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**John Smith, Youngest (1784-1849),
and the Book Trade of Glasgow**

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MSc, CBiol, MRSB

**A thesis presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the College of Arts at the
University of Glasgow**

2017

Abstract

This thesis is a response to Darnton's challenge that 'more work needs to be done on the bookseller as a cultural agent', and offers as a case study the career of the early nineteenth-century Glasgow bookseller John Smith, Youngest (1784-1849), and the company John Smith & Son (founded 1751). Early nineteenth-century Glasgow was developing into a major centre of commerce, with trade and finance taking full advantage of the new industrial age and burgeoning population. In comparison to Edinburgh, there has been comparatively little research on Glasgow's role in the contemporary book trade. John Smith, Youngest, was the third of three generations of booksellers of the namesake family firm, merchant baillie, Secretary to the Maitland Club, and member of the contemporary Glasgow cultural and social elite. Smith was a devout Presbyterian, and this religious faith was highly influential on and guided his personal and business lives. I argue that this aspect of his life is the key to understanding John Smith. This is the first thorough study of John Smith. Using publications of Smith's imprint and his social network, I show the influence Smith had on the book trade of the period through his Presbyterian religious faith, how he maintained his business, and which outside pressures were brought to bear on the family firm; as well as determining what contribution he made to the cultural milieu of the period through his business and philanthropic ventures. This will be the first study on the book trade of Glasgow from a bookseller's perspective.

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Publications

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Notes Regarding Key Terminology

During the period covered by this thesis, three John Smiths of the bookselling firm are mentioned and have been standardised:

- John Smith, Eldest (1711-1814)
- John Smith, Senior (1753-1833) (also referred to as Junior or Younger in various resources)
- John Smith, Youngest (1784-1849)

A standard set of usages will be used to differentiate names of businesses or companies from individual persons. For example, the ampersand symbol is deployed in the company-name Brash & Reid, while ‘and’ is used when referring to two individuals, e.g. Brash and Reid.

The following notation is used to identify different sources of the John Smith archive:

JSID – books, pamphlets and other materials issued with the John Smith imprint, either as John Smith & Son, or John Smith, e.g. JSID003. The number is taken from the author’s database of John Smith & Son imprints and can be found throughout the thesis. A list of books referred to can be found at the end of the thesis.

JSAuc – Lot numbers used in the auction catalogue of the sale of John Smith’s library.

Eph – Ephemera collection, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library, originally part of the John Smith Collection.

A complete list of the entries from the databases (John Smith Bibliography, John Smith’s library), data from trade directories referred to in the thesis can be found in the accompanying CD.

Ellipses within square brackets, [...] indicate suspension point, otherwise they are part of the original quote. Within quotes where text appears between ‘^’ these are additions made by the writer of the letter.

Abbreviations

GBPA: Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association

GUL: Glasgow University Library

NLS: National Library of Scotland

ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

SBTI: Scottish Book Trade Index

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Preamble: Research Questions and Themes

Robert Darnton in his summary of the book trade states that

more work needs to be done on the bookseller as a cultural agent, the middleman who mediated between supply and demand at their key point of contact. We still do not know enough about [their] social and intellectual world.¹

This thesis is a response to Darnton's challenge. It investigates the bookseller John Smith, Youngest, (1784-1849) and that of John Smith & Son, in the first half of the nineteenth century. Typical of many young men within Glasgow's merchant class, Smith attended the Grammar School and University before embarking on an apprenticeship, culminating in taking a position within the family firm. Bookselling is – with occasional exceptions – not historically associated with great wealth, yet the Smith family had both land and other property. His family and personal associations linked him to several important people of the day, which he supported throughout his life. In the background was a Presbyterian religious faith that controlled his personal and business life. This last aspect to his life is the key to understanding John Smith, and forms the basis of how he interacted with the cultural milieu of the period and is addressed by the three principal research questions in this thesis:

- 1) What role and influence did John Smith, Youngest, play as a cultural agent, in Darnton's (1982) terms, in contributing to, and development of, the religious book trade of the period?
- 2) How much did John Smith's religious faith reflect the social milieu of his period?
- 3) How did John Smith's religious faith inform his engagement with the Scottish book trade?

¹ Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 78; also noted by John Feather, "The Book in History and the History of the Book," *Journal of Library History* 21, no. 1 (1986): 25.

1.2 Introduction

[The] petitioner has, for upwards of thirty years, exercised the profession of publisher and bookseller in this city, which profession had previously been carried on by his grandfather and father in the said city from the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one.²

So stated John Smith, Youngest, the Glasgow bookseller, in a petition read by Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd, the radical MP, before the House of Commons in 1839 during a highly significant debate on copyright that eventually led to the Copyright Act of 1842.³ Who was this John Smith, and why were his views considered important?

