The Geographies of Enlightenment Edinburgh
This major series from Boydell & Brewer, published in association with the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, aims to bring into fruitful dialogue the different disciplines involved in all aspects of the study of the long eighteenth century (c.1660–1820). It publishes innovative volumes, singly or co-authored, on any topic in history, science, music, literature and the visual arts in any area of the world in the long eighteenth century and particularly encourages proposals that explore links among the disciplines, and which aim to develop new cross-disciplinary fields of enquiry.

Series editors: Ros Ballaster, University of Oxford, UK; Matthew Grenby, Newcastle University, UK; Robert D. Hume, Penn State University, USA; Mark Knights, University of Warwick, UK; Renaud Morieux, University of Cambridge, UK.

Previously published


*Celebrity Culture and the Myth of Oceania in Britain, 1770–1823*, Ruth Scobie, 2019

*British Sociability in the Long Eighteenth Century: Challenging the Anglo-French Connection*, edited by Valérie Capdeville and Alain Kerhervé, 2019

*Things that Didn’t Happen: Writing, Politics and the Counterhistorical, 1678–1743*, John McTague, 2019

*Converting Britannia: Evangelicals and British Public Life, 1770–1840*, Gareth Atkins, 2019

*British Catholic Merchants in the Commercial Age, 1670–1714*, Giada Pizzoni, 2020

*Lessons of Travel in Eighteenth-Century France: From Grand Tour to School Trips*, Gábor Gelléri, 2020


*Fictions of Presence: Theatre and Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Ross Ballaster, 2020

*Ephemeral Print Culture in Early Modern England*, Tim Somers, 2021
The Geographies of Enlightenment Edinburgh

Phil Dodds

THE BOYDELL PRESS
Published in association with

BSECS
British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies
For my parents
## Contents

*List of Illustrations*  
ix  

*Acknowledgements*  
xiii  

Introduction: Mapping Enlightenment from an Edinburgh Bookshop  
1  

**PART I  Planning: Edinburgh and the New Town**

1  Projecting: Cadastral Mapping and the Genesis of the New Town  
39  

2  Combining: Mapping Old, New and Soon  
49  

3  Dividing: Properties of the Plan Beyond  
65  

4  Extending: Progress and the Enlightenment Capital  
77  

**PART II  Surveying: Edinburgh and its Environs**

5  Counting: Political Arithmetic in the Parish of Cramond  
101  

6  Generalising: County Connections and Enclosures  
115  

7  Overviewing: Distant Perspectives in the Borders  
127  

8  Subscribing: Patronising Surveys and Provincial Libraries  
141  

**PART III  Travelling: Edinburgh and the Nation**

9  Piecing: Pre- and Post-Tour Epistles for Thomas Pennant’s *Scotland*  
163  

10  Improving: Robert Heron’s *Journey* through the Commerce of Print  
175  

11  Moving: Sarah Murray and her Travelling Readers  
193  

12  Trading: Routes in Scotland  
207
PART IV Compiling: Edinburgh and the World

13 Summarising: Global Knowledge in an Elite High School 227
14 Supplementing: The Encyclopædia Britannica’s Sources 243
15 Accessioning: The Family Collection 263
16 Institutionalising: Edinburgh Medical Students and Surgeons’ Societies in the Nineteenth-Century World 291

Conclusion: Universalising Enlightenment Edinburgh 305

Bibliography 331
Index 351
Illustrations

Figures

1. ‘The Parliament Close and Public Characters of Edinburgh fifty years Since’, by John le Conte (1844) 9
2. Bell & Bradfute's day book entry for 12 July 1792 13
3. A section of Bell & Bradfute’s day book entry for 10 October 1792 16
4. Details from Alexander Kincaid, A Plan of the City and Suburbs of Edinburgh (1784) and Thomas Brown and James Watson, Plan of the City [of Edinburgh] (1793), showing St George’s Square/Charlotte Square 46
5. Details from Andrew and Mostyn Armstrong, Map of the Three Lothians (1773) 50
6. John Ainslie’s City of Edinburgh (1780) 52–53
7. David Allan’s portrait of James Craig (1781) 54
9. Detail from Plans of the Lands & Feus, belonging to the Governors of George Heriot’s Hospital, Being Copy [sic] from the Original Plan by John Ainslie, Date 1801 (Edinburgh, 1850–51), Plate II 69
10. Detail from ‘Plan of the lands between Queen Street and Fettes Row’ (1810) 72
11. John Ainslie, Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith with the Proposed Docks (1804) 80–81
Illustrations

13. ‘Mid Lothian, A Sketch By G[eorge] R[obertson],’ in George Robertson’s General View of the Agriculture of Midlothian (Edinburgh, 1793) 123

14. A section of Bell & Bradfute’s day book entry for 28 May 1793 189

15. Detail from Alexander Adam’s notes on Samuel Neele’s ‘Orbis Veteribus Notus’ map 234

16. Portrait of Alexander Adam by Henry Raeburn (c.1805) 237

17. Portrait of Francis Horner by Henry Raeburn (1812) 238

18. Bell & Bradfute’s day book entry for 22 August 1797, listing the customers who signed up to buy a copy of ‘Chinese Embassy’ 283

Tables

1. A ‘table, exhibiting ... the real distance of every post-office from Edinburgh ... shewing the usual time of the post’s arrival at the several offices, and the difference in point of earliness that might be expected from the suggested arrangement’ 137

2. Charles Elliot and Bell & Bradfute’s sales of Scottish travel books, 1771–1810 208–209

3. Charles Elliot and Bell & Bradfute’s wholesale trade in geographical publications, 1771–1810 209–210

4. Geographical subjects of the travel books sold by Charles Elliot and Bell & Bradfute, 1771–1810 213


6. Charles Elliot and Bell & Bradfute’s sales of geographical publications to the editors and publishers of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1775–1804 251–257

7. The extended Hope family’s purchases of geographical publications from Charles Elliot and Bell & Bradfute, 1772–1800 267–272
8. The Horner family’s purchases of geographical publications from Bell & Bradfute, 1788–1802 275–277

9. The Royal Medical Society’s purchases of geographical publications from Bell & Bradfute, 1798–1804 297

10. Charles Elliot and Bell & Bradfute’s sales of geographical publications to Benjamin Bell, Andrew Wardrop and ‘Mr. Denman, Student with Mr. Ben. Bell’, 1774–1795 301

