Introduction

A History of the Edinburgh Printing Industry, the first booklet in the series A Reputation for Excellence, gives a brief account of the advent of printing in Scotland. It has been established that a patent was granted by King James IV in September 1507 to Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar 'burgessis of our town of Edinburgh'. At His Majesty's request they were authorised 'for our plesour, the honour and profitt of our realme and liegis to furnish the necessary materials and capable workmen to print the books of the laws and other books necessary which might be required'. The partnership set up business in the Southgait (Cowgate) of Edinburgh. From that time until the end of the seventeenth century royal patents were issued to the trade, thus confining printing to a select number.

The introduction of printing presses in Scotland proceeded slowly. The beginnings in Edinburgh in 1507 were followed after forty-five years by St Andrews in 1552, Stirling in 1571 (for a brief period), Aberdeen in 1622, and Glasgow in 1638. Those places had no factories of any size. They were apparently very small workshops, one-man or two-men shops at the most, and it was not unusual for a printer to collect his gear and move from one place to another.

The significance of the first printing press in Glasgow was that the General Assembly was meeting there and wanted someone to print and record their decisions. The year 1638 was an extremely important one. The General Assembly on that occasion abolished episcopacy in Scotland for the time being; later on this led to Civil War.

Part One: A Late Start

Despite having a university and being an ancient Episcopal see, Glasgow in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a comparatively small place, little more than what would now be regarded as a large village. It is understandable, therefore, that the art of printing had been practised in Scotland for 130 years before a press was set up in the city. In addition to Edinburgh, where printing was first practised in Scotland, Stirling, St Andrews, Dundee and Aberdeen all had presses in operation long before George Anderson was invited by the magistrates to transfer from Edinburgh to Glasgow in the year 1638.

It is generally assumed that Anderson was brought to Glasgow in order to print *The Protestation of the General Assemblie of the Church of Scotland... made in the high kirk, and at the Mercate Crosse of Glasgow, the 28 and 29 of November 1638* but, while this was the first book to be printed in the city, there is sufficient evidence to show that the invitation was extended to Anderson some months before the King's proclamation summoning the church court to meet in Glasgow was formally made in September 1638.¹

George Anderson printed in Glasgow until his death in 1647. He was succeeded briefly by his wife and children, the 'Heirs of George Anderson', but they returned to Edinburgh in 1649. For eight years Glasgow was without a printer but, at the end of 1656, the town council directed a letter to be sent to Andrew Anderson offering the terms that they were 'wont of old to pay his deceist fader'.² He came to Glasgow in 1657 and remained there for four years before returning to Edinburgh, there 'to exercise a malignant power over the craft in Scotland, and to raise even a dead hand against his successor in Glasgow'.³

Four months after the return of Andrew Anderson to Edinburgh the Town Council of Glasgow agreed to grant to Robert Sanders for 'his better encouragement to hold up his prenting house heir the soume of fortie punds yearlie so long as he keips up his prenting press within this burgh and he to prent gratis anything short the toune shall imploy him to prent'.⁴ The terms of the appointment imply that Sanders was in business before Anderson left and, indeed, the granting of municipal patronage to Sanders may have induced his departure. This implication is supported by the fact that, while the grant to assist Anderson in his flitting, was made on 18 May 1661, a warrant was granted to the town treasurer earlier, on 20 April, 'for the sum of £20 Scots disburst by him to Robert Sanders for printing of the preaching was preached by Mr Hugh Blair before the Parliament'.⁵

From the time of his appointment until 1672 Sanders described himself as 'The Town's Printer'. In that year, however, he began to describe himself as 'Printer to the City and University'. This form he continued to use until about 1684 when he figures as 'one of His Majestie's Printers', a description which appears in the imprints of his books, and afterwards those of his son, until about 1713. The assumption of this title led Sanders, and a number of Edinburgh printers who similarly described themselves, into lengthy and bitter litigation with Andrew Anderson, who claimed the sole use of the title to himself.

Robert Sanders printed in Glasgow until his death in 1694 when he was succeeded by his son Robert Sanders the younger, also known as Robert Sanders of Auldhouse, from the name of a small estate purchased by his father some years earlier. To judge by the number of his works which have

survived, the younger Sanders was not a particularly active printer and the standard of his work was, on the whole, poor. The University appears to have found him to be unsatisfactory for although he continued in business until his death in 1730 he apparently did not print for the University after 1707.

Part Two: The University Interest

Printing cannot be said to have flourished in Glasgow. If one disregards the possible overlap of a few months between Andrew Anderson and Robert Sanders in 1661 and the mysterious Andrew Hepburn who in 1689 printed The Later Proceedings and Votes of The Parliament of Scotland, there was never more than one printer at work in the city until the second decade of the eighteenth century. The University, therefore, in seeking a replacement for Robert Sanders the younger, apparently felt it necessary to look outside the trade. In 1713 negotiations were entered into with one Thomas Harvie, a student of Divinity, but, these having fallen through, an agreement was reached with Donald Govan, a merchant in the City, who was officially appointed 'Printer to the University'6 in 1715. In the year before Govan's appointment was confirmed, however, there appeared four pamphlets printed by a certain Hugh Brown, one of which was stated to have been printed in the University and the others describing Brown as printer to the University. The fourth of these, The Jacobite Curse, a pamphlet of political intent, brought an immediate denial of Brown. He was, it was said, never printer to the University but only employed by Donald Govan who for some months past had been allowed to print within the University.⁷ Govan denied all knowledge of the pamphlet. Brown continued to print under his own name until 1720. Govan's career as a printer was a short one — he was not known to have printed after 1718 — but he does have the distinction of having printed Glasgow's first newspaper. Originally The Glasgow Courant, the title was changed after three issues to The West-Country Intelligence. In all, there were 67 issues between November 1715 and May 1716. It contained little Glasgow news.

In the next twenty years the University made occasional attempts to find a suitable printer. Thomas Crawford, who in 1721 printed an edition of *Napthali, or The Wrestlings of The Church of Scotland*, almost certainly printed in the University, and when Alexander Carmichael & Co. printed a second edition of *A believer's mortification of sin by the spirit* in 1730 the place of publication was given as 'Glasgow College'.

