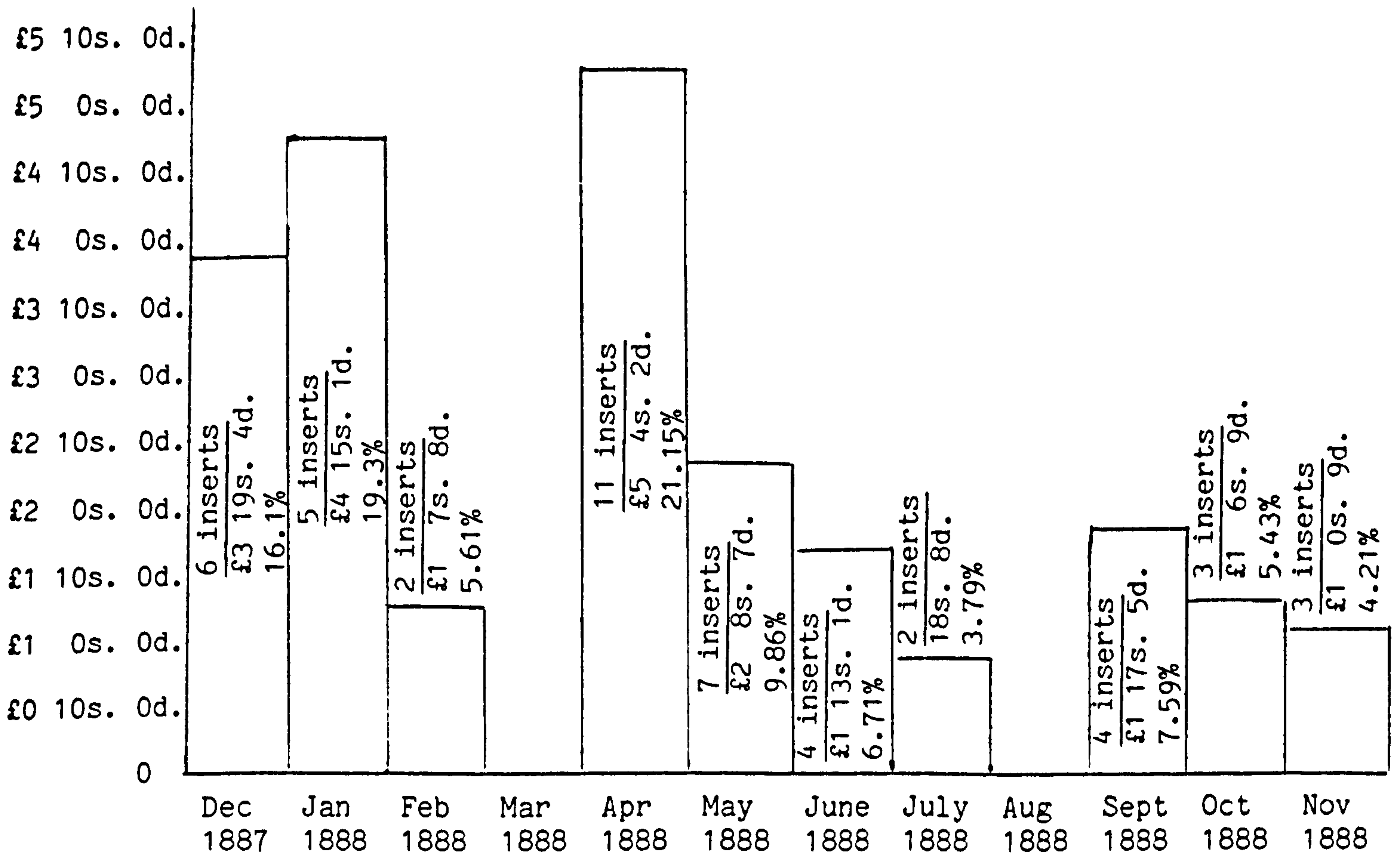
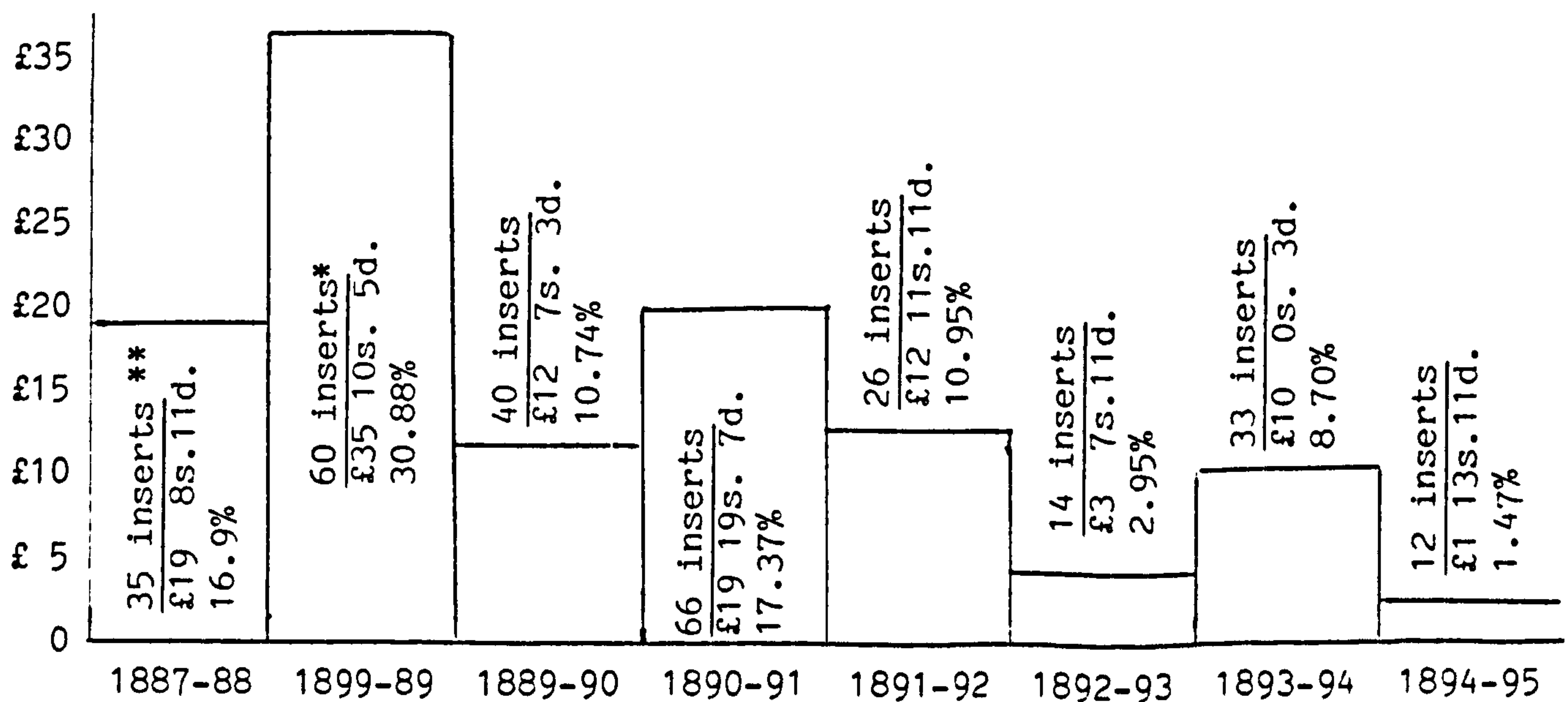
\* A = No. of periodicals used      B = Total expenditure      Total cost      £126 15s. 8d.  
(not no. of insertions)      Total no. of periodicals used      74

\*\* Most of these advertisements would be for individual titles or groups of titles from the series. But an advertisement for one title in a series is in effect an advertisement for the series as a whole.

+ This figure includes the sum of £10 4s. 6d., apparently paid for a column in The Guardian although this seems abnormally high

2. Expenditure over a sample twelve month period

(Dec. 1887 - Nov. 1888) (Total cost = £24 12s. 6d.)

3. Expenditure 1887-1895 (Total cost = £115 0s. 2d.)

\* Including one at £10 4s. 6d.

\*\* Seven months only

The decline in annual expenditure is explained by the fact that no new titles in the series appeared after around 1891. The average cost per insertion over 1887-88 was 11s. 1d. Over 1890-91, it was only 6s. 1d.



4. Periodicals in which advertisements for the Foreign  
Theological Library were inserted

	<u>Number of inserts</u>							
	1887 - 88	1888 - 89	1889 - 90	1890 - 91	1891 - 92	1892 - 93	1893 - 94	1894 - 95
Aberdeen Free Press		3	3	3			2	
Academy		1		2				1
Agora					1			
Athenaeum				1			1	
Baptist Magazine	1	1						
Baptist Messenger		1	1					
Barmouth Advertiser							1	
Blackwood's Magazine				1				
Bookman					1			
Bookseller	2	2	2	5	1			
British Weekly		4	2	2		2		
Brook and Chrystal's List		1						
Cambridge University Calendar			1					
Century Magazine				1				
Christian		1						
Church Family Newspaper								1
Christian Leader							3	
Christian World		1						
Chrystal's Guide						1		
Church Bells	3	4	1	4		1	1	1
Churchman			1			1	2	
Church Quarterly Review		2	2	2	2	1		
Church Times				1				
Contemporary Review	2	2	1		3			
Congregational Review	1		1	1				
Daily Chronicle								1
Daily News								1
Durham University Calendar					1			
Ecclesiastical Gazette	1							
Edinburgh Review					1			
Edinburgh University Calendar		1	1	1			1	
English Independent				1				
Expositor				3				1
Freeman	3	3	1	3				
Glasgow Herald			1				2	
Glasgow University Calendar			1	1				
Guardian	3	3		4	3	1	2	
Heywood's Catalogue			1					
Independent				3	3			
Jewish Quarterly Review		1						
John Bull	1							
'Life of Christmas Evans'								1
Literary Churchman			1	1	1			
Literary Opinion				1				

	1887 - 88	1888 - 89	1889 - 90	1890 - 91	1891 - 92	1892 - 93	1893 - 94	1894 - 95
MacMillan's Magazine						1		
Manchester Examiner	1			2				
Methodist Recorder	2		2	1			3	1
Methodist Times			1				2	
Modern Church				2	1			
Newbery House Magazine				2				
Nonconformist	2	2						
Oxford Univeristy Calendar		1						
Palestine Exploration	2							
Presbyterian Church Official Handbook							1	1
Presbyterian Messenger		1	1					
Presbyterian Official Calendar						1		
Publishers' Circular	3	3	2	5	1			
Quarterly Review	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	
Record	1	3		2		1	2	
ReligiousReview of Reviews							1	1
Review of the Churches					1	1	1	
St Andrews University Calendar				1				
Scotsman	2	6	3	5	1		2	1
Scottish Church		2	2	1				
Scottish Guardian		1						
Scottish Leader	2	4	2	1			2	
Speaker					1			
Spectator		1		1				
Standard Bearer						1		
Sword and Trowel		1	1	1	1			
Theological Monthly		1						
Theological Review		1	1					
Wesleyan Methodist Magazine	1	1			2	1	3	1
	35	60	40	66	26	14	33	12

C: Advertising platform regularly used by T. & T. Clark

Aberdeen Free Press	British Quarterly Review
Academy	British Weekly
Agora	Brook and Chrystal's List
Athenaeum	Cambridge University Calendar
Baptist Magazine	Century Magazine
Barmouth Advertiser	Christian Commonwealth
Belfast Witness	Christian Leader
Bible Difficulties	Christian Pictorial
Blackwood's Magazine	Christian Progress
Bookman	Christian World
Bookseller	Christian World Pulpit



Chrystal's Guide	Nonconformist
Church Bells	North British Daily Mail
Church Family Newspaper	Northern Daily News
Church Quarterly Review	Oxford University Calendar
Church Times	Perth Free Church Jubilee Catalogue
Churchman	Perthshire Advertiser
Congregational Review	Pray and Trust
Contemporary Review	Preacher's Analyst
Daily Chronicle	Presbyterian
Daily News	Presbyterian Church Official Handbook
Daily Review	Presbyterian Messenger
Dumfries Standard	Presbyterian Official Calendar
Dundee Advertiser	Publishers' Circular
Dundee Courier	Quarterly Review
Durham University Calendar	Record
Ecclesiastical Gazette	Religious Review of Reviews
Edinburgh Review	Review of the Churches
Edinburgh University Calendar	Ruabon S.S. Programme
Eisteddfod Programme	S.V.M.U. Magazine (Smith's Missions)
English Independent	St Andrews University Calendar
Expositor	Scots Observer
Free Church Exhibition Catalogue	Scotsman
Free Church Monthly	Scottish Church
Freeman	Scottish Church Almanac
Glasgow Herald	Scottish Congregational Magazine
Glasgow Mail	Scottish Congregational Year Book
Glasgow University Calendar	Scottish Guardian
Goleaud	Scottish Leader
Guardian	Scottish News
Heywood's Catalogue	Scottish Weekly
Illustrated Missionary News	Speaker
Independent	Spectator
Inverness Courier	Stirling Observer
Irish Christian Advocate	Sunday School
Irish Church News	Sunday School Chronicle
Jewish Quarterly Review	Sword and Trowel
John Bull	Tablet
King's Own	Theological Monthly
Languages	Theological Review
Leeds Mercury	Thinker
The Liberal	Welsh S.S. Union "Lesson Book"
Life and Work	Wesleyan Methodist Magazine
Literary Churchman	Witherow's Catechism
Literary Opinion	Young Man
Literary World	Young Woman
Living Waters	Youth
Luzac's Oriental List	
Macmillan's Magazine	
Manchester Examiner	
Methodist Recorder	
Methodist Times	
Modern Church	
Monthly Tidings	
Nature	
Newbery House Magazine	

(The extent of the firm's advertising in each of the above varied considerably.)



D: Conclusions

This is probably too small a sample to allow us to draw any firm conclusions. One or two very general observations can, however, be made.

As one would expect, the bulk of advertising for new titles was undertaken within the first year after publication. Although most months, with the exception of August, saw some advertising, there were two peaks of advertising activity at the start of the spring and autumn publishing seasons, in March/May and October/November.

In three of the five cases we have looked at, over £10 was spent on advertising during the financial year of issue, despite the fact that there was some variation in the retail price of the works concerned. This would tend to substantiate the Clarks' comments that, irrespective of the size or retail price of a work, a certain level of advertising expenditure was essential if the book were to sell. On the other hand, in the case of two of the works we looked at, expenditure was significantly under £10 in the first financial year of issue. The fact that expenditure on Briggs' work was limited was presumably due to the fact that it was a US import, and as such would have a limited budget. It is less clear why only £3 15s. 0d. should have been spent on the title by Workman in its year of issue.

While the number of advertisements appearing on behalf of new books varied considerably (it could be argued that it was those with the greatest sales potential, such as that by Bruce which were most widely advertised) the unit cost of each advertisement was fairly similar. The most expensive book, that by Lichtenberger, which was presumably

more able to bear the cost of advertising, had less spent on it than was spent on Bruce's work, although the unit cost per advertisement, at 5s. 0d. over the first year, was the highest for any of the works we have examined. Where a smaller sum was spent on advertising a book, it was the number of insertions which was reduced, rather than the size of each insertion.

It is probably a mistake to assume that an advertising budget was set aside in advance for each title. It seems more likely that the advertising strategy for each work evolved as the firm assessed the response of the market and the reviewers to the product. Hence, as we have suggested, a work which showed signs of selling well would be further promoted, while the firm would not normally be enthusiastic about further advertising a title whose sales were sluggish.

When advertising a work, the Clarks would use that group of periodicals most likely to be read by those who made up the audience at which the book in question was targetted. The list of journals containing advertisements for the Foreign Theological Library gives some impression of the target audience for that series. The list given in the previous section of many of the journals in which the firm regularly advertised, drawn from the Advertisement Book 1886-1896, gives an impression of the target audience at which their publishing programme as a whole was aimed.

The unit cost of advertisements for works in the Foreign Theological Library was high compared with those for individual titles, but although each of them would only be promoting one title or a group of titles, in effect the public was being reminded of the entire series with each insertion. It was therefore, as the firm frequently noted, more cost-effective to advertise a series than an individual title.



Appendix DList of T. & T. Clark's trade accounts 1895-1901

Three Trade Ledgers give details of all the Clark's dealings in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>1</sup> The third of these, covering the years 1895-1901 has been analysed in this Appendix to give some impression of the number, and geographical distribution of those with whom the firm did business. The three lists below, itemising customers located in Scotland, elsewhere in the UK, and overseas, contain the names of all those with whom the firm had dealings over the years in question, and a very small number of them may have been private individuals. The majority of firms buying from the Clarks - 272 out of the total of 448 - purchased less than £10 at trade price over the five-year period. Such small accounts were, of course, offset by the very large ones obtaining with firms such as Simpkin, Marshall. (Between June and December 1898, for example, that firm purchased £1,200-worth of stock at trade price. Over the following six months, their purchases totalled £1,700.) Many of the English firms listed in this Appendix may well have purchased some Clark titles from the wholesalers as well as dealing direct with the firm. And many other English firms will have purchased Clark titles exclusively from the London wholesalers. This list, therefore, does not include all those who handled Clark titles; it is, however, of interest in showing the range of outlets which were serviced directly by the firm.

A: Scottish accounts

Aberdeen

John Adam  
 J.G. Bisset  
 A. Brown and Co.  
 John W. Forbes



	A. King and Co.
	A. & R. Milne
	A. Murray
	J.R. Smith
	L. Smith
	R. Walker
	Walker and Co.
	D. Wyllie and Son
Alloa	W. Landells
	John B. Rae
	W. Thorburn
Arbroath	I.S. Bonnyman
	I.F. Hood
Ayr	Hugh Henry
	James McCall
	Stephen and Pollock
Banff	P. Bolton
	R. Leash and Son
Brechin	James Batchelor
	Black and Johnston
Broughty Ferry	D. Dempster
Carnoustie	N.M. Reid
Crieff	G. McCulloch
Cupar	Westwood and Son
Cupar Angus	Culross
Dumries	J. Anderson and Son
	J. Maxwell and Son
Dundee	W. Kidd
	Mrs Lundie
	George Montgomery
	Mrs McGregor
	Winter, Duncan and Co.
Edinburgh	I. Arnot and Co
	A. Baxendine
	Bell and Bradute
	W. Blackwood and Son
	W. Brown
	W. Bryce
	W. & R. Chambers
	Christian Literature Company
	J. Cochrane
	I.T. Donaldson
	Douglas and Foulis
	A. Elliot
	James Fairbairn and Sons
	Gall and Inglis
	John Grant
	R. Grant and Son
	W. Green and Sons
	J.G. Hitt
	I. Hume
	R.W. Hunter
	G.P. Johnston
	D. Johnstone

	W.A.K. Johnston
	E. and S. Livingstone
	John Menzies and Co.
	McDougall and Co.
	N. McLeod
	Macniven and Wallace
	Oliver and Boyd
	A. and D. Padon
	Religious Tract Society
	Miss Rogers
	David M. Small
	R. and H. Sommerville
	C.R. Spence
	A. Stevenson and Co.
	James Thin
	A. Thomson
	W.M. Urquart
	Williams and Norgate
Edzell	J. Garden
Elgin	James Watson
	James D. Yeadon
Falkirk	J. Callendar
Forfar	W. Shepherd
Forres	W.N. Anderson
Glasgow	Bryce and Murray
	W. Collins
	G.A.K. Douglas and Co.
	R. Gibson and Sons
	Gowans and Grey
	Grant Educational Co.
	W. Hodge and Co.
	W. and R. Holmes
	Hugh Hopkins
	Kerr and Richardson
	W.P. Laidlaw and Son
	John Lawrence
	William Love
	Morison Brothers
	I. McCallum and Co.
	McCorquodale and Co.
	McGeachy and Co.
	I.N. MacKinlay
	James MacLehose and Sons
	J.C. Paterson
	John Smith and Son
	A. and W. Stenhouse
Greenock	A. Dunn
	W. Hutchison
	J. McKelvie
Helensburgh	Macneur and Bryder
Huntly	James McKenzie
Inverness	James Cornet and Son
	Melven Brothers
	William Munro
Kelso	I. McDonald
	I. and I.H. Rutherford

Kilmarnock	Dunlop and Drennan
	W. Fulton
Kirkcaldy	J. Burt
	J. Davidson and Son
Kirkcudbright	Miss Conning
Lasswade	George Storie
Laurencekirk	D.T. Johnston
Montrose	N. Welse
Newton Stewart	W. Jolly
Paisley	A. Gardener
Perth	J. Christie
	I.H. Jackson
	D. Leslie
	I.Y. Nicoll
	Howell Williams
Peterhead	W.L. Taylor
St. Andrews	W.C. Henderson
Saltcoats	A. Wallace
Stirling	E. Mackay
	R.S. Shearer
	W.L. Shirra
Stromness	I. Rae
Wick	Arthur Bruce
	Daniel Ross

B: Accounts elsewhere in the UK

Aberystwyth	William Jenkins
Bala	Edwards Llewelyn
Bath	K. Cleaver
Belfast	W.E. Mayne
	W. Mullen and Son
	Northern Publishing Co.
	Olley and Co.
	Sabbath School Society
	J. Shone and Co.
	I. Thompson
Berwick	James Beveridge
Birmingham	C. Combridge
	Cornish Brothers
	Midland Educational Co.
Blackburn	R. Denham and Co.
Bournemouth	William Male and Sons
Bradford	Thomas Brear
	British and American Book and Tract Society
Brighton	D.B. Friend
Bristol	J.A. Bickle
	Janes Dunn
	I. Fawn and Sons
	Scholastic Trading Co.
Buxton	Derbyshire Library Limited
Cambridge	Deighton, Bell and Co.
	A.P. Dixon
	W. Heffer



Cambridge	E. Johnston Macmillan and Bowe Redin and Co.
Cannock	H. Prail
Canterbury	K.J. Goulden
Cardiff	Howell and Co. H.W. Jones A. McLay and Co. B. Norton and Son
Carmarthen	E.C. Evans
Carnarvon	Calvinist Methodist Book Agency D.W. Davies
Cheltenham	Horace Edwards
Chester	F.W. Chapman Minshull and Meeson
Cookstown	I. Glasgow
Denbigh	T. Gee and Sons
Derby	Central Educational Co. Frank Murray
Dolyddelen	Ellis Pierce
Dublin	Browne and Nolan Combridge and Co. Eason and Son M.K. Gill and Son Hodges, Figgis and Co. W. McGee
Durham	Andrews and Co.
Exeter	H.S. Bland J.G. Commin
Frome	W.C. and J. Penny
Great Yarmouth	Jarrold and Son William Jay
Halifax	H.G. King Methodist Book Room
Hanley	Charles Atkinson
Hastings	Brooker and Jepson
Hereford	Jakeman and Carver
Hetton Downs	Thomas Henry
Hexham	W. Moore
Hirivain	T. Richards
Kendal	William Birkett H. Roberts
Keswick	H.S. Wilson
Kettering	Northamptonshire Publishing Co.
Leeds	E.J. Arnold W. Brierly Richard Jackson Henry Walker G.G. Walmsley
Lincoln	J.W. Ruddock Clifford Thomas
Liverpool	J.E. Cornish E. Howell Philip, Son and Nephew H. Young & Sons
Llanelly	James Davis & Co.