John Smith came from an established landed family to the north of Glasgow, the Smiths of Strathblane. Persons of distinction in the family included merchants such as Archibald Smith of Jordanhill (1749-1821), the philanthropist James Smith of Jordanhill (1782-1866), and Lord Provost William Smith of Carbeth Guthrie (1787-1871).⁴ John Smith was a member of the respected bookselling and publishing firm John Smith & Son, which had been founded, as stated above, in 1751. Smith, who designated himself ‘Youngest’, was the third generation of Smiths at the head of the firm. By the age of 55, when he submitted the petition for Talfourd to read, he had been involved with many aspects of Glasgow life both through his business, and in the roles of councillor and merchant baillie. His circle of friends contained not only those from the merchant class, divines and academics, but many from the Liberal and Conservative landed classes. His role of director or treasurer in civic society allowed him to have influence in many social, welfare, educational, and ecclesiastical institutions and organisations. Through these roles he gained a reputation for trust and integrity that made him generally respected – a man who was diplomatic in his judgments and supportive of all who sought his advice.⁵

The year ‘one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one’ was an important time in Glasgow’s development. Glasgow was growing rapidly in size through trade and industrialisation; Glaswegians had a reputation, both overseas and at home, for being adventurous and

² T. N. Talfourd, *Three Speeches Delivered in the House of Commons in Favour of a Measure for an Extension of Copyright* (London: Edward Moxon, 1840), 121. Smith was claiming for authors the perpetuity of their own copyright.

³ R. Deazley, “Commentary on Copyright Amendment Act 1842,” *Primary Sources on Copyright* (1450-1900), www.copyrighthistory.org.

⁴ William Smith was Lord Provost of Glasgow from 1822-1824.

⁵ “Death of Dr. Smith of Crutherland,” *Glasgow Herald*, 26 January 1849, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=GGgVawPscysC&dat=18490126&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>.

entrepreneurial in their business opportunities.⁶ Due to this enterprising culture, Glasgow's middle class dominated commercial enterprises and marketplaces, across Scotland, and had considerable disposable income – income they could use for the purchase of books – and the book-trade responded. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Glasgow's printers, including notable figures such as the Foulis brothers and Robert Urie, were setting the benchmark for accurate and quality printing.⁷ Specialising primarily in reprints of famous authors or of the classics, Glasgow printers produced more books than could be purchased even by the city's increasingly wealthy inhabitants.

As books coming off the presses required to be bound, it is not surprising that bookbinders would play an important function in the book trade.⁸ John Smith, Eldest (1711-1814), seeing a financial opportunity, began his business as a bookbinder. By the time his grandson entered the family business in about 1806, John Smith & Son had expanded into operating a major circulating library and was beginning to broaden into selling and publishing new books. This expanded family business reflected the exceedingly well developed, and still burgeoning, book trade that existed throughout Scotland at the beginning of the 1800s.

Extensive research has been undertaken on the key players in the Edinburgh book trade, such as William Blackwood and Robert Chambers, but little work has been undertaken on Glasgow.⁹ Little work has been done on booksellers, the 'middlemen' between publishers and public and thus a crucial link in the typology of 'actors' in book history that runs from author to reader. A study of a major bookseller at a crucial period in the growth of the book-trade will therefore assist us in a deeper understanding of the processes involved in the social functioning of books. The following study in the present work will therefore focus on the role of John Smith, Youngest and the family firm of John Smith & Son of Glasgow of which he was head and possibly the most important figure in its history, in the first half of the nineteenth century.

⁶ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, 2nd ed. (London: Collins, 1970), 382.

⁷ See James Watson's Preface to *The History of the Art of Printing*, (Edinburgh: 1713, reprinted London: Gregg Press Ltd, 1965), Watson notes the poor workmanship of printers before Foulis and Urie.

⁸ Stephen W. Brown, and McDougall, Warren, "Introduction," in *Enlightenment and Expansion 1707-1800*, vol. 2, *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. Stephen W. Brown, and McDougall, Warren (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 5.

⁹ Recent works on the Edinburgh book trade include e.g.: David Finkelstein, ed., *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Aileen Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820-1860* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012).

In response to the research questions set out at the beginning of this chapter, I seek to show what influence John Smith, Youngest, had on the book trade of the period, how he maintained his business, and what outside influences were brought to bear on the family firm; in addition, I will attempt to determine what influences he had on the cultural milieu of the period through his business and philanthropic ventures, the latter including his roles as councillor and bibliophile. The project demands an analysis of his background and interests through the publications to which he gave his imprint, his collection of pamphlets, ephemera and books from his library, and his social network, through his role as a bookseller, councillor and bibliographer. It is hoped that the thesis will increase significantly our understanding of how the book trade – including the under-researched area of bookselling – operated in early nineteenth-century Glasgow.

The rest of this chapter consists firstly of a contextual outline of the scholarship to date on the contemporary book trade. The chapter then proceeds to identify the main research problems, the methodology to be adopted, and signposts the arguments to be advanced in the rest of the thesis.

1.3 On Book History

Currently there are two broad approaches to the developing discipline of book history: One, which arose in the nineteenth century, is mainly concerned with bibliographic analysis of books as objects, studying such matters as editorial practice, the physical make-up of books, and their circulation. The other approach comes from the study of the text itself, such as critical editing, readers' reception of texts, the study of authors' interactions with their publishers and readers, and the broader influence of particular texts on society and culture.