Frances Hutcheson's inaugural address, printed in the same year with the imprint 'Typis Academicis', is certainly from the same press. There were other books with the same imprint in the years following. It would seem that Carmichael, though never officially appointed printer, did occasional work for the University as did his partner Alexander Miller after Carmichael left the partnership in 1737. Carmichael had university connections. He was the son of Gerschom Carmichael, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, and may have been the Alexander Carmichael who was Librarian to the University from 1727 to 1735.

In 1738, 100 years after the establishment of printing in Glasgow, there were still no more than

three printers in the city Alexander Miller, the remaining partner of Alexander Carmichael & Co., and William and James Duncan. The Duncans had set up a partnership in 1718 but, by 1720, they were printing separately. The books which they produced were, in the main, the popular religious tracts of the day, and both remained 'in business until the 1760s, which argues a fair measure of success. James Duncan was the more enterprising of the two. In addition to being a printer and bookseller he was also a type-founder and paper manufacturer. McUre's *History of Glasgow*, which he published in 1736, is said to have been printed with his own type. The mills on the Kelvin which he acquired for the manufacture of snuff, oil and paper were still in the Duncan family's possession in 1800. He was for many years a printer of Gaelic works, not always to the satisfaction of the Provincial Synod of Argyll which, on his proposing *A Highland New Testament and Psalm Book* in 1752, opposed it, complaining of 'gross errors' in previous editions.⁸

Part Three: Expansion

The 1740s saw great changes in the Glasgow book trade. In that decade eight presses, some admittedly short-lived, were founded, two newspapers began publication, and Alexander Wilson and John Baine brought their type foundry from St Andrews to Camlachie, only a mile from the city. Of the presses, the two most important were those of Robert and Andrew Foulis and Robert Urie. Robert Foulis was born in 1707. In 1720 he was apprenticed as a barber and in 1727 established himself in that trade. In 1739 he set up business as a bookseller with premises within the University and two years later he turned his attention to publishing. His first books were printed on his behalf by Robert Urie and Co., and probably also by Alexander Miller, but in 1742 he began printing on his own account. In the following year he was appointed printer to the University. About 1746 he was joined by his younger brother, Andrew, the firm becoming Robert and Andrew Foulis and so continuing until the deaths of the brothers, Andrew in 1775 and Robert in 1776.

The books produced at the Foulis press present a startling contrast with those of its Glasgow contemporaries, with the exception of the press of Robert Urie. Apart from a few of the early works, they are completely devoid of ornament, printed in jet black ink with good type on good-quality paper. They are accurate in composition and register and have title-pages of absolute simplicity. While other printers turned out works that appealed to the common people, the Foulis press published chiefly classical books in Latin, Greek, English, French, Spanish and Italian. The volumes which were produced, particularly in folio, put the press in the forefront of European printing. In addition to printing and the subsidiary activities of binding, bookselling and literary auctioneering, the Foulis brothers involved themselves in the field of art. An academy of art, first projected by Robert Foulis in 1738, took shape in 1753 when, on 23 October that year, the University of Glasgow agreed to 'proposals for teaching designing in the new University... and allow the room under the north part of the new library for a place in which to teach scholars'.⁹ At first there were five teachers, of whom P. A. Aveline was chief. The first picture copied was 'The supper at Emmaus' by Titian and the first engraving done by Aveline from a painting of the Duke of Argyll by Allan Ramsay. The Academy was never a financial success. Its growth was slow, expenses were always in excess of income and the number of students fluctuated. Among the more

distinguished students were David Allan, Robert Paul and James Tassie. The Academy ceased to exist in 1775, probably soon after the death of Robert Foulis.

The most accomplished printing contemporary of the Foulis brothers in Glasgow was Robert Urie. In octavos and duodecimos he was certainly their match, though his few quartos and folios are disappointing. Urie, the son of a small landowner in Cathcart, near Glasgow, was apprentice to Alexander Miller and began printing in his own right in 1740. He was not alone in the venture, his imprint being 'Robert Urie and Company', but it is not clear with whom he was in partnership. Advertisements would suggest that the partners were Andrew Stalker and Alexander Carlile, joint publishers of the *Glasgow Journal*, the newspaper which began in 1741 and was printed by Urie. During the period in which Urie printed in partnership his work is good without being in any way remarkable, but with the dissolution of partnership in 1747 there is a marked change. Influenced no doubt by the Foulis brothers. Urie rid himself of cluttered title-pages, acquired new type, printed on good quality paper and generally raised the standard of his work. In 1750 he produced what may be considered his finest works, a Greek New Testament and an edition of Buchanan's Psalms. Urie continued as a printer until 1757, in which year the first book bearing the imprint 'Printed for Robert Urie' was issued from what was clearly his press. Thereafter Urie himself printed only occasionally. It is probable that from 1757 onwards he devoted himself to the bookselling side of his business and left the printing to William Smith, another Miller apprentice, who worked with Urie and, on his death, succeeded him. There is no mention of printing presses or equipment in Urie's will.

Not the least interesting feature of Urie's work is his choice of books for publication. If this reflects his own taste he was a man of some culture with an inclination towards philosophy, history and poetry, with little of his contemporaries' interest in sermons. He printed very few classics in Greek or Latin, perhaps not caring to compete with the Foulis brothers, but a large number of translations from the French, in particular the works of Voltaire, Fénelon and the Abbé Vertot. In all he published more than twenty Voltaire translations, many within a year of their first appearance in English. He did not, however, indulge his taste at the expense of his pocket, as his will indicates a fair measure of financial success. He died in 1771 at the age of fifty-eight years.