Llangollen

London

Darlington and Co.  
H. Jones  
K.R. Allenson  
Alexander and Shepherd  
E.G. Allen  
Asher and Co.  
G. Bell and Son  
A. and C. Black  
F.A. Brokhaus  
F.B. Browne  
Butterworth and Co.  
C.D. Carerove and Son  
Cassell and Co.  
C. of E. Sunday School Inst.  
William Dawson and Sons  
Dickeson and Stewart  
R.D. Dickinson and Co.  
I. Dickinson and Co.  
A. Durant and Co.  
Educational Supply Association  
F. Edwards  
Edwards, Dunlop and Co.  
Eyre and Spottiswoode  
Gilbert and Field  
Gordon and Gotch  
H. Grevel and Co.  
I. Haddow and Co.  
Hamilton Adams and Co.  
C.W. Hancock and Co.  
Hatchards  
Headley Brothers  
C. Higham  
Hutchison and Co.  
London Missionary Society  
S. Low and Co.  
Luvac and Co.  
J. Lyon and Co.  
E. Marlborough and Co.  
Marshall Brothers  
Marshall, Russell and Co.  
Methodist Free Church Book Room  
Mudie's Library  
W. Mullen  
David W. Murray  
G. McCaul and Co.  
National Society's Depository  
James Nisbet and Co.  
D. Nutt  
W. Nutter and Co.  
Young J. Pentland  
Presbyterian Publications Committee  
Primitive Methodist Book Room  
Relfe Brothers Ltd.  
Richardson and Co.  
Simpkin, Marshall and Co.

	T. Smith
	W.H. Smith and Son
	H. Southeran and Co.
	J.F. Spriggs
	Edward Stanford
	G.E. Stechert
	Stevens and Brown
	Stevens and Haynes
	Stevens and Sons
	E. Stock
	Sunday School Union
	Sweet and Marshall
	W. Thacker and Co.
	Trew and Snow
	Trübner and Co.
	J. Walsh and Sons
	J.P. Werner
	Wesleyan Book Room
	J. Westall
	Williams and Norgate
Londonderry	I. Forrester
	James Montgomery
Longton	W.H. Wright
Lowestoft	W. Gwyn
Macclesfield	J.H. Wood
Malton	Jones
Manchester	R. Chrystal
	Clarkson and Griffiths
	J.E. Cornish
	T. Fargie
	John Heywood
	I. Morris and Co.
	J.K. Powell
	James Robertson
Mansfield	W. Linney
Newark	J.H. Tomlinson and Son
Newcastle	Mawson, Swan and Morgan
	North of England School Furnishing Co.
	R.J. Porteous and Co.
	George Symon (Wesleyan Book Depot)
Newport	Charles Joyce
Northampton	W.J. Rushton
Norwich	A.H. Goose
	Jarrold and Sons
	W.A. Nudd
Nottingham	Combridge and Co.
	Sisson and Parker
Oundle	A. King and Son
Oxford	B.H. Blackwell
	Harry Harvey
	Oxford University Press
	James Parker and Co.
	T. Shrimpton and Son
	I. Thornton and Son
Pennal	Thomas Lewis



Peterborough	D.M. Barron
	C. Edwards
Plymouth	G. Sellick
Pontypridd	Fellows
Preston	Educational Depot
	A. Halewood
	J. and A. Platt
Reading	James Golder
	R.N. Newman
	T. Thorp
Ripon	Hill's City Press
Rotherham	S. Wilson and Son
Salisbury	Brown and Co.
Saltburn	Rapp and Son
Scarborough	K. Denham
Sedbergh	Jackson and Son
Sheffield	A. Fehrenbach
	Pawson and Brailsford
	W. Walker
	Thomas Widdison
Southampton	K.N. Gilbert
Stafford	Wright and Charrington
Stockport	Mrs T. Smith
Sunderland	Smith and Taylor
Swansea	E. and I. Griffiths
Tanfich	W.O. Gibb
Taunton	H. Abraham
Tonypandy	William Williams
Ulverston	James Atkinson
Upper Bangor	C. Littler
Uppingham	John Hawthorn
Waterford	George Croker
West Bromich	Eld and Blackham
Weston Super-Mare	Frank Gill
Whitehaven	R. Burlington
Wigton, Cumberland	I. Gate
Wolverhampton	A. Barker
	S. Hawson
Wrexham	Hughes and Son
	Robin Jenkins
Yeovil	E. Whitby and Son
York	Thomas Book
	E.H. Pickering
No location given	Congregational Union
	James Lewis and Sons
	Kitchman and Crosby

C: Overseas accounts

Adelaide	W.C. Rigby
	E.S. Wigg and Son
Amsterdam	Hoveker and Wormser
	J.G. Robbers
Berlin	Carl Reinecke
	Speyer and Peters
Bologne	Libreria Treves
Bombay	R. Govind and Son
Bonn	Rohrscheid and Ebbecke
Boston	Boston Book Co.
	Little, Brown and Co.
Brisbane	Wesleyan Book Depot
Calcutta	B. Banerjie and Co.
Cape Town	I.C. Sutar
Chicago	Callaghan and Co.
Constantinople	American Mission
Dresden	R. Loffler
Dunedin	James Braithwaite
	K.K. Driver
	New Zealand Society
	I.G. Sawell
	Whitcombe and Tombs
Florence	Loeschler and Seeber
	B. Seeber
Frieberg	B. Herder
	J.G.B. Mehr
Geneva	C. Eggiman and Co.
Lahore	Punjab Bible and Religious Book Society
Leipzig	K.W. Kiersmann
	I.C. Hinrich
	K.F. Koehler
	N. Spergatis
	A. Tweitmeyer
Madras	K.K. Ainjour
Malta	L. Critien
Melbourne	E.W. Cole
	Diocesan Book Society
	N.L. Hutchison
	Melville and Mullen
	G. Robertson and Co.
	A.J. Smith
	Wesleyan Book Room
	Wesleyan Book Depot
Newfoundland	S.G. Garland
New York	A.C. Armstrong
	Baker, Vourhis and Co.
	Christian Literature Co.
	Funk and Wagnalls' Co.
	Charles Scribner's Sons
Ottawa	James Hope and Sons
Paris	N. Fischbacher
	A. Fontenroing
	Haar and Steinert

Paris	Letrouvey and Arie Picard et fils Albert Schulz H. le Soudier H. Welter
Pretoria	Pretoria Religious Book Room
Rome	B. Lux
St. John's, New Brunswick	E.G. Nelson and Co.
San Francisco	Bancroft, Whitney and Co.
Shanghai	Kelly and Walsh
Sydney	Angus and Robertson
Tokyo	Methodist Publishing House
Toronto	Carswell and Co. G.N. Morang and Co. Publishers' Syndicate Willard Tract Depository
No location given	Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the USA

Thus the Clarks serviced accounts in 167 towns (40 in Scotland, 92 elsewhere in the UK, and 35 overseas), the number of accounts totalling 448 (139 in Scotland, 238 elsewhere in the UK, and 71 overseas). 73 accounts were serviced in London alone.



Appendix ET. & T. Clark in the twentieth century<sup>1</sup>

T. & T. Clark was incorporated as a Limited Company on 15 June 1973, at which point the firm became part of the Bartholomew Group. Seven years later, in 1980, the Group was the target of a successful £2 million takeover bid by Reader's Digest. From 1 February 1985, the Group was transferred to News International.

NOTES

A:Notes:Introduction

- 1 See John A.H. Dempster, 'Aspects of Brethren Publishing Enterprise in late nineteenth-century Scotland,' Publishing History, 20, 1986, 61-101.
- 2 For a discussion of this issue see John A.H. Dempster, Certain Aspects of Some Nineteenth Century Scottish Religious Book Publishers: Blackie and Son and Thomas Nelson and Sons - a Study in Motivation, (M.A. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1983).
- 3 A.C.Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk (1983), p.9.
4. Ibid., pp. 35-59.
5. Ibid., pp. 55,56.



B:Notes:Part I

- 1 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark,Edinburgh (1882), p.3. (Re-printed from The Bookseller, July 1882.)
- 2 Obituary, Bookseller, 30 December 1865, p. 1132.
- 3 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, p. 4.
- 4 And, indeed, until 1985 when T. & T. Clark crossed the road to 59, George Street.
- 5 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, p. 4.
- 6 Ibid. The obituary in The Bookseller gives the date at which the young Thomas Clark became a partner as 1848. This seems unlikely, firstly because The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark,Edinburgh was issued by Sir Thomas Clark himself, and therefore may be presumed to be accurate, and secondly, because that publication links as cause and effect the opening of young Thomas Clark's partnership and the commencement of the Foreign Theological Library which dates from 1846. It is worth noting, however, that for all it bears the imprimatur of the firm, The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark places the death of the founder in 1868 (p.7.), when in fact he died in 1865. (Obituary, Bookseller, 30 December 1865, p. 1132.)
- 7 Obituary, Bookseller, 30 December 1865, p. 1132.
- 8 Reminiscences of Booksellers and Bookselling in Edinburgh in the Time of William IV (Edinburgh, 1905) p. 27.
- 9 An edition by Negris and Duncan of a work by Professor Robinson.
- 10 Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Pritchard, The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature (Oxford, 1984).
- 11 All the data in this thesis on Clark's issues is drawn from the author's T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh: A draft register of issues 1832-1901 (unpublished MS), The unsuccessful novel, apparently published by the founder, is alluded to in 'Author and Publisher!', Bookseller, 25 March 1859, p. 788, a report which gives an unusual sidelight on the firm's history, and which is worth reproducing in part because of its curiosity value:  
 A curious case between author and publisher has been before the Scotch courts. Some twenty five years ago, it was arranged that Mr. Brodie, advocate, should for the sum of £500 prepare an edition of "Stair's Institutes of the Law of Scotland," for Mr. Clark, publisher. Mr. Clark declined payment on several grounds- viz., that he had a contra account for books furnished to the author to assist him in his labours,- that the author had not furnished an index, and that another party had been employed to provide that convenience,- that the author's corrections having been excessive, he was bound to pay one-half of their expense,-and that the author and his brother were liable in the expenses of an unsuccessful novel. The author pleaded that the books were charged at full price,-that an index was not necessary to a book,- and that he had not sanctioned the employment of a substitute to perform that operation,-that the corrections were not



excessive,- and that he was not liable for the novel,-and that Mr. Clark having at his own hand consigned the unsold copies to the butter-merchant, had virtually shown the work to be his own property. The court, on appeal, refused to go into any proof, except on the first point about the contra account for books furnished, holding that there was no tangible correspondence or agreement as to the other matters; and the case has since been compromised.

The account concluded by stating that whatever the views of the judges in the case on the desirability of indices, the editor of the Bookseller was 'afraid that the weight of the Scotch bench [would] not induce the world to believe that any scientific book [was] complete without an index': it was in his view incumbent upon the author of such a work either himself to compile an index, or to arrange for the task to be undertaken by someone else.

- 12 C.A. Malcolm, 'Scottish Legal Periodicals: Past and Present', Scottish Law Review, 45 (1929) 155-59 (p. 155).
- 13 Bookseller, 30 December 1865, p. 1132.
- 14 Scottish Record Office, SC49/31/81, fols 533-32
- 15 Obituary, Scotsman, 25 December 1900, p.4.
- 16 James Harvey, In Memoriam Sir Thomas Clark (Edinburgh, n.d.), p.3.
- 17 'Publishers of Today: Messrs. T. & T. Clark', Publishers' Circular, 1302, 13 June 1891, pp. 634-35.
- 18 Ibid.
19. Ibid.
- 20 Roger Burlingame, Of Making Many Books: A Hundred Years of Reading, Writing and Publishing (1946), pp. 162-63. Burlingame records that the 'stern Thomas Clark...is said to have relaxed one night to the point of going with C.S. to Drury Lane to meet a famous actress in her green room after the play.'
- 21 Harvey, pp. 22-23. The congregation initially worshipped in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel; after the Disruption in 1843, which led to the founding of the Free Church of Scotland, a new building was erected for what had become Lady Glenorchy's Free Church; and in 1900 the congregation joined in the union of Free and United Free Presbyterian Churches. Clark's father was an elder at Lady Glenorchy's from 1830 to 1860.
- 22 Harvey, pp. 9,25.
- 23 Harvey, p. 25.
- 24 Obituary, Scotsman, 25 December 1900, p. 4.
- 25 Harvey, pp. 25-26.
- 26 Scotsman, 25 December 1900, p. 4 (supports 1883) : Bookseller, 4 September 1886, p. 847 (supports 1884).
- 27 Who Was Who 1897-1915 (1920),
- 28 Bookseller, 4 September 1886, p. 847.

- 29 Scotsman, 25 December 1900, p. 4, where it was noted that 'Sir Thomas was a Liberal in politics, and belonged to the Unionist wing of the party; but he did not take any prominent part in political affairs.'
- 30 Scottish Leader, quoted in Publishers' Circular, 1302, 13 June 1891, pp. 634-35.
- 31 Publishers' Circular, 1302, 13 June 1891, pp. 634-35.
- 32 James Harvey, 'The Publishing House of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh', Expository Times, 51, October 1939, 10-13 (p.11).
- 33 Bookseller, 7 March 1894, p. 204.
- 34 Publishers' Circular, 1612, 22 May 1897, p. 616.
- 35 Scotsman, 25 December 1900, p. 4.
- 36 His eldest daughter had died shortly before his own death. (Harvey, In Memoriam Sir Thomas Clark, p. 9.)
- 37 Testamentary material relating to Sir Thomas Clark is to be found in the Scottish Record Office, SC70/1/416, fols 863-868; SC70/4/327, fols. 343-358; SC70/1/398, fols 361-401.
- 38 Publishers' Circular, p. 170.
- 39 Bookseller, p. 957.
- 40 This Society, for 'Original Translations of John Calvin's Writings', had been founded in Edinburgh in 1843. (Arthur Giles, Across Western Waves and Home in a Royal Capital (1898), p. 288.)
- 41 Bookseller, p. 584.
- 42 Clark had earlier, in 1870, published Schaff's three-volume History of the Christian Church.
- 43 Paper and Impression Book 1878-1890, National Library of Scotland, Dep. 247/144.
- 44 C.A. Malcolm, 'Scottish Legal Periodicals: Past and Present', Scottish Law Review, 534 (1929), 155-59 (pp. 157-58).
- 45 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, p.3.
- 46 James Harvey, In Memoriam Sir Thomas Clark, pp. 5-6.
- 47 Scotsman, 28 May 1924, p. 8.
- 48 Glasgow Herald, 28 May 1924, p.6.
- 49 James Harvey, 'The Publishing House of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh', Expository Times, 51 (1939), 10-13 (p. 12).
- 50 [Obituary of Thomas Clark the younger], Scotsman, 25 December 1900, p.4.
- 51 Scotsman, 28 May 1924, p. 8. Clark's obituary in the Expository Times (July 1924, pp. 477-78) adds nothing substantial to our knowledge about him.
- 52 Bookseller, 7 March 1894, p. 204.
- 53 Expository Times, 12, p. 240.



- 54 'Publishers of Today: Messrs. T. & T. Clark', Publishers' Circular, 13 June 1891, 634-36 (p. 635).
- 55 Expository Times, 12, p. 240.
- 56 J.M. Clark-W.R. Clark of Toronto, 5 September 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37. fol. 1006.
- 57 'Publishers of Today: Messrs. T. & T. Clark', Publishers' Circular, 13 June 1891, 634-36.
- 58 J.M. Clark-W.R. Clark, 19 March 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 875.
- 59 W. Robertson Nicoll, 'The Rev. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p. 50.
- 60 J.M. Clark-J. Hastings, 11 February 1904, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40c, fol. 82.
- 61 James Harvey, 'The Publishing House of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh', Expository Times, 51 (1939) 10-13 (pp. 11-12.); A.J. Gossip, 'James Hastings', Expository Times, 76 (1964-65) 3-5 (p.4.).
- 62 Scottish Notes and Queries, 13 (3rd series) September 1935, 137-38.
- 63 Advertisement, Bookseller, 6 November 1890, p. 1275.
- 64 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 65 A.J. Gossip, 'Reverend James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p.7).
- 66 N.L.S., Dep. 247/39.
- 67 'Nisi dominus frustra' is, in fact, the motto on the arms of the City of Edinburgh.
- 68 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 510. The outlay on MacPhail's book was, the letter went on to say, small compared with that on many other works whose risk was borne by the Clarks.
- 69 N.L.S., Dep. 247/4.
- 70 T. & T. Clark-Edward Hull, 14 November 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 304.
- 71 T. & T. Clark-David Kerr, 29 March 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 671.
- 72 T. & T. Clark-J.F. Spriggs, 25 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 7.
- 73 T. & T. Clark-W.F. Lofthouse, 8 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 756.
- 74 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 13 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 764.
- 75 T. & T. Clark-Miss E. Wright, 24 July 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 39.
- 76 12 December 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 149.
- 77 The Clarks made one more point to Mead, that small books were un-economic. But, in fact Romans Dissected was published in 1891, after

- Mead (See T. & T. Clark-C.M. Mead, 22 December 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 156.) agreed to add some pages at the end of the book explaining its satirical intent, and to put an appropriate motto on the title page.
- 78 J.M. Clark-Charles Scribner, 14 October 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 923,
- 79 J.M. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 1 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 954.
- 80 14 October 1897 (see note 78).
- 81 1 November 1897 (see note 79).
- 82 J.M. Clark-Charles Scribner, 2 July 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 403.
- 83 Newspaper cutting dated 6 February 1922. Source unknown.
- 84 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, p. 9.
- 85 Bookseller, 1860, p. 440.
- 86 Op. cit., p. 13.
- 87 Ibid., p. 19.
- 88 Ibid., pp. 14-15.
- 89 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 14 September 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 195.
- 90 'Publishers of Today: Messrs. T. & T. Clark', 13 June 1891, pp. 634-36.
- 91 In The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.
- 92 Ibid., p. 9.
- 93 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
- 94 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
- 95 Ibid., pp. 15-16.
- 96 Ibid., pp. 8-9.
- 97 See T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 April 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 936.
- 98 Advertisement, Bookseller, 7 October 1884, p. 1069.
- 99 N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838. This draft of the instructions to I.T.L. authors appears to have been prepared by C.A. Briggs of New York, but it was certainly approved by John M. Clark, as well as by Scribner.
- 100 In Memoriam Sir Thomas Clark, p. 27.
- 101 Ibid., p. 5.
- 102 W.R. Nicoll, 'The Completion of a Great Encyclopaedia', British Weekly, 2 February 1922.
- 103 'Entre Nous', Expository Times, 12 (1900-01), p. 240.
- 104 Bookseller, 7 October 1884, p. 1069.



- 105 James Harvey, 'The Publishing House of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 10-13 (p.11).
- 106 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, p. 19.
- 107 T. & T. Clark-Charles Welford, Scribner's UK agent, 7 June 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 595. The work in question was Arnold H. Guyot's Creation, Or, the Biblical Cosmogony in the Light of Modern Science. It is worth noting that the Clarks were possibly depreciating the book in an attempt to get it at a lower price, for they comment immediately after the passage quoted above that they 'could not venture on more than 1s. 6d.'
- 108 Stade's History of Israel, offered to the Clarks by Houghton-Mifflin of Boston, USA. T. & T. Clark-Houghton-Mifflin, 10 November 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 179.
- 109 The work was Geroge T. Ladd's The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture (1883). T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 12 February 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 464. The damage to which the letter refers was probably chiefly financial.
- 110 J.M. Clark-C.M. Mead, 22 December 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 156.
- 111 J.M. Clark-Scribners, 2 July 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 403.
- 112 J.M. Clark-W.P. Dickson, 14 July 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 419.
- 113 Op. cit., p. 15.
- 114 'The Publishing House of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 10-13 (p.12).
- 115 Expository Times, 12 (1900-01), p. 240.
- 116 Bookseller, 7 October 1884, p. 1069.
- 117 Draft of advice to I.T.L. authors, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838.
- 118 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 21 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 930. The name of the author in question is illegible.
- 119 Edited by Philip Schaff, and published in 1879.
- 120 T. & T. Clark-Alfred Plummer, 5 June 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 687.
- 121 T. & T. Clark-James Stalker, 12 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 510.
- 122 T. & T. Clark-J.A. Selbie, 31 December 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 782. Selbie assisted Hastings in editing the Dictionary of the Bible. The König work was published by the firm in 1899 as The Exiles' Book of Consolation.
- 123 T. & T. Clark-J.A. Selbie, 10 January 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 803.
- 124 T. & T. Clark-Bishop Martensen, 7 June 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 83. The two volumes in question, Christian Ethics-Individual, and Christian Ethics-Social were published in, respectively, 1881 and 1882.
- 125 T. & T. Clark-T. Adamson, 11 December 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 384.



- 126 J.M. Clark-James Hastings, 28 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 130.
- 127 T. & T. Clark-James Hill, Buckland St Mary, 1 August 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 11.
- 128 T. & T. Clark-Mrs Candlish, 17 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 98.
- 129 T. & T. Clark-Samuel Driver, 17 January 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 57. 'Perhaps little harm could be done in a Commentary on Proverbs, but it might be prejudicial to the Series if it were supposed to be in any way connected with Unitarians.' In fact, Toy's volume did appear in the I.C.C. Series in 1899.
- 130 Which the Clarks had initially published in two volumes in 1858 and 1859.
- 131 T. & T. Clark-J.H. Moulton, 30 October 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 273.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 23 December 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 406.
- 134 A new translation of the New Testament in which the books were arranged in the order in which they were supposed to have been written.
- 135 J.M. Clark-Scribners, 9 October 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 897.
- 136 Draft of advice to I.T.L. authors, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838.
- 137 By the Rev. E.J. Nurse of Edgbaston. T. & T. Clark- E.J. Nurse, 3 November 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 646.
- 138 T. & T. Clark-Professor Cairns, 19 February 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 256. See also T. & T. Clark's letter to the author of the work in question, 3 March 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 268.
- 139 T. & T. Clark-Arthur Turnbull, 12 April 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 682.
- 140 J.M. Clark-Charles Scribner, 14 October 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 923.
- 141 T. & T. Clark-Mrs Candlish, 17 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 98.
- 142 J.M. Clark-J.F. Spriggs, 25 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 7.
- 143 13 June 1891, p. 635. For John M. Clark's view of the theological market in Scotland, and of English publishers' misconceptions of it, see his anonymous contribution to The Academy (1282, 28 November 1896) Book Market column, where he wrote as follows:  
I am glad to notice that you do not intend, in 'the Book Market', to overlook the claims of Theology. North of the Tweed, theological works are always in demand. A strange impression seems to exist in the South ( I have heard it stated more than once in London) that Scotchmen do not read



the works of Anglican theologians, but confine themselves to books by their own countrymen, with perhaps the addition of the Puritan divines! There could be no greater mistake, for it is a well-known fact here that our Scotch clergymen-and many laymen too-keep themselves abreast of the times in respect to Biblical Criticism; and in nearly every Scotch manse may be found the works of such theologians as Driver, Sanday, Ellicott, Gore, Cheyne, etc.

It is clear from the letter which Clark sent to The Academy with this contribution that the piece had been requested by the editor, and that it was Clark who wished it to appear anonymously. In this letter (J.M. Clark-The Editor, The Academy, 24 November 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 337.) Clark, after disarmingly commenting that the editor might, if he so wished, dispose of his piece in the waste paper basket, went on to reveal something of the frustration he felt in the face of English publishers' lack of appreciation of the depth of the Scottish market for theology:

It is very hard for the Publisher of Canon Driver's & Canon Sanday's most important books to be told as I was told in a London Publisher's establishment, that Scotch Clergymen read mainly such books as The Bonnie Briar Bush & not books by Prof. Sanday!