In the study of book history, it becomes apparent that what Robert Darnton terms as 'multidiscipline gone riot' is a wide variety of discipline areas criss-crossing the subject that was traditionally known as bibliography.¹⁰ Darnton, in his proposal to try to make sense of it all, produced a model of the 'communication circuit' to describe how books are

¹⁰ Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?": 67. The 'riot' says more about how current academia struggles to cope with a subject area that cannot be easily pigeonholed. Other authors have discussed the multidisciplinary nature of book history, e.g.: Cyndia Susan Clegg, "History of the Book: An Undisciplined Discipline?" *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2001): 221-45; Michael F. Suarez, "Historiographical Problems and Possibilities in Book History and National Histories of the Book," *Studies in Bibliography* 56, no. 1 (2003): 140-70.

created and transmitted and their effect on society.¹¹ This has been useful when book history has focused on literary and textual criticism, less so when discussing the book as an object. Thomas Adams and Nicolas Barker, critiquing Darnton's theory, proposed an alternative. They considered that Darnton had focused too much on how each part of the book trade had interpreted, modified or edited an author's text as it progressed from author to customer. Adams and Barker changed the focus to that of the book as an object and the influences or 'events' that affected 'life of the book'.¹² The book still goes through the same processes of being published, distributed and accepted, but Adams and Barker added 'survival' as an event. The survival of a book indicates a book's 'other life'; a term that can refer to such aspects as the second-hand market place, where a book may remain for long periods before being either bought or sent to waste. Collectors can take a book out of the circuit where it can be displayed as an artefact, and it may pass into other collections later on. Darnton, in a revision to his influential essay, acknowledged Adams and Barker's alternative focus which had introduced an element into his model that he had overlooked.¹³

Leslie Howsam modelled the history of the book as a triangle, in which each vertex represents one of three core areas of history, bibliography and literature.¹⁴ Each side of the triangle represents the relationship between each of these disciplines; the more one gravitates to a vertex, the more 'pure' the discipline. The side between literature, covering text and criticism, and history, covering agency and power, spawns such areas as cultural theory, literary history and gender studies. The side between literature and bibliography, covering themes of paper and books, gives rise to studies of reading, the sociology of the text and bibliographies of authors. The final side between bibliography and history, results in printer and publisher histories, including that of a single book.¹⁵ Taking the model further, the space inside the triangle represents then the interaction of all these sides, such as those studies covering national histories of the book.

The focus of the current project falls for the most part on the bibliography-history side, as it covers the history of a bookselling firm; yet it also gestures towards the bibliography-literature side with its focus on biography and relationships (Figure 1.1). Such an approach

¹¹ Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?": 68.

¹² Adams, Thomas R. and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*, edited by Nicolas Barker, (London: The British Library, 2001), 15.

¹³ Robert Darnton, "'What Is the History of Books?' Revisited", *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 3, (2007): 504.

¹⁴ Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 12.

¹⁵ Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories*, 17.

can be extrapolated to cover publishing history, and in the same way, bookselling.¹⁶

Archival and bibliographical analysis can be used to map how publishers and booksellers as well as books themselves functioned and interacted with the world around them.¹⁷