Both the Foulis brothers and Urie were greatly aided in their efforts to raise the standard of Glasgow printing by the establishment of the letter-foundry of Alexander Wilson and John Baine at Camlachie in 1744. The partnership had begun in St Andrews in 1742, but they moved west in the hope of extending their sales to Ireland and North America. In 1747 Baine went to Ireland to supervise their interest there and two years later the partnership was dissolved by mutual consent. Wilson continued alone, with considerable success, and supplied the Foulis brothers, among others, with some of their finest type. In 1760 Wilson was honoured with the appointment of the Practical Astronomy Professorship in the University of Glasgow and, about two years later, his type-foundry was moved to the grounds of the University. The first known specimen from the 'Glasgow Letterfoundry', as it was called, was published in 1772. It consists of twenty-four octavo leaves and shows only roman and italic in sizes from five-line to pearl. Alexander Wilson died in 1786 and was succeeded by his son Andrew. A local supply of good quality printing paper was also important to the production of good work. In this too Glasgow was fortunate. Edward Collins who is said to have arrived in Glasgow about 1746 is a rather shadowy figure. Supposedly from Shropshire or Suffolk he is said to have been suspected of being a Jacobite and to have been conscripted, against his will, by the Duke of Cumberland during the rebellion of 1745-46. By 1756 he was established as a

papermaker at Dalmuir, near Glasgow, and in that year was awarded a silver medal by the Edinburgh Society 'for the greatest quantity of the best printing paper, not under six reams'.¹⁰ Much, if not all, of the paper used by the Foulis brothers was purchased from Collins and this is no doubt true of the other Glasgow printers. It has been claimed, on somewhat doubtful grounds, that a descendant of Edward Collins was the founder of the Glasgow publishing house of Collins.

The Glasgow book trade flourished from the 1740s onwards. There were seldom fewer than eight printing offices active in the City, although many came and went, and partnerships were in a continual state of flux. Other than those described above, the principal printers between 1740 and 1770 were William Duncan Junior, John Hall, John Bryce, John Robertson and Archibald McLean. They were supported by active booksellers and publishers such as Andrew Stalker, John Barry, Daniel Baxter, John Gilmour and John Orr, the main Gaelic publisher — a far cry from the 1730s when, in 1734, Alexander Carmichael attempted, through an action in the Court of Session, to prevent Andrew Stalker from opening a bookshop on the grounds that 'the place was too narrow for two booksellers at a time'.¹¹

The 1770s saw the end of an era in the Glasgow book trade. Andrew Stalker died in 1770, Robert Urie in 1771, John Gilmour in 1772, Andrew Foulis in 1775 and Robert in 1776. Daniel Baxter lived until 1784 but his name seldom appears in the fifteen years or so before his death.

With the improvement in communications and the consequent greater ease of importing books from Edinburgh and London, the booksellers began to dominate the scene to a larger and larger extent. No less printing was done, but it was of a more anonymous nature, the names of the booksellers! publishers being more prominent in imprints and advertisements than those of the printers. The booksellers themselves assumed a sort of anonymity — Duncan and Wilson, Brash and Reid, Stewart and Meikle, Morrison and McCallum —no Christian names, only the brisk businesslike surnames.

Newspapers flourished. *The Glasgow Journal*, founded in 1741, continued on its way. The *Glasgow Advertiser*, later the *Glasgow Herald*, began publication in 1783 and the *Glasgow Courier* in 1791. The *Glasgow Mercury* lasted from 1778 to 1796, when it closed, not from lack of success but because its printer and publisher, Robert Chapman the younger, wished to concentrate on his printing business. This he did, producing books of a very high standard, until his retiral from the business in 1822. After the deaths of Robert and Andrew Foulis, their press and their appointment as printers to the University was carried on by Andrew Foulis the younger, the son of Robert Foulis. He maintained the standards of the press until he moved to Edinburgh in the mid 1790s leaving the University once again without a printer.

Part Four: The Era of Industrialisation

Printing in Glasgow in the nineteenth century saw the continued influence of the Glasgow University Press in the appointment of printers to the coveted position of University Printer.

Nevertheless, there was a new development early in the century of firms starting and forming a joint printing and publishing enterprise. Foremost among these were Blackie & Son and William Collins & Co., names that became known worldwide and remained almost to the end of the twentieth century In 1831 the firm of Bell and Bain was founded and today it is one of the oldest established printers in Glasgow.

The era of industrialisation of printing continued throughout the century but without electric power. This was not introduced until 1901 in Blackies, with a complete changeover to electric motors from steam in 1906. The development of printing in the nineteenth century called heavily on manual strength for press operation, mainly letterpress, and manual dexterity for the composition of text. Hand composition continued until the end of the century. By the end of the century one firm employed nearly 2,000 people. This is in sharp contrast to the two or three which made up the labour force at the start of the century. The firm's founder would be included in this number.

The Foulis brothers, Robert and Andrew, had been printers to the University for the latter half of the eighteenth century, Robert's work being of particular outstanding and renowned high standard. In 1795 James Mundell was appointed University Printer for three years. The appointment was renewed in 1799 but he died before this second period expired. Mundell is associated with an early instance of the University Press being engaged on work for London publishers through the printing in 1799 of *Anatomy* by John Burns. This was published *inter alios* by Longman and Rees, London, and became an important feature of the work of the Glasgow press. There was an interval after Mundell's death before the University appointed in May 1802 the brothers James and John Scrymegeour to be their printers. Very little is known of their work, but an edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* issued in three volumes in 1805 bears the imprint 'Glasgow: at the University Press printed by J. & J. Scrymegeour'. James died in September 1804 and John in July 1809 before a purchaser was found for the business which was up for sale.

It was 1811 before the University appointed Andrew Duncan as their printer. This appointment continued until 1827 (with his son John Morrison in partnership 1820—5 when John died at the age of thirty) when Andrew Duncan resigned because of financial losses caused in association with several London publishers. The University did not hurry to replace the well-respected Andrew Duncan, who during his time as University Printer had erected the Villafield Press in the heart of the city in 1818. This was then all on one floor and was gradually extended by 1826. The firm did not lack in enterprise. John introduced 'The Columbian Press' into Villafield. It would print at one time a surface of 54 x 39 inches, twice the size of the largest newspaper. The University Press also introduced stereotyping into their works at this time. Timberley in his *Typographical Anecdote* mentions that in 1816 the Bibles issued from the Glasgow University Printing Office numbered 200,000 along with 2,500,000 other books and tracts. Reports say that because of the eminence to which Andrew Duncan raised the University Press he might be entitled to be called the father of fine printing in the west of Scotland. The high standard of the splendid editions produced earlier by the Foulis brothers disappeared until Duncan began as printer.