- 144 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, p. 13.
- 145 T. Clark-M. Banks, 20 March 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 26.
- 146 T. Clark-the Rev Dr Dabney Hampdem [?], 3 March 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 268.
- 147 The firm's initial reaction was that 'It would be impossible for our Firm to publish criticism upon one of our own publications...' (T. & T. Clark-W.P. Dickson, 14 July 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 419.) They were, however, glad to have had the criticism from 'as able a hand as yours' (Ibid.), and began to consider whether it might be possible to publish the work if McGiffert would consent to read it, and possibly write a reply to be published conjointly with it. (T. & T. Clark-A.C. McGiffert, 21 September 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 532.) However, this plan fell through.
- 148 T. Clark-M. Banks, 20 March 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 26. This decision may have been influenced in part by a desire to keep Godet on the firm's list. Certainly, several more volumes by him were issued by the Clarks before the author's death in 1900.
- 149 See, e.g. T. & T. Clark-the Rev R.M. Edgar, Dublin, 19 June 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 301.
- 150 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. McDonald Inglis, Penningham, 18 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 632.
- 151 T. & T. Clark- the Rev. Robert Watts, Belfast, 1 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 796. Admittedly, the work in question was extremely abstruse- The Reign of Causality: A Vindication of the Scientific Principle of Telic Causal Efficiency.
- 152 Robert Watts, whose work appeared later in 1887.
- 153 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Dr C.H.H. Wright, Belfast, 9 April 1884, N.L.S.,



- Dep. 247/33, fol. 536. The work under consideration was by Friedrich E. König, probably his Religious History of Israel, Clark, 1885.
- 154 T. & T. Clark- the Rev. Dr Stock, Huddersfield, 24 March 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 32.
- 155 T. & T. Clark- the Rev Thomas Adamson, Glasgow, 11 December 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 384. The work in question was his Spirit of Power.
- 156 T. & T. Clark- the Rev. James Hill, Buckland St Mary, 1 August 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 11.
- 157 Of a work by Jellinghaus- T. & T. Clark- the Rev. Walter Sloan, China Inland Mission, 13 May 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 955.
- 158 J.M. Clark-W.F. Moulton, 11 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 477.
- 159 T. & T. Clark-Miss E. Wright, Musselburgh, 24 July 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 39.
- 160 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 28 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 130.
- 161 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Frank Ballard, Hull, 8 March 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 525.
- 162 T. Clark-M. Cave, 22 June 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 18.
- 163 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. James Aitchison, Falkirk, 2 July 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 738.
- 164 T. & T. Clark-D.W.Simon, Bradford, 16 May 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 663.
- 165 Quoted in James Harvey, In Memoriam Sir Thomas Clark (Edinburgh, n.d.), p. 6.
- 166 The Clarks' relationships with publishers on the other side of the Atlantic will be dealt with in the appropriate Section of Part II.
- 167 T. & T. Clark-Miss E. Wright, 24 July 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 39.
- 168 T. & T. Clark-David Kerr, Greenock, 29 March 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 671.
- 169 It could be argued, of course, that the firm was merely attempting to add some sweetness to its rejection letters.
- 170 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 22 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 387.
- 171 T. & T. Clark-Hodder and Stoughton, 6 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 499.
- 172 See J.M. Clark-Franz Delitzsch, 7 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 501 ; T. & T. Clark-Hodder and Stoughton, 7 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 503 ; T. & T. Clark- W.R. Nicoll, 13 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 513; J.M. Clark-Franz Delitzsch, 15 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 518.
- 173 J.M. Clark-Franz Delitzsch, 15 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34 fol. 518.



- 174 The Clarks' reaction to Hodder in this matter was particularly pointed because, of the first five books issued by the London firm in its Foreign Biblical Library, no fewer than three had been issued in previous editions by T. & T. Clark. Apart from the work by Delitzsch, there was A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament by Bernhard Weiss, and a Church History, by Johann H. Kurtz. (See T.H. Darlow, William Robertson Nicoll (London, 1925), p.461.) Interestingly, according to the list in Darlow's work, there were no further issues in the Foreign Biblical Library beyond the five titles initially announced. This may well indicate that Hodder accepted the Clarks' criticism, a criticism surely justified, for the London firm was carrying competition to the point of discourtesy.
- 175 T. & T. Clark-Hodder and Stoughton, 5 December 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 210.
- 176 Hodder was as closely connected with the Congregational Union as was Clark with the Free Church of Scotland. It would seem likely that Hodder apologised in this instance, for Clark wrote some years later (T. & T. Clark-William Robertson Nicoll, 13 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 513.) 'We have always looked upon Mr. Hodder as a personal friend, and upon one or two occasions, when we came a little into collision, he honourably apologised.'
- 177 The work in question was Paton J. Gloag's The Messianic Prophecies.
- 178 T. & T. Clark-W.R. Nicoll, 13 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 513.
- 179 See T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 24 April 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 616.
- 180 T. & T. Clark-Hodder and Stoughton, 5 December 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 210.
- 181 This quotation is from the earliest letter regarding the Hodder re-issue of Psalms. (T. & T. Clark-Hodder and Stoughton, 6 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 499.
- 182 T. & T. Clark-James Cooper, 5 February 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 458.
- 183 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, p. 7. The specific 'imitators and rivals' referred to were those who were competing with the Foreign Theological Library, aiming (not very successfully, according to the author) to 'introduce to English readers specimens of a freer type of continental divinity'.
- 184 John Attenborough, A Living Memory: Hodder and Stoughton Publishers 1868-1975 (London, 1975), pp.15-17.
- 185 Norman L. Walker-George M. Brown of Nelson, 13 October 1894, Edinburgh University Library, Nelson Archive, G.M. Brown-Letters, 1893.
- 186 See Norman L. Walker-George M. Brown, 25 October 1894, Edinburgh University Library, Nelson Archive, G.M. Brown-Letters, 1893.
- 187 T. & T. Clark-W.R. Nicoll, 13 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 513.



- 188 Ibid.
- 189 T.H. Darlow, William Robertson Nicoll: Life and Letters (London, 1925), p45.
- 190 T. & T. Clark-W.R. Nicoll, 13 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 513.
- 191 The work initially appeared in three volumes between 1860 and 1863-Volume 1 was revised and issued in two parts in 1893. (Alasdair I. MacLeod, 'James Hastings and the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' (unpublished MS, n.d.) p. 4.
- 192 T. & T. Clark-the Editor of the Daily News, 10 November 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 325.
- 193 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 788a.
- 194 Clark did not think it wise for Scribners to handle both the Dictionary of the Bible and the Encyclopaedia Biblica- See T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol.788a.
- 195 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. D.D. Ormond, Free Church Editorial Committee, 18 November 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 679.
- 196 Free Church of Scotland Assembly Proceedings, 1899.
- 197 In the case of more popular religious works there would be competition on two levels: on one level, competition with similar religious titles issued by other houses; on another level, competition with such general titles as might allure the casual purchaser. As the century drew to a close, while the total number of titles published in the UK increased (from 4570 in 1869 to 7570 in 1899), the number of religious works included in that total declined (from 1047 in 1869 to 693 in 1899). (Patrick Scott, 'The Business of Belief: The Emergence of "Religious" Publishing', Studies in Church History (1973), 213-24 (p. 224).) Clearly, while the market for general works was increasing, that for religious works was on the decline. Such popular religious titles as were published faced increasing competition from general books. Serious theological works such as the Clarks published were not, of course, in direct competition with general titles.
- 198 T. & T. Clark-Alexander Whyte, 28 June 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 743.
- 199 T. & T. Clark-Hodder and Stoughton, 5 December 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 210.
- 200 T. & T. Clark-William Robertson Nicoll, 13 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 513.

C:Notes:Part II

- 1 The financial year ran from July to June. This information is contained in N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, which, in the N.L.S. repertory of the Deposit, is given the mistakenly narrow title 'Stock and sales book, individual titles 1896-97'.
- 2 A reasonably complete list of series issued by the Clarks in the nineteenth century follows:
  - St Augustine's Works
  - The Ante-Nicene Library
  - The Biblical Cabinet
  - Bible Class Handbooks
  - Bible Class Primers
  - Cabinet Library of Scarce and Celebrated Tracts
  - Calvin's Works
  - Eras of the Christian Church
  - Foreign Theological Library
  - Foreign Devotional Library
  - History of the Christian Church
  - International Critical Commentary
  - International Theological Library
  - Lange's Commentaries
  - Meyer's Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
  - World's Epoch Makers
- 3 T. & T. Clark-Buchanan Blake, December 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 159.
- 4 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. James B. Johnston, Tighnabruaich, 12 August 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39.
- 5 T. & T. Clark-Charles Scribner, 14 October 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 923.
- 6 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 30 May 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 344.
- 7 Bookseller, 30 September 1865, p. 584.
- 8 Catalogue, c. 1875.
- 9 T. & T. Clark-R.A. Macfie, 17 November 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 873.
- 10 Dictionary of National Biography. The punctuality with which the Clark series was issued was often contrasted favourably with the extreme slowness which characterised the appearance of its Oxford counterpart. For example, the Bookseller commented (1 June 1869, p. 470.)
  - the regularity with which the publishers issue the four annual volumes of this series, according to promise, affords a favourable contrast with the dilatory manner in which the Oxford amateurs issued their 'Library of the Fathers', the incompleteness of which is discreditable to its managers. Would it not be well for Dr. Pusey and his associates to make some arrangement with Messrs, Clark for amalgamation with the 'Ante-Nicene Library'?
- 11 Bookseller, 31 December 1866, p. 1341.



- 12 'The Literature of Tractarianism', Bookseller, 3 February 1880, 106a-106c (p. 106c).
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 T. & T. Clark-the Bishop of New York, 25 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 684.
- 16 The Ante-Nicene Library was initially issued in the United States through the agency of Scribners: the subsequent threatened piracy of the series by the Christian Literature Publishing Company, with which the Clarks were compelled through force of circumstances to conclude an agreement, is discussed in the section on the firm's dealings with transatlantic publishing houses.
- 17 Bookseller, 29 June 1867, p. 433.
- 18 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 19 This limitation, from our point of view, of the Stock and Sales Book extends to all the titles it contains data on.
- 20 T. & T. Clark, Trade List, November 1872; Catalogue, c. 1875.
- 21 T. & T. Clark, Colonial Catalogue, 1902 (issued 1901).
- 22 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fols. 83-84, etc.
- 23 It would appear from the Stock and Sales Book (N.L.S., Dep. 247/138) that all the non-subscription sales were channelled through the wholesalers.
- 24 Announcement in the Bookseller, 3 October 1871, p. 843.
- 25 Patrick C. Simpson, The Life of Principal Rainy (London, n.d.), I, 135.
- 26 T. & T. Clark, Trade List, November 1872; Catalogue, c. 1875.
- 27 T. & T. Clark, Catalogue, c. 1894.
- 28 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 29 Again it would appear from the Stock and Sales Book that all the non-subscription sales were channelled through the wholesaler.
- 30 Thirty-six City of God volumes (eighteen of each) were sold at non-subscription rates over 1895-96, eight over 1896-97, twelve over 1897-98, and four over 1898-99.
- 31 Thomas Clark-the Rev. Alexander Whyte, 29 September 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 155.
- 32 T. & T. Clark-James Nisbet and Co., 18 October 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 176.
- 33 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. 69.
- 34 See T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Alexander Whyte, 28 June 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 743.

- 35 See T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. Parry, 28 April 1885 and 1 May 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fols 955, 959. The first letter grants Parry permission to translate Stalker's Life of St Paul into Welsh, a royalty of 1d. per copy sold to be paid to the Clarks. The second letter, in response to a request by Parry for a blanket agreement covering Welsh translation rights in all B.C.H. titles, points out that this is impossible, firstly because two titles in the series have already been translated into Welsh by another party, and secondly, because due to the differing retail prices of the works, the firm wished to negotiate differing royalty terms in each case.
- 36 T. & T. Clark-The Presbyterian News Co., Toronto, 24 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 260. See John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States: The Expansion of an Industry 1865-1919 II (1975), pp. 331-334, 359-360 for details of the Revell firm.
- 37 T. & T. Clark-The Presbyterian News Co., Toronto, 24 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 260.
- 38 For example, Life of Christ, first issued in 1879, had sold 12,000 copies by March 1883, as opposed to Marcus Dods' Haggai, issued the same year, which had sold only 500 copies, and the same author's Genesis (1882), which had sold a more satisfactory 2000. (T. & T. Clark-Marcus Dods, 8 March 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 217.) And sales of Stalker's books remained high: between January and June 1886, 1274 copies of the B.C.H. edition of the Life of Christ were sold, and 1078 copies of the B.C.H. edition of the Life of St Paul. The next six months saw these editions sell, respectively, 662 and 429 copies. (T. & T. Clark-Dr James Stalker, 12 October 1886 and 2 March 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fols 510, 647.)
- 39 Thomas Clark-the Rev. Alexander Whyte, 29 September 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 155.
- 40 See T. & T. Clark-James Nisbet & Co., 18 October 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 176.
- 41 Some of the titles in the series with a retail price of 2s. 0d. were being sold to the trade at 1s. 5d. in 1898, whereas their previous trade price had been 1s. 4d. This would make some difference to the profits of the booksellers, whose customers still expected a 25% discount on non-net titles.
- 42 T. & T. Clark-Macniven and Wallace, 4 March 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 493.
- 43 For Nicoll's move to Hodder and Stoughton and for details of the Library see T.H. Darlow, William Robertson Nicoll (1925), pp. 45-46, 460.
- 44 T. & T. Clark-Macniven and Wallace, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 514.
- 45 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 19 February 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 154a.



- 46 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 17 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 626.
- 47 T. & T. Clark-D.D. Ormond (of the Free Church Editorial Committee), 18 November 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 679. For a discussion of the view held in certain quarters in the Free Church in 1895 that Thomas Nelson and Sons were profiteering at the expense of the Church in issuing the Free Church Monthly see John A.H. Dempster, 'Thomas Nelson and Sons in the late Nineteenth Century: A Study in Motivation' Part 2, Publishing History, XIV (1983), 5-63 (pp. 33-40).
- 48 The Clarks were quick to point out Spurgeon's approbation to a correspondent, the editor of a periodical to which they had sent an advertisement for the Primers, who felt that the series had a less than orthodox view of the historicity of the Genesis record, and claimed that Spurgeon 'abhorred' the teaching of the Primers. (T. & T. Clark-the Rev J. Urquhart (Editor of King's Own), 28 November 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 548.)
- 49 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 19 February 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 154a.
- 50 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. 58.
- 51 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 52 This is the implication of T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 12 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 773.
- 53 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 10 September 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 172.
- 54 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 12 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 773; T. & T. Clark-the Rev Hugh Callan, 3 January 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 784; T. & T. Clark- the Rev. R ? Rester, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 848.
- 55 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 13 May 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 980.
- 55a Ibid.
- 56 T. & T. Clark-Oliphant Smeaton, 16 November 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 672. It is not clear whether the 12½% royalty was an alternative to a lower royalty, or (more likely from the wording) to a down payment.
- 57 T. & T. Clark-the Editor of the Bookseller, 12 June 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 699.
- 58 See T. & T. Clark-Oliphant Smeaton, 8 December 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40b, fol. 22. This letter is interesting for what it reveals of the firm's close relationship with the editor, and appreciative attitude towards him:  
 Before Sunday comes we wish you to receive a note from us just to say that (referring especially to [Arthur] Lillie's 'Buddha') we know the best of Editors may make a mistake- or rather, let us say, that the best Author he selects may make a mistake- & we do not wish you to feel disheartened or



depressed. We are very sensible that you have done & are doing all you can for the Series, and we have no doubt that some of the future Volumes will make up for the one or two inferior ones which have already appeared- such as 'Buddha', & perhaps 'Wesley' too, for we hear [F.J.] Snell also severely criticised. [T.M.] Lindsay's 'Luther', however, is splendid, there is no doubt of that, & we know it is impossible to get all the Vols. equally good... You will, we know, exercise every care & vigilance, & we should never dream of suggesting a change of Editor.

- 59 It was, indeed, one of the conditions imposed upon the incumbent of the Cunningham Lectureship that his lectures be published at his own risk in an edition of not fewer than 750 copies. (Extract Declaration of Trust, printed at the front of James Walker's Cunningham Lectures on the Theology and Theologians of Scotland, which T. & T. Clark published.)
- 60 Thomas Clark-Hodder and Stoughton, 5 December 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 210.
- 61 All the statistics in this section are from the Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 62 T. & T. Clark-R.J. Drummond, 26 February 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 504.
- 63 T. & T. Clark-J. Cynddylan Jones, 1 July 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 47.
- 64 T. & T. Clark-Professor E. Jones, 31 May 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 17.
- 65 T. & T. Clark-Principal David Simon, 16 May 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 663.
- 66 The details of the constitution of this Lectureship are given in the Extract Declaration of Trust, dated 1 March 1862, printed at the front of James Walker's Cunningham series. (See note 59) One William Webster, wishing to further the cause of theological literature in Scotland, and to commemorate William Cunningham, a New College Professor, put in Trust the sum of £2,000 to finance 'the Cunningham Lectureship', as it was to be known. The Declaration of Trust defines those who were eligible to be considered for the Lectureship (Free Church ministers and professors, and occasionally ministers and professors from other denominations), and stipulates that they could be appointed for either two or three years, at the end of which they would be expected to deliver, within the New College term time, a series of at least six lectures, which they would afterwards be required to publish at their own risk. Other conditions were also laid down.
- 67 Thomas Clark-T.W.Stoughton, 5 December 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 210.
- 68 T. & T. Clark-W.G. Blaikie, 28 February 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 985. The implication is that, contrary to the conditions in the Extract Declaration of Trust, the Clarks had been bearing the risk, rather than the author. In Blaikie's case they were prepared to accept the work because they agreed with the



lecturer's assessment that his material might be more popular in book form than had been some of the recent Cunningham Lectures.

- 69 The Clarks did not venture into the publishing of new translations of the Bible. The firm was offered a new translation of the New Testament Epistles in 1884, but this was rejected on the grounds firstly that the interest in new translations of the Bible which had been stimulated by the publication of the Revised Version of the New Testament in 1881, had waned, and, secondly that the particular translation which was offered to the Clarks was too conservative. Thus the firm wrote to the translator about his MS as follows:

We are, however, doubtful of its success: the interest created by the Revision has died away & we think most people will prefer a pretty liberal translation with a brief Commentary. [The reading is definitely 'liberal translation': the writer may, however, have intended to write 'literal'.] Of course we may be wrong, but we fear the circulation will not be great. (T. & T. Clark-the Rev. H. Hayman, Ulverston, 7 June 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 596.)

It is interesting to compare the rejection of this work with the acceptance of an apparently similar one right at the end of the century. James Moffatt's The Historical New Testament, an annotated translation, appeared in 1901.

- 70 T. & T. Clark-Herr Herz<sup>†</sup>, Berlin, 21 September 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 480.
- 71 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Walter Sloan of the China Inland Mission, 13 May 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 985.
- 72 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. H. MacDonald Scott, Leipzig, 27 March 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 287. In fact, no new work by Luthardt would appear to have been issued by the Clarks until Volume One of his History of Christian Ethics to the Reformation appeared in 1889.
- 73 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. Beveridge, 5 October 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 622. The reasons given for the Clarks' attitude were, firstly, that Dahle was himself eager to see the work translated, and, secondly, that Beveridge had already expended considerable efforts on the translation. The work was published later in 1895.
- 74 John M. Clark-Professor Godet, 30 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 450.
- 74a The un-named Wesleyan Methodist contributor to The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh (Edinburgh, n.d.), pp. 17-18.
- 75 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Edward Lummis, Hull, 15 June 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 705.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Edward E. Whitfield, Rochester, 7 September 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 157.
- 78 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Edward Lummis, Hull, 15 June 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 705.



- 79 Published in Tübingen in five volumes between 1909 and 1913.
- 80 Volume 4, col. 649. Quoted in Alasdair I. MacLeod, James Hastings and the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (unpublished paper, 197?), p. 17.
- 81 T. & T. Clark-Moulton, 14 June 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 722.
- 82 See T. & T. Clark-Bishop Martensen, 7 June 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 83; T. & T. Clark-Dr Simon, 7 August 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 100; T. & T. Clark-Messrs Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 21 May 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 314.
- 83 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. R.T. Cunningham, Castle Kennedy, 17 November 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 187.
- 84 T. & T. Clark-F.E. König, 30 May 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 16. König had obviously sought a larger fee, for the letter explains in some detail why this was impossible:  
 The Book, although a small one, has been very costly to produce and it cannot be expected to have a popular sale. In fact, some Scholars who have already seen it, while heartily acknowledging the great scholarship displayed in the Book, have expressed some surprise that we undertook the risk of it, as they are sure it will have a very small sale here.  
 Ironically, the Clarks, clearly forgetting that the £10 had previously been advanced to König, sent a second cheque with this letter. König replied, asking if he was to retain this further payment, whereupon the firm (N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 21), asking for its return, reinforced the request with a quotation from the Scotsman on König's book to the effect that it was 'too recondite to make any wide appeal.'
- 85 T. & T. Clark-Mrs Lyttleton, Cambridge, 27 April 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 352.
- 86 T. & T. Clark-C.F. Keil, 6 July 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 750.
- 87 T. & T. Clark-H. Martensen, 7 June 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 83. The Clarks were conscious that this was a small honorarium, but the first volume of the work had not been hugely successful, and since over a year had elapsed since their initial publication, the firm could not secure sole rights in the succeeding volumes. Further payments would be made to Martensen if the work's sales merited these.
- 88 T. & T. Clark-Professor Emil Schurer of Keil, 18 November 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 741.
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 T. & T. Clark-Professor Emil Schurer, 29 November 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 754.
- 91 T. & T. Clark-Professor G. Dalman, 22 February 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 496.



- 92 Thomas Clark-Hertz, Berlin, 24 July 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 115. The work in question was Professor Isaac A. Dorner's Dogmatik.
- 93 T. & T. Clark-Samuel R. Driver, Oxford, 17 January 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 57.
- 94 T. & T. Clark-Hertz, 3 November 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 173. This was presumably the work published by the Clarks in 1887 at 14s. Od. as A System of Christian Ethics.
- 95 T. & T. Clark-Hertz, 29 September 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 158; T. & T. Clark-Hertz, 7 October 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 163.
- 96 T. & T. Clark-C.H.H. Wright, Belfast (the translator), 9 April 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 536; T. & T. Clark-C.H.H. Wright, 21 April 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 545; T. & T. Clark-F.E. König, 28 April 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 554.
- 97 T. & T. Clark-Hertz, Berlin, 21 September 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 480. The work in question was by Professor Bernhard Weiss, one of whose earlier books, Biblical Theology of the New Testament, had been published in translation by the Clarks only after much agonising as we have seen. The work had, they claimed 'been very far from a success with us'.
- 98 T. & T. Clark-Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 21 May 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 314.
- 99 T. & T. Clark-Hertz, 24 July 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 115.
- 100 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Edward Lummis, 15 June 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 705.
- 101 T. & T. Clark-?Walde, 16 January 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 52.
- 102 John M. Clark-S.R.Driver, 17 January 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 57.
- 103 T. & T. Clark-F.E. König, 26 November 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40b, fol. 5.
- 104 T. & T. Clark-Religious Tract Society, 6 May 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 700.
- 105 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Neil Buchanan, 2 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 228. Buchanan was the translator of the New Testament Theology of J.H.C.W. Beyschlag of Hallé, which was issued in two volumes at 18s. Od. (1894).
- 106 T. & T. Clark-Dr Simon, 8 July 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 100.
- 107 T. & T. Clark-Mr Banks, 20 March 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 26.
- 108 T. & T. Clark-Dr Simon, 8 July 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 100. The work in question was I.A. Dorner's System of Christian Doctrine which eventually ran to four volumes in the F.T.L., selling at £2 2s. Od.
- 109 T. & T. Clark-J.A. Selbie, 10 January 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 803.