Full credit details are provided in the captions to the images in the text. The author and publisher are grateful to all the institutions and individuals for permission to reproduce the materials in which they hold copyright. Every effort has been made to trace the copyright holders; apologies are offered for any omission, and the publisher will be pleased to add any necessary acknowledgement in subsequent editions.
Acknowledgements

Over the ten years I have been researching Enlightenment Edinburgh in some form, I have benefited from a great deal of guidance and support. I thank the archivists and staff at the Edinburgh City Archives (ECA), the National Library of Scotland (NLS), the National Records of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh’s Centre for Research Collections and the Hawick Heritage Hub. I relied on the assistance and expertise of too many individuals to mention them all, but ECA and NLS staff in particular really made the research process so much easier, especially Chris Fleet and Moray Teale (NLS) and Jennifer Hogg (ECA). Thank you for providing such a valuable and exceptional service.

I also want to thank colleagues, administrators, mentors and friends at the University of Sheffield, the University of Edinburgh, the Bader International Study Centre (a UK campus of Queen’s University, Canada) and Lund University (Sweden). To the latter institution I owe particular thanks for affording me the time and space to finish the book. And I am especially grateful to Charles Withers and Richard Rodger in Edinburgh, who read and helped me to vastly improve multiple early and sketchy versions of this work. The book is so much better for their attention, wisdom and input. I have also benefited from discussing ideas and getting feedback from audiences at several conferences, seminars and symposia, including the International Conference of Historical Geographers, the European Association of Urban History Conference, and three Urban History Group conferences. The fantastic Urban History Group crowd were especially helpful in the formative stages of this project.

For their generous advice on specific archives or points of fact, I want to thank Jane Corrie, Alex Deans, Alison Martin, Warren McDougall, Tawny Paul and Bill Zachs. For reading and providing feedback on specific chapters, sections or conference papers, I am truly grateful to Kathrine Cuccuru, Anna Feintuck, Ben Garlick, Hamish Kallin and Lorna Morrow. For engaging substantially with my ideas and providing expert guidance, I owe special thanks to Paul Elliott, Fraser MacDonald and Rick Sher. To Elizabeth Howard at Boydell & Brewer: thank you for your help and support in
the final stages. To Mari Shullaw: I am sorry that I could not finish the book before your retirement, but I thank you for your patience and positivity.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the support and encouragement I received from my family. My brother and my parents cheered me on during the writing process, took an interest in my work and showed they were proud of my efforts. I know I could not have done it without them. My passion for the topic I surely got from my mum – a map librarian who grew up just outside Edinburgh – and I hope I have inherited at least a little of my dad’s admirable attention to detail. And to Lettice: thank you for keeping me motivated, for showing me how to be a good researcher, and for all your love and care. You are the best academic role model I could have, and you are my best friend.
Introduction: Mapping Enlightenment from an Edinburgh Bookshop

A Bookshop in a Global City

This book begins with a bookshop. To map the geographies of Enlightenment Edinburgh, the following chapters start with the records of booksellers based in the heart of the city. From a Short View of the Several Nations of the World in November 1771 to a collection of Letters from Canada in October 1809, more than 10,000 geographical publications passed through that shop over nearly four decades. There were maps, atlases, encyclopaedias, school textbooks and globes. There were compilations of African discoveries and accounts of Arctic voyages. Multi-volume descriptions of British diplomatic missions to China were sold alongside ninety-nine-page pamphlets on Scotland’s Gaelic-speaking western isles. The booksellers stocked histories of Minorca, Morocco, Mauritius and Mexico, all illustrated with maps. City plans of London, Copenhagen, Boston and New York passed through the shop, plus surveys of Turkey, Pennsylvania, Perthshire and Palau. Tourist guides to Loch Lomond, Bath and Paris were on the shelves next to strip-map books of Scottish and Irish roads. There were estate plans, village maps and parish reports. There were mapmaking manuals and instructional texts for using sextants and quadrants. Customers could subscribe to such periodicals as Asiatique Researches and The Geographical Magazine. And there were hundreds of cheap geographical dictionaries, grammars and gazetteers, each with a few pages or a few lines on every nation and region of the known world, making the world known to readers in Edinburgh.

As well as recording what was traded, the booksellers listed more than 2,000 different buyers of geographical publications. Among the bookshop’s customers were Lowland lending libraries, Highland landed gentry, students of law and medicine, English tourists, women’s boarding school teachers, secretaries of scientific societies and owners of West Indian sugar plantations. There were architects, army men, bankers, barbers, builders,
church ministers, drapers, farmers, jewellers, lawyers, mathematicians, Members of Parliament, milliners, musicians, opticians, painters, paper mill owners, philosophers, poets, public prosecutors, sailors, schoolmasters, stablers, surgeons, tailors, trunk makers, upholsterers and wine merchants. Barons and baronets bought geography books, along with colonels, countesses, misses, esquires, lords, ladies and lieutenants, plus two signors and a monsieur. Most were based at Edinburgh addresses, but other customers came from places like Shetland, Leadhills and Aberdeen; London, Sheffield and Belfast; and Stockholm, Hamburg and Philadelphia.

Both the bookshop’s stock and its customer base reflected the city’s colonial connections and ‘global’ character. Edinburgh families extended around the world. Many of its citizens – including some of its most prolific book buyers – were active in Britain’s imperial practices, which contributed to Edinburgh’s economic and geographical growth. Shopping in Edinburgh’s bookshops were soldiers and naval officers who had served in campaigns in North America, South Asia, North and West Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean, Australia and Ireland. Alumni from Edinburgh’s schools and colleges administered what they saw as morally and intellectually enlightened projects of colonial ‘improvement’ in Indian and Pacific territories, while children born in Sumatra and Madras to Scottish fathers and Asian mothers were sent to study in the city.¹ Growing numbers of Edinburgh-trained doctors practised in the Caribbean, where they applied their botanical and chemical knowledge to agriculture and sugar refining.² Book buyers were based at Edinburgh addresses with names like ‘India Street’, ‘Jamaica Street’ and ‘Antigua Street’, all of which were built around the turn of the nineteenth century. Concurrently, different parts of the world were being ‘discovered’, claimed and named after Scottish places and


people. Glenmore in Indonesia. Port Blair in the Andaman Islands. Pringle Bay in South Africa’s Western Cape. The Mackenzie River in north-west Canada. New Edinburgh and New Glasgow in Nova Scotia. In the South Pacific, the islands of New Caledonia and the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) were so named because they reminded Captain James Cook (1728–1779) of Scotland. Colonel William Paterson (1755–1810), the Scottish botanist and brutal leader of early Australian settlements, named a Tasmanian river after the Esk that rises in Edinburgh’s southern hills. Accounts of Paterson’s and especially Cook’s voyages were among the Edinburgh booksellers’ bestsellers. Readers in Enlightenment Edinburgh could celebrate ‘this new world being unfolded’ to them.³