Blackie & Son began when John Blackie set up in 1809 a partnership with Archibald Fullerton and William Sommerville as publishers and booksellers (before this, in 1808, John Blackie had come to an arrangement with booksellers A. & W.D. Brownlie, with whom he had been employed, to take over their business). Printer Edward Khull was invited to join them and made a partner later in 1819. This partnership flourished in premises ranging from Black Boy Close in 1811 to 37 Queen

Street by 1826. Khull left the partnership in 1826 and set up on his own as a printer in Clyde Street. The partnership dissolved in 1831 when Blackie & Son became a separate entity.

The 'Number' trade, taken over from the Brownlies, formed a major part of the work of Blackie. Books in paperbound sections called 'Numbers' were sold by subscription and made available section by section to subscribers. In these uncomplicated days of small beginnings John Blackie did most of the travelling himself up and down the country. The town crier warned people in advance of his arrival. Agnes Blackie says in her book *Blackie & Son from 1809—1959*: 'As sections were moderately priced, and could be paid for one by one, the "Number" trade also served to put books within the financial reach of relatively poor people, and had therefore a social impact, on the mental plane, comparable to that of hire purchase on the material plane today.' Except in larger towns, bookshops were rare and almost unknown at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Although the 'Number' trade formed a significant amount of Blackie's production for sixty years, the firm was also known for other major book productions. Family Bibles were in great demand at home and in remote foreign parts. Before the General Registration Act, the entry of births and deaths in the Family Bible constituted a record that could be produced and accepted as evidence in a court of law and Blackie became well known as a publisher of these, and other, Bibles.

The Villafield works were offered for sale after Andrew Duncan resigned as University Printer in 1827, and John Blackie Senior bought the press and some adjoining ground in 1829. A Robert Hutchison purchased some of the other ground and was University Printer with George Brookman, printing from Villafield between 1831 and 1832. They had also been in partnership with John Blackie from 1827. It seems that George Brookman and George Brookman & Co. were printers in partnership with John Blackie between 1832 and 1837 and also University Printers. In 1837 John Blackie became the sole owner of Villafield, carried out all printing for the firm, and founded the family business of W. G. Blackie & Co. (the name 'Villafield' was continued when Blackies built a new factory in Bishopbriggs in 1925).

By this time William Collins (Printers & Publishers) had been set up at 28 Candleriggs Court in 1819 by William Collins. He was born in 1789 in Eastwood, a parish outside Glasgow. The firm was established after Dr Chalmers, a local preacher, became dissatisfied with his publishers and entrusted all of his work to William Collins. Chalmers, whose preaching and sermons were renowned throughout Scotland and in London, took this opportunity to involve his brother in a partnership called Chalmers & Collins (Booksellers & Stationers). On Thursday 23 September 1819, some nine days after the firm opened, the Glasgow Courier announced: 'Tomorrow will be published by Chalmers & Collins *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* by the Rev. D. T. Chalmers at price 1/-'.

Glasgow had become an established newspaper centre by this time. *The Glasgow Advertiser and Evening Intelligence* which started in 1783 was renamed the *Glasgow Herald* in 1802. The paper continued under this name until 1992 when the 'Glasgow' was dropped. It is possibly the oldest national newspaper in the English reading world. It beats *The Times* of London by two years.

Collins bought out Chalmers after five years and the company became William Collins & Co. (Printers, Publishers, Booksellers & Wholesale Stationers). In 1824 Collins published their first dictionary, the *Greek and English Lexicon*. William Collins founded the Scottish Temperance

Society, and in 1837 was a member of the Church of Scotland deputation to meet and congratulate Queen Victoria on her accession to the throne. In 1838 he met the Duke of Wellington as part of the Church of Scotland deputation to raise funds from Parliament to build churches and housing for the poor in Glasgow. Illustrated dictionaries were published in 1840, and in 1842 the firm obtained a licence to print and publish the Bible.

Between 1833 and 1846 Edward Khull, son of Khull who printed in partnership with John Blackie, was printer to the University of Glasgow. In 1834 when working from 65 Virginia Street, Khull announced that he had begun 'Printing by Steam', a process which would enable him to execute work with a facility not hitherto attainable in the west of Scotland and at the same time with that neatness for which his work had been noted. To proprietors of newspapers and to those interested he stated that he had made suitable arrangements for the safe and speedy conveyance of the 'Formes' from and to their respective offices if they wished to avail themselves of his 'Steam Press'.

Further growth of printing in the centre of Glasgow came about in 1831 when James Bell and Andrew Bain founded the firm of Bell & Bain. This is another firm which still continues in business under the same name. It originated with the firm of Curll and Bell founded in 1822, when James Curll took over the printing business upon which James Heatherwick had embarked in 1807, and assumed James Bell as a partner. The origin of the house thus dates from the very early years of the century. Initially, the firm was near Glasgow Cross, then in St Enoch Square, then Mitchell Street. Work was produced on platens and hand presses and later by the Anglo-French and Brown's Kirkcaldy perfectors. Bell & Bain were printers to Lord Brougham, whose name was associated with *Shepherd Tartan Trousers*, and a printed speech delivered in the House of Lords in 1831 bears the imprint of the firm.

Despite difficult trading times in the mid 1840s — the period of long depression with poor harvests, high prices, failure of the potato crop, and violence in Europe, when factories closed, there were bankruptcies, barricades at the factory gates and the military was called out — firms made progress. William Collins (Printers, Publishers, Booksellers & Wholesale Stationers), now based in South Frederick Street, had offices for distribution in Paternoster Row, London. Relationships with Dr Chalmers became strained and he took his work to another publisher. Collins published their first novel: *Ready Reckoner*. In 1846 William Collins retired to Rothesay and started a mission for the poor. In that year William III (grandson) was born and William II at age thirty took over the firm.