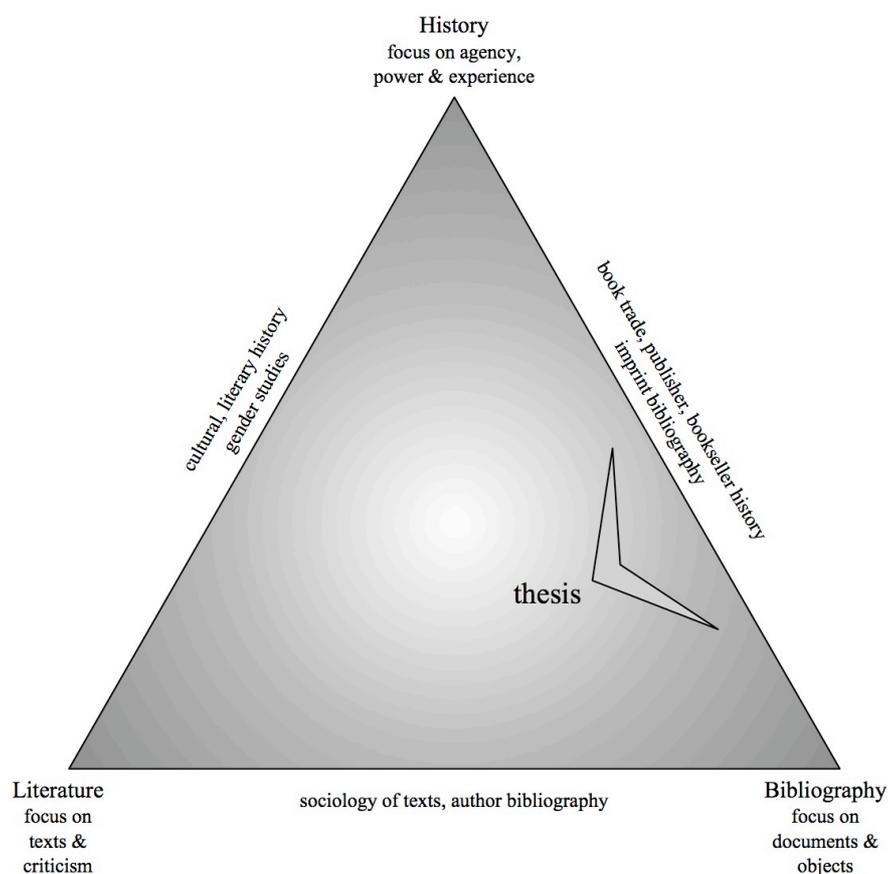


Figure 1.1: Location of thesis within Howsam's triangle.
(Source: Howsam *Old books and New Histories*, 17)

Natalie Davis considered the 'printed book not merely as a source of ideas and images, but a carrier of relationships'.¹⁸ Authors and printers and distributors are all in other words actors in the transmission of text.¹⁹

1.4 The Book Trade

The study of the book trade forms an important component of the historical development of the book. The book trade consists of a range of occupations of 'printers, engravers,

¹⁶ Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories*, 25.

¹⁷ Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories*, 24.

¹⁸ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 192.

¹⁹ John Feather, "Cross-Channel Currents: Historical Bibliography and L'histoire Du Livre," *The Library* 6th series, vol. 2, no. 1 (1980): 15.

lithographers, booksellers, stationers, publishers, mapsellers, printsellers, musicsellers, bookbinders, news-sellers and owners of circulating libraries’, and one can add papermakers and street hawkers to the list.²⁰ These various occupations have been studied either looking at individual players or in more general terms covering periods or geographical locations, with some occupations being studied more than others. For example, specific players like John Murray and William Blackwood at various stages of their careers have been the focus of book-length monographs.²¹ Specific periods in time have been the subject of several authors.²² Geographical focus has been used in national book histories.²³ Specific themes have been covered within the UK by two successful series of works, the Print Networks and Publishing Pathways and several academic publications have developed series type works covering the book trade, for example the Cambridge Studies in Publishing and Printing History.²⁴

Book trade occupations themselves are not easily studied in isolation from each other. Within the period covered by this study, many who practised one trade also, to a lesser or greater degree, practised other trades, so we can find, for example, printers acting as publishers and as booksellers; moreover those in the book trade did not always limit themselves to books, but diversified into other products such as medicines or household goods. Perhaps the least studied group consists of those whose primary business was bookselling. Robert Darnton in his summary of the communications circuit, as quoted on page one, stated that ‘more work needs to be done on the bookseller as a cultural agent’.

²⁰ C. J. Hunt, *The Book Trade in Northumberland and Durham to 1860: A Biographical Dictionary of Printers, Engravers, Lithographers, Booksellers, Stationers, Publishers, Mapsellers, Printsellers, Musicsellers, Bookbinders, Newsagents and Owners of Circulating Libraries* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Thornes Student Bookshop Ltd., 1975), title page. P. J. Wallis issued a supplementary volume to the work in 1981 also through the Thornes Student Bookshop.

²¹ For example: William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade* (London: Published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1998); Humphrey Carpenter, *The Seven Lives of John Murray* (London: John Murray, 2008); F. D. Tredrey, *The House of Blackwood, 1804-1954* (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood, 1954); David Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); David Finkelstein, ed., *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

²² Clifford Siskin, *The Work of Writing* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000); James Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014).

²³ Joseph Blumenthal, *The Printed Book in America* (London: The Scholar Press, 1977); L. Hallewell, *Books in Brazil: A History of the Publishing Trade* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1982); M. C. Fischer, and Kelly, W. A., *The Book in Germany* (Edinburgh: Merchiston Publishing, 2010).

²⁴ Print Networks: <http://www.bookhistory.org.uk/print-networks/index>; Publishing Pathways Series: jointly by British Library Publishing and Oak Knoll Press; Cambridge Studies in Publishing and Printing History: Cambridge University Press.

Studying the cultural impact of the activities of John Smith, Youngest, and his firm allows us to address this challenge.²⁵

1.4.1 The Book Trade in Glasgow

Until recently, the Scottish book trade has been comparatively under-researched.²⁶ The Book Trade in the North Group, for instance, has for some ten years studied in depth the book trade of two northern English counties, using existing archive material, trade directories, local histories and local printed sources from the period.²⁷ However, John Feather in a recent work called for greater study of the book trades outside England, especially the trades of Wales, Scotland and Ireland,²⁸ and in the last decade or so various aspects of Scottish book history have been studied, as witnessed *inter alia* by the authoritative *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (EHBS) series.²⁹

Though EHBS offers a focus on Scotland there is an uneven coverage of the principal towns and cities, with Edinburgh receiving the greatest attention. This skewing is clearly shown by looking at the index entries for four of the major print centres in Scotland: Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Table 1.1 lists entries where that town is the first word and compares these appearances with those in the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, representing a greater geographical area.³⁰ The comparison is illuminating; whereas the total amount of column centimetres devoted to Edinburgh in EHBS is 43.3cm, references to Glasgow occupy a mere 12.1cm. Other Scottish cities have even fewer column centimetres devoted to them. Bringing the two national histories together, we have a combined total of 59.1cm for Edinburgh compared to 19.1cm for Glasgow.