The geographical information that circulated from the bookshop was tailored to the interests of customers with colonial vocations. Many of the listed book buyers were slave owners or from slave-owning families,⁴ and their purchases reflected this. One example is the lawyer Vans Hathorn (1753–1839), who lived in Edinburgh’s New Town. Through the 1837 Slave Compensation Act, Hathorn received nearly £8,000 for his stake in three St Vincent estates where 610 people were enslaved. In December 1788, Hathorn bought a copy of William Guthrie’s *Geographical Grammar* ‘for Miss H’ (probably his sister). This condensed compilation of global geographical knowledge described St Vincent as ‘the most proper for the raising of sugar’ of any of the British-controlled Caribbean islands.⁵ Members of another New Town family – the Duguids of Princes Street – were compensated for enslaved individuals in Barbados and Trinidad. Between November 1800 and February 1801, Mr and Mrs Duguid bought Bryan Edwards’ *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1794), *History of St Domingo* (1797) and a ‘history of the Maroon war’, plus maps of the West Indies and Jamaica. Also in the bookshop accounts was ‘Patrick McGibbon, Windsor Trelawney, Jamaica’. In the mid-1780s, McGibbon was placing adverts in Jamaican newspapers for the return of ‘run aways’ (i.e., enslaved people who had escaped from his Trelawney estate).⁶ But

³ Leonard Horner (ed.), *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P.*, vol. 1 of 2 (Edinburgh, 1843), 142 [diary entry for 24/02/1801].
⁴ The Legacies of British Slave-ownership (LBS) database lists more than 100 addresses in Edinburgh associated with slave owners or direct beneficiaries of West Indian plantations and estates; more than half of the addresses are in the New Town. See: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/.
in December 1789 he was buying books in Edinburgh, including classic Scottish Enlightenment texts like James Boswell’s *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785) and ten volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (second edition, 1778–1783). Boswell later published a pro-slavery poem which was dedicated ‘To the Respectable Body of West-India Planters and Merchants,’ arguing that abolition would retard Africans’ ‘first step towards progressive civilization.’ Early editions of the Edinburgh-published *Britannica* described Jamaica almost entirely in terms of its commercial export opportunities for British readers.

These decades of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also made Edinburgh world famous in the fields of literature, medicine, geology, chemistry, moral philosophy and political economy. It became a ‘world city’ and an ‘intellectual capital.’ Boswell (1740–1795), the celebrated diarist and biographer, lived most of his life in Edinburgh. Scientists such as William Cullen (1710–1790), James Hutton (1726–1797) and Joseph Black (1728–1799) experimented, lectured and published their influential research from Edinburgh University. They were among the founders of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1783. The empiricist philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) died in Edinburgh’s New Town and his *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* was published posthumously in 1779. Adam Smith (1723–1790) wrote most of his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) from his home near Edinburgh, and he lived in the Scottish capital from 1778 until his death. William Robertson (1721–1793) was Principal of the University of Edinburgh when he produced his grand histories of America (1777) and India (1791). Dugald Stewart (1753–1828) lectured at Edinburgh in moral philosophy and political economy from 1785 to 1810. The philosopher and historian of civil society Adam Ferguson (1723–1816) taught, wrote and researched in Edinburgh throughout the period. Many of these famous figures feature in the booksellers’ records. Stewart bought books on trigonometry and maritime surveying. Ferguson’s purchases included a twelve-inch globe. Among Cullen’s acquisitions were Robert Orme’s *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* (second edition, 1778) and a volume

---


describing the Cook expeditions. More generally, the literary, scientific and philosophical achievements of these renowned Edinburgh names, and the broader period of intellectual and cultural flourishing associated with the Scottish Enlightenment, were reliant on the city’s global geographies. While none of these leading figures of Edinburgh’s Enlightenment was a ‘geographer’, all their intellectual contributions followed from their partial understandings of the world, and they all applied geographical knowledge to their experiments and writings.

Historians have argued, too, that the writings of these Edinburgh men had a profound global impact in the decades that followed. Their conceptualisations – of gender relations, of racial categorisation and of humanity itself – informed the policies and practitioners of British imperialism. Their writings accompanied colonising missions, including Europeans’ first circumnavigation of Australia, and their teaching informed colonial administration in India and elsewhere. Their common commitment to taxonomising differences, to a stadial conception of history and to the moral and historical imperative of a politically conceived ‘improvement’ meant that their work nurtured wider colonisation processes. In short, Enlightenment Edinburgh contributed to the construction of the new world of nineteenth-century empire. According to Silvia Sebastiani, the ‘universal and universalistic perspective’ of Scottish Enlightenment history and social theory ‘enabled the construction of a hierarchically organized map of humankind’. As Bruce Buchan and Annemarie McLaren put it, ‘The expansion of Britain’s empire went hand-in-hand with the global reach of Scottish Enlightenment notions of civilisation.’ But rarely has this universalism, this ‘global reach’ and this ‘map of humankind’ been analysed in explicitly geographical terms. Few Scottish Enlightenment scholars have followed Charles Withers in ‘thinking geographically about the Age of Reason’ in Edinburgh. This means that our understanding of it remains incomplete.