Another long-lasting firm, J. & J. Murdoch, had its origin in Glasgow in 1844. It was started by Mr Robert McAulay at 37 Glassford Street, and in 1856 the business was sold to Mr William Murdoch, uncle of the two Murdoch joint managing directors at the time of the centenary in 1944, and Mr John Porter. Seven years later Mr John S. Telfer replaced Mr Porter. When Telfer resigned in 1865 James Murdoch joined William, thus making the firm Murdoch-owned. William died in 1869 and James, who remained in control for forty-six years until his death in 1911, developed the business into a major force, producing high-quality labels for mineral water firms and tradework for the letter-press printers and stationers. In 1844 the plant consisted of only three or four hand presses, but before William Murdoch died in 1869 he had installed six more of these presses, as well as one of the earliest litho cylinder printing machines. This became known as 'The Mangle' because, before it was adapted for power, the flywheel was turned by hand in the way a mangle is turned.

Few records are available about the source of supply for the essential materials for printing, namely

paper and ink. Edward Collins, referred to earlier, from England, had established papermaking in Dalmuir as early as 1756. Whether his name has connections with the Edward Collins paper mill at Kelvindale in the twentieth century is not known. The *Story of Glasgow* (1870) records papermaking in operation in Cathcart as early as 1685. The streams and villages around Glasgow provided the right conditions for papermaking in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and it seems that supplies were adequate to meet local needs and those of printers as far away as London. It is not possible here to go into the development of papermaking or ink making but merely to note their importance to printing. It is known that printers in the middle of the nineteenth century had the dirty job of grinding their own colour into black inks.

The new process of printing by lithography was developing in Glasgow some twenty years into the nineteenth century. The name of the first printer to use lithography in Glasgow is somewhat uncertain but Thomas Murdoch, in presenting a paper to the Old Glasgow Club in March 1902 entitled The Early History of Lithography in Glasgow, highlights names of printers involved with the process around the 1820s. A Hugh Wilson was apprenticed to Mr Blackie of Paisley and later to Lumsden's, a successful copperplate printer and stationer, who sold his printing business to Wilson in 1819. Wilson was first located at 67 Argyle Street at the foot of Queen Street (Anderson's Polytechnic Warehouse took over the site) before moving to 43 Argyle Street where he employed litho printers at between 14 and 16 shillings for a 66-hour week. After he visited Paris in 1829 he provided specimens of chalk printing, and in 1839 he intimated he was printing borders in colour. Wilson purchased a litho press in France for 6,000 francs and had it working by 1854. A James Wilson is mentioned in the first issue of the Northern Looking Glass (6 August 1825) as having a lithographic press at 169 George Street and as seeking work. Also at this time there was work issued under the imprint of 'Cleland Lithg'. Murdoch also mentions two other firms, namely Maclure & MacDonald in Glasgow, and Gilmour & Dean in Hamilton. The former were established in the Trongate in 1835 by Andrew Maclure and Archibald Gray MacDonald, who set up as engravers and lithographic printers. They soon moved to 57 Buchanan Street and in 1851 installed a Sigl machine from Germany capable of printing 600 sheets per hour. The firm was considered to be the first in the UK to use steam power for lithographic printing. It continued to expand and branches were established in Liverpool in 1840, London 1845 and Manchester 1886. At this time Frank Maclure, one of Andrew's sons, was made lithographer to Queen Victoria. Andrew Maclure died in 1885. The firm moved to a large building of five storeys which they built in Bothwell Street. Around this time they had no fewer than thirty-seven large lithographic machines and around 200 employees. The firm did not restrict itself to lithographic printing and was appointed letterpress and ornamental printer to King William IV. These were heady days, but more recently the company encountered difficult trading conditions and in December 1992 its assets were acquired by J. R. Reid Printers of Blantyre.

Gilmour & Dean Ltd began business at 86 Buchanan Street, Exchange Place, on 1 May 1846 by the partnership of Alexander Davidson Dean and John Bowie Gilmour. Both were skilled engravers and lithographers and a successful business was built up supplying bank notes to all the Scottish banks. This partnership continued successfully until the death of John Bowie Gilmour on 14 April 1891.

On 24 March 1892 Dean acquired the assets of Gilmour from his trustees and continued to run the business under its original name but as sole owner. Dean continued as chairman of the company until his retirement in 1909, at the age of 95. His descendants remained as shareholders until 1987. The company moved to Hamilton in 1960 and continue there in business today mainly producing

high quality labels primarily for the wines and spirits industry.

The year 1848 saw George Richardson, who started printing in High Street in 1829, appointed to succeed Khull as University Printer. Although Richardson had printed for the University for almost twenty years before his official appointment, his workshop was a very small one. It only had hand presses, no cutting equipment, and long runs were sent out to other machine printers. His regular employees numbered four or five journeymen and three apprentice compositors, with one journeyman and one apprentice pressman. One man who had trained as a compositor and pressman was allowed within the trade rules to do both jobs. Richardson was a strict employer, but, even so, he kept his regular staff on through the slack summer months. His restricted workshops were in sharp contrast to those erected by University Printer Duncan at Villafield in 1818. When Richardson died in 1872 his whole plant was valued at only £213 17s. 10d. plus stock of paper at £15 13s. 5d.

This sum James MacLehose Senior, advanced on account of his brother, Robert MacLehose Senior. A further sum of £150 was also paid for the goodwill. In April 1892 Robert MacLehose was appointed University Printer. This was in competition with other well known names, such as Bell & Bain (who around 1853 were printing technical works in Glasgow for Charles Griffin, London, who had been appointed Publisher to the University in that year) and Aird & Coghill (another well known name which was a major printing company in Glasgow into the third quarter of the twentieth century). It is said that the output from the University Press under MacLehose often reached as much in a day as it had done in six months in Richardson's time, and as University Printer MacLehose continued to maintain the high standards of excellence of his productions which had been the benchmark of his small works in Ayr — opened in 1864. In Ayr he had begun successful connections with the brothers Daniel and Alexander Macmillan who were apprentice booksellers. This later led to an increasing volume of work done by the Glasgow University Press for Messrs Macmillan & Co. and for other London publishers.