Table 1.1: Index space allocated to book centres in national histories of the book. EHBS: Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland; CHBB: Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Entries of individuals in the trade have not been counted.

²⁵ Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?," 78.

²⁶ The *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society* (1913-1939) mainly covered the Glasgow book trade.

²⁷ Peter Isaac, "History of the Book Trade in the North", http://faculty.ed.uiuc.edu/westbury/paradigm/history_.pdf; J. C. Day, and Watson, W. M., "History of the Book Trade in the North, the First Twenty-Five Years," in *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain*, ed. Peter Isaac (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1990). The work continues under the auspices of the University of Birmingham.

²⁸ John Feather, "Others: Some Reflections on Book Trade History," in *Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, ed. John Hinks (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2008), 7.

²⁹ Bill Bell, ed., *The Edinburgh History of the Book* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007-2018).

³⁰ D. F. MacKenzie, McKitterick, David, and Willison, I. R., ed., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002-2011).

Column <i>cm</i> devoted to Scottish cities				
	Aberdeen	Dundee	Edinburgh	Glasgow
EHBS Vol. 2 (1707-1800)	6.1	1.2	19.5	10.2
EHBS Vol. 3 (1800-1880)	1	0.5	31.0	6.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>43.3</i>	<i>12.1</i>
CHBB Vol. 5 (1695-1830)	1.2	0	15.5	6.2
CHBB Vol. 6 (1830-1914)	0	0.3	0.3	0.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>15.8</i>	<i>7.0</i>
<i>Overall Total</i>	<i>5.7</i>	<i>2.6</i>	<i>59.1</i>	<i>19.1</i>

Primarily this difference stems from the predominance of Edinburgh as the principal economic and book-trade centre for Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, coupled with its important associations with law and learning supported by the gentry, professionals and academics. Glasgow, with its developing industrial and commercial base seemed to have little need for, or interest by, literary individuals as noted by James Cleland who in 1840 stated that

the commercial enterprise which engages the time and attention of its inhabitants, this city cannot boast of a literary character.³¹

That being said, Glasgow did have a literary culture, which is evident in the works of William Motherwell (1797-1835) (poet and newspaper editor), John Donald Carrick (1787-1837) (poet and editor of *Whistle Binkie*), and the poets John Finlay (1782-1810) and John Wilson (Christopher North) (1785-1854) who both had their first poetical works published by Smith [JSID224 and JSID509].³² Another aspect could be that the greater productions of religious and social works do not have the same appeal to those studying imaginative literature of the Romantic and Victorian periods, and Edinburgh was more

³¹ James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1840 [JSID825]), 61. See also, Maureen M. Martin, *The Mighty Scot* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009), 129; and also expressed in a discussion by the four founder members of the Maitland Club: John Kerr, "Origin of the Maitland Club, May 1828", In *Notabilia of the Maitland Club, Vol. 1*. MsC140 1:1, University of Calgary, Special Collections; NLS microfilm, Mf MSS 197, see Chapter 3.

³² For others see George Eyre-Todd, *The Glasgow Poets* (Glasgow & Edinburgh: William Hodge & Co., 1903).

inclined to be associated with this type of material, for example James Cleland estimated that two-thirds of the books published in Glasgow were on religious subjects.³³

The importance of Glasgow as a publishing centre is shown by the increased size of the index subject in Volume 2 of the EHBS, as flagged in Table 1.1. This development occurred during the meteoric increase of the merchant and proto-industrial manufacturing industry in the eighteenth-century, correlating with increased mechanisation, and extensions of the communication networks of road, canal and rail, coupled with the increase in population and developments in education, health and welfare.³⁴

John Smith, Youngest and his firm – the subject of this thesis – were part of this picture.

1.4.2 John Smith in the Business of Books

Bookselling in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth-centuries was a composite profession, which could involve everything from the initial contact with the author, through to the printing, binding, publishing, and selling of the book to the public. Other associated trades formed part of the bookselling trade, such as stationer or librarian; and many booksellers expanded their product stock to include medicines and other ‘non-book’ items.³⁵ For all such activities the term ‘bookseller’ was used, found in the majority of town directories of the period, while the term ‘publisher’ was used to refer to specific books in which the bookseller had a financial interest. John Smith, therefore, in his role as bookseller had contact with authors and printers, as well as publishing and selling. He also offered bookbinding, though it is unclear from his invoices if this activity was carried out in-house or not. Certainly the first John Smith was the oldest signatory of the Bookbinders’ Society before it became the Company of Stationers of Glasgow.³⁶

³³ Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow*, 29. Simon Eliot showed that the greatest number of works published in Great Britain were theological, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800-1919* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1994); and in Patricia Gael, “The Origins of the Book Review in England, 1663-1749,” *The Library*, 7th Series 12, no. 1 (2012): 82.