---

This is why this book maps the geographies of Enlightenment Edinburgh. It analyses how people in Enlightenment Edinburgh encountered, conceptualised, compared, ordered, intervened in and produced different kinds of spaces, from the New Town to the New World. It highlights the geographical knowledge-making practices that were an integral part of Enlightenment reasoning and that contributed to the construction of Edinburgh as an Enlightenment capital of regional, national and global significance. It explores how and why some forms of geography had normative and performative power, or how particular ways of mapping and describing the world came ultimately to predict and organise it, creating spaces in Edinburgh's image according to a specific model and scalar regime. The book analyses the individuals, relationships, networks, institutions, technologies, materials and processes through which geographical projects and publications were produced, sold, circulated, communicated, interpreted, used and performed. And it assesses the different spatial operations – different ways and practices of geographical knowing – that were used to make sense of subjects such as Edinburgh's New Town, the Borders of Scotland, the Outer Hebrides and even Arabia, western Africa, Australia and China.

The book seeks to highlight how the ‘global reach’ of Edinburgh’s ‘universalistic perspective’ was multifaceted and complex, entailing different forms and processes of knowledge applied in different combinations and at different scales. Enlightenment Edinburgh’s power, and its citizens’ confidence in the ‘enlightened’ nature of their intervention in the world, came partly through particular methods of collecting, compiling and communicating global information. Also important were conceptions of national progress that circulated through Scottish travel books, as well as a prescribed prototype of regional agricultural improvement. The city’s own model of urban planning in this period was vital too: it was because of the way the New Town was planned – and because the city saw itself as in a progressive state characterised by an ongoing planning process – that Edinburgh could position itself at the pinnacle of a civilisation schema applied globally. By analysing how Enlightenment Edinburgh’s power and importance was constructed through various interconnected spatial processes, this book contextualises and contests the cultural legacies and intellectual contributions of this globally significant Enlightenment city.

But it begins with the bookshop.
The Edinburgh Booksellers: Charles Elliot and Bell & Bradfute

Bookshops were crucial for Enlightenment. As nodes of print culture, they were key sites in what Rosemary Sweet has called the urban ‘topographies of politeness’: ‘the institutions which offered the facilities for education and rational discourse’.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, people socialised in bookshops. They shared ideas, hatched projects and discussed the day’s news. Booksellers themselves had varied cultural concerns, pursuing power as well as profit, personal prestige as well as national improvement.

In Edinburgh, different bookshops were associated with different political and intellectual agendas. And while developments in printing technologies both facilitated and shaped the popular diffusion of standardised knowledge – especially for the map-publishing industry, and for other scientific print genres that relied on illustration – it was nevertheless the business ingenuity of booksellers, rather than technological changes per se, that drove the massive increase in the consumption of books in the eighteenth century.

A British ‘print explosion’ began in the 1770s, and it...

---


was sparked and fuelled by the booksellers of London and Edinburgh. Jürgen Habermas argues that ‘serious reading by an interested public’ began in the eighteenth century ‘after the publisher replaced the patron as the author’s commissioner and organized the commercial distribution of literary works’. Booksellers had to skilfully anticipate and stimulate customer demand when deciding which works would be commissioned and marketed. As John Brewer puts it: ‘the Cerberus-like figure of the bookseller’ presided over the labyrinth of eighteenth-century print culture, a gatekeeper for authors and readers alike.

So, bookshops and their owners played a significant part in the intellectual culture of Enlightenment, not least in Edinburgh. Fortunately, some kept detailed business records and their archives have survived. This book draws on records from a shop in Edinburgh’s Parliament Square, next to St Giles Cathedral. Just off the High Street and a short walk from the College, the law courts and the City Chambers, this was a bustling, busy, densely populated part of Edinburgh’s centre, where people shopped and socialised (Figure 1). Richard Sher suggests that Parliament Square was at the heart of ‘the vibrant cultural space that nourished the Edinburgh Enlightenment’.

The bookshop, which sat among jewellers, tailors and a coffee house, was occupied by Charles Elliot (1748–1790) in the 1770s and 1780s. Then, in the 1790s and 1800s, it was taken over by the partnership of John Bell (1735–1806) and John Bradfute (1763–1837) (hereafter Bell & Bradfute). The book and publishing historian William Zachs has identified Bell & Bradfute’s business ledgers – which have not been thoroughly studied since they were discovered in 1996 – as key sources for understanding Edinburgh’s Enlightenment literary culture. And Elliot’s archives, according to Zachs, ‘may be the single best source for information about the Scottish [book] trade between 1770 and 1790.

Elliot was born into a tenant farming family in the Scottish Borders in 1748. He opened his Parliament Square bookshop in 1771, and through the

---

18 Sher, *Enlightenment and the Book*.
Figure 1. ‘The Parliament Close and Public Characters of Edinburgh fifty years Since’, by John le Conte (1844), with inset detail of the shop owned by Bell & Bradfute in the 1790s and early 1800s. By permission of the Yale Center for British Art.
1770s and 1780s it was frequented by Edinburgh literati like Boswell and the poet Robert Burns (1759–1796). Elliot was known for his bold, risk-taking style in business. He profited from smuggled Irish books disguised by fake London imprints. His obituary praised him as ‘possessed of more literary property than any other in the trade’, and over his career he was involved in more than six hundred publications, including Cullen’s medical writings, Hutton’s first geological dissertations and the early *Britannica* editions. Elliot’s accounting was occasionally vague, with regular use of the word ‘sundry’ when customers bought multiple items at the same time, but his business ledgers nevertheless record 1,064 business transactions relating to works of geography, involving the sale or purchase of at least 1,748 individual publications between 1771 and 1790.

Bell & Bradfute took over the bookshop when Elliot died in 1790. Bell, the son of a Borders parish minister, was the senior partner. He had previously built a successful business with the prominent bookseller Alexander Kincaid (1710–1777). Kincaid and Bell collaborated with counterparts in London to publish significant Enlightenment works such as Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767). Bell was generally well liked: one account described him as ‘a man of great worth and talents, and well known to all his brethren in Edinburgh and London … Mr Bell’s conduct and character through life was distinguished by integrity, liberality and independence.’ Bell seems to have held radical political views. He supported the writing career of William Godwin (1756–1836), that early exponent of philosophical anarchism, and he associated with the renowned liberal Thomas Paine (1737–1809). Bell was an independent bookseller before he partnered with his nephew John Bradfute in 1788. Bradfute was also a parish minister’s son, born in Dunsyre some twenty miles over the Pentland Hills from Edinburgh. When Bell died in 1806, Bradfute took over the whole business, and the remaining ledgers run to 1810 (albeit with one ledger missing for 1805–1806). For the accuracy of their accounting, Bell & Bradfute

---

were known as ‘disagreeable strict precisionists’. Their full and detailed business ledgers record the sale or purchase of 8,716 individual works of geography, in 2,577 separate transactions.