- 110 T. & T. Clark-Professor F. Crombie, 17 November 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 872.
- 111 T. & T. Clark-Miss Taylor, 30 November 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 209.
- 112 T. & T. Clark-C.H.H. Wright, 21 April 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 545.
- 113 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Alex. Grieve, 24 May 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 8.
- 114 T. & T. Clark-Mrs Lyttleton, 27 April 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 357.
- 115 T. & T. Clark-A. Cusin, [April 1880], N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 295; T. & T. Clark-Mr Clark, [April 1880], N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 295.
- 116 T. & T. Clark-Miss Taylor, 30 November 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 209. By 1901, Schürer's work, completed in five volumes, was on offer at £1 6s. 3d.
- 117 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. MacPherson, 24 April 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 951.
- 118 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138; T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Neil Buchanan, 2 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 228.
- 119 T. & T. Clark-Professor F. Crombie, St Andrews, 17 November 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 872.
- 120 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. Campbell, 25 June 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 14. It is not clear at which point translators were normally paid for their work. In this case, it was obviously some time after publication.
- 121 John M. Clark-the Rev. Neil Buchanan, 2 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 228.
- 122 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 30 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 916.
- 123 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. Beveridge, Wolverhampton, 5 November 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 284. Clearly, the Clarks had written previously to Beveridge, complaining about the cost of corrections at proof stage, to which Beveridge had replied by reminding the firm that many of the changes had been made at their instigation. The letter quoted is their response to this point. The work in question is Dahle's Life after Death.
- 124 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 30 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 916. The Clarks were also prepared, if Scribners wished, to supply them with the 250 copies in sheets at 7s. 6d. per volume.
- 125 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 April 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 936. The Clarks would also be prepared to supply Scribners with the 250 copies in sheets at 7s. 6d. per set.
- 125aT. & T. Clark, Trade List, November 1889.



- 126 The sources for this study are T. & T. Clark-the Rev. James M. MacDonald, Warminster, 24 May 1886, 2 June 1886, 7 June 1886, 10 June 1886, 25 June 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fols. 382,395,398, 403,420 ; T. & T. Clark-Professor Nöldeke, Strasburg, 24 May 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fols. 384; a copy of a note from the United States journal Hebraica, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 404.
- 127 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. James M. MacDonald, 24 May 1886.
- 128 The balance of MacDonald's honorarium was also to be paid upon the sale of the first four hundred copies. It was also stipulated that the payment to Nöldeke must include any claim of the publisher, Herr Weigel.
- 129 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. James M. MacDonald, 2 June 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 395.
- 130 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. James M. MacDonald, 7 June 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 398.
- 131 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. James M. MacDonald, 10 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 403.
- 132 Copy in N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 404.
- 133 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. W. Done, 25 January 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 629.
- 134 John M. Clark-S.R. Driver, 18 August 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 991.
- 135 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. John MacPherson, 7 September 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 1009.
- 136 Sir Thomas Clark-the Rev. John MacPherson, 25 March 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 343.
- 137 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. John MacPherson, 4 April 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 359.
- 138 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. John MacPherson, 19 July 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 516.
- 139 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. 321.
- 140 See T. & T. Clark-Alex. Grieve, 24 May 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 8.
- 141 T. & T. Clark-Adolf Diessmann, 8 August 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 461.
- 142 The sources for this study are T. & T. Clark-Alexander Grieve, 24 May 1899, 26 May 1899, 16 June 1899, 4 July 1899, 16 July 1899, 21 August 1899, 9 September 1899, 25 September 1899, 27 September 1899, 27 November 1899, 15 December 1899, 15 February 1900, 20 June 1900, 2 July 1900, 20 October 1900, 23 March 1901, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fols 8,11,44,81,108,154,179,223,230,356, 389,482,714,740,928, Dep. 247/40b, fol. 179 ; T. & T. Clark-W.M. Ramsay, 9 June 1899, 22 September 1899, 25 September 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fols 28,213,221 ; T. & T. Clark- A. King and Co., 23 June 1899, 29 June 1899, 21 July 1899, 1 June 1900



21 July 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fols 57,71,111,684,787; Copy of letter from W.M. Ramsay-T. & T. Clark, 23 September 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 219.

- 143 John M. Clark-the Rev. Alex. Grieve, 27 November 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 356.
- 144 Copy of W.M. Ramsay-T.& T. Clark, 23 September 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 21.
- 145 John M. Clark-the Rev. Alex. Grieve, 20 June 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 714.
- 146 John M. Clark-the Rev. Alex. Grieve, 20 October 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 928.
- 147 John M. Clark-the Rev. Alex. Grieve, 23 March 1901, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40b, fol. 179.
- 148 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. L.A. Muirhead, 17 February 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 487.
- 149 T. & T. Clark-Mrs Lyttleton, Cambridge, 4 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 884. In fact the firm proceeded with publication of the translation outwith the series.
- 150 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. Beveridge, 5 October 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 622. In this case too, the Clarks agreed in the end to publish the work.
- 151 T. & T. Clark-Dr Simon, 1 July 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 94.
- 152 T. & T. Clark-J. Bosworth, 27 February 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 201. The work was apparently popular in the Apostolic Church with which Bosworth was involved.
- 153 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Thomas Desprès, 16 July 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 33.
- 154 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Thomas Desprès, 1 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 794. The Clarks commented 'We can assure you we are doing what we can, but of course we cannot make books sell'.
- 155 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.

156 This was made up as follows:

Printing	£81	5s.	0d.
Paper	£17	10s.	8d.
Binding			
(1080x 6.75d.)	£30	6s.	6d.*
Translation	£20	10s.	6d.#
Advertising,			
Proportion of			
lists, misc.	£10	10s.	2d.
	£160	2s.	10d.

\*This is a notional figure. In fact, only 370 copies were bound up at the time of publication.

#In fact, the translator would seem to have received £30, but for some reason only £20 10s. 6d. was charged to the book. The author received books in lieu of a fee for translation right, and the cost of these was not charged against the title.

157 This was made up as follows:

Printing	£62	15s.	5d.
Paper	£11	18s.	0d.
Binding			
(810x 4.23d.)	£14	5s.	6d.*
Author's			
representative	£10	0s.	0d.
Translator	£30	0s.	0d.
Advertising,			
Proportion of			
lists, misc.	£7	2s.	5d.
Moulds	£6	17s.	9d.#
	<u>£142</u>	<u>19s.</u>	<u>1d.</u>

\*This again is a notional figure. Only 310 were bound at the time of publication.

#Clearly the Clarks, ever-optimistic, envisaged the possibility of a second printing of the work.

158 This was made up as follows:

Printing	£304	5s.	1d.
Paper	£30	16s.	10d.
Binding 1614 vols			
(807x2) x 6.75d.	£45	8s.	0d.*
Translation right	£20	0s.	0d.
Translator	£73	10s.	0d.#
Advertising,			
Proportion of lists,			
misc.	£13	12s.	3d.
Moulds	£22	14s.	10d.##
	<u>£510</u>	<u>7s.</u>	<u>0d.</u>

\*Once again a notional figure. 500 copies were bound at the time of publication.

#Professor Stevenson received this sum. John MacPherson does not appear to have been rewarded for his pains.

##It is quite incredible that the firm was prepared to lay out this sum on moulds, as it must have been always extremely unlikely that a second printing would be required.

159 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh (1882), p. 8.

160 Publishers' Circular, 1846, p. 42.

161 T. & T. Clark's Publications (c. 1891).

162 Colonial Catalogue (issued 1901), pp. 44-45.

163 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh (1882), p. 13.

164 c. 1891, p. 28.

165 T. & T. Clark-Professor F. Crombie, St Andrews, 17 November 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 872.

166 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh (1882), p. 17.

167 Ibid., p. 16.

168 Ibid., p. 17.

169 Which was co-published with the American firm of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.



- 170 T. & T. Clark-Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 7 August 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 18.
- 171 His System of Christian Doctrine.
- 172 The Publishing House of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh (1882), p. 18.
- 173 Thomas Clark-Philip Schaff, 12 February 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 248.
- 174 Ibid. Thomas Clark hinted at the reason for Miller's grudge against the firm:  
 If it is a Mr. Miller who wrote a book on Proverbs it is a piece of spite for that book was proposed to me and I rejected it on half an hour's examination and thankful I was that I did so for greater rubbish does not exist.  
 Clark enclosed a note refuting Miller's case, and asked Schaff to pass it to the editor of The Christian. It is interesting to speculate whether Miller was the J.R. Miller who wrote a highly successful series of devotional works, beginning with Come Ye Apart, which were published on this side of the Atlantic by Nelson in the 1890s.
- 175 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. James Hill, 1 August 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 11.
- 176 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 177 This information is drawn from the firm's Trade List (November 1872); catalogues for c1878 and c1891; and the Colonial Catalogue (November 1901).
- 178 These prices were in force for most of the century, although in 1846 at least the series would seem to have been issued at an annual subscription rate of £1 0s. 0d. (Note in Publishers' Circular, 1846, p. 42.) Interestingly, the trade discount was said to be a full 10% in a letter to a retailer (16 September 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 146), when according to the figures in the Trade List it was 0.5% lower. In cases where a subscriber did not pay in advance, it was stated that the retail bookseller was entitled to charge £1 4s. 0d. per annum instead of £1 1s. 0d., the equivalent of 6s. 0d. per volume. If these copies were obtained at the trade price of 4s. 9d., the bookseller would then in effect be receiving a discount of 20.8%, the additional bonus compensating him to some degree for the slower return on his outlay (assuming that he had to pay in advance).
- 179 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fols 75-82, etc.
- 180 Quotations from, respectively, the Guardian magazine, and the American theologian Dr Philip Schaff, as quoted in T. & T. Clark's Publications (c1875).
- 181 F.L. Cross, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, second edition, (1974), p. 912.
- 182 T. & T. Clark-Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 21 May 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 314.



- 183 T. & T. Clark's Publications (c1891).
- 184 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 185 F.L. Cross, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, second edition, (1974), p. 912.
- 186 This is the implication of a sentence in T. & T. Clark-Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 21 May 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 314.
- 187 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 October 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 381; T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 16 January 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 438. The Clarks responded by supplying copies of the series to Scribners at a price which would enable them to undercut the pirated edition, and, later, by characteristically holding out an olive branch to the offending firm in offering, albeit unwillingly, to withdraw the Meyer agency from Scribner after a period of two years, and thereafter to accept a 5% royalty from Funk and Wagnalls on their sales of their edition. This was dependent upon Funk and Wagnalls' withdrawing their reprint during the two-year period. This issue is considered in context in the next Section.
- 188 Thomas Clark-the Rev. Dr Dabney Hampden, 3 March 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 268.
- 189 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 20 February 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 189.
- 190 T. & T. Clark-Charles Welford, 2 October 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 356.
- 191 T. & T. Clark-The University Press, Chicago, 16 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 375.
- 192 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 14 April 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 940.
- 193 American Presbyterianism, however, was not a success in the UK market, and their experience with it caused the Clarks to decline a similar work by Philip Schaff, another American author with whom they had a close relationship and who had supplied them with valuable work. The firm very much regretted having to decline his Church and State, but added 'Our experience with...American Presbyterianism has been by no means encouraging, & we fear that Dr Schaff's book also will not have a remunerative sale outside of the States.' (T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 25 February 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 983.) Clearly, the Clarks did not invariably accept works because of the relationship they had with the author.
- 194 T. & T. Clark-L.W. Bangs, 18 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 629.
- 195 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 9 June 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 725.
- 196 See Ibid.
- 197 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 1 March 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 646.

- 198 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 7 December 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 110.
- 199 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 6 February 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 167.
- 200 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 3 March 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 209.
- 201 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 25 March 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 517.
- 202 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 7 December 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 110.
- 203 T. & T. Clark-Copyright Department, British Museum, 19 May 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 312. The Act in question was the 1842 Copyright Act (5 & 6 Vict. cap. 45). Sections six and seven dealt with the supply of deposit copies of works to the British Museum. Section eight ordered the deposit of four further copies at Stationers' Hall for distribution to the Bodleian Library, to Cambridge University Library, to the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.
- 204 Thomas Clark-the Rev. Dr Dabney Hampden, 3 March 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 268.
- 205 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 31 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 918.
- 206 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 293.
- 207 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 12 February 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 464.
- 208 Ibid.
- 209 T. & T. Clark-Houghton-Mifflin, 10 November 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 179. The work in question was Stades' History of Israel.
- 210 T. & T. Clark-C. Welford (Scribner's London Agent), 7 June 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 595. The letter continued 'We could not venture on more than 1s. 6d. for an Edition [illegible]'. The work had a retail price of 5s. 6d.
- 211 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 16 March 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 559.
- 212 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 12 December 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 113.
- 213 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 16 March 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 559.
- 214 Thomas Clark-Messrs Robert Carter & Bros, New York, 14 August 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 135. According to the British Library Catalogue, the first edition of this work had been published in 1855. Interestingly enough, the work was still in print with Clark in 1901.
- 215 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 12 February 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 464.



- 216 Ibid.
- 217 The work was published in 1883.
- 218 Published in 1884.
- 219 T. & T. Clark-C. Welford, 7 June 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 595.
- 220 Published in 1885.
- 221 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 14 April 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 940.
- 222 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 25 February 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 983.
- 223 Published in 1887.
- 224 T. & T. Clark-L.W. Bangs, London, 18 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 629.
- 225 Due to an error, the Clarks note the loss as being £4 13s. 0d.
- 226 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 20 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 874. A transitional problem had clearly arisen: it is implied that T. & T. Clark had assumed that they would be taking over responsibility for servicing British subscribers as from January 1885, only to discover that Scribners had posted that issue direct to the customers. This problem was obviously not immediately cleared up for at least some subscribers were still complaining of receiving copies direct from America at the time when the October 1885 issue appeared. (T. & T. Clark-Scribner, 8 December 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 213.) It is not clear whether this was simply an error of Scribners or whether it was representative of a devious desire on their part both to have their cake and to eat it.
- 227 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 20 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 874.
- 228 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 31 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 918.
- 229 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 20 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 874.
- 230 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 December 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 213. 450 copies of the January 1885 number had been sent. (T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 20 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 874.)
- 231 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 293.
- 232 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 10 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 922.
- 233 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 15 July 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 440.
- 234 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 24 February 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 296.



- 235 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 18 January 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 589.
- 236 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 20 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 874.
- 237 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 293.
- 238 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 10 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 922.
- 239 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 18 January 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 589.
- 240 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 10 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 922.
- 241 Where the prices are noted as follows: per issue-trade, 3s. 2d.; retail, 3s. 6d. net : per annum (four issues)-trade 11s. 3d.; retail 12s. 6d. net. The modest trade discounts would not have encouraged a wide circulation. Unfortunately, we have no figures on which to base an assessment of the profitability of the journal to the Clarks.
- 242 T. & T. Clark, Catalogue, (c1894).
- 243 Trade Catalogue.
- 244 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 245 T. & T. Clark, Catalogue (c1894), p. 22.
- 246 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 247 No copies were bought of the volumes on the Swiss Reformation so it is impossible to be certain what the Clarks' buying price was in the case of that title.
- 248 In 1896-97, £1 was charged to each title as its contribution to the promotion budget. On average, twenty-four copies were sold of each title in the series. Each copy sold therefore contributed 10d. to the 'Proportion of Lists'. The series was not separately advertised. Over 1897-98, each title contributed only 10s. 0d. to the 'Proportion of Lists', but specific advertising of the series cost 2s. 3d. per title in addition to this. Sales averaged twenty-one per title. Each copy sold therefore contributed 7d. to the promotion budget.
- 249 Two examples of the accounts on which these calculations are based follow:

Apostolic Christianity: Accounts 1896-97

	<u>Outlay</u>		<u>Income</u>	
Binding 80 vols @ 6d.	£2	0s.	0d.	Sales of 31 @ 13s. 6d.
Printing title pages		15s.	9d.	Sales of 1 @ 12s. 0d.
50 copies from Scribner @ 4s. 6d.	£11	5s.	0d.	12s. 0d.
Proportion of folding and carriage		18s.	0d.	
Prop. of lists	£1	0s.	0d.	
	£15	18s.	9d.	
Profit	5	11s.	9d.	
	£21	10s.	6d.	£21 10s. 6d.

Medieval Christianity:Accounts 1896-97

<u>Outlay</u>			<u>Income</u>		
Binding 50 vols @ 6d.	£1	5s. 0d.	Sales of 19 @ 13s. 6d.	£12	16s. 6d.
50 copies from Scribners @ 5s. 0d.			Sales of 1 @ 12s. 0d.		12s. 0d.
Proportion of folding and carriage	£1	1s. 0d.			
Prop. of lists	£1	0s. 0d.	Loss		
	<u>£15 16s. 0d.</u>			<u>£13 8s. 6d.</u>	
				<u>2 7s. 6d</u>	
				<u>£15 16s. 0d.</u>	

- 250 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 31 August 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 142a.
- 251 See T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 15 December 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 392.
- 252 Ibid.
- 253 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 31 August 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 142a.
- 254 Ibid.
- 255 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 256 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 15 December 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 392.
- 257 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 5 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 467. (The Clarks seem to have over-reacted somewhat over the issue of the pagination. According to the Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles there was only one case, that of the Great Western Schism in which the number of pages was dramatically smaller than they had been led to expect. That volume fell short by 155 pages, others by no more than seventy-one or fifty-eight pages. And having received a reduction on the smaller volumes the Clarks somewhat unreasonably held the retail price at 6s. 0d. per volume, thus meting out to their trade and retail customers the very treatment which they themselves refused to accept from the American firm.) On receiving the concession of a reduction on the smaller volumes and an assurance that, in future gatherings would bear signatures, the Edinburgh firm agreed not to pass on to the Christian Literature Company the additional binding charges levied on account of the fact that sheets of the early volumes in the series did not have signatures.
- 258 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 16 March 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 559.
- 259 Quoted in T. & T. Clark-Henry Gee, 19 March 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 572.
- 260 Ibid.
- 261 For the letters to Bartlet see T. & T. Clark-Vernon Bartlet, 6 April 1897 and 22 April 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fols 611 and 641.



- 262 T. & T. Clark, Colonial Catalogue, (1902), p. 9.
- 263 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 20 October 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 845.
- 264 See T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 10 November 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 516.
- 265 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 16 January 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 438.
- 266 Encyclopaedia Britannica, fifteenth edition, (1985), Micropaedia, vol. 10, pp. 570-71.
- 267 Roger Burlingame, Of Making Many Books: A Hundred Years of Reading, Writing and Publishing (New York, 1946), pp. 162-64.
- 268 Ibid.
- 269 John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States, 4 vols, II (1975), 222-26.
- 270 Ibid., p. 224.
- 271 See Tebbel, op. cit., p. 222.
- 272 John M. Clark-James Hastings, 11 February 1904, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40c, fol. 82.
- 273 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 12 February 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 464.
- 274 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 24 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 876.
- 275 N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 787.
- 276 It no doubt suited Scribners also to be able to decline works which they felt were unlikely to have a satisfactory sale.
- 277 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 August 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 825.
- 278 T. & T. Clark-?, 4 July 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 296.
- 279 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Prof. J.D. Kirkpatrick, 3 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 882. Writing in response to a request from Kirkpatrick, the Clarks enclosed a current catalogue. This must have been a special case: in general, works were sold very cheaply to Scribners so that they in turn could sell them at a price low enough to deter would-be pirates. In most cases, it would not have been cheaper for an American customer to buy direct from Edinburgh, unless the Clarks were promising very favourable discounts, which are not mentioned in the case in question.
- 280 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 19 December 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 120.
- 281 T. & T. Clark-Putnam, 11 October 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 441.
- 282 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 663. Clark enclosed with the letter three other letters addressed to the houses of Funk and Wagnalls, Randolph, and



- Bartlett in which similar proposals were made about the Monthly Interpreter, and asked Scribners to post these if they were declining the offer 'as there [was] no time to lose'
- 283 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 4 July 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 894.
- 284 It may well have been the case that little money in fact changed hands, the sums owed by each firm merely being set against one another. This principle certainly operated in the two firms' co-editions programme.
- 285 The data in the Table is from Trade Ledgers 1881-1890, 1890-1895, 1895-1901, N.L.S., Dep. 247/99a, 100,100a.
- 286 N.L.S., Dep. 247/100a.
- 287 A History of Book Publishing in the United States, 4 vols, II (1975), 332. See pp. 331-334 and pp. 359-60 for material on Revell and the company he founded.
- 288 Ibid., p. 332.
- 289 T. & T. Clark-Fleming H. Revell, 25 April 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 259.
- 290 T. & T. Clark-Presbyterian News Company, 22 June 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 303.
- 291 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. A.E. Whatham, Michigan, 5 November [sic-actually December] 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 561.
- 292 See John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States, 4 vols, II (1975), 373-74 for data on the firm.
- 293 Ibid., p. 373.
- 294 Ibid., p. 558.
- 295 Ibid.
- 296 Ibid., p. 559.
- 297 N.L.S., Dep. 247/100a.
- 298 The Ledger does record the Clarks' royalty income from Fleming H. Revell on his sales of Stalker's Life of Christ and Life of St Paul at 5c. per copy. This income was received annually in February: in the five years commencing February 1897 it amounted to 19s. 8d., £3 19s. 3d., £3 12s. 3d., £1 10s. 2d., £2 10s. 0d.
- 299 International Copyright Law and the Publisher in the Reign of Queen Victoria (1968), p. 16.
- 300 Ibid., pp. 64-65.
- 301 It seems unlikely, incidentally, that US piracies of Clark titles were ever imported into the UK.
- 302 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 12 December 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 113.
- 303 T. & T. Clark-J.P. Lilley, 18 October 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 68.

- 304 T. & T. Clark-Presbyterian News Co., Toronto, 24 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 260. Interestingly, the same letter comments 'We understand that when Dr. Stalker was in New York, almost two years ago, he called at Revell's & got him to agree to pay the Author a small royalty, but the British Publishers have never been recognised'. The Clarks did receive a royalty from 1897.
- 305 T. & T. Clark-?Scribners, 30 June 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 121.
- 306 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 October 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 381.
- 307 T. & T. Clark-N.J. Bartlett and Co., Boston, 27 October 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 382. Similar terms were also offered to the British and American Bible Society in Halifax, Nova Scotia; to Campbell of Toronto; to Copp, Clark and Co.; to Dawson Brothers of Montreal; to Draper of New York; to Drysdale of Montreal; to Randolph of New York; to Tausen of Chicago; to Tibbels of New York; and to 'Willing and N.' of Toronto. These firms were offered sets at an unspecified price, provided they ordered a minimum of twenty-five copies. (This information is provided by a note at the foot of the letter referred to above.)
- 308 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 October 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 381.
- 309 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 24 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 876. The Clarks may have been slightly exaggerating here, for the aim of the letter was, in part, to persuade the US firm to take the risk of importing editions from Edinburgh.
- 310 See T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 10 November 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 516.
- 311 See T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 7 December 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 110, and T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 663.
- 312 A US pirate need not, of course, notify the Clarks of the existence of an unauthorised reprint, but the Edinburgh firm was very quickly apprised of such piracies by their official US agents.
- 313 T. & T. Clark-?Scribners, 30 June 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 121.
- 314 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 12 December 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 113.
- 315 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 10 March 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 21.
- 316 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 October 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 381. Indeed it would seem that, despite the references in this letter to an on-going correspondence with Funk and Wagnalls regarding their edition of the Meyer series, that firm had, in the first instance at least, not only not offered terms to the Clarks, but not even notified them of their intention:  
     you had not the courtesy to announce to us your intention  
     and it was only through our attention being called to it



by our American correspondents that we knew anything about it. (T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 16 January 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol.438.)