³⁴ Recent academic book length works on Glasgow covering these issues are T. M. Devine & Jackson, Gordon, ed., *Glasgow, Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); W. Hamish Fraser & Maver, Irene, ed., *Glasgow, Volume 2: 1830 to 1912* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); and Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000).

³⁵ See essays in Myers, Robin, and Harris, Michael, ed. *Medicine, Mortality and the Book Trade*. Folkestone: St. Paul’s Bibliographies, 1998.

³⁶ Company of Stationers of Glasgow is discussed in Chapter 4. The original meaning of ‘stationer’ referred to booksellers who had permanent selling space in a university: Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade*, 225.

The main source of revenue for the business for over 50 years was, as stated previously, the circulating library, which the firm had first introduced to Glasgow in 1753. This library became an essential part of the city's culture, eventually becoming known as the 'Glasgow Circulating Library', and from the turn of the century they extended their range to include writing instruments, paper and ink, as a consequence adding 'stationers' to their trading name. Though the firm had published a few titles in the last decades of the eighteenth-century, only from the early 1800s did publishing become more prominent in the firm's activity and a further source of major finance.

Bookselling was not recognised as a profession in the way that the medical or legal professions were, or that it was part of the merchant culture, because generally most booksellers were not independently wealthy and were dependent on their selling abilities to earn a sufficient living. Entrepreneurial booksellers could exploit gaps in the marketplace or specialised business-models to try and give them an edge. John Smith, Youngest, rather unusually, was born into wealth, due to his father and grandfather having interests in the West India trade through associations with extended family members, whose money was invested in Glasgow properties and land.

In 1826 John Smith was elected to the Glasgow council, the prerequisite conditions being a member of Merchants House, and – less publicly emphasised – to some extent being a Tory. The system of municipal government had a strong focus on civic responsibility attached to the development of hospitals, schools, institutions and charities. Additionally, a baillie like Smith could deputise for the Lord Provost if needed. Given his experience Smith may have considered himself suitable for the role of Lord Provost, just like Smith's second cousin William Smith of Carbeth Guthrie who had held that post from 1822-1824. Despite not achieving that honour, Smith undertook substantial civic duties; the large pamphlet collection in his library identifies over 153 different societies and institutions in Glasgow for which Smith retained reports and minutes.³⁷ Smith remained a council member even after the Reform Acts.³⁸

Smith fostered many important social connections during his lifetime. Some of these early connections originated in his school and university years, such as with John Wilson (Christopher North) or John Finlay. Other associations came through family as in the case of Thomas Chalmers and the Smith family's links with the Tron Church; and other

³⁷ *Smith Collection*, class marks BG33 and BG34, Glasgow University Library.

³⁸ *Parliamentary Reform Act (1832)* and *Burgh Reform Act (1833)*.

associations relate to his connections in the political and business world, as with Glasgow politician and businessman Kirkman Finlay.

The public's first awareness that John Smith, Youngest, was not only an ordinary bookseller but also a bibliophile comes from an acknowledgement in the first catalogue of the Hunterian Collection in the University of Glasgow by Captain John Laskey, *Account of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow*, in 1813 [JSID304]. Laskey praises Smith 'for the aid afforded him in pointing out many rarities in the Bibliographical Department'.³⁹ Smith's interest in historical documents led him to be involved with the Edinburgh publisher and editor Robert Buchanan in the issuing of *Scotica Rediviva* in 1826 which reprinted several tracts related to Scottish history [JSID099]. This interest culminated in him being elected as a member (1828) and Secretary (1832) of the Maitland Club, and he remained in that post until 1848 when he was elected Treasurer. The Club, founded in 1828, specialised in the editing and printing of texts 'illustrative of the Antiquities, History, and Literature of Scotland' in a similar fashion to that of the Bannatyne Club, founded in 1823.⁴⁰ Smith was an active member of many other historical printing Clubs and Societies. In Scotland he was a member of the Abbotsford Club, Spalding Club, and Wodrow Society; and in England, the Percy Society, Parker Society, Camden Society, English Historical Society and Surtees Society. Further afield he was a member and agent for the Irish Archaeological Society. Publications by these societies formed a major component of his library.

In addition to his continual development in bookselling and publishing, his bibliographical and antiquarian interests, and his involvement with civic duties, Smith continued to grow his wealth. Smith invested in property and land in Glasgow, traded in shares of the developing canal network, then railways, which made him wealthy enough to purchase the estate of Crutherland outside East Kilbride in 1836.