Geographies of the Bookshop: Navigating the Archives

Most of the 10,454 geographical publications that passed through the bookshop fell into one of three broad categories in the booksellers’ commercial catalogues: ‘maps and plans’, ‘voyages and travels’ and ‘geography and topography’. The latter included everything from parish surveys to tourists’ guidebooks to wide-ranging geographical grammars. Also included in these figures are other items that contained significant amounts of geographical information, such as encyclopaedias, globes and ‘histories’ of cities and countries (which often included long descriptions of their contemporary situations and were generally illustrated with maps). Such publications, shelved among Bibles and novels and stationery, obviously represented only a portion of the bookshop’s total trade. But these sets of sales records support other studies’ findings that the three geographical categories were among the most popular in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Onni Gust has shown that popular and miscellaneous publication genres could function as ‘powerful tools for configuring the meaning of “the world”’, and it was through such varied forms and styles of print that Scottish Enlightenment ideas were consolidated into a British-imperial ‘common-sense’. Any of these ostensibly descriptive works – from statistical surveys of the Hebrides to travel accounts of India – could ‘both represent and intervene’, as Minakshi Menon has put it, potentially functioning as ‘a clarion call to colonise a backward people in the interests of civilising improvement’. Commercially printed geographical materials in particular had long been important in the mutual construction of metropole and

---

29 The Bell & Bradfute records are in Edinburgh City Archives, SL138. The ‘day books’ (SL138/7) are organised chronologically, so are searchable by date. There are no folio numbers. The Charles Elliot business ledgers are in the National Library of Scotland, MSS.43098–43101. This collection includes an index (in MS.43098) by which specific buyers’ accounts can be found.
colony, or of a colonising Europe and its exotic other. And the geographies sold from the Edinburgh bookshop were not just focused on foreign lands: they also helped people to navigate more familiar territories, practically facilitating certain kinds of movement and mediating experiences of home. They were far from neutral, although their assumed neutrality meant they could be used in highly political ways. Moreover, the meaning and impact of these miscellaneous works of geography varied according to who bought them and how they used them. Fortunately, the archives afford insight into the reception of such publications. Each sales record comes with relevant detail and contextual information, as is later explained more fully. But the booksellers’ business ledgers also provide an insight into the mechanisms of geographical publishing and the means by which geographical information was imported into and distributed from the city. They show how the bookshop’s role in the circulation of these diverse geographical materials was part of, and reliant on, national and international wholesale trade patterns and an urban ecology of publishing specialists in Edinburgh. It was this ecology that enabled the miscellaneous geographical publications and their ‘common-sense’ conceptions of the world to circulate through the city and beyond.

The archives reveal the extent and complexity of the booksellers’ national and international trade. Much of their stock came from London, and they sent their own publications there too. They also shipped orders to bookshops in Baltimore, Boston and other cities in North America, plus dozens of counterparts in Scotland’s smaller towns (see Chapter 12). There are details of transportation and related expenses, from the specific instructions given to ‘Isabel Christie’, who was working as a post carrier for the county of Fife, to the twelve shillings paid for ‘2 matted trunks’ to ship books to Philadelphia. And sometimes stock was sent abroad speculatively in deals involving complex credit terms. The records show books and maps sent to Leith- and Greenock-based merchant firms with business interests in the Bahamas, for example. These merchants would then ship and hawk these items in the West Indies on the agreement that anything unsold would be returned to the Edinburgh bookshop afterwards. So the booksellers’ business as revealed in their records was not confined to the city: it was national and international, reaching dispersed customers via chains and infrastructures of transportation, correspondence and credit.

There are specifics of financial agreements with Edinburgh-based engravers and printers too, plus sums set aside for paper from local mills, for advertising in Edinburgh periodicals and for the artists, mapmakers and translators involved in particular publishing projects. Such details afford an in-depth understanding of how geographical publishing in Edinburgh functioned as a multifaceted industry which, as Mary Sponberg Pedley has shown in the French Enlightenment context, conditioned the kinds and

Figure 2. Bell & Bradfute’s day book entry for 12 July 1792. It shows that one customer, Sir James Colquhoun (Baronet), bought and subsequently returned an octavo edition of Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape (1792) by the English artist, traveller and cleric William Gilpin (1724–1804). It also shows the business terms agreed with ‘Mr Thomas Jameson author of the Geographical Chart of Europe’. By permission of Edinburgh City Archives.
forms of geographical information that circulated. And then there are the precise details of agreements with copyright holders, including the terms on which works would be sold. For example, when ‘Mr Thomas Jameson, Author of the Geographical Chart of Europe’ sold seventeen of his charts to Bell & Bradfute in July 1792, they were to be priced differently according to whether they were ‘in Sheets’ or ‘on Canvas and Rollers,’ and the deal was that they were bought ‘on Ret[urn]’ (i.e., any unsold stock would be sent back and refunded by the author) (Figure 2). The ledgers record only a handful of sales in 1792–1793. Lacking buyers in Edinburgh, the remaining charts were returned to Jameson.

The archives show a range of means by which people acquired books, and different mechanisms of demand and supply. There were different types of purchase, from buying a reduced item on sale to specifically requesting that a publication be imported or produced. There are details (as explored in Chapters 8 and 15) of customers ‘subscribing’ for particular publications, whereby they supported the production process by agreeing to pay up front for works before they were published. On other occasions, an individual (usually someone in a position of power or influence) was presented with a copy of a new publication, paid for by a publisher or author attempting to curry favour (see Chapter 10). Some purchases are marked with a number corresponding to a catalogue entry, suggesting that the buyer chose it from the booksellers’ annual catalogues, which were an important way for the shop to attract and retain customers. Other items were ‘bought at sale’ or came from auctions of private libraries. Bell & Bradfute enjoyed a 5 per cent commission for items sold ‘From Miss Egiston’s catalogue’ in 1789, for example.