- 317 It is open to question whether the Clarks' translation rights bought from German publishers extended to the American market. All the preceding quotations are from T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 16 January 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 438.
- 318 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 19 May 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 576.
- 319 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 16 January 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 438.
- 320 T. & T. Clark-The Right Rev. the Bishop of New York, 25 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/ 33, fol. 684.
- 321 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 13 October 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 709.
- 322 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 20 January 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 820.
- 323 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 22 November 1884, 20 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fols 745, 787. The Company also had Canadian rights in the series, certainly by 1887. (T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 20 October 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 845.
- 324 See T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 20 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 786.
- 325 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 30 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 916.
- 326 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1 May 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 960.
- 327 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 27 January 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 833.
- 328 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1 May 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 960.
- 329 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 9 May 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 975. It is interesting that Scribners' stocks should have been so low. Is this in fact an indication that they had been selling very few copies of the series, or was it merely that the Clarks had not been supplying them while negotiations with the Company were under way? If the former were the case, it would indicate that the Clarks' income from American sales of their own edition had been modest: given that the Company was hoping to sell at least one thousand copies of each volume of its edition, the Clarks income from this reluctantly authorised reprint might well have outstripped their former income from sales through Scribners.
- 330 Ibid.
- 331 5% on one volume =  $\frac{\pounds 7}{640} = 2.62d.$



- 332 2.62d. = 5%; 100% = 2.62d. x 20 = 52.4d. = 4s. 4d.
- 333 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 March 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 708.
- 334 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 9 May 1885 and 6 June 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fols 960, 975.
- 335 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 30 June 1885 and 6 August 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fols 19, 52.
- 336 The Clarks were being offered a sum per volume which was 3.75 times greater than the previous offer. ( $\frac{\$125}{\$33.33} = 3.75$ ) If  $\$33\frac{1}{3}$  represented the equivalent of a royalty of 5% on 640 copies at the US selling price, then \$125 would represent the equivalent of a royalty of 5% on 2400 volumes (640 x 3.75) at the US selling price.
- 337 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 6 August and 15 September 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fols 52, 95.
- 338 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 13 November 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 183.
- 339 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 2 November 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 534.
- 340 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 9 May 1885, 13 November 1885, 4 May 1886, 2 November 1886, 9 June 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 975; 34, fols 183, 357, 534 and 725. For information on fluctuating exchange rates see L.E. Davis and J.R.T. Hughes, 'A Dollar-Sterling Exchange 1803-1895', Economic History Review, (1960) pp. 52-78.
- 341 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 9 June 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 725. There is no record of whether or not the Clarks' experiment with this series proved to be successful.
- 342 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 17 August 1893; N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 367.
- 343 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 500.
- 344 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 22 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 496.
- 345 This is at first sight a curious point for the Clarks to have made. They were clearly expecting to receive regular royalty payments from the Company, referring to 'the original agreement between us'. It would appear that they had forgotten that they were receiving from the Company not a royalty, but a down-payment upon publication. And presumably no payments had been made since 1890 because no new volumes had been issued in that period. However, the letter to Scribners written the next day makes clear what was in the Clarks' minds. It would seem that the Company had contracted to pay the Edinburgh firm a royalty on UK sales of their American edition of St Augustine's Works,

and that they had been defaulting on this since 1890. (T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 500.)

- 346 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 500.
- 347 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 16 March 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 559.
- 348 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 500. See also T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 19 March 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 570.
- 349 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 500.
- 350 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 16 March 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 559.
- 351 T. & T. Clark-The Bishop of New York, 25 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 684.
- 352 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 12 December 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 113.
- 353 T. & T. Clark-Funk and Wagnalls, 16 January 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 438.
- 354 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 663.
- 355 See, for example, T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 1 December 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 130.
- 356 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 30 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 916.
- 357 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 24 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 876.
- 358 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 17 August 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 367.
- 359 Ibid. In fact, the Expository Times was making a loss. Over 1896-97, for example, the total outlay on all aspects of the magazine's production was £963 8s. 7d., and the total number of copies distributed (of twelve issues) was 44,016. (Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.) The unit cost of production was therefore 5.25d. per copy. The cover price was 6d., but discount was offered to distributors, and by no means all of the 44,016 copies were sold, so a loss was inevitable.
- 360 There would appear to be no record of the number of copies being sold by Scribners at this point.
- 361 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 17 August 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 367.
- 362 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 10 November 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 516.
- 363 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 August 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 825.



- 364 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 2 September 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 833.
- 365 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 27 September 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 900.
- 366 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 August 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 825.
- 367 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. 310.
- 368 See Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138 for the data on which this figure is based.
- 369 T. & T. Clark-Professor Laidlaw, 21 July 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 408.
- 370 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 March 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 708.
- 371 See T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 5 November 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 651.
- 372 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. 51.
- 373 T. & T. Clark-Thomas Whitlaker, 14 February 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 969.
- 374 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 November 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 511.
- 375 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 30 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 916.
- 376 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 April 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 936.
- 377 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 November 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 865.
- 378 Figures from Stock Sales Notebook 1896-97, N.L.S., Dep. 247/71.
- 379 See T. & T. Clark-Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 7 August 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 18, where the Clarks were at pains to point out the need for the translation to be as accurate and elegant as possible.
- 380 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 2 September 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 139.
- 381 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 22 September 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 150.
- 382 British Library Catalogue.
- 383 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 3 January 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 799.
- 384 See T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 3 January 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 799.
- 385 See, for example, T. & T. Clark-Principal Douglas, 2 August 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 129.



- 386 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 16 February 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 252. In fact, Scribners, who produced the first volume, had violated the agreement by sending the Clarks an invoice for the plates, and then by including the sum in their statement despite protests from Thomas Clark, who pointed out that 'Had our vol. been first we should never have dreamt of making any such charge in advance.' There is no record of whether or not Scribners withdrew their invoice.
- 387 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 2 August 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 319.
- 388 T. & T. Clark-Dr Plumptre, 2 August 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 128.
- 389 T. & T. Clark-Principal Douglas, 2 August 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 129.
- 390 Ibid. See also T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 2 September 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 139.
- 391 Thomas Clark-Philip Schaff, 2 September 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 139.
- 392 The Revised New Testament was published on 17 May 1881, on which day one million copies were distributed. Peter Sutcliffe, The Oxford University Press: An Informal History (Oxford, 1978) p. 51.
- 393 T. & T. Clark-Messrs Price and Clay, 16 December 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 217.
- 394 Thomas Clark-Messrs Price and Clay, 29 January 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 240.
- 395 See Thomas Clark-Messrs Price and Clay, 29 January 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 240; and T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 12 February 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 248.
- 396 Thomas Clark-Messrs Price and Clay, 29 January 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 240.
- 397 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 17 February 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 253.
- 398 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 18 December 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 221.
- 399 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 12 February 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 464.
- 400 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 3 January 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 799.
- 401 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 11 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 617.
- 402 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 6 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 800.
- 403 'Draft of Advice to I.T.L. Authors', N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838. This document was approved by the Clarks, by Scribners, and by C.A. Briggs, the American editor. The copy in the Clark letter book carries minor alterations which had been inserted in the original by Scribners.

- 404 See, for example, T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 24 April 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 616.
- 405 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 13 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 774.
- 406 Ibid.
- 407 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 24 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 787.
- 408 C.A. Briggs, who was American editor of both series, had sent the Clarks a letter of resignation, presumably from the Library, for them to submit to Scribners if the crisis could not be averted. (T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 13 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 774.)
- 409 See The New Cambridge Modern History, Volume XI, Material Progress and World-Wide Problems 1879-1898, edited by F.H. Hinsley, (1970), pp. 671-73.
- 410 John M. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 7 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 750.
- 411 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 6 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 800.
- 412 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 April 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 680.
- 413 C.A. Briggs-T. & T. Clark, 8 April 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/2.
- 414 'Draft of Advice to I.T.L. Authors', N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838.
- 415 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 6 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 800.
- 416 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 17 June 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 728.
- 417 'Draft of Advice to I.T.L. Authors', N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838.
- 418 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 17 June 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 728. The author in question, Principal Whitehouse, was presumably Owen Charles Whitehouse, Principal of Cheshunt College (Countess of Huntingdon's College) 1895-1905. (Who Was Who, 1916-28) He contributed to many of James Hastings' reference works, and to the Expository Times and Critical Review.
- 419 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 6 February 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 958; T. & T. Clark-Principal Fairbairn, 7 April 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 913.
- 420 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 April 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 680.
- 421 From a note appended by Scribners to the 'Draft of Advice to I.T.L. Authors', N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838.
- 422 Ibid. On the subject of remuneration to authors, it is



interesting to note the Clarks' deliberations when they were considering commissioning a work from Dr John Watson who was accustomed to receiving a much greater return for his fictional works written as 'Ian MacLaren' than the Clarks could offer for works of theological scholarship. It is instructive to notice the Clarks' awareness of the difference in remuneration to be expected from popular works as opposed to works of academic theology. 'I fear', wrote John Clark to S.D.F. Salmond with regard to Watson

you would have difficulty in getting him to accept the terms, as he must naturally get much larger return out of what, to him, must be vastly easier work. The type in Novels etc. can now be set up by Linotype (type-setting) Machines, & the cost of production is as nothing compared with those Volumes. [The I.T.L.] The sales, too, are enormous, & quite permit of handsome royalties.

'But', he continued,

most people will understand that at once, & in the interests of scholarship Dr. Watson might be induced to accept. (John M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 17 June 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 728.)

In fact, the plan to commission a work from Watson came to nothing.

- 423 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 April 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 680.
- 424 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 22 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 387. It is noted there that Longman were paying one hundred pounds for each two-hundred page volume in their Epochs of Church History series.
- 425 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 6 February 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 958.
- 426 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 22 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 387.
- 427 If the same principle operated with the I.T.L. as with the I.C.C., the editors would each receive a royalty of 2½% on each copy sold on their side of the Atlantic. (T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 1 March 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 988.)
- 428 'Draft of Advice to I.T.L. Authors', N.L.S., Dép. 247/34, fol. 838.
- 429 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 6 Sept. 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 800.
- 430 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 3 December 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 895.
- 431 Quoted in T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 3 December 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 897.
- 432 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 April 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 680.
- 433 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 30 November 1897, N.L.S., Dép. 247/40, fol. 18.

- 434 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 30 May 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 344.
- 435 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 30 December 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 917.
- 436 Colonial Catalogue, (1902).
- 437 'Draft of Advice to I.T.L. Authors', N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838.
- 438 See T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 14 October 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 923.
- 439 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 11 January 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 78.
- 440 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 2 July 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 403.
- 441 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 2 December 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 22.
- 442 T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 30 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 19.
- 443 'Draft of Advice to I.T.L. Authors', N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838.
- 444 See T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 3 August 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 422, a letter accompanying the account to Scribner in respect of a work which the Clarks had originated, Driver's Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.
- 445 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 April 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 680.
- 446 Colonial Catalogue, (1902).
- 447 C.A. Briggs-T. & T. Clark, 8 April 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/2.
- 448 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 23 March 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 882.
- 449 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 30 May 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 344.
- 450 It bears the publication date '1902', but was probably issued in late 1901.
- 451 'Draft of Advice to I.T.L. Authors', N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 838.
- 452 T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 1 March 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 988.
- 453 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 April 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 680.
- 454 Data on this title is from the Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. 49.
- 455 Ibid.
- 456 Ibid.



- 457 Colonial Catalogue, (1902).
- 458 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 459 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Edward Lummis, Hull, 15 June 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 705.
- 460 T. & T. Clark-S.R. Driver, 6 December 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 898; T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 20 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 928.
- 461 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 13 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 774.
- 462 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 June 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 722.
- 463 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 2 July 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 745.
- 464 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 13 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 774; T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 15 March 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 13.
- 465 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 787.
- 466 'We have no difficulty in going on alone were it not for the risk of pirating in America'. (T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 13 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 774.)
- 467 T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 20 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 928.
- 468 Ibid.
- 469 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 29 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 791.
- 470 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 21 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 930.
- 471 T. & T. Clark-S.R. Driver, 17 January 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 57.
- 472 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 6 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 800.
- 473 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 29 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 791.
- 474 T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 20 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 928.
- 475 T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 23 December 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 406. The Clarks suggested that Eaton and Fairweather, whose names had been put forward as possible contributors to the series by James Hastings, were in fact unsuitable, because they were not sufficiently well-known outwith their own Church. Similarly, the Clarks suggested that a Mr Milligan, who was being considered as a possible author of the volume on Hebrews, was unsuitable because 'he would scarcely carry sufficient weight'. (T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 5 June 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 687.)

- 476 T. & T. Clark-S.R. Driver, 6 February 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 959.
- 477 T. & T. Clark-S.R. Driver, 13 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 812.
- 478 Colonial Catalogue, (1902).
- 479 T. & T. Clark-S.R. Driver, 31 December 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 743. When Driver passed this comment on to Briggs, he reacted angrily, ignoring the fact that the Ryle review had been for the most part favourable. Briggs pronounced himself 'utterly disgusted', 'deeply offended' and 'outraged', accusing Ryle of being critical because the author had not been born in Britain! As so often, the Clarks poured oil on troubled waters, sending a full text of Ryle's review, and generally placating the over-reacting editor. The tact of the Clark firm played no small part from time to time in keeping the series appearing regularly by preserving the unanimity of the team. (T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 3 February 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol 798.)
- 480 T. & T. Clark-A. Plummer, 14 September 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 177.
- 481 T. & T. Clark-C.J. Dinmont of Wells, who had lodged a complaint, 10 September 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 174.
- 482 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, December 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 690.
- 483 Colonial Catalogue, (1902).
- 484 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 485 Ibid.
- 486 Ibid.
- 487 Ibid.
- 488 Dep. 247/138.



- 489 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 16 July 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 440.
- 490 C.A. Malcolm, 'Scottish Legal Periodicals: Past and Present', Scottish Law Review, 45 (1929), 154-59. At the time of the Journal's demise, it was edited by John Chisholm and C.N. Johnstone. The decision to terminate its publication, taken as a result of its becoming increasingly unprofitable, was not taken lightly: 'It is with sincere regret that we discontinue the publication of a Magazine which has existed for so many years, and we are very grateful to you for all that you have done for the Journal.' These words were written in October 1890, when it was proposed to wind up the periodical at the end of that year. There must, however, have been a temporary stay of execution, for the Journal continued to appear until December 1891. (T. & T. Clark-C.N. Johnstone and John Chisholm, 6 October 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 44.) Chisholm was not considered to have been in any way responsible for the demise of the Journal: the fact that he was appointed editor of the Scots Law Times, founded in 1893, is indicative of the fact that his editorial competence was recognised. A contributor to the Scottish Law Review made the following comment regarding the demise of the Journal of Jurisprudence, suggesting that its life might have been prolonged had the Clarks been prepared to see it under new management:
- The disappearance of the Journal of Jurisprudence, after a life of thirty years, was generally regretted, for, although American wit and humour sometimes figured in it quite as much as the drier details of law, it was an agreeable enough monthly visitor. The publishers of that magazine preferred it to die rather than that it should go into other hands and so it died. ('Notes from Edinburgh', Scottish Law Review, 9 (1893) 141-44 (p. 143).)
- Clearly the question of selling the Journal as a going concern was thought to have been raised, but there is no mention of such discussions in the letter books. But later the Clarks were prepared to see the Critical Review issued under another imprint, and it is difficult to imagine that they would have raised any objections to the sale of the ailing Journal. On the other hand, the anonymous contributor to the Scottish Law Review seems to have been writing with the benefit of inside information.
- 491 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 26 April 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 415a. The work under discussion was W.F. Moulton and A.S. Geden's Concordance to the Greek New Testament, which the publishers who were initially to be responsible for the project, Bell, had planned to issue in parts.
- 492 T. & T. Clark's Colonial Catalogue, 1902. The arrangements covering the joint issue of this Latin/Syriac work are to be found in T. & T. Clark-Reuther and Reichard, Berlin, 27 October 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 494. There was also a plan to issue each volume of the Dictionary of the Bible in six parts which would have appeared concurrently with the volume, but this proposal would seem to have been dropped. It was discussed in T. & T. Clark-



- James Hastings, 16 July 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 774, and in T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 20 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 987. The rationale of issuing in parts was presumably that such a form of publication would appeal to impecunious theology students, who could ill afford to purchase the work in volume form.
- 493 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. 54. It is unclear what the Clarks' normal returns policy was
- 494 Stock Sales Notebook 1896-97, N.L.S., Dep. 247/71.
- 495 Review of the third volume of the Expository Times, Bookseller, 10 October 1892, p. 888.
- 496 T. & T. Clark-William Cruickshank, 8 September 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 161.
- 497 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 3 July 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 51.
- 498 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 18 August 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 638.
- 499 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 12 December 1889, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 704.
- 500 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 28 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 443.
- 501 Ibid. It is always conceivable, of course, that Clark advertisements were inserted to fill space not taken up by other, outside advertisers. Were this the case, it might well have been economically more attractive to the Clarks to sell more advertising space than to use that space to promote their own titles.
- 502 J.M. Clark-James Hastings, 8 December 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 139.
- 503 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 7 August 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 352.
- 504 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 19 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 782.
- 505 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 5 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 762.
- 506 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 24 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 682. The Clarks themselves, of course, as we noted earlier, were none too happy about the Ladd work, which was an American purchase.
- 507 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 5 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 762.
- 508 Possibly he was the Rev. John MacPherson of Findhorn whose works appeared in the Clark list.
- 509 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 17 December 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, insert.
- 510 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 24 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 682.



- 511 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 15 February 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 220.
- 512 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 12 December 1889, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 70.
- 513 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 18 August 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 638.
- 514 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 22 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 789.
- 515 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 15 July 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 440.
- 516 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 25 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 439.
- 517 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 15 July 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 440.
- 518 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 18 August 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 638.
- 519 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 28 August 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 652.
- 520 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 25 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 439.
- 521 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 15 July 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 440.
- 522 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 31 December 1889, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 735.
- 523 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 663.
- 524 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 9 October 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 135.
- 525 See T. & T. Clark-J.Knox Mitchell, New York, 14 August 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 432. Mitchell had, in fact, been seeking the role of American editor of the Review: Salmond's arrangements had, he was told, rendered such a post unnecessary for the present at least.
- 526 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 3 July 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 51.
- 527 See T. & T. Clark-R.M. Wenley, 30 June 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 46.
- 528 T. & T. Clark-C.N. Johnstone and John Chisholm, 6 October 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 44.
- 529 W.G. Blaikie, An Autobiography: 'Recollections of a Busy Life' (London, 1901), pp. 139-47.
- 530 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 18 August 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 638.
- 531 J.M. Clark-W.E. Gladstone, 17 December 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 727. 'Of course such space as you might desire would be allotted to you.'

- 532 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 15 July 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 440.
- 533 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 12 December 1889, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 704.
- 534 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 19 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 901.
- 535 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 12 December 1889, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 704.
- 536 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 19 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 901.
- 537 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 19 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 782.
- 538 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 22 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 789.
- 539 T. & T. Clark-W. Cruickshank, 8 August 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 428.
- 540 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 11 July 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 69.
- 541 Ibid.
- 542 T. & T. Clark-C.N. Johnstone and John Chisholm, 6 October 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 44.
- 543 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 11 July 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 68.
- 544 T. & T. Clark-Principal Cave (Hackney College), 14 November 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 107.
- 545 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 25 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 443.
- 546 T. & T. Clark-?, 8 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 240.
- 547 T. & T. Clark-William Cruickshank, 8 September 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 161.
- 548 T. & T. Clark-C.H.H. Wright, 25 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 438.
- 549 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 15 February 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 220.
- 550 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 19 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 782.
- 551 T. & T. Clark-William Cruickshank, 26 October 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 946. The letter is interesting in showing how important to the Clarks was the maintenance of their reputation. It would appear that they had had their attention drawn to Cruickshank's misdemeanours by some of their customers, who clearly felt it was inappropriate that the firm should continue their association with him.
- 552 T. & T. Clark-Spriggs, 1 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 956.



- 553 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 28 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 443
- 554 William G. Blaikie, An Autobiography: 'Recollections of a Busy Life' (London, 1901), p. 137.
- 555 Bookseller, 1860, p. 440.
- 556 See, for example, William G. Blaikie, An Autobiography: 'Recollections of a Busy Life' (London, 1901), pp. 136-47; 'The Story of the "North British Review"', Scottish Review, 3 January 1907, p. 20; Scottish Notes and Queries, August 1901, pp. 24-25; Scottish Notes and Queries, March 1933, pp. 37-39; Joanne Shattock, 'Editorial Policy and the Quarterlies: The Case of The North British Review', Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, 10 (1977), 130-39; Joanne Shattock, 'Problems of Parentage: the North British Review and the Free Church of Scotland', in The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings, edited by Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester, 1982), pp. 145-166. With the exception of Blaikie's book, all this material majors on the early life of the North British, and pays scant attention to the Clarks' brief proprietorship, which occurred at a time when the Review is generally considered to have become a spent force.
- 557 See previous note.
- 558 'The Story of the "North British Review"', Scottish Review, 3 January 1907, p. 20.
- 559 'Problems of Parentage: the North British Review and the Free Church of Scotland,' in The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings, edited by Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester, 1982), pp. 145-66 (p. 164).
- 560 Ibid., p. 163.
- 561 William Garden Blaikie, An Autobiography: 'Recollections of a Busy Life' (London, 1901).
- 562 Ibid., p. 133.
- 563 Ibid., p. 147.
- 564 Ibid., p. 139.
- 565 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain,' Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, 13 (1971) 3-22, (p. 13).
- 566 Bookseller, 7 October 1884, p. 1069.
- 567 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 18 August 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 638.
- 568 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 28 August 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 652.
- 569 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 28 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 663.
- 570 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 23 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 680.

- 571 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 24 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 682.
- 572 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 19 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 782.
- 573 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 9 October 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 135.
- 574 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 12 May 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 369.
- 575 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 1 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 493.
- 576 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 4 October 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 699.
- 577 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 19 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 782.
- 578 T. & T. Clark-Kegan Paul, 23 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 679.
- 579 T. & T. Clark-Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 18 July 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 34.
- 580 If £27=90%, 100%=£30.  $\frac{£30}{8\frac{1}{2}d.} = 847.$
- 581 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 28 August 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 652.
- 582 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 5 November 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 735.
- 583 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 10 May 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 366; see also T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 23 October 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 158.
- 584 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 23 October 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 158.
- 585 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 1 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 493.
- 586 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 19 March 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 901.
- 587 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 9 October 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 135. The contributor in question was C.A. Briggs.
- 588 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 4 October 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 699.
- 589 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 24 May 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 381.
- 590 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 12 May 1886 and 24 May 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fols 369 and 381.
- 591 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 1 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 493.
- 592 T. & T. Clark-S.R. Driver, 23 October 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34,



- fol. 528. Exell edited volumes 36 and 37 of the British and Foreign Evangelical Review (1887 and 1888). Thereafter, the journal became the Theological Monthly (1889-1891): no editor's name is mentioned in the issues of the new title, and it is not clear whether Exell was involved with it.
- 593 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 28 January 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 762.
- 594 'Sudden Death of the Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.
- 595 Bookseller, 9 October 1889, p. 986.
- 596 See W.R. Nicoll, 'The Rev. Dr. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p. 50.
- 597 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 20 January 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 751.
- 598 See T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 17 December 1889, 30 December 1889, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fols 709, 733.
- 599 Although previous discussions had clearly taken place, the Clarks' earliest letter to Hastings would appear to be that dated 17 December 1889 (N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 709.) It discusses the contents of the January number, and the promotional strategy for the journal. It requests that Hastings supply a detailed statement from Aberdeen University Press of the printing costs in respect of the first three issues: it was the Clarks' intention to meet these costs. It raises the matter of William Diack's desire to retain the franchise for Aberdeen. The Clarks wanted wholesalers John Menzies to handle the journal; they would only accept if they could have the entire wholesale agency, including Aberdeen. Despite the fact that the Menzies firm had agreed to offer Diack 'the most advantageous terms they possibly [could]', he was reluctant to accept, and was causing difficulties by retaining the list of current subscribers.
- 600 It continued to be printed in Aberdeen by the Aberdeen University Press until the sixth issue, that for March 1890. Thereafter it was printed by Morrison and Gibb in Edinburgh. (Scottish Notes and Queries, September 1935, 137-38 (p. 137).)
- 601 Op. cit., p. 5.
- 602 However, each page of the Expository Times contained two columns of text, while each page of the Monthly Interpreter had contained only one column.
- 603 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 20 January 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 751.
- 604 T. & T. Clark-W. Cruickshank, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 161.
- 605 T. & T. Clark-C.H.H. Wright, 25 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 438.
- 606 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 8 December 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 139.
- 607 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.