Yet what was the driving force that inspired Smith to become more than just a bookseller, that encouraged him to participate in the business and civic development of Glasgow, and stirred him to become active in so many organisations? My argument presented in this study is that it stems from growing up in the West of Scotland, particularly Glasgow, in an environment that was permeated with a focus on religious devotion mixed with

³⁹ John Laskey, *A General Account of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow*, (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1813 [JSID304]), vi

⁴⁰ The Maitland Club, *Rules of the Maitland Club* (Glasgow, 1835), 1. See Chapter 4, Section 4.5.

commercial development. John Moore succinctly described this environment in his introduction to the works of Smollett:

The chief objects that occupied the minds of the citizens were commerce and religion; the chief means of acquiring importance among them were, wealth and piety.⁴¹

Though the Moderate Party dominated the Church of Scotland, the West of Scotland, particularly the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, was a major stronghold of the opposing Popular party of the Church. The Party's alignment with the popular evangelical ethos, particularly from the time of the Cambuslang Revival of the 1740s, resulted in the emergence of a strict Calvinist movement, which had a strong resonance with many people. The movement's sympathy for the American rebels, greater intolerance of what were deemed to be religious deviations, especially of Roman Catholicism, and aggressive opposition to church patronage, made for a distinctive cultural mixture.⁴²

Within this world the young John Smith grew up. To understand how this environment shaped and influenced Smith's personal and business life, and ultimately the key to understanding him, is the subject of this thesis. How he was representative of his period, and as a bookseller, how his role as a cultural agent affected his business and social life, forms the basis of the three linked research questions with which this chapter began:

- 1) What role and influence did John Smith, Youngest, play as a cultural agent, in Darnton's (1982) terms, in contributing to, and development of, the religious book trade of the period?
- 2) How much did John Smith's religious faith reflect the social milieu of his period?

⁴¹ John Moore, *The Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D. With Memoirs of His Life* New ed. (London, 1872), 1:84. Smith had eight volumes of Smollett's *History of England* (Edinburgh, 1791) in his library [JSAuc234].

⁴² Entries in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993). See also: Richard B. Sher, "Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow," in *Glasgow: Beginnings to 1830*, vol. 1, ed. T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 317; Robert Kent Donovan, "Evangelical Civic Humanism in Glasgow: The American War Sermons of William Thom," in *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, ed. Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (East Linton: The Tuckwell Press, 1995), 229; Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), 36. The Popular party was a mix of ideologies, theological opinions with no discerning organisational structure, see John Rattray McIntosh, "The Popular Party in the Church of Scotland, 1740-1800" (PhD Thesis, The University of Glasgow, 1989), 458, published as: John R. McIntosh, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998).

3) How did John Smith's religious faith inform his engagement with the Scottish book trade?

1.5 Previous Studies of John Smith

Several aspects make John Smith & Son interesting as an object of study. The firm of John Smith & Son has, as noted above, continually traded since 1751, being founded by John Smith, Eldest (1711-1814), and passed down through his son, John Smith, Senior (1753-1833) to John Smith, Youngest (1784-1849). Booksellers, particularly those that have remained within their trade, rather than those that transitioned into publishers, have an ephemeral type of existence with many existing for short periods of time. Less than a handful have existed for more than 150 years, and even fewer in excess of 250 years; in fact it is quite possible that John Smith & Son of Glasgow is the longest-lived institution of its kind in the English-speaking world.

The Smith family was descended from the Smiths of Craigend in Strathblane and the extended family included the Smiths of Jordanhill and Carbeth Guthrie. Both these families had important mercantile connections in Glasgow. John Smith, Youngest, himself was part of the wider 'social elite' of the town, and this position is as flagged reflected in his bibliographic and antiquarian interests, his position of authority on many welfare and social committees, and bookselling business.

Published material specifically on John Smith and Son booksellers is sparse. The first company history, *A Short Note on a Long History*, written by J. C. Ewing, librarian of the Baillie's Institution, was published in 1921, with further additions to the text in 1925 [JSID455 & 456]. Ewing's history is brief and thus lacks detail; it was primarily aimed at the shop's staff and customers. In addition, to celebrate their bicentenary, the firm issued *A Miscellany of Two Hundred Valuable and Scarce Works*, a catalogue from their Antiquarian Department, with a very brief outline of the firm's history [JSID524].⁴³

Later, in the 1980s, Jack House, the Glasgow historian, began a company history entitled *A Glasgow Enlightenment: An Informal History of John Smith and Son 1751-1969*. With the death of House in 1991 the mantle fell to the late Antony Kamm who edited and added to the text, but it remained unfinished and was abandoned due to a disagreement between the

⁴³ George S. Matthew, manager of Smith's Antiquarian Department, compiled the catalogue. He also compiled the invaluable *Bibliotheca Scotica: A Catalogue of Books Relating to Scotland*, no. 8 (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1926 [JSID552]), much consulted by book collectors.

author and Robert Clow, the Managing Director. The incomplete manuscript, dated 1979, covers the company history from its founding to 1969, though large sections are missing from various parts of the text, giving a disjointed narrative. The archive source material that formed the basis of this manuscript is now in the author's collection. Antony Kamm briefly continued writing on John Smith, Youngest, and contributed Smith's biographical entry to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in 2004.⁴⁴