Customers often requested specific items that had to be ordered in from elsewhere. This was a key means by which new geographical information came into the city. For example, in May 1791 James Edgar (d.1799), who worked in Edinburgh’s tax and customs office, requested two items that had to come from a London-based printseller: a ‘Map of Hindoostan, one sheet’ and a ‘Map of the Southern Counties of India, col[oured] 2 parts 2 sheet’. The coloured detailing on the latter showed ‘British possessions’ and routes during the Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780–1784), in which Scottish regiments played a prominent role. Edgar’s acquaintances included William Robertson, whose *Historical Disquisition* on India was published in 1791, and the politician Henry Dundas, who from 1793 oversaw the East India Company and an expansionist British imperial policy in South Asia. These kinds of contexts and suggestive connections are found throughout the booksellers’ records, and Edgar’s purchases exemplify a

---

Sponberg Pedley, *Commerce of Cartography*. 
common kind of sale: an elite and well-connected man pursuing a clear regional interest with two or more related purchases that had to be specially ordered in.

When an item did not suit the buyer’s purpose, it was marked as ‘Ret’d’ (i.e., returned by the customer – see Figure 2). Around 2 per cent of purchases were returned in this way, sometimes ‘after reading thro[ugh]’. Some customers would essentially part-exchange an older or cheaper edition of a book or map for the newest, best version. Returned maps and globes were occasionally marked as ‘damaged a little’ or ‘much used’. These pre-owned editions were resold at lower prices. But the distinction between used and new items was not the only determinant of the quality or luxury of a purchase. Sometimes the paper quality is specified as ‘coarse’ or ‘fine’, such as for Alexander Adam’s *Summary of Geography* (see Chapter 13). In 1795, Scottish booksellers paid Bell & Bradfute either six shillings for a ‘fine’ version of the *Summary* or five shillings and four pence for the ‘coarse’ alternative. Meanwhile, the many different gazetteers and geographical grammars are generally differentiated according to their number of volumes, their format (whether folio, quarto, duodecimo etc.,) or their date or place of publication (e.g., ‘1790’; ‘newest one’; ‘London ed[ition]’), all of which determined price. Buyers could then request that their books be in sheets or in boards, bound or half-bound, in calfskin, sheepskin, ‘red leather’ or ‘red turkey’, or with ‘elegant & marbled’ paper covers. Meanwhile, maps could be ‘in case’, ‘dissected’, ‘mounted’, ‘coloured’, ‘in sheets’, ‘on canvas for the pocket’ and/or ‘on canvas & rollers’ (see Figure 2). Such material configurations of a map or book could indicate how it was to be used. Some customers opted to have apparently unrelated books and maps ‘bound together’ or ‘sewn together’; the chosen combinations could reveal the buyer’s distinctive interests and purposes.

Customers often bought two or more items at the same time, and sometimes there was an obvious relationship between those items. Guides and maps of specific places were commonly bought together, presumably by people planning trips. One young banker bought a ‘Guide to Paris’ and a French dictionary in July 1802. More interesting are the many purchases of geographical publications alongside potentially relevant political texts. In 1808 Captain Rutherford bought a ‘General Atlas’ together with Thomas Malthus’s famous *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798). In 1777 Lord Stonefield bought an ‘American Atlas’ together with William Barron’s *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity: Applied to the Present Contest Between Great Britain and Her American Colonies* (1777). Indeed, the booksellers’ records enable individual purchases to be contextualised in a variety of ways. Plenty of purchases were highly topical, depicting
ongoing wars and military campaigns, or, as in the case of Jameson’s *Chart of Europe*, promising to show the continent’s political changes since the outbreak of the French Revolution.

A further strength of the booksellers’ records is that they allow for long-term tracking of the preferences of institutions, groups, networks, families and individuals. Professional and intellectual societies such as the Signet Library and the Natural History Society acquired books over many years, often on the request of specific individuals. University Library orders, too, were usually attributed to a member of faculty (see Chapter 16). This level of detail means that a purchase can be interpreted in terms of the history, distinctive interests and/or immediate requirements of an individual or institution. To give just one example: the Bell & Bradfute records track the purchasing habits and career arc of the influential American physician David Hosack (1769–1835), who studied at the University of Edinburgh in
the 1790s. His first acquisitions, when he was newly based at a boarding house in October 1792, were practical: a ‘Plan of Edinburgh’ in a case and a cheap city directory (Figure 3). Shortly afterwards he bought a ‘writing desk covered in green cloth’, plus various geographical and travel books, medical texts, and works by Edinburgh Enlightenment authors such as Robertson and Ferguson. He later returned many of these when he left the city. And even after becoming Professor of Medicine back in Columbia College in New York he continued to buy from Bell & Bradfute. They were shipping geographical texts across the Atlantic for him as late as 1801.

The records also reveal the existence of hitherto unstudied institutions where many more people were able to access geographical publications. The most notable among these are women’s schools and private libraries. This point is important to consider in light of the overrepresentation of individual professional and aristocratic men in the archives. Roughly half the time that women are mentioned in the booksellers’ records, it is in relation to men. Women’s purchases were often entered into the accounts of their male relatives. The young novelist and poet Walter Scott (1771–1832) collected geography books for female family members living in the Borders, for example. There is often also a paternalistic sense of ‘improving’ texts being chosen by men for women, whereby men paid for books to be ‘sent to’ or ‘delivered to’ a woman. This set of gender politics, the booksellers’ habit of describing familial relations and the practice of people buying books on behalf of others do, however, make it easier to identify specific people by their friendship or kinship ties. This can be especially useful for those with common surnames and occupations. It also means that the booksellers’ records are rich archives of personal networks and relationships in and around the city: networks and relationships in which geography publications sometimes played a significant role.

A final and crucial strength of these booksellers’ records is that they not only enable complex personal relations and publishing ecologies to be mapped; they also highlight figures who occupied key positions in these networks. Two such individuals, who the archives show were involved in many of the city’s most significant geographical publishing projects, are the mapmaker John Ainslie (1745–1828) and the hack writer and translator Robert Heron (1764–1807). Both feature in many of the following chapters. Ainslie’s influential role in Edinburgh’s geographical publishing industry is unsurprising; he has been


recognised as the most significant Scottish cartographer of the era. But the booksellers’ records show the audience for his maps, and his growing popularity among, and status within, Edinburgh's elite society. They track the trajectory of his career, from the cheap paper plans of Jedburgh, Selkirkshire, Fife and Boston that he produced in the 1770s while still based in his home town in the Borders, to the carefully coloured and highly detailed nine-sheet map of Scotland that he sold from his shop in Edinburgh’s genteel New Town from the late 1780s onwards. Ainslie also produced reduced versions of his maps to illustrate dozens of other popular publications.