- 608 £977 6s. 8d.  
38,734
- 609 It is most surprising that there is no record of sales to Scribners in the accounts for the previous years. All the sales listed there are at 4s. 2d. per dozen, and it is inconceivable that a US firm would be supplied at the UK trade price. One can only assume that, for some inexplicable reason, US sales were omitted from the accounts.
- 610 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 12 December 1889, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 704.
- 611 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 15 July 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 440.
- 612 J.M. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 12 December 1889, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 704.
- 613 They pointed out that 'The Publishers would be at very considerable expense for providing new books and Magazines not sent in by the respective Publishers', and reminded Salmond that, in addition to payment, the reviewers would also be permitted to keep the books. (T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 31 December 1889, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 735. See also T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 17 January 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 747.)
- 614 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 26 April 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 881.
- 615 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 1 December 1890 and 15 February 1891, N. L.S., Dep. 247/36, fols 130, 220.
- 616 Publishers' Circular, 7 March 1891, p. 242.
- 617 T. & T. Clark-R.M. Wenley, 30 June 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 46.
- 618 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 28 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 443.
- 619 In Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 620 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 11 July 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 68.
- 621 Williams and Norgate issued the Critical Review from 1900 until its demise in November 1904, with Salmond as editor. The frequency of the journal was increased by them to six issues per year. (See Scottish Notes and Queries, October 1935, p. 156.)
- 622 T. Clark-the Rev. C.K. Mead, 25 September 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 153. Clark must have been sorely tried, for the work was not to see the light of day for another seven years, and already in 1879 he was pointing out with the mildest irritation 'I may mention that had it not been that I knew Professor Thayer was engaged on it and I did not wish to interfere I would have had Grimm published long ago as it is now eight or ten years since I talked with him about it and mentioned that I had it in contemplation.'
- 623 T. & T. Clark-J.H. Thayer, 8 March 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 997. A phrase in this letter would seem to suggest that there was



some element of commission publishing in the final agreement with Thayer, but the details are unclear.

- 624 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 625 James Hope Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. I, (1906) pp. vii-viii.
- 626 T. & T. Clark-J.H. Moulton, 19 September 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 588.
- 627 T. & T. Clark-J.H. Moulton, 22 February 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 827a.
- 628 T. & T. Clark-J.H. Moulton, 3 March 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 840b. 400 copies of the old edition of the work were ordered from Carl Reinecke of Berlin who used the new process.
- 629 T. & T. Clark-J.H. Moulton, 25 May 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 982.
- 630 T. & T. Clark-J.H. Moulton, 30 October 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 273.
- 631 James Hope Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. I, (1906) p. ix.
- 632 See T. & T. Clark-J.H. Moulton, 21 March 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 220.
- 633 J.M. Clark-W.F. Moulton, 11 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 477.
- 634 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 500.
- 635 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 2 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 457.
- 636 Bookseller, 8 April 1897, p. 377.
- 637 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 2 April 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 353.
- 638 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 26 April 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 415a.
- 639 See T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, and T. & T. Clark-Joseph Thornton and Son, 12 March 1897 and 15 March 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fols 553 and 557.
- 640 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 26 April 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 415.
- 641 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 1 October 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 615.
- 642 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 11 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 475.
- 643 The Clarks' anxiety was magnified by several technical problems which arose in the course of production. The printers were slow, and some of the types fell out, necessitating the printing of cancels. (T. & T. Clark-W.F. Moulton, 11 February 1897, N.L.S.,

Dep. 247/39, fol. 477.) Apparently certain Greek types could only be bought from a given type-founder who held the monopoly, and his type had a slightly different size of body compared with other types, causing it to become dislodged when used in conjunction with them.

- 644 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 July 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 755.
- 645 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 2 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 457.
- 646 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 July 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 755.
- 647 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 24 September 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 596.
- 648 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 24 November 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 338.
- 649 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 2 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 457.
- 650 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 26 April 1895 and 5 October 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fols 415a, 624.
- 651 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 31 March 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 601. It is not clear whether the orders secured under the Bell contract are included, but presumably they are. It would seem that Bell had been planning to issue the work in parts, and to offer special pre-publication terms, for the Clarks found it necessary to explain to Geden that they eschewed both courses. Part-publication they held to be unprofitable, as is noted earlier in the main text. As for pre-publication offers, they felt that such a strategy only served to cause 'trouble & unpleasantness' due to post-publication complaints from those who claimed not to have heard of the work in question before publication. (T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 26 April 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 415a.)
- 652 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 500.
- 653 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fols 159, 274, 382.
- 654 J.M. Clark-J. MacPherson, Findhorn, 5 September 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 386.
- 655 Ibid.
- 656 Obituary of James Hastings, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23) 85-86 (p. 85).
- 657 Annals of the Free Church of Scotland 1843-1900, edited by William Ewing (1914). By 1922, Selbie had become a Professor at the Aberdeen United Free Church College, having in 1906 resigned his charge in order to devote himself to his editorial work. (Obituary of James Hastings, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23) 85-86 (p. 85); R. Bruce Taylor, 'John Alexander Selbie', Expository Times, 18 (1906-07) p. 202.)



- 658 T. & T. Clark-Simpkin, Marshall, 23 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 782.
- 659 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 15 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 480.
- 660 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 16 July 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 774.
- 661 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 7 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 361.
- 662 'Entre Nous', Expository Times, 10 (1898-99) p. 96. The volumes of the Dictionary were widely reviewed as they appeared. There follows a list of abbreviated references to selected reviews. Volume One- Publishers' Circular, 19 March 1898, p. 329; Bookman, May 1898, p. 42; Athenaeum, 16 April 1898, pp. 494-95; Jewish Quarterly Review, January 1899, pp. 349-54; Church Quarterly Review, July 1898, pp. 392-408; Critical Review, April 1898, pp. 178-84. Volume Two- Athenaeum, 9 September 1899, pp. 343-44; Church Quarterly Review, July 1899, pp. 295-308; Critical Review, July 1899, pp. 259-66. Volume Three- Critical Review, November 1900, pp. 483-501; Athenaeum, 15 September 1900, pp. 341-42; Church Quarterly Review, October 1900, pp. 120-37. Volume Four-Bookman, August 1902, pp. 172-75; Athenaeum, 21 June 1902, pp. 773-74. Extra Volume-Athenaeum, 17 September 1904, pp. 375-76; Bookman, December 1904, pp. 129-31.
- 663 In 1909 there was issued a completely new one-volume Dictionary of the Bible, produced for the benefit of those whose financial or intellectual resources precluded their using the five-volume work. (Preface) In the preparation of this volume, Hastings was assisted by J.A. Selbie and J.C. Lambert, together with Shailer Mathews, Professor of Theology and Dean of the Divinity School at the University of Chicago. This work was translated into Chinese (D. MacGillivray, 'The Chinese Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible" ', Expository Times, 28 (1916-17) 12-14.) and sold at least 4000 copies in that language.
- 664 See S.D.F. Salmond [Review of Volume One of the Dictionary of the Bible], Critical Review, 8 (1898), 178-84 (p. 180).
- 665 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 March 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 70.
- 666 T. & T. Clark-Simpkin Marshall, 7 December 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 28.
- 667 H.A.A. Kennedy [Review of Volume Three of the Dictionary of the Bible], Critical Review, 10 (1900), 483-501 (p. 495).
- 668 T. & T. Clark-Marcus Dods, 31 October 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 626.
- 669 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 788a. Admittedly, the firm were attempting in this letter to persuade Scribners to handle their work in the US rather than the Black work. (Scribners were already agents for Black's Encyclopaedia Britannica) and this may have influenced their comments.

- 670 William Fulton, 'James Hastings The Dictionarian', Expository Times, 63 (1951-52), 162-64 (p. 163).
- 671 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 15 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 480.
- 672 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 16 July 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 774.
- 673 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 15 September 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 861.
- 674 T. & T. Clark-the Editor, Daily News, 10 November 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 325.
- 675 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 24 April 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 616.
- 676 Frederick Macmillan, The Net Book Agreement 1899 and The Book War, 1906-1908 (Glasgow, 1924).
- 677 Ibid., p. 4.
- 678 Ibid., p. 29. Authors' royalties were to remain constant despite these changes.
- 679 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 16 July 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 774.
- 680 T. & T. Clark-A. & R. Milne, Aberdeen, 4 February 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 132.
- 681 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 16 July 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 774.
- 682 T. & T. Clark-Simpkin, Marshall, 7 December 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 28.
- 683 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 December 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 56.
- 684 T. & T. Clark-A. and R. Milne, Aberdeen, 4 February 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 132. Milne had been unhappy about the fact that the Dictionary was to be non-net.
- 685 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 March 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 708.
- 686 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 12 December 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 718a.
- 687 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 788a.
- 688 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 12 December 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 718a.
- 689 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 12 May 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 962.
- 690 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 15 February 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 480.
- 691 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. 293.



- 692 Trade Ledger 1895-1901, N.L.S., Dep. 247/100a, fol. 732.
- 693 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. 291.
- 694 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 8 June 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 5.
- 695 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 22 January 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 105.
- 696 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 7 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 361.
- 697 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 29 December 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 62.
- 698 T. & T. Clark-W.E. Adam, 28 May 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 341.
- 699 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. Mitchell, Primitive Methodist Book Room, 5 December 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 716.
- 700 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 7 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 361.
- 701 In Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fols 290-293.
- 702 In fact, some of it, totalling £250 0s. 6d had been included in the firm's overheads in the previous financial year as expenditure on the project had gathered momentum.
- 703  $\frac{£1045\ 15s\ 10d}{17s.\ 2d.} = 1218$ . Each of these copies would cost the firm 10d. to bind; hence the divisor is 17s. 2d. rather than 18s. 0d.
- 704  $1218+84=1302$ .  $2160-1302=858$ .
- 705  $858 \times 17s.\ 2d.$
- 706 When the income from Scribners is taken into account, the profit totals £1,113 18s. 6d., a return on the initial investment of 33.26%.
- 707
- |          |             |            |            |
|----------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Printing | £75         | 9s.        | 9d.        |
| Paper    | £121        | 9s.        | 9d.        |
| Maps     | £32         | 15s.       | 0d.        |
| Binding  | £143        | 9s.        | 0d.        |
|          | <u>£373</u> | <u>3s.</u> | <u>6d.</u> |
- 708 One of the most important miscellaneous works was James Moffatt's The Historical New Testament which, at the end of the century, was being prepared for publication in 1901.
- 709 T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 28 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 130.
- 710 T. & T. Clark-Mrs Candlish, 17 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 98.
- 711 J.M. Clark-Robert Watts, 1 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 796.
- 712 T. & T. Clark-J. Hutcheson Stirling, 27 July 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 342. Admittedly the work under discussion, Stirling's

Darwinianism was likely to sell well, and was therefore likely to be viewed by the Clarks as a good investment.

- 713 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 9 October 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 897.
- 714 T. Clark-A. Cave, Hackney College, 22 June 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 8. The work in question was Cave's Introduction to Theology which, interestingly enough, was still in print in 1901, having sold 252 copies over 1896-97. (Stock Sales Notebook, 1896-97, N.L.S., Dep. 247/71.)
- 715 T. & T. Clark-E.J. Nurse, 3 November 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 646. Nurse responded by asking whether the Clarks' reader could revise the work for him, a proposal which the firm did not entertain. 'Strict accuracy on the part of the Author himself would be absolutely necessary in such a work.'
- 716 T. & T. Clark-W.S. Bruce, Banff, 10 March 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 911. Bruce's Ethics of the Old Testament (published in 1895) had sold only eleven copies over the past year, and the firm was beginning to lose hope about it. Sixty-six copies had been sold over 1896-97.
- 717 T. & T. Clark-G. Elmslie Troup, 22 February 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 112.
- 718 T. & T. Clark-A.H. Moncur Sime, 22 August 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 155. It was in fact proposed that Sime's work, The Epic of God, should be published under a risk-sharing agreement, but it does not seem to have appeared.
- 719 T. & T. Clark-D.W. Simon, Bradford, 20 June 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 54. The work in question was Simon's Reconciliation by Incarnation (1898).
- 720 T. & T. Clark-D.W. Simon, 16 May 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 663.
- 721 T. & T. Clark-J.J. Halcombe, 29 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 264. The work appeared as What Think Ye of the Gospels? (1893).
- 722 T. & T. Clark-J. Hutchison Stirling, 10 August 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 431. The work appeared in 1900 with the is still in italics.
- 723 T. & T. Clark-Robert Watts, Belfast, 1 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 796.
- 724 T. & T. Clark-J. MacDonald Inglis, Penningham Manse, 18 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 632. The work was not published by the firm, although risk-sharing terms were discussed.
- 725 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. R.M. Edgar, Dublin, 19 June 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 301.
- 726 T. & T. Clark-Mrs Candlish, 17 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 98. Under discussion was a proposal to publish posthumously a collection of sermons by J.S. Candlish. The Clarks agreed to this proposal only after Dr Denney consented to write a preface to the work. (See T. & T. Clark-Mrs Candlish, 27 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 126.)



- 727 T. & T. Clark-the Rev James Aitchison, Falkirk, 2 July 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 738.
- 728 T. & T. Clark-Dr Killen, Belfast, 26 June 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 419.
- 729 T. & T. Clark- the Rev. Dr Stock, Huddersfield, 24 March 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 32.
- 730 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Thomas Adamson, Glasgow, 11 December 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39. fol. 384.
- 731 See, for example, the discussion over the issue of the posthumous work by Candlish. Denney suggested that a biographical sketch of Candlish, to be written by a Dr Wells, should be included. This idea was not accepted by the Clarks, who felt that such a biographical study would give the work a denominational slant. (T. & T. Clark-Mrs Candlish, 27 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 126.)
- 732 T. & T. Clark-V.H. Stanton, Cambridge, 17 October 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 151.
- 733 T. & T. Clark-A.H. Moncur Sime, 22 August 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 155.
- 734 See, for example, the seventh clause of the Agreement Between Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Publishers, Edinburgh, and the Rev. James Hamlyn Hill, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37.
- 735 T. & T. Clark-A. Cave, Hackney College, 25 June 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 15.
- 736 T. & T. Clark-A. Cave, 22 June 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 8.
- 737 T. & T. Clark-Paton J. Gloag, 9 November 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 540.
- 738 T. & T. Clark-J. MacDonald Inglis, 18 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 632.
- 739 T. & T. Clark-W.F. Skene, 18 July 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 403. The work was Skene's translation of a book by Professor Bicknell on The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual.
- 740 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 28 March 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 173.
- 741 T. & T. Clark-R. Johnstone, Edinburgh, 21 November 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 877. The work was published in 1888.
- 742 T. & T. Clark-A.B. Bruce, 25 May 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 835.
- 743 The seven cases referred to are as follows:
- V.H. Stanton The Jewish and the Christian Messiah (1886) A 10% royalty from the 401st copy. (T. & T. Clark-V.H. Stanton, 17 October 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 151.)
- Thomas Whitelaw (Commentary on John's Gospel) (Not in the end published by T. & T. Clark) A 10% royalty from the 401st copy. (T. & T. Clark-T. Whitelaw, 17 November 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 549.)

- James Ross-the late W.L. Alexander's Lectures (? System of Biblical Theology (1888) ) A 10% royalty from the 301st copy. (T. & T. Clark-James Ross, 23 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 643.)
- R. Johnstone The First Epistle of Peter (1888) A 10% royalty from the 351st copy. (T. & T. Clark-R. Johnstone, 21 November 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 877.)
- J. Hamlyn Hill Tatian's Diatessaron (1894) A 10% royalty from the 401st copy. (T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 28 March 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 173.)
- D.W. Simon Reconciliation by Incarnation (1898) A 10% royalty from the 401st copy. (Contract, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 355.)
- W.S.Walker The Spirit and the Incarnation (1899) A 10% royalty from the 451st copy. (T. & T. Clark-W.S.Walker, 19 May 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 3.)
- 744 George Matheson's Growth of the Spirit of Christianity (1877) (T. & T. Clark-G. Matheson, 19 February 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 257.) ; J.A. Lilley's The Lord's Supper (1891) (T. & T. Clark-J.A. Lilley, 18 October 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 68.); and G.E. Troup's Words to Young Christians (1893)(T. & T. Clark-G.E. Troup, 22 February 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 112.)
- 745 Matheson's response to this was to offer to buy the remaining 380 copies of his work from the firm in sheets at a reduced price. The Clarks agreed to sell him these at 7s. 6d. per copy. See T. & T. Clark-G. Matheson, 19 February 1880 and 15 April 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fols 257,292.
- 746 T. & T. Clark-A.B. Bruce, 25 May 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 835. Bruce, in fact, was initially less than satisfied with a 12½% royalty. The firm outlined the costs of printing, binding and distributing a new work, pointed out that 12½% was 'conceived a liberal royalty', indicated that it would be difficult to promise more than that on the first three or four impressions of a book, and offered the incentive of an extra honorarium on the author's previous successful work on The Kingdom of God (1889), and the prospect of a similar extra honorarium on the new book if it proved to be successful also. Bruce accepted their terms.
- 747 T. & T. Clark-A.E. Garvie, 13 June 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 31.
- 748 Ibid.
- 749 T. & T. Clark-G. Elmslie Troup, 21 April 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 214.
- 750 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 27 June 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/35, fol. 116.
- 751 T. & T. Clark-Robert Rainy, 23 May 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 833.
- 752 See T. & T. Clark-D.W. Simon, 8 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 365.



- 753 T. & T. Clark-J.E.H. Thomson, Stirling, 12 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 247.
- 754 T. & T. Clark-W.F. Skene, 18 July 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 403. The work in question was his The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual: he in fact shared the risk of the work with the Clarks.
- 755 Agreement Between Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Publishers...and the Rev. James Hamlyn Hill, 20 April 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 211.
- 756 See, for example, T. & T. Clark-A.E. Jarvie, Montrose, 13 June 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 31, and T. & T. Clark-R.J. Drummond, Edinburgh, 26 February 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 504.
- 757 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 4 November 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 508
- 758 Denis Judd, The Boer War (London 1977), pp.131-32.
- 759 T. & T. Clark-J. Hutchison Stirling, 18 January 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 431.
- 760 T. & T. Clark-John Cole, Birmingham, 11 December 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 214.
- 761 T. Clark-George Matheson, 19 February 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 257. Matheson responded as we noted by agreeing to purchase the Clarks' remaining stocks of the work at a special price.
- 762 T. & T. Clark-Charles A. Salmond, Edinburgh, 14 December 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 575.
- 763 T. & T. Clark-W.S. Bruce, Banff, 10 March 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 911. The work did, however, sell 298 copies over 1895-96.
- 764 The financial details are from Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 765 Over 1895-96, 125 were sold at 4s. 6d., 18 at 5s.6d., 7 at 4s.0d. and 133 at 4s. 10d.
- 766 Over 1895-96, 175 copies were sold at 8s. 0d., 17 at 17s. 9d., and 1035 at 9s. 0d.
- 767 \*Or slightly fewer than twenty-eight if some of them had bought copies in multiples of two dozen.
- 768 Over 1896-97, 355 copies were sold at 8d. (75 to Scribners and 280 to the author) and 473 at 7.75d.
- 769 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Thornley Smith, London, 6 February 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 460.
- 770 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 9 March 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 651. The work in question, an essay on St Ephraem's Gospel Commentary, was in fact published at Hill's insistence. (1896)
- 771 T. & T. Clark-J. Hutchison Stirling, 27 July 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 342. Stirling's Darwinianism was published later
- \*767a T. & T. Clark-the Rev. T. Adamson, 11 December 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 384.



that year at the Clarks' risk. It is uncertain whether the use of the word 'entire' in the sentence quoted indicates a willingness to consider a risk-sharing agreement.

772 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Dr Stock, 24 March 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 32.

773 T. & T. Clark-Prof. H.E. Ryle, 3 June 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 994.

774 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. A.H. Moncur Sime, 22 August 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 155.

775 T. & T. Clark-Dr J. Hutchison Stirling, 24 July 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 118. The work in question was What is Thought?

776 Although it was a gross exaggeration for the Clarks to claim that 'many of [their books were] author's books.' (T. & T. Clark- the Rev. W. Mortimer Servis, 29 December 1818 (sic-actually 1879), N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 227. This statement is as much a distortion of the truth as that quoted earlier in which the Clarks commented that they almost totally avoided commission publishing. These statements were both exaggerations, tailored to suit the circumstances in which they were made: that quoted earlier was addressed to an author with whose work the Clarks wished to have nothing to do; while that made to Mortimer Servis was intended as an explanation of why the firm could not give a grant of books to Servis' library either freely or at a greatly reduced price; 'many of them are author's books which we cannot give away.')

777 T. & T. Clark-Richard Chandler, London, 4 December 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 562. The work would seem to have been published anonymously-see T. & T. Clark-Richard Chandler, 21 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 634.

778 Another, quite different reason for publishing on commission emerges in the correspondence in 1893 with J. Hamlyn Hill over his translation of Tatian's Diatessaron (1894). Hill had consistently bombarded the Clarks with letters which were critical of almost every aspect of the production of his work, which was being published at their expense. At length, their patience wore out:

You seem to be suspicious of our every action, and you make it exceedingly difficult for us to take a thorough interest in the book. While it was passing through the press you were constantly giving us unnecessary trouble about it, but this [a complaint about the Clarks advertising their own titles at the end of the book] surely is the climax.

In frustration, the Clarks offered to let Hill take over financial responsibility for the book: it would be distributed by them or by 'some other Publisher in whom you have confidence.' The firm was in effect calling Hill's bluff, and in fact he left the work in their hands. (T. & T. Clark-J.Hamlyn Hill, 19 December 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 581.)

779 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Frank Ballard, Hull, 8 March 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 525.



- 780 T. & T. Clark-R. Watts, Belfast, 8 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 802.
- 781 T. & T. Clark-W.F.Skene, 18 July 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 403.
- 782 T. & T. Clark-J.E.H.Thomson, Stirling, 12 May 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 247. Due in part to expensive corrections made by the author at proof stage, the Clarks saw little hope of realising much profit from the work.
- 783 T. & T. Clark-A.H. Moncur Sime, 22 August 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 155. In fact, the firm rejected the work when they had had the opportunity of inspecting the completed MS. (T. & T. Clark-A.H. Moncur Sime, 18 October 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 269.
- 784 T. & T. Clark-W.F.Skene, 18 July 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 403.
- 785 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. McDonald Inglis, Penningham Manse, 18 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 632. The bookseller would receive a 40% discount on the retail price. The remaining 60% would be divided between the author and the publishers.
- 786 T. & T. Clark-W.D. Killen, Belfast, 26 June 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 419.
- 787 J.M. Clark-Robert Watts, Belfast, 1 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 796.
- 788 T. & T. Clark-C.M. Mead, Berlin, 22 December 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 149.
- 789 T. & T. Clark-Richard Chandler, 4 December 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 562.
- 790 T. & T. Clark-Prof. Laidlaw, 21 July 1891, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 408.
- 791 It would seem legitimate to conclude, however, that the Clarks commission on this work would be less than that on the Chandler work. In this case, they received 10% of the wholesale price. In the case of the Chandler work, given a trade discount of 40%, they would receive 10% of the retail price.
- 792 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. C. Salmond, Edinburgh. 23 January 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 623.
- 793 T. & T. Clark-S. Stuart Allen, Melville, Muller and Slade, London, 2 December 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 365.
- 794 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 795 75 were sold at 3s. Od., and 184 at 3s. 3d.
- 796 12 were sold at 4s. Od., 24 at 5s. 4d., and 14 at 4s. 10d.