An article by Thomas Thomson for *The Scots Magazine*, which was issued in November 1989, gave a brief history of the company, but focused on the current status of the Company at that time. In the new millennium, edited interviews with two previous Managing Directors, Robert Clow and Willie Anderson, were published separately by Sue Bradley in 2008, and by McCleery, Finkelstein and Renton in 2009 respectively, but refer to the Company's development and importance during the twentieth century.⁴⁵ The article 'John Smith's: Historical Perspectives and Historical Precedence,' by Simon Frost and Stephen Hall is the most recent to date, comparing Smith's historical business model with the model currently engaging with the academic community, showing that 'John Smith's is a perfect example of how bookselling was and is more than simply the activity of selling books'.⁴⁶

In respect to the longevity of Smith as booksellers little mention is made in the current book history literature, or, if mentioned, is inaccurately described. Padmini Murray in Volume 3 of the EHBS inaccurately states that the Rev. Thomas Chalmers's influential work *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation* was published by Charles Chalmers and William Collins in 1817.⁴⁷ John Smith & Son, in fact, published it over nine editions throughout 1817 and 1818, with a second volume in 1819.⁴⁸ William Collins founded his business in 1819, and published Chalmers's *Discourses* in 1822 as a 10th

⁴⁴ Conversation with Antony Kamm, 11 November 2010. Antony Kamm (1931-2011). Anthony stated that he was no longer interested in pursuing the research on John Smith. Jack House and Kamm, Antony, *A Glasgow Enlightenment: An Informal History of John Smith and Son 1751-1969*, MSS, Glasgow Business Archive, University of Glasgow (TS ACCN2664); Antony Kamm, "Smith, John (1784-1849)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61577>.

⁴⁵ Thomas Thomson, "Oldest Bookshop - Newest Ideas," *The Scots Magazine*, November (1989): 138-44; Sue Bradley, ed., *The British Book Trade: An Oral History* (London: The British Library, 2008); and Alister McCleery, David Finkelstein and Jennie Renton, ed., *An Honest Trade: Booksellers and Bookselling in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2009).

⁴⁶ Simon Frost, & Hall, Stephen, "John Smith's: Historical Perspectives and Historical Precedence," *Book 2.0 5*, no. 1-2 (2015): 27.

⁴⁷ Padmini Ray Murray, "Religion," in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, vol. 3: Ambition and Industry 1830-1880, ed. Bill Bell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 291.

⁴⁸ Smith's relationship with Chalmers is discussed in Chapter 5.

edition. In fact, John Smith, Youngest, is not mentioned at all in this volume of the EHBS, not even in connection with the Maitland Club. Further, the Maitland Club is only noted three times in the index of Volume 3 of EHBS, with only one referring to a small paragraph, compared with eight links to the Bannatyne Club.

Another example of lack of information on John Smith & Son, and particularly John Smith, Youngest, is shown in Mary Ellen Brown's biography of William Motherwell, *William Motherwell's Cultural Politics 1797-1835*. There is no mention of Smith in Brown's work, yet Motherwell, as one of the founder members of the Maitland Club, corresponded with John Smith the Club Secretary on a variety of matters. The letters exist within the *Maitland Correspondence* housed in the Special Collections of Glasgow University Library (GUL). But Smith was more than just a Club Secretary: he collected Motherwell's articles from the *Glasgow Courier* newspaper and published them as *Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow*, and further, Smith was also listed as one of the distributors of Motherwell's *Harp of Renfrewshire* [JSID377].⁴⁹ Brown states that in 1820 Motherwell 'was involved in the making of *The Harp*', seemingly unaware that the work was issued in 1819 by J. Lawrence, Jun. of Paisley, and sold by W. Turnbull; A. & J. M. Duncan; J. Smith & Son and several others in Glasgow, Greenock, Ayr, Edinburgh, Perth and London.⁵⁰ It is more than probable that Motherwell contributed to the editorial essays of two other Renfrewshire poets, that of Robert Tannahill's *Poems and Songs, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* of 1815 [JSID471] and Alexander Wilson's *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* of 1816 [JSID659], both distributed by John Smith & Son, amongst others.⁵¹ Smith also had five different individual poetical works of Motherwell in his personal library, more than he had of Sir Walter Scott's poetry.

Further, in Volume 4 of the EHBS, it is noted, 'two-long established booksellers, John Smith & Son of Glasgow and James Thin of Edinburgh, were put into receivership or bought over'.⁵² Thin's went into receivership and was bought over and renamed

⁴⁹ John Smith, ed., *Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow Selected from the Minute Books of the Burgh* (Glasgow: Printed for private circulation, 1835).

⁵⁰ Mary Ellen Brown, *William Motherwell's Cultural Politics 1797-1835*, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 59.

⁵¹ See Motherwell's introduction to the *Harp of Renfrewshire*, xxvii. Motherwell had been given material related to Tannahill's life by the musician R. A. Smith (1780-1829): Brown, *William Motherwell's Cultural Politics*, 154.

⁵² David Finkelstein, and