Heron’s career was less personally rewarding and his role in Enlightenment knowledge-making has been largely overlooked. Until recently, Heron was barely noticed as one of ‘the many impoverished hacks that hovered on the periphery of the literary world at the turn of the nineteenth century’. He was an acquaintance of Burns and wrote the poet’s first (and misleading) biography. This made him infamous among Burns scholars, one of whom wrote about him under the title ‘Heron: A Study in Failure’. A failure he undoubtedly was. He is not the traditional hero highlighted in accounts of Edinburgh’s Enlightenment. Heron was always striving for rather than achieving professional and financial success, and his life story and writings reveal a darker side of life in the Enlightenment city. He spent at least three spells in debtors' prison and his countenance was described as ‘pale and care-worn,’ while his eyes were, ‘from study and confinement, generally inflamed.’ His final publication before he died in poverty aged

forty-two was the grotesque Letter to William Wilberforce on the Justice and Expediency of the Slave Trade (1806), which argued that the system of slavery contributed to ‘the civilization and general improvement of the negroes’. But his ability to write and translate prolifically – necessary skills for a hack writer at the time – made him useful to printers and publishers in Enlightenment Edinburgh. In fact, his works were among the bookshop’s bestsellers. He is the named author of 1,233 books (seven different titles) sold by Bell & Bradfute. This amounts to 16.5 per cent of their total sales of works of geography in the twenty-year period. He was also a major if unacknowledged contributor to at least one Britannica edition, published by Elliot (see Chapter 14), and to the grand Statistical Account of Scotland (see Part II). The booksellers’ records reveal that Heron was also the anonymous translator of books of foreign travels, so it was often through Heron that geographical information came into Edinburgh society. Figures like Heron, and Ainslie too, were a crucial part of the city’s print culture and publishing ecology. They were vital resources enabling existing geographical information to circulate more widely and in new forms, reaching diverse and dispersed readers and institutions, as the archives show.

Mapping Methods, Limitations and Literature

Enlightenment mapmakers and geographers sought scientific credibility – to imply that their work was a rational, rigorous route to truth based on objective observation and organisation. They promised to describe and divide the world into a gauze of mathematical space, facilitating virtual shifts in scale and frame. But Enlightenment mapmaking must be situated, and geographical knowledge-making brought down to earth. To this end, The Geographies of Enlightenment Edinburgh analyses the material and human particularities of geographical publishing in the period: the intricate

---


social, cultural and personal networks and interactions that conditioned it, and the properties and uses of the various forms and genres. The following chapters explore how different kinds of geography functioned as different kinds of tools in the hands of different kinds of readers, emphasising the use of maps and books. As Withers points out, the truth and ‘accuracy’ of a geographical publication depended on the needs and purposes of its audience. Christian Jacob conceives of the map as ‘as a dynamic process whose effects, power, and meanings are to be found at the crossroads of production and reception, of encoding and decoding, of intentions and of expectations’. Veronica Della Dora has rightly characterised the history of cartography as ‘a history of interactions and co-authorships between map-makers and map users’, emphasising that maps take up new meanings as they move through the world. By focusing on how works of geography performed and were put to use by specific individuals, groups and institutions, this book explores the power of Enlightenment geography not just to describe space, but to inscribe places with meaning and to order and transform the world.

Each entry in the booksellers’ records is treated as a trace or a ‘fragment’ of a much longer knowledge-making and world-building process involving both the producers and the users of geographical materials. These processes are mapped thematically and explored in the book’s different parts. The bookshop’s ledgers are the starting point for each chapter, but a range of additional sources are analysed in order to follow the contexts, connections, practices, places, readerships and audiences associated with each sale. Also, following James Secord, the various chapters explore the diverse ways in which geographical publications were consumed, and the wide variety of ‘readerships’ and ‘audiences’ involved in communication through print. Maps and geographical texts did not reach an amorphous ‘public sphere’; they penetrated society unevenly, at different times and for

44 Withers, ‘Situating practical reason’, 69.
46 Veronica della Dora, ‘Performative atlases: Memory, materiality, and (co-)authorship’, *Cartographica* 44:4 (2009), 240.
different lengths of time, with varying impact, through different gestures of transmission and performance. So, through a series of richly detailed studies, drawing on Roger Chartier’s ‘archaeology of reading practices’, Janice Radway’s historical ‘ethnographies of reading’ and Heidi Brayman Hackel’s ‘alertness to particulars’, this book analyses the common geographical processes revealed in the bookshop’s archives and follows them from production through to reception and back again. It highlights key nodes, routes and features in the landscape created by these processes. In this way, mapping is both the book’s subject and its analytical method.

Close, nuanced analysis of the reception of geographical texts is difficult when sources are limited. The limitations of the booksellers’ archives should be considered in this light. There are some basic issues with the bookshop clerks’ methods of record keeping. Plenty of geography books were sold without being attributed to a specific customer. This was especially common for the cheap and popular geographical grammars and dictionaries that were often listed as sold ‘out shop’ (i.e., bought with cash by an unnamed customer). The archives can also give a misleading picture of the wider popularity of publications: the books that were commissioned or published by Elliot or Bell & Bradfute feature disproportionately in their records. Conversely, there are plenty of popular publications that do not feature prominently in their records, usually because a different Edinburgh bookseller was the publisher or the designated seller of a title published in London. The records of Elliot and Bell & Bradfute therefore offer just a partial snapshot of Edinburgh’s large and complex bookselling trade. There are also differences between how the two bookselling firms recorded sales. There are fewer specific records of sales of geography for Elliot, partly because he tended to group purchases together as ‘sundries’ or ‘sundry maps’, while Bell & Bradfute listed each individual item. Bell & Bradfute were also more detailed in recording their wholesale trade, showing where all their stock went and came from, while Elliot’s accounting focused largely on customer sales. For all these reasons, the two sets of records are not strictly comparable and do not afford large-scale analysis of changes in readers’ interests over the four decades, although in some cases they do provide long-term insight into the careers, preferences and shopping habits of specific individuals and institutions.