Although there is evidence that some early form of trade society existed in Edinburgh before the end of the eighteenth century, the trade society proper was instituted in Glasgow in 1817. The Regulations of the Glasgow Society, published in 1820, set out its objectives and explained how they were to be achieved.

First, to provide for such members as require to leave the city for want of employment, without pecuniary means.

Second, to furnish, with facility, money to strangers as cannot find employment in the city. Third, to co-operate with other places in exposing irregular workmen, and maintaining a friendly intercourse throughout the Trade.

These objectives are of particular interest as they indicate what was most likely the form and purpose of Societies at this time. They were concerned mainly with the relief of unemployment under the 'tramping system', in which an unemployed member was issued with a card by his society, establishing his membership and, armed with this, he travelled on foot ('tramped') around the country in search of work. At the same time the Societies kept a watching brief on wage rates as far as the law allowed.

The Regulations of the Glasgow Society explain the nature of a Relief Society. A member setting out in search of work received 15 shillings from the Society or, if married, 21 shillings. A tramp visiting Glasgow received 7 shillings, provided he was a member of a similar Society. The sum of 5 shillings was paid to strangers who had not had an opportunity of becoming members of a similar Society, provided they were 'free of professional opprobrium'.

In addition to operating a relief system, the Glasgow Society was also concerned with the preservation of standard rates of wages.

The first attempt at national organisation in the Scottish printing industry dates from 1836 when trade unionism was in its infancy The General Typographical Association of Scotland was formed in 1836 and was first located in Glasgow. Two of the Association's main objectives were to secure more uniform rates of pay and to regulate the number of apprentices entering the trade.

In 1844 the Association was replaced by the Northern District Board of the National Typographical Association, whose main functions were to support and maintain strike members and also the unemployed. Another of its objectives was to replace the old 'tramping system' with a regular system of unemployment benefit.

On the establishment of the Northern Board, agreement was reached that the minimum wage rates be 25 shillings per week in places within a 10 mile radius of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and elsewhere 20 shillings. A question arose over pay for 'Sabbath work' in the *Glasgow Herald* office at the end of 1845. It was eventually agreed that the men were entitled to double pay, that is 9 pence per hour, and in the case of Sunday night work 1 shilling per hour.

The year 1846 severely tested the National Association. Trade was at a very low level, disputes were numerous, there was growing opposition from employers, and the funds of the Association had become seriously depleted. By December 1846 the Northern Board found itself with no funds and the final death blow came with the epic strike in Edinburgh.

First steps to re-form a Scottish Association came from the Glasgow Society in January 1849. Trading conditions at the time were very poor and this attempt appears to have been premature; nothing more was heard until 1851. In November 1852, Glasgow announced that the formation of the Scottish Typographical Association was all but completed. A delegate meeting was held in Angus's Temperance Hotel, Glasgow, on 9 November at which unanimous approval was given to the formation of the Association, and on 1 January 1853 the Scottish Typographical Association came into operation.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw continued consolidation and expansion of printing and publishing in Glasgow. Apart from the development of technology, the expansion was helped by the provision of municipal libraries in 1850, repeal of newspaper tax in 1855, the removal of excise duty in 1861, and population growth in the city.

The Villafield Works of W. G. Blackie & Co. expanded from 350 sq. yds in 1831 to 6,000 sq. yds by 1874. A lithographic printing department was established in 1866 and a French cylinder machine, the first of its kind to be imported to Britain, was installed in 1869. John Blackie Senior retired in 1860 but had played a lesser role from the 1840s, his three gifted sons John Junior, Walter and Robert undertaking increasing responsibilities. Both of the younger brothers joined John and their father as partners in Blackie & Son Publishers. New agencies opened (including one in New York), new printing techniques were adopted and new books issued with ever-increasing care for the quality of production. Books in the Welsh language were published in 1870 by the firm. John Blackie Senior was a man of deep religious conviction and there is little doubt that his heart was in

the work that he had chosen. The family was involved in public affairs but the highest prominence was attained by John Junior when he became Lord Provost of Glasgow in 1863. He was involved in early slum clearance schemes and worked very long hours. He died in 1873 and was accorded a public funeral, predeceasing his father who died in 1874 in his ninety-second year.

Public service and generosity had a high priority with the Glasgow printer and publisher William Collins & Co. William Collins died at Rothesay in his sixty-fourth year on 2 January 1853 from bronchitis. During his short retirement he had been generous to many causes and sent large donations — £100 for instance, to a fund for evangelising Glasgow — but he seems to have lived simply himself, with effects remaining after his death falling well below £100. The firm he had established nearly forty years earlier was in good heart with his son William II at its head. He too made a significant contribution in public service as a Councillor for Glasgow, and as its Lord Provost in 1877 when he was knighted by Queen Victoria at Holyrood Palace. William II's two sons, William III and Alexander, born in 1846 and 1848, were made partners in the firm in 1870. Despite the demands of public service William II led the development and expansion of the firm for almost half a century until he died in 1895. His son William III took over as chairman and brought his nephews into the business.

In 1853 William II introduced steam presses into the firm and this began the move towards mass production. There were new demands for educational, travel and scientific books, encyclopaedias and dictionaries. The firm also published and printed works of Shakespeare and *The Pilgrim's Progress* in cheap editions, making them available to the masses. They began publishing atlases and held the monopoly of scripture printing in 1856. In 1861 it was necessary to expand to new premises at Herriot Hill, Stirling Road (now Cathedral Street). Appointed Queen's Printer for Scotland in 1862, in the next five years the company developed its scientific list, and explored and developed Canadian connections. By 1868 the family firm had sixteen printing machines, seven litho presses and several small complementary presses, plus a bindery machine. The gospels in native African tongues were developed in 1870. The working week was reduced from sixty-six to sixty hours in 1870 and later to fifty-seven. William III invented an envelope-making machine. Employees totalled 1,200 at this time and the firm had its first representative offices in New Zealand and Australia.