D:Notes:Part III

- 1 The most detailed information on advertising expenditure is contained in the Advertisement Book 1886-96, N.L.S., Dep. 247/127. The Stock and Sales Book-Individual Titles gives details of the total spent on advertising each title on the Clark list during the financial years which it covers, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99. (N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.)
- 2 In the autumn of 1897 Spriggs, as we saw in the main text, replaced the former agent William Cruickshank with whom the Clarks wished to have nothing more to do after it had been drawn to their attention that he had featured in Police News. (T. & T. Clark-W. Cruickshank, 26 October 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 946.)
- 3 T. & T. Clark-J.F. Spriggs, 25 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 7.
- 4 The detailed analysis in Appendix C shows that most of the advertising of a title took place within twelve months of its being published.
- 5 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 4 July 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 894.
- 6 T. & T. Clark-S.R. Driver, 28 January 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 445.
- 7 T. & T. Clark-W.S. Bruce, 10 March 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 911.
- 8 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 22 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 789; T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 11 July 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 68.
- 9 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 20 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 874.
- 10 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 10 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 922.
- 11 T. & T. Clark-G.T. Ladd, 31 March 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 522.
- 12 Stanley Unwin, The Truth About Publishing (London, 1926), p. 263.
- 13 T. & T. Clark-D.W. Simon, 20 June 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 54.
- 14 T. & T. Clark-J.F. Spriggs, 24 January 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 841.
- 15 T. & T. Clark-Henry L. Smith, Charles Scribners Sons, 26 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 9. On the other hand, of course, the Clarks occasionally faced criticism of their advertising and their publications from the editors of periodicals which took a more orthodox position than they did. Thus, when an advertisement for the Bible Class Primer series was inserted in King's Own, its editor protested, holding that the Primers undermined the historicity of the biblical accounts of the Patriarchs, and alleging that C.H. Spurgeon 'abhorred' the teaching of the Primers.



Both charges were vigorously refuted by the Clarks, who drew attention to Spurgeon's favourable notices of the series in the Sword and Trowel, and pointed out 'If you will look at the Primer on Abraham, you will see how entirely the old orthodox view is maintained.' (T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. Urquhart, 28 November and 4 December 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fols 548, 558.

- 16 T. & T. Clark-J.F. Spriggs, 25 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 7.
- 17 The following letter is probably referring to the information on the verso of the title page rather than to details given in advertisements, but it does illustrate the conscientious honesty with which John M. Clark approached his work. He is here writing to S.R. Driver regarding a further printing of his Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament:
- After I wrote to you last night, it occurred to me that, after all, it would hardly be right to call the second 500 of the proposed 5th edn of 1000 copies Eighth Thousand, as, although our sales would by that time have passed 7000, still we would not have printed 8000 (only 7500) and I am anxious to avoid doing anything not strictly honourable.
- A week later, he concluded 'as we shall have passed 7000 it is perhaps quite fair to put Eighth thousand on the last 500.' Although such cavilling over a minor detail may perhaps seem to be obsessive, it does encourage one to put great confidence in Clark's honesty and business integrity on the principle that he who is faithful over little will be faithful also over much. (T. & T. Clark-S.R. Driver, 21 December 1893 and 28 December 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fols 587 and 591.)
- 18 T. & T. Clark-J.M. Hodgson, 12 September 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 507.
- 19 T. & T. Clark-James Nisbet, 18 October 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 176.
- 20 T. & T. Clark-E. Stock, 14 December 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 219.
- 21 Based on the data in the Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 22 T. & T. Clark-Henry L. Smith, Charles Scribners Sons, 31 January 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 123.
- 23 T. & T. Clark-J.F. Spriggs, 25 November 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 7.
- 24 T. & T. Clark-Philip Schaff, 27 October 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 164.
- 25 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 17 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 626.
- 26 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 13 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 764.
- 27 T. & T. Clark-Macmillan and Bowes, 7 April 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 239.

- 28 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138, fol. [99].
- 29 T. & T. Clark-Samuel Green, 8 May 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 672.
- 30 T. & T. Clark-C. Newman Hall, 24 October 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 372.
- 31 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 22 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 789.
- 32 T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 20 February 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 874.
- 33 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 293.
- 34 T. & T. Clark-J.H. Thayer, 8 March 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 997.
- 35 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 22 January 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 105.
- 36 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 23 February 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 293.
- 37 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 38 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 24 October 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 373.
- 39 T. & T. Clark-Christian Literature Publishing Company, 31 August 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 142a.
- 40 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. J. Campbell (the unfortunate translator), 25 June 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 14.
- 41 Other copies, five in 1900, had to be sent to the copyright libraries. (T. & T. Clark-W. Clark, 22 March 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 544.)
- 42 See, for example, T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 14 April 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 940, where the subject is American Presbyterianism by C.A. Briggs; and T. & T. Clark-L.W. Bangs (Scribners' London agent), 18 February 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 629, where the subject is a work by Samuel Harris on The Self Revelation of God.
- 43 T. & T. Clark-The University Press, Chicago, 16 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 375.
- 44 T. & T. Clark- C.H.H. Wrighte , 26 April, 1886 , N.L.S., Dep. 247/34 , fol. 350.
- 45 T. & T. Clark-J. Vernon Bartlett, 14 February 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 479.
- 46 T. & T. Clark-D.W.Simon, 6 October 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 564.
- 47 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F. Salmond, 7 November 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 663.
- 48 T. & T. Clark-D.W.Simon, 6 October 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 564.



- 49 T. & T. Clark-W. Clark, 22 March 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 544: 'we always get numerous applications from other Editors.'
- 50 T. & T. Clark-J. Beveridge, 5 November 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 284. Beveridge had translated a work for the Clarks.
- 51 T. & T. Clark-the Editor, The Guardian, 4 January 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 234.
- 52 T. & T. Clark-the Editor, The Methodist Times, 1 June 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 348.
- 53 Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 54 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 10 January 1888, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 922.
- 55 T. & T. Clark-J.S.Exell, 22 December 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 789.
- 56 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F.Salmond, 11 July 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 68.
- 57 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 30 May 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 985.
- 58 J.M. Clark-James Hastings, 8 December 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 139.
- 59 The following Table analyses the reviews which appeared in Volume Four of the Expository Times, (October 1892-September 1893) and notes the proportion of space which was given over to Clark titles. These works in no way monopolised the journal's review space: certain other publishers' titles featured at least as frequently as those of the Clarks, if not more frequently.

Expository Times Volume Four: October 1892-September 1893  
Analysis of Reviews\*

Month	Total no. of reviews	No. of reviews of Clark titles	Clark titles reviewed as a proportion of total reviewed	Total col. of reviews	Total col. of Clark titles.	Space devoted to Clark reviews as a proportion of total review space
Oct.	16	-	-	49.7	-	-
Nov.	19	4	21.05%	71.4	11	15.4%
Dec.	24	-	-	62.3	-	-
Jan.	28	4	14.28%	71.8	9.6	13.37%
Feb.	31	1	3.22%	89	3.2	3.59%
Mar.	15	2	13.33%	59.1	9.8	16.58%
Apl.	22	1	4.54%	74.9	2.5	3.33%
May	30	3	10%	112.4	11	9.78%
Jun.	38	1	2.63%	138.2	5.4	3.9%
Jul.	32	-	-	125.4	-	-
Aug.	15	1	6.66%	57.6	14.5	25.17%
Sep.	13	-	-	48.9	-	-
Totals	283	17	6%	960.7	67	6.97%

\*Excluding mentions in 'Notes of Recent Expositions', and 'Forthcoming Books'

- 60 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 7 August 1893, N.L.S., Dep.247/37, fol. 352.
- 61 T. & T. Clark-James Nisbet and Co., 18 October 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 176.
- 62 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 19 December 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 581.
- 63 T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 5 January 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 603.
- 64 One problem which did arise was that successful advertising could encourage the demand for Clark titles through libraries rather than actually promoting further sales. This was particularly true of periodicals: because the Presbyterian Review was to be seen in most, if not all the College Libraries, 'the students [would not] buy it.' (T. & T. Clark-C.A. Briggs, 24 February 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 296.); when the Journal of Jurisprudence was wound up, the Clarks commented  
 If members of the Legal profession had really taken an interest in the Magazine it might have survived, but the majority appeared to be satisfied with reading it in the Libraries. (T. & T. Clark-C.N. Johnstone and John Chisholm, 6 October 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 44.)  
 This was the case in America too. John M. Clark saw well-worn copies of the Critical Review in most of the leading US Colleges: individuals, however enthusiastic they might be about it, tended to be content with the library copy. (T. & T. Clark-S.D.F.Salmond, 11 July 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 68.) The principle applied to book advertising too, however. Having agreed to supply volumes from the Ante-Nicene Library to missionary libraries on special terms, the Clarks clearly had received from a public library a request to be supplied on the same terms. This request was promptly turned down: 'the only chance we have of sales would be gone if copies were given away to Public Libraries.' The implication of this is not that Public Libraries were the only source of sales, rather that if the libraries were given copies cheaply, potential readers who might otherwise have bought the books would have borrowed them instead. (T. & T. Clark-R.A. Macfie, Dreghorn, 17 November 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 873.) Although sales to libraries could impede the Clarks' sales to the public, however, it was not always easy for them to persuade even the libraries to buy copies of their works. Mudie's, for example, would only order a certain work once they had had enquiries for it from their subscribers. A Clark author was urged to ask any of his friends who belonged to Mudie's Library to request his book. (T. & T. Clark-J. Hamlyn Hill, 7 February 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 659. The work in question was Hill's edition of Tatian's Diatessaron.)
- 65 T. Clark-C. Newman Hall, 24 October 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 372.
- 66 T. & T. Clark-S.D.F.Salmond, 12 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 773.
- 67 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.



- 68 T. & T. Clark-R. Lindsay, 7 November 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 191.
- 69 Trade Ledger 1895-1901, N.L.S., Dep. 247/100a.
- 70 The Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles (N.L.S., Dep. 247/138) lists numbers of most titles on hand at 'S' and 'H'-presumably the two wholesalers.
- 71 T. & T. Clark-Simpkin, Marshall, 23 January 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 782.
- 72 Drawn from Trade Ledger 1881-1890, Trade Ledger 1890-1895, Trade Ledger 1895-1901, N.L.S., Dep. 247/99a, 100, 100a.
- 73 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 4 October 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 699; T. & T. Clark-Kegan Paul, 30 October 1884 and 18 July 1885, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 727, and Dep. 247/34, fol. 34.
- 74 T. & T. Clark-Kegan Paul, 30 October 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 727.
- 75 T. & T. Clark-M.L. Hutchison, Melbourne, 21 September 1883, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 345.
- 76 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. Thomas Whitelaw, Kilmarnock, 24 November 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 559.
- 77 T. & T. Clark-A.B. Bruce, 25 May 1894, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 835.
- 78 T. & T. Clark-L.A. Muirhead, 17 February 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 487.
- 79 T. & T. Clark-A.S. Geden, 26 April 1895, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 415a.
- 80 So W.S. Bruce, author of the slow-selling Ethics of the Old Testament (1895) was told. (T. & T. Clark-W.S. Bruce, 10 March 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 911.)
- 81 T. Clark-George Matheson, 15 April 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 292.
- 82 T. & T. Clark-Alfred Cave, 15 February 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/38, fol. 815a.
- 83 A wide range of trade prices obtained in the case of each of these net books. For example, over 1896-97, sales of 142 copies of the work by Beyschlag were recorded at the following prices (the book retailed at 18s. 0d.):
- |                               |            |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| Sales to Scribners @ 12s. 0d. | -25 copies |
| Sales @ 14s. 3d. and 10%      | -44 copies |
| Sales @ 15s. 0d. and 5%       | -15 copies |
| Sales @ 15s. 0d. and 2½%      | -55 copies |
| Sales @ 18s. 0d. net          | - 1 copy   |
| Sales @ 16s. 0d. net          |            |
| and 14s. 7d. net              | - 2 copies |
|                               | <u>142</u> |
- (Stock Sales Notebook 1896-97, N.L.S., Dep. 247/71.)

- 84 The levels of discount to wholesalers noted in this paragraph are calculated from the data in the Trade Ledger, 1895-1901, N.L.S., Dep. 247/100a.
- 85 T. & T. Clark-Kegan Paul, 23 September 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 679.
- 86 T. & T. Clark-Kegan Paul, 30 September 1884 and 3 October 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fols 693,697.
- 87 T. & T. Clark-J.S. Exell, 4 October 1884, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 699.
- 88 The Clarks pointed out to Messrs Ferree and Co., of Philadelphia, for example, that the Consul's certificate would cost around 15s. 4d., and that the charge for packing cases was 7s. 6d. per box, each box being large enough to contain two hundred demy volumes. (T. & T. Clark-Messrs Ferree and Co., 22 October 1879, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 180.)
- 89 T. & T. Clark-C.F. Roper, 27 February 1880, N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 264.
- 90 T. & T. Clark-Wise, Coffin and Co., 29 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 790.
- 91 T. & T. Clark-Rowsell and Hutchison, 5 March 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 650.
- 92 T. & T. Clark-S.R. Briggs, Willard Tract Depository, 23 February 1887 and 22 August 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fols 641 and 785.
- 93 T. & T. Clark-W.J. Gage, 10 September 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 805.
- 94 T. & T. Clark-B. Broomhall, London, 6 November 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 287. Broomhall had claimed that the Religious Tract Society and other leading London publishers were supplying him at reduced rates. While the Clarks recognised that the RTS might, because of its constitution, have been acting in this way, they very gently implied that they doubted whether any other London houses would be co-operating: 'we shall be obliged if you will kindly tell us which of the other leading London Publishers have agreed to supply their books at reduced rates.'
- 95 An exactly parallel quotation to the above, dating from four years later, is contained in a letter to J.C. Eamer of the Primitive Methodist Publishing House (T. & T. Clark-J.C. Eamer, 6 November 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 963.) Eamer had clearly proposed some direct-sale scheme, and the firm made the following response:
- While we greatly appreciate your kindness-& were we to agree to your proposal it would no doubt be greatly to our advantage from a commercial point of view-still we feel we cannot conscientiously support a scheme which we are sure you will admit must have the effect of enticing away from the Booksellers many of their regular customers. [The scheme might be workable within the Primitive Methodist Denomination, but if it goes outside it] trouble is sure to arise with the Trade,&, as we say, we cannot help feeling that they would have a legitimate grievance.



- 96 T. & T. Clark-Scribners, 29 December 1897, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 62.
- 97 T. & T. Clark-Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 28 January 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 120.
- 98 T. & T. Clark-Hugh Callan, 3 January 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 784.
- 99 T. & T. Clark-James Hill, 1 August 1882, N.L.S., Dep. 247/33, fol. 11. In fact the work was not proceeded with.
- 100 T. & T. Clark-Hamilton Adams, 23 November 1893, N.L.S., Dep. 247/37, fol. 541.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 T. & T. Clark-Alfred Cave, 14 November 1890, N.L.S., Dep. 247/36, fol. 107.
- 103 T. & T. Clark-R.A. Macfie, 17 November 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 873.
- 104 T. & T. Clark-W. Mortimer Servis, 29 December 1818 (sic-actually 1879), N.L.S., Dep. 247/32, fol. 227.
- 105 T. & T. Clark-B. Broomhall, 6 November 1896, N.L.S., Dep. 247/39, fol. 287.
- 106 T. & T. Clark-the Rev T. Mitchell, 5 December 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 716. Mitchell had apparently received a donation from another source to reduce further the price that Primitive Methodist ministers would have to pay for the book.
- 107 T. & T. Clark-the Rev. T. Mitchell, 2 October 1899 and 4 October 1899, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fols 240,243.
- 108 T. & T. Clark-Primitive Methodist Book Depot, 3 October 1900, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40a, fol. 880.
- 109 T. & T. Clark-R.A. Macfie, 30 March 1886, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 314.

E:Notes Part IV

- 1 N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 2 Figures have not been rounded up or down, although halfpennies have been ignored. Several errors in the accounts have been corrected.
- 3 The sales of Session Cases, and an earlier series, the Digest of Cases (1867-1877), which was still in print, are itemised for the years covered by Part IV in N.L.S., Dep. 247/56. (Dep. 247/56 to Dep. 247/66 inclusive are Statement Books listing the sales of Session Cases, etc. between 1859 and 1947.) The figures for sales of Session Cases between 1895 and 1899 are as follows:

	<u>Value of Sales</u>		
July-Dec. 1895	£727	2s.	6d.
Jan.-June 1896	£740	9s.	0d.
July-Dec. 1896	£879	18s.	1d.
Jan.-June 1897	£1324	19s.	0d.
July-Dec. 1897	£851	11s.	9d.
Jan.-June 1898	£1060	16s.	6d.
July-Dec. 1898	£862	1s.	7d.
Jan.-June 1899	£1093	15s.	8d.

On these, the firm received a 7½% commission. Their commission income from sales of Session Cases and Digest of Cases during the four years beginning July 1895 was as follows:

1895-96	£122	14s	9d.
1896-97	£223	0s.	11d.
1897-98	£228	16s.	2d.
1898-99	£130	0s.	9d.

(This data is from the Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.)

- 4 See the Valuation Rolls in the Scottish Record Office.
- 5 The data is from the Stock and Sales Book, Individual Titles, N.L.S., Dep. 247/138.
- 6 This is arrived at as follows. A work with a trade value of £1.05 would cost the firm £0.75 including binding. (£1.05= 140% of £0.75) If the work were unbound, however, it would, in sheets, have cost the Clarks £0.75-15%= £0.63. The trade value would therefore be 164.7% of the firm's outlay, a percentage which holds good for all prices.
- 7 This included 40,418 units in the Bible Class Primer series.
- 8 B.R. Mitchell, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962), pp. 455, 458.



F:Notes:Appendices1. Appendix A

- 1 2 December 1878, p. 1210. See also 'Booksellers of Today: Messrs. MacNiven & Wallace, Edinburgh', Publishers' Circular, 1310, 8 August 1891, p. 131. John MacLaren, a former Oliphant employee (Obituary, Publishers' Circular, 1433, 16 December 1893, p. 704.) had, in around 1849 purchased the firm of John Elder (formerly Elder and Ogilvy) at 138 Princes Street. ('Booksellers of Today: Messrs. MacNiven & Wallace, Edinburgh', Publishers' Circular, 1310, 8 August 1891, p. 131. See also Arthur Giles, Across Western Waves and Home in a Royal Capital (n.d. but 1898), pp. 317-18.)
- 2 Publishers' Circular, 1310, 8 August 1891, p. 131.
- 3 T. H. Darlow, William Robertson Nicoll (1925), pp. 43-4.
- 4 Bookseller, 6 January 1881, p. 4.
- 5 Bookseller, 5 July 1882, p. 593.
- 6 Publishers' Circular, 1310, 8 August 1891, p. 13.
- 7 Bookseller, 5 April 1884, p. 357.
- 8 Darlow, op. cit., p. 460.
- 9 T. & T. Clark-David Kerr, Greenock, 13 April 1887, N.L.S., Dep. 247/34, fol. 685.
- 10 See Scottish Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, 13, May 1935, p. 75.
- 11 Bookseller, 2 February 1884, p. 99 records details of a legal action by MacNiven and Wallace against Messrs J.A. Cameron and Co. on the grounds of the latter's alleged infringement of copyright on statistics and information in the 1883 edition.

2. Appendix B

- 1 It is not clear by whom the phrase 'Incomparable Encyclopaedist' was first used of Hastings. It appears in 'Rev. James Hastings D.D.: His work as Scholar and Editor', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922. The substance of this Appendix was delivered to the Scottish Conference of Librarians' Christian Fellowship in the Queen Mother Library, Old Aberdeen on 12 May 1984.
- 2 Quoted by James Strahan, Andrew Bruce Davidson (1917), pp. vii-viii.
- 3 Hastings' son, Dr Edward Hastings, was unable in the early 1970s to find anything in his father's handwriting for the Manuscript Section of the National Library of Scotland. S.M. Simpson, Assistant Keeper-Alasdair I. MacLeod, 21 May 1976. Cited in Alasdair I. MacLeod, 'James Hastings and the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' (Unpublished paper), p. 2.
- 4 Catherine Robertson Nicoll, Under the Bay Tree: A Record 1897-1923 (c1934), p. 80.
- 5 John Anderson, 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35,



- Huntly Express, 29 January 1909. Cuttings of this series of articles are available in a bound volume in the Special Collections Department of Aberdeen University Library. See George Gray, Recollections of Huntly (Banff, 1892), pp. 24-25 for a description of the mills on the Bogie.
- 6 The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland 1900-1929, edited by John Alexander Lamb (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 409.
  - 7 'Death of Rev. Dr. Hastings', source unidentified.
  - 8 John Anderson, 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35, Huntly Express, 29 January 1909. Rainy served at Huntly from 1851 until 1854 when, against the wishes of his congregation, and his own perception of what was right, he was transferred by the judgement of the General Assembly to pastor the Free High Church in Edinburgh. (See Patrick Carnegie Simpson, The Life of Principal Rainy, 2 vols (London), I, pp. 105-25.)
  - 9 John Anderson, 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35, Huntly Express, 29 January 1909. For material on Huntly at the mid-point of the nineteenth century see, e.g. A.J., 'Huntly Sixty Years Since', Huntly Express, 15 January 1909 and 23 January 1909, and The Statistical Account of Aberdeenshire (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 1036-1047.
  - 10 Catherine Robertson Nicoll, Under the Bay Tree: A Record 1897-1923 (c1934), p. 146.
  - 11 F. J. Rae, '[James Hastings:] An Appreciation', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922. Rae was from 1905 until 1920 minister of Beechgrove United Free Church in Aberdeen. (The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland, edited by John Alexander Lamb (Edinburgh, 1956) p. 410. )
  - 12 John Anderson, 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35, Huntly Express, 29 January 1909.
  - 13 On the Old Grammar School see, e.g. Katherine E. Trail, The Story of Old Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1930), pp. 37-38 ; Alexander Keith, A Thousand Years of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, c 1972), pp. 486-87.
  - 14 John Anderson, 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35, Huntly Express, 29 January 1909.
  - 15 Katherine E. Trail, The Story of Old Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1930), p. 37.
  - 16 Obituary, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23), 85-86 (p. 85).
  - 17 'Rev James Hastings DD: His Work as Scholar and Editor', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
  - 18 'Death of Rev. Dr. Hastings', source unidentified.
  - 19 Obituary, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23), 85-86 (p. 85). The Gymnasium was apparently a highly-successful school: it had been founded in 1847 by the Rev. Dr Alexander Anderson. For details on the Gymnasium see Ella H.B. Rodger, Old Aberdeen Her Story and People (Aberdeen, 1902), pp. 91-92; Katherine E. Trail, The Story of Old Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1930), p. 38; Alexander Keith, A Thousand Years of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, c1972),



- p. 487; [An Old Boy] J.B. Allan, The 'Gym': or, Sketches from School (Aberdeen, 1885).
- 20 John Anderson, 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35, Huntly Express, 29 January 1909.
  - 21 Obituary, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23), 85-86 (p. 85).
  - 22 'A Notable Semi-Jubilee: Rev. Dr. Hastings of St. Cyrus', Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 3 April 1909.
  - 23 See R.A. Lendrum, 'The Founding of the College' in The Church College in Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 1936), pp. 7-9.
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  - 25 See Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900 (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 40-78.
  - 26 Alexander Gammie, The Churches of Aberdeen: Historical and Descriptive (Aberdeen, 1909), p. 160.
  - 27 'Dr. James Hastings: An Appreciation', Glasgow Herald, 17 October 1922, p.8.
  - 28 'Reverend James Hastings D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p.8). Gossip was minister of the Beechgrove United Free Church in Aberdeen from 1920 until 1928, and thereafter was Professor of Christian Ethics and Practical Training at the Glasgow College of the United Free Church. (The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland, edited by John Alexander Lamb (Edinburgh, 1956) p. 410.
  - 29 Comments by Hastings on the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, quoted by James Moffat, 'Dr. James Hastings: An Appreciation', Glasgow Herald, 17 October 1922, p.8.
  - 30 James Moffat, 'Dr. James Hastings: An Appreciation', Glasgow Herald, 17 October 1922, p. 8.
  - 31 The Piper O'Dundee, 29 June 1898, p. 412.
  - 32 F.J. Rae's comment in the Aberdeen Daily Journal was quoted with approval by Sir William Robertson Nicoll, 'The Rev. Dr. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p. 50.
  - 33 'Dundee U.F. Presbytery', Dundee Advertiser, 10 October 1901.
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  - 36 For information on Kinneff, see The Statistical Account of Kincardineshire (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 309-23.
  - 37 'Dr Hastings' Busy Life', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.
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  - 40 See Deas Cromarty, 'Ministerial Miniature: The Rev. A.S. Inch, M.A., -Dumbarton', British Weekly, 4 May 1899 for an assessment of Inch.