Another limitation is that it can be difficult to identify who a named purchaser actually is, especially with common surnames when minimal additional information is provided. Usually there is sufficient context to make an informed guess, in combination with other sources like contemporary newspapers and post office directories. But not always. Moreover, and more fundamentally, evidence of a named individual purchasing a book is not evidence that that individual read or used it, nor can it tell us what they thought of it. The booksellers’ records therefore cannot necessarily provide access to those whom Hackel terms ‘actual readers’. Supplementary sources, such as diaries, correspondence or other personal archives, are required to make claims about what people did with the books they bought. Beginning with the bookshop does, however, make it easier to focus on publications that were in popular circulation: those that Katie Halsey and W. R. Owens describe as ‘the texts which were actually read as opposed to those which were (or are) considered to be of literary importance or merit’. This is the approach advocated by Robert Darnton, namely ‘grubbing in archives instead of contemplating philosophical treatises’ in order to discover what Enlightenment texts signified to particular (groups of) people in particular places at particular times, and what ideas were widespread. The Edinburgh booksellers’ archives, in that sense, merely recommend good places to begin the ‘grubbing’, both in terms of the authors and materials that were popular and in terms of the people who we know bought specific books. The close, nuanced accounts of reading and use require a range of supplementary evidence.

A final limitation is that, by studying an Enlightenment bookshop, this book necessarily foregrounds a specific social stratum that is overrepresented in the sales records. Edinburgh’s Enlightenment ‘reading public’ excluded many marginalised social groups, and participation in the literary public sphere was difficult for those who had not had a fee-paying education. Analysis based on the booksellers’ records is therefore bound to focus on the ‘British-imperial literati’, as Gust calls them: a culturally powerful group comprised largely of ‘white men and women who were connected intellectually, socially, politically and culturally across British, European and imperial geographies’ and who were ‘socio-economically and politically privileged in

---

50 Brayman Hackel, Reading Material, 2.
contrast to the majority of the people in the society in which they lived.\textsuperscript{53} White, English-speaking, property-owning and professional men represent the vast majority of the booksellers’ thousands of customers and are therefore the main protagonists of this book, rather than those who suffered from the various Enlightenment processes it studies. The chapters do, however, explore how the Edinburgh literati conceived of and engaged with the urban manufacturing classes, the agricultural working poor, Gaelic-speaking minorities and indigenous peoples in Africa and Australia. More generally, the book contributes a deeper understanding of this elite world of the Edinburgh Enlightenment, situating the achievements with which it is associated, and mapping the mechanisms of its power.

In so doing, it draws on various rich traditions of research. In its commitment to situating science it follows the work of Steven Shapin (\textit{Never Pure}) and Donna Haraway’s contesting of ‘the god trick of seeing everything from nowhere’.\textsuperscript{54} It is also inspired by Emma Rothschild’s detailed historical and biographical research, especially her method of connecting a series of microhistories in \textit{The Inner Life of Empires} to show how Scottish families and places were connected to and sprawled across Britain’s colonies while being immersed in Enlightenment. The ‘entangled history’ of Ananya Chakravarti’s \textit{Empire of Apostles}, too, provides a model study of how local practices and spaces shaped and were shaped by universalising imperial geographies.\textsuperscript{55} Paul Elliott’s work (in \textit{Enlightenment, Modernity and Science: Geographies of Scientific Culture and Improvement in Georgian England}) on the heterogeneous spaces in which Enlightenment was produced, and the places produced \textit{by} Enlightenment, has also been instructive. Critical studies of the Scottish Enlightenment by Silvia Sebastiania (\textit{The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress}), Rosalind Carr (\textit{Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland}) and Onni Gust (\textit{Unhomely Empire: Whiteness and Belonging, c.1760–1830}) have set further invaluable examples. This book is also indebted to Charles Withers’ rich research on the complex geographies of Enlightenment (especially \textit{Placing the Enlightenment}).

The mode of analysis in Penny Fielding’s \textit{Scotland and the Fictions of Geography: North Britain, 1760–1830}, with its attention to the Scottish Enlightenment’s scaled geographies, has been a direct inspiration. However, while Fielding deals with the construction of the Scottish nation

\textsuperscript{53} Gust, \textit{Unhomely Empire}, 13.

\textsuperscript{54} Haraway, ‘Situated knowledges’, 581.

by focusing on literary genres (especially novels and poetry), this book focuses, via an analysis of more functional and descriptive genres, on more global, regional and especially urban geographies. In this latter respect it follows in the tradition of Edinburgh social histories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by Robert Houston (Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh 1660–1760) and Richard Rodger (The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century). The period covered by this book falls more or less between those two. Also vital have been Elizabeth Sanderson’s Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh – which brings to life individuals about whom archival information is limited – and the foundational histories of Edinburgh’s New Town by A. J. Youngson (The Making of Classical Edinburgh) and Anthony Lewis (The Builders of Edinburgh New Town 1767–1795).

Another key inspiration has been Rick Sher’s The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America, which is unparalleled in its analysis of Scottish Enlightenment publishing. Sher admits, however, that his book is production focused and has ‘relatively little to say’ on ‘the reception and reading of books’.\footnote{Sher, Enlightenment and the Book, 25.} The Geographies of Enlightenment Edinburgh is, by contrast, relatively reception focused. It builds on scholarship by historians of Enlightenment reading, such as David Allan, Vivienne Dunstan, Matthew Grenby and Mark Towsey,\footnote{See, for example, David Allan, Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740–1830 (London, 2008); Vivienne Dunstan, ‘Reading strategies in Scotland circa 1750–1820’, in Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman (eds), Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption (Basingstoke, 2017), 221–242; Matthew Grenby, The Child Reader, 1700–1840 (Cambridge, 2011); Mark Towsey, Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their readers in Provincial Scotland 1750–1820 (Leiden and Boston, 2010).} but is unique in its detailed attention to geographical reading and map use in all its modes and forms. For conceptualising maps’ relationship with territory and their power in the hands of users, Christian Jacob’s The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History has been particularly inspirational. Meanwhile, in highlighting the material and economic complexities of the map trade, this book has drawn on Mary Sponberg Pedley’s The Commerce of Cartography, which is a valuable study of the making and marketing of maps in Enlightenment-era England and France.