As the population of Glasgow mushroomed from around 77,000 in 1800 to some 333,000 in 1850, the printing industry also mushroomed in the last quarter. Particularly, there was a major expansion of lithographic printers in Glasgow. It is estimated that there were 300 hand presses, 120 worked by steam, and zinc plates were introduced in 1877. It was said that litho printers were as numerous as tailors and shoemakers in the city. The firm of I. & J. Murdoch, started by a lithographer in 1844 with only three or four hand presses, was now a major printing house, specialising as high class label printers for mineral water firms throughout Britain. It had its own art department in 1896 and by 1898 at McAlpine Street it had double demy/ double crown/royal machines; hand power transferring presses; punching machines; guillotine; ink grinding and bronzing machine; lavigator for polishing stones and a double cylinder acme gas engine. This was the expansion pattern going on all around the trade despite a general strike which lasted several weeks. Some firms at this time, because of recurring difficulties with the trade unions, tried running their businesses with nonunion employees. The firm of Collins had a labour force of 1,900 by 1882 and purchased paper mills in New Zealand.

The Education Acts of 1870 (England and Wales) and 1872 (Scotland) which made elementary education compulsory for all children, created an unprecedented need for school books. Some of the work introduced included a children's fiction list by Collins; Blackies were pleased in 1878 to have the right to publish *Kere Foster Writing and Drawing Copy Books*. These were immensely successful and led to the opening of a works in Dublin for the sole production of copy books.

Andrew Bain and James Bell, founders of Bell & Bain, both died and the firm became a limited company in 1890. On the occasion of its centenary in April 1931, the employees were guests of the firm at a motor drive to Lochearnhead. The Andrew Bain Memorial Collection, housed in the Mitchell Library, includes a selection of the works printed by the firm. The breadth of the collection shows Andrew Bain's wide-ranging interest in literature and history.

It has not been possible to include all the printers that had their origins in the nineteenth century, but two which started then, and are still important printers in Glasgow today, at the end of the twentieth century, are John McGavigan & Co. and John McCormick & Co. Ltd. John McGavigan started in Glasgow as a general printing shop in 1860 and later extended to specialist screen printing and is a successful high-tech company in the 1990s. John McCormick & Co. Ltd. was established by John McCormick Senior, who had served his apprenticeship with William Collins & Co. He decided in 1890 to start out on his own as a bookbinder and paper ruler in the city centre. The firm successfully continues there a century later.

Part Five: Development, Decline and Development

Twentieth-century Glasgow saw printing develop along with population growth and the expansion of the education system. However, constraints due to two world wars were followed by the redistribution of housing and population which declined from over one million to less than threequarters of a million by the 1980s.

The industry witnessed the increasing use of hot metal composition from its experimental stage at the end of the last century to its virtual extinction through the impact of photo and electronic composition in the last quarter of this century. Similarly, in the letterpress field, vast technical improvements have been followed by its almost complete replacement by litho printing in the late twentieth century.

Those technological changes also had tremendous effects on the number of employees required to produce print of the highest standards in full colour. Organised labour too did not escape those changes and now a single union exists instead of the half dozen or more earlier this century.

It would appear that at the very beginning of the century the agreement for net prices for the sale of books was introduced. Robert MacLehose is given credit for helping to bring in this agreement. It has caused concern and controversy from time to time, and in mid-1992 the European Court in Luxembourg ruled that a price fixing agreement operating between Britain and Ireland was illegal.

Nevertheless, the overview of the industry will show that the city of Glasgow and its surrounding areas, as the twentieth century draws to a close, includes successful major printing companies which carry the same name as when they were founded, almost 200 years ago.

New technology in the printing industry in Glasgow was much in evidence in the middle of the twentieth century. In 1956 the Corporation of the City of Glasgow, Printing and Stationery Department, installed an Intertype Fotosetter Line Composing Machine. This was the first of its kind in Britain. The Daily Record and Sunday Mail in the late 1960s moved out to Anderston Quay from its city centre base in Hope Street and changed (between issues) from hot metal composition and rotary letterpress printing to photocomposition and capacity for full-colour litho printing. It is believed this was the first daily in Britain to use full colour within its newspapers rather than insetting pre-printed sections.

Scots read more newspapers than any other nationality, and this is reflected in the large number of dailies and weeklies sold in and around Glasgow in the twentieth century.

Apart from the popular morning papers, the *Herald* and the *Daily Record*, the city supported three evening newspapers at the end of the Second World War. The news vendors in the town centre canvassed pavement sales from the hurrying pedestrians with the familiar call 'Times, News 'n' Citizen'. Between them the three papers sold more than 500,000 copies to a population then of about 1,100,000.

The *Evening News*, printed in Hope Street, died in January 1957 and the *Evening Citizen* closed in 1974. The *Scottish Daily Express*, from the same stable, moved production to Manchester. The black glass building on Albion Street built by Beaverbrook in the thirties is now occupied by the *Herald* and its sister the *Evening Times*.

In spite of the electronic media, neighbourhood loyalties today call for local weeklies in the smaller districts and towns surrounding Glasgow. The city itself used to have local rags covering every cardinal point, namely the *Southside News*, the *Eastern Standard*, the *Western Pioneer News* and, for the north, the *Springburn News*.

The largest local group based in Glasgow was owned by John Cossar Ltd who produced three weeklies from their Clydeside factory between 1878 and 1983. Their *Govan Press, Clydeside Press* and *Renfrew Press* were printed on a Cossar flatbed web newspaper printing machine, which was invented by Thomas Cossar, son of the firm's founder, John.

Tom took his blueprints to England at the turn of the century. His machine combined the simplicity and economy of a flat-bed press with the speed and convenience of printing on a reel of newsprint. A flong was not needed, and the paper was printed direct from type.