- 41 Dundee Advertiser, 31 March 1898.
- 42 'The Call to Willison Free Church, Dundee: Rev. Dr. Hastings Accepts', Dundee Advertiser, 17 May 1898.
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- 44 'The Call to Willison Free Church, Dundee: Rev. Dr. Hastings Accepts', Dundee Advertiser, 17 May 1898.
- 45 Willison Free Church news-sheet, July 1898.
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- 50 See unattributed newspaper cuttings in the Willison Free Church cuttings book in Dundee Central Library.
- 51 February issue.
- 52 July issue.
- 53 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35, Huntly Express, 29 January 1909.
- 54 'Dundee U.F. Presbytery: Call to Dr Hastings Sustained', Dundee Advertiser, 10 October 1901.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 See unattributed newspaper cuttings in the Willison Free Church cuttings book.
- 58 John Anderson, 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35, Huntly Express, 29 January 1909.
- 59 See unattributed newspaper cuttings in the Willison Free Church cuttings book. For information on St Cyrus, see The Statistical Account of Kincardineshire (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 269-97.
- 60 'Dundee U.F. Presbytery: Call to Dr Hastings Sustained', Dundee Advertiser, 10 October 1901.
- 61 Unattributed newspaper cutting in the Willison Free Church cuttings book.
- 62 Letter to the author from G.N. Drummond, Director of Libraries and Museums, Angus District Council, 29 September 1983.
- 63 The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland 1900-1929, edited by John Alexander Lamb (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 409.
- 64 'A Notable Semi-Jubilee: Rev. Dr. Hastings of St. Cyrus', Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 3 April 1909.
- 65 Ibid.



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- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Catherine Robertson Nicoll, Under the Bay Tree: A Record 1897-1923 (c1934), p.81.
- 69 Letter to the author from Gavin N. Drummond, Director of Libraries and Museums, Angus District Council, 29 September 1983.
- 70 Obituary, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23), 85-86 (p.85).
- 71 'Sudden Death of the Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.
- 72 'Rev. James Hastings D.D.', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
- 73 British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p. 50.
- 74 'Sudden Death of the Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.
- 75 The quotations in this paragraph are from 'Sudden Death of the Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922, and from 'Rev. James Hastings D.D.', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
- 76 'The Departure of Rev. Dr. Hastings', unattributed newspaper cutting in the Willison Free Church cuttings book.
- 77 'Introduction of Rev. Dr. Hastings, St. Cyrus', unattributed cutting in the Willison Free Church cuttings book.
- 78 James Hastings, 'A Combined Christian Movement', unattributed newspaper cutting in the Willison Free Church cuttings book.
- 79 Willison Free Church news-sheet, July 1898.
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- 81 Willison/<sup>United</sup>Free Church news-sheet, September 1901.
- 82 Willison United Free Church news-sheet, November 1901.
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- 84 17 November 1898.
- 85 Willison Free Church news-sheet, March 1899.
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- 87 'Introduction of Rev. Dr. Hastings, St. Cyrus', unattributed newspaper cutting in the Willison Free Church cuttings file.
- 88 'Rev. James Hastings D.D.', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
- 89 A.J. Gossip, 'Reverend James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p.9).
- 90 'Dundee U.F. Presbytery: Call to Dr Hastings Sustained', Dundee Advertiser, 10 October 1901.
- 91 Glasgow Herald, 17 October 1922, p. 8.
- 92 All the data in this paragraph, unless otherwise attributed, is from the various issues of the Willison Free Church monthly news-sheet.

- 93 By the Rev. M.D. Macgilvray, Moderator of the Presbytery, 'Willison Free Church: Induction of New Pastor', Dundee Advertiser, 23 June 1898.
- 94 Willison Free Church news-sheet, February 1899.
- 95 See, e.g. 'Sudden Death of Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.
- 96 'A Notable Semi-Jubilee: Rev. Dr. Hastings of St. Cyrus', Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 3 April 1909.
- 97 Willison Free Church news-sheet.
- 98 W.R. Nicoll, 'The Rev. Dr. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p. 50.
- 99 Hastings contributed two articles on this movement to a local newspaper; the cuttings, in the Willison Free Church cuttings book, are unattributed.
- 100 See the reports in the Willison United Free Church news-sheet, March 1901 and June 1901.
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- 102 'Honour to Dr Hastings: The Dyke Acland Medal', Aberdeen Free Press, 28 June 1913.
- 103 Quoted by Alexander Gammie, Preachers I Have Heard (London), p.113.
- 104 A.J. Gossip, 'Reverend James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p.8)
- 105 'Death of Dr. Hastings', Elgin Courant, 20 October 1922.
- 106 Address at Hastings' semi-jubilee celebrations, reported in 'A Notable Semi-Jubilee: Rev. Dr. Hastings of St. Cyrus', Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 3 April 1909.
- 107 William Fulton, 'James Hastings: The Dictionarian', Expository Times, 63 (1951-52), 162-64 (p. 162).
- 108 'The Rev. Dr. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p. 50.
- 109 Report in the Dundee Advertiser of a lecture given by Hastings on 12 March 1899, reprinted in the Willison Free Church news-sheet, April 1899.
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- 111 Review of Vol. 3 of the Dictionary of the Bible, Athenaeum, 15 September 1900, p. 341.
- 112 Report in the Dundee Advertiser of a lecture given by Hastings on 12 March 1899, reprinted in the Willison Free Church news-sheet, April 1899. H.R. Mackintosh remembered Hastings as one who managed to unite 'extremely positive evangelical conviction and a passionate attachment (it was nothing less) to Biblical criticism', and continued 'Like Robertson Smith, he found no difficulty in loving the Gospel while at the same time he toiled unendingly to mediate knowledge of the processes and events through



- which this Gospel had taken shape in history.' (H.R. Mackintosh, '[Dr James Hastings] The Life Work', Expository Times, 34 (1922-23) p. 105.
- 113 'Rev. James Hastings D.D.', The Piper O'Dundee, 29 June 1898.
- 114 Preface, Vol. I, p. 5.
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- 127 'Dr. James Hastings: An Appreciation', Glasgow Herald, 17 October 1922, p. 8.
- 128 Alasdair I. Macleod, 'James Hastings and the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics', (unpublished paper), p. 21.
- 129 Expository Times, 20 (1908-09) p. 49.
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- 131 Macleod, op. cit., p. 18.
- 132 Expository Times, 14 (1902-03), p. 66.
- 133 Expository Times, 17 (1905-06), p. 145.
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- 135 Expository Times, 20 (1908-09), pp. 98-99.
- 136 See Macleod, op. cit., pp. 22-25. For Hastings' comments on Gould's work, see Expository Times, 18 (1906-07), p. 342. For Hastings' view of the apologetic motivation behind the Encyclopaedia see Expository Times, 19 (1907-08), p. 338.
- 137 Expository Times, 23 (1911-12), p. 243.

- 138 Expository Times, 20 (1908-09), p. 2.
- 139 See Macleod, op. cit., pp. 26-27.
- 140 Unless it is stated otherwise, all the quotations in this paragraph come from the printed sheet Some Directions to Authors which was circulated in 1903 to potential contributors to the Dictionary of Religion, as it was then proposed to call the work. There is a copy of this circular in the Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, 29/193.
- 141 James Hastings-Moses Gaster, 19 November 1903, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, 79/175.
- 142 See T. & T. Clark-James Hastings, 22 June 1905, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40c, fol. 93.
- 143 Expository Times, 20 (1908-09), p. 339.
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- 145 Expository Times, 23 (1911-12), p. 242.
- 146 Macleod, op. cit., p. 16.
- 147 Expository Times, 19 (1907-08), p. 338.
- 148 Eric J. Sharpe, Comparative Religion: A History (London, 1975), p. 246, cited by Macleod, op. cit., p. 16.
- 149 Reference written by Hastings, 23 February 1920, N.L.S., M.S. 9223, fol. 57.
- 150 William Fulton, 'James Hastings: The Dictionarian', Expository Times, 63 (1951-52), 162-64 (p. 163.).
- 151 Macleod, op. cit., p. 17.
- 152 Comparative Religion: A History (London, 1975), p. 136.
- 153 Pinard de la Boullaye, L'Étude comparée des religions (Paris), I, 335.
- 154 Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 5 vols (Tubingen, 1909-13), IV, col. 656.
- 155 Princeton Theological Review, 14, p. 656.
- 156 A.J. Gossip, 'Reverend James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p. 7).
- 157 Dundee Advertiser, 14 March 1899, reprinted in the Willison Free Church news-sheet, April 1899.
- 158 Daily Mail, quoted in 'Rev. Dr. James Hastings: Great Encyclopaedia in the Making', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 6 November 1911.
- 159 'Honour to Dr. Hastings: The Dyke Acland Medal', Aberdeen Free Press, 28 June 1913.
- 160 'Sudden Death of Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.
- 161 A.J. Gossip, 'Reverend James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p. 8).
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- Aberdeen Daily Journal, 6 November 1911.
- 163 A.J. Gossip, 'Reverend James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p.8).
- 164 'Rev. Dr. James Hastings: Great Encyclopaedia in the Making', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 6 November 1911.
- 165 'Honour to Dr. Hastings: The Dyke Acland Medal', Aberdeen Free Press, 28 June 1913.
- 166 'Rev. James Hastings D.D.', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
- 167 'Honour to Dr. Hastings: The Dyke Acland Medal', Aberdeen Free Press, 28 June 1913.
- 168 John Selbie, quoted in 'Rev. James Hastings, D.D.', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
- 169 'Honour to Dr. Hastings: The Dyke Acland Medal', Aberdeen Free Press, 28 June 1913.
- 170 Obituary of James Hastings, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23) 85-86 (p. 86).
- 171 T. & T. Clark-Marcus Dods, 31 October 1898, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40, fol. 626.
- 172 John Selbie, speaking at Hastings' semi-jubilee celebrations, reported in 'A Notable Semi-Jubilee', Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 3 April 1909.
- 173 A.J. Gossip, 'Reverend James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40) 7-9 (p.9).
- 174 'A Notable Semi-Jubilee', Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 3 April 1909.
- 175 William Fulton, 'James Hastings: The Dictionarian', Expository Times, 63 (1951-52), 162-64 (p. 164).
- 176 Unattributed comment, quoted in 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35, Huntly Express, 29 January 1909.
- 177 'The Rev. Dr. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p. 50.
- 178 Gaster (1856-1939) was born in Bucharest, but became a naturalised UK citizen in 1893. He 'was Anglo-Jewry's most versatile scholar', and, from 1887 until 1918 was Chief Rabbi of the Sephardi Jews in England. He was also deeply involved in the Zionist cause. (Dictionary of National Biography 1931-1940.)
- 179 James Hastings-Moses Gaster, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, 55/200.
- 180 James Hastings-Moses Gaster, 18 May 1906, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, 80/205.
- 181 James Hastings-Moses Gaster, 7 August 1906, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, 34/208.
- 182 See James Hastings-Moses Gaster, 14 August 1906, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, 54/208.
- 183 James Hastings-Moses Gaster, 16 October 1906, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, 43/210.

- 184 Moses Gaster-James Hastings, 19 April 1909, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, Letter Book April 1909-August 1911, fol. 5.
- 185 James Hastings-Moses Gaster, 12 May 1909, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, 34/241.
- 186 James Hastings-Moses Gaster, 21 May 1909, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, 64/241.
- 187 See Moses Gaster-James Hastings, 9 June 1911 and 25 June 1911, Mocatta Library, Gaster Papers, Letter Book April 1909-August 1911, fols. 898a, 903b.
- 188 'Rev. Dr. James Hastings: Great Encyclopaedia in the Making', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 6 November 1911. This, almost certainly the fullest account of the editorial processes involved in preparing the Encyclopaedia, was based on a personal interview with Hastings, and can therefore be assumed to be substantially accurate.
- 189 'The Completion of a Great Encyclopaedia', British Weekly, 2 February 1922.
- 190 'Rev. Dr. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p.50.
- 191 'Rev. James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40) 7-9 (p. 7).
- 192 Sir John M. Clark-James Hastings, 11 February 1904, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40c, fol. 82.
- 193 W.R. Nicoll, 'The Completion of a Great Encyclopaedia', British Weekly, 2 February 1922.
- 194 Quoted by W.R. Nicoll, 'Rev. Dr. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922.
- 195 Sir John M. Clark-James Hastings, 11 February 1904, N.L.S., Dep. 247/40c, fol. 82.
- 196 'Entre Nous', Expository Times, 12 (1900-01), p. 240.
- 197 'A Notable Semi-Jubilee: Rev. Dr. Hastings of St. Cyrus', Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 3 April 1909.
- 198 All the data on Hastings' reaction to the call from the Willison Church come from his address to the Free Presbytery of Fordoun, reported in the Dundee Advertiser, 17 May 1898. ('The Call to Willison Church, Dundee: Rev. Dr. Hastings accepts.')
- 199 It is not certain whether it was the style or content of his preaching to which he was referring. His views of the Willison congregation's tastes in preaching may have been formed on the basis of an awareness of his predecessor at Willison, the Rev. A.S. Inch's style. Of that apparently remarkable man's preaching it could be said 'He was brief in his points and never went very deep nor attempted great heights', in marked contrast, it would seem, to Hastings. (British Weekly, 4 May 1899.) And when the Willison Church was considering presenting the call to Hastings, it was said that 'Dr Hastings was a very different man from their late minister, and might not have the attractive style of Mr Inch, but he had a style and grace of his own.' ('Unanimous Call to Dr Hastings', unattributed newspaper cutting in the Willison Free Church cuttings book.



- 200 'The Call to Willison Church, Dundee: Rev. Dr. Hastings Accepts', Dundee Advertiser, 17 May 1898.
- 201 Willison United Free Church news-sheet, October 1901.
- 202 'Unanimous Call to Dr. Hastings', unattributed newspaper cutting in the Willison Free Church cuttings book.
- 203 'Induction of Dr. Hastings', Dundee Advertiser, 27 June 1898.
- 204 Willison United Free Church news-sheet, October 1901. He added 'But that is not the case, and it must go on for some time yet.' Already, no doubt, the vision of the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics had begun to grip his mind.
- 205 It was always open to question whether, in fact, his literary work was a burden on his ministry, or a benefit to it. He claimed to the St Cyrus congregation that 'he had not really allowed any of the other work in which he had been engaged to interfere with the claims of the pulpit or the pastorate.' ('A Notable Semi-Jubilee: Rev. Dr. Hastings of St. Cyrus', Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 3 April 1909.) Sir John M. Clark agreed with this view: writing to the St Cyrus congregation, he said of Hastings that 'far from...his profound scholarship interfering with his pastoral work, he is ever faithful to his ministry among you.' (Quoted in 'Rev. James Hastings D.D.: His Work as Scholar and Editor', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.) Hastings held that, apart from the demands on time which his writing entailed, there was no essential conflict between writing and preaching and that in fact they were mutually enriching. He could write of his literary work 'as it is entirely occupied with the study of the Bible, it does not hinder, but rather helps me in preparing for the pulpit.' (Willison United Free Church news-sheet, October 1901.) With this assessment the Moderator of the Free Presbytery of Dundee, speaking at Hastings' induction to Willison, was in full agreement:
- An impression seemed to be abroad just now that it was next to impossible to be a successful writer and an efficient minister at one and the same time. No one man, it was thought, could combine these two services; either he would hate the one and love the other, or else he would love the one and hate the other. That might be true of some, perhaps most of them. The limitations of the ordinary minister were obvious enough to justify the conclusion that, in the interests of his people, he must regulate his activity with the strictest regard to the conservation of energy. ... But all ministers were not thus limited, and, as a matter of fact, some of the best literary and scholarly work which the Church had produced had been accomplished by men, who, when they produced it, were the efficient pastors of large and flourishing congregations. So far, indeed, was it from being the case that the work of the scholar necessarily injured the work of the minister, that the one might be the helpful ally of the other; and the man of widely-furnished mind, if he was also a conscientious man, was more likely to be a man to please and edify an intelligent Christian congregation. ('Willison Free Church: Induction of New Pastor', Dundee Advertiser, 23 June 1898.)



- 206 'The Call to Willison Church, Dundee: Rev. Dr. Hastings Accepts', Dundee Advertiser, 17 May 1898.
- 207 Willison Free Church news-sheet.
- 208 Willison United Free Church news-sheet.
- 209 Reprinted in the Willison United Free Church news-sheet, October 1901.
- 210 'Dundee U.F. Presbytery: Call to Rev. Dr. Hastings sustained', Dundee Advertiser, 10 October 1901.
- 211 Ibid.
- 212 It was widely held that his literary ministry was a more influential one than his pulpit ministry. For example, the Rev. Angus Fraser, of Trinity U.F. Church, Aberdeen, said the following in the course of a tribute to Hastings on the day he died: 'wider and mightier far than his ministry in the pulpit was his ministry through the pen'. ('Trinity U.F. Church Tribute: Great Defender of the Faith', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.)
- 213 Letter to the author from Angus Howat, Librarian, Elgin, 22 April 1983.
- 214 A.J. Gossip, 'Reverend James Hastings D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p.7).
- 215 Obituary, Aberdeen University Review, 49 (1981-82), p. 66.
- 216 Obituary of James Hastings, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23), 85-86 (p.86).
- 217 W.R. Nicoll, 'The Rev. Dr. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p. 50.
- 218 Ibid.
- 219 Data from the relevant Willison Free Church news-sheets.
- 220 Catherine Robertson Nicoll, Under the Bay Tree: A Record 1897-1923 (c1934), pp. 245-46.
- 221 Ibid., p. 284.
- 222 'Reverend James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p.8).
- 223 'Sudden Death of the Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.
- 224 'Rev. James Hastings, D.D.: His Work as Scholar and Editor', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
- 225 'Sudden Death of the Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.
- 226 'Reverend James Hastings, D.D.', Expository Times, 51 (1939-40), 7-9 (p.9).
- 227 Ibid.
- 228 Ibid.
- 229 'Sudden Death of the Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.



- 230 Ibid.
- 231 'Trinity U.F. Church Tribute', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
- 232 Catherine Robertson Nicoll, Under the Bay Tree: A Record 1897-1923 (c1934), pp. 79-80.
- 233 W.R. Nicoll, 'The Rev. Dr. James Hastings', British Weekly, 19 October 1922, p. 50.
- 234 W.A. Curtis, quoted by William Fulton, 'James Hastings: The Dictionarian', Expository Times, 63 (1951-52), 162-64 (p.164).
- 235 'Rev. James Hastings, D.D.', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
- 236 James Moffat, 'Dr. James Hastings: An Appreciation', Glasgow Herald, 17 October 1922, p.8.
- 237 'Sudden Death of Rev. Dr. James Hastings', Aberdeen Daily Journal, 16 October 1922.
- 238 Ibid.
- 239 Ibid.
- 240 Obituary, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23) 85-86 (p.85).
- 241 Ibid.
- 242 'Death of Dr. Hastings: Eminent Biblical Scholar and Editor', Elgin Courant, 20 October 1922.
- 243 John Anderson, 'Notable Men and Women of Strathbogie' 35, Huntly Express, 29 January 1909.
- 244 A.M. Mackenzie-James Hastings, 7 June 1922, N.L.S., Acc. 5268. Horace opened the concluding ode of his third book of Odes (No. 30) with the famous words 'Exegi monumentum aere perennius'- 'I have completed (hewn, crafted) a memorial more lasting than bronze.'
- 245 'Rev. James Hastings, D.D.: His work as Scholar and Editor', Aberdeen Free Press, 16 October 1922.
- 246 James Moffat, 'Dr. James Hastings: An Appreciation', Glasgow Herald, 17 October 1922, p. 8.
- 247 William Fulton, 'James Hastings: The Dictionarian', Expository Times, 63 (1951-52) 162-64 (p. 163).
- 248 Obituary, Aberdeen University Review, 10 (1922-23) 85-86 (p.85).
- 249 'Death of Dr. Hastings: Eminent Biblical Scholar and Editor', Elgin Courant, 20 October 1922.
- 250 Catherine Robertson Nicoll, Under the Bay Tree: A Record 1897-1923, (c1934) pp. 80-81.
- 251 The Poetical Works of Christina Georgina Rossetti (London, 1904) p. 231.

### 3. Appendix C

- 1 N.L.S., Dep. 247/127.
- 2 A very limited number of advertisements were inserted on an 'exchange' basis, the Clarks being freely given advertising

space in another publisher's journal in return for giving him free advertising space in the Expository Times or Critical Review. Such exchanges have not, because of their infrequency, been separately recorded in this Appendix. Figures giving the total number of insertions include any undertaken on an 'exchange' basis.

#### 4. Appendix D

1. Trade Ledger 1881-90, Trade Ledger 1890-95, and Trade Ledger 1895-1901, N.L.S., Dep. 247/99a, 100 and 100a.

#### 5. Appendix E

1. This information was given to the author by Mr T.G.R.D. Clark in a conversation in Edinburgh on 12 October 1986.



LIST OF SOURCES

## List of Sources

### A.Primary Sources

#### 1.Manuscript Sources

The main manuscript source is the extensive T. & T. Clark archive, housed in the National Library of Scotland (Deposit 247). The portion of this archive relating to the nineteenth century contains letter books, statement books, stock and sales records, trade ledgers, a 'Paper and impression book 1878-1890', and an 'Advertisements book 1886-96'.

The Gaster Papers, Mocatta Library, University College, London.

The Edinburgh City Valuation Rolls (Scottish Record Office).

Testamentary material relating to Thomas Clark and Sir Thomas Clark, Scottish Record Office SC49/3/81, fols 533-582; SC70/1/398, fols 361-401 ; SC70/1/416, fols 863-868; SC70/4/327, fols 343-358.

#### 2.Printed Sources

The files of:

The Bookseller

The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature

The Expository Times

The Publishers' Circular

The Theological Review and Free Church Quarterly

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