In its sixty-year career, more than 500 Cossar machines were made, mainly by the Yorkshire printing engineers, Dawson, Payne & Elliot. The first Cossar was shipped to New Zealand in 1903, and the last was made at Otley in 1964. Cossar units could be tandem-linked to give higher pagination but the basic machine produced 3,600 copies of a l6pp tabloid per hour. Among its more distinguished jobs were the printing of the famous **Times of Malta** and the Parisian Bourse daily news-sheets.

Some Cossars are still at work in the Third World; the last in Scotland, in Crieff, was gently consigned to a museum three years ago.

There are many survivors in the weekly newspaper world in or near Glasgow, and they are still selling strongly against the competition of the free newspapers such as *The Glaswegian*. These include *The Bearsden & Milngavie Herald*, *The Kirkintilloch Herald*, *The Rutherglen Reformer*, *The Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser*, *The Paisley & Renfrewshire Gazette* and the successor to the former *Press*, *The Clydebank Post*.

The developments from the first quarter of the century were for firms to move out from the city centre to greenfield sites and custom-built factories. The Glasgow University Printers, Robert MacLehose & Co., started this at the beginning of the century when they moved to a new factory at Anniesland in 1904. When it was opened two new streets were formed beside the new works by courtesy of Glasgow Corporation. They were called Foulis Street and Caxton Street. The firm ceased to trade in the late 1970s but the fine red brick building then became part of the optical engineering firm of Barr & Stroud. In 1993 it was demolished to make way for a huge shopping complex. In 1925 Blackie & Son purchased a site at Bishopbriggs and built a fine single-storey factory. They retained the name of 'Villafield', and by 1928 had transferred their binding department; the printing department completed the move in July 1931. When Walter W. Blackie died in 1953 this ended the family name as chairman. In 1966, agreement was reached to sell the Villafield works and some of the equipment to William Collins Sons & Co. In October 1966 some presses were in operation at Villafield with the entire Collins production plant transferred from Cathedral Street the following year. Blackie & Son reverted to publishing only and remained at Bishopbriggs until their demise in 1992.

Collins soon outgrew the space available at Villafield and in 1976 moved to a new factory, with a floor space of 288,000 sq. ft, at Westerhill, Bishopbriggs. After continuing developments in 1989 the company was acquired by News International, one of its principal shareholders, and it now has the name HarperCollins. In 1993 the Manufacturing Division's output reached 81 million books with a workforce of 750. A decade earlier, 48 million books were produced with a work force of 2,300. The production, like most other printers, was achieved by lithographic printing and non-hot metal composition, letterpress printing having virtually disappeared, other than for relief foil blocking, in the last quarter of this century. John McGavigan & Co., after 100 years in the city, have occupied a custom-built factory in nearby Kirkintilloch since the mid 1960s. Their development from screen printing to high-tech manufacture of illuminated faces of car dashboard instruments such as speedometer, tachometer, and warning lights has made the company world famous. Its panels are fitted to 4,750,000 cars, almost one in six of the estimated world car production. They have a labour force of more than 300, with a separate technical and research division. They have recently signed a strategic alliance with US Phillip's Plastics which will greatly enhance their performance in world markets.

The firm of Bell & Bain also left its city centre base in Mitchell Street for Thornliebank and employs more than 100 in the production of mathematical/ language composition; periodicals; bookprinting; bookbinding and examination papers, with up-to-date production facilities for multi-colour litho production. This is significantly different from the few platens and hand presses used when the firm began in the city in 1831.

The firm of John McCormick & Co. Ltd was founded in 1890 in Glassford Street. Like many other nineteenth-century printers it has remained in the city centre for over a hundred years, more than sixty of these at their present site in Buchanan Street. The year 1891 set a standard for the firm, which they seem to have followed since John McCormick Senior won for the firm a bronze medal for bookbinding in that year, at the Glasgow Exhibition. Ledgers still remain showing that profit and loss account at the turn of the century when sales and all outlays, including debts and wages, balanced at well under £1,000.

McCorquodale (Scotland) Ltd. another firm of international repute, has been printing in Glasgow since 1840. After nearly 150 years in the city centre at Howard Street, it has moved to new premises at Pollokshaws.

Many old-established names engaged in business in Glasgow in the last century, through mergers and closures in the latter half of the twentieth century, have not survived. Among these are Aird & Coghill, with whom the Wylie family were connected for many years. The John Wylie bequest still provides for the prize fund in printing in Glasgow College of Building and Printing.

With the major changes which have taken place in origination and production methods for text and illustrations it is difficult to quantify how many are employed in the mainstream publishing industry, but one can safely say that Glasgow, at the end of the twentieth century, is still a major centre for the production of printed products. An estimate of employees in mainstream printing in Glasgow, regardless of membership of the Scottish Print Employers Federation, is more than 4,000. (Daily newspaper numbers are not included.)

The printing industry in Glasgow is well placed to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century, with first-rate production and training facilities as the illustrations produced here demonstrate. The firm of J. & J. Murdoch, which started in 1844, said in its centenary booklet that the secret of its success with their school copy books led them to use the maxim, 'Great oaks from little acorns grow'. This is true of the printing industry in Glasgow, which has grown over the past 200 years from a few printing firms to today's major industry.

Notes

- 1 Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Glasgow, AD 1573—1642. Glasgow, printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1876, p.407.
- 2 Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Glasgow, AD 1630—1662. Glasgow, printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1881, pp.348—9.
- 3 Stewart, William, 'The early printers of Glasgow Pt II. The Andersons.' Glasgow Herald, 11 April 1903, p.3.
- 4 Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Glasgow, AD 1630—1662. Glasgow, printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1881, p.469.
- 5 Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Glasgow, AD 1630—1662. Glasgow, printed for the Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1881, p.462.
- 6 Coutts, James, *A History of the University of Glasgow from the foundation in 1451 to 190*9, Glasgow, MacLehose 1909, p.258.
- 7 Scots Courant, 10-13 December 1714.
- 8 *Glasgow Courant*, 30 October—6 November 1752. University of Glasgow, Faculty minutes, 23 October 1753.
- 10 Scots Magazine, January 1757.
- 11 Craigie Session Papers VIII, No. 18 and X, two unnumbered papers. Carmichael v. Stalker, 1734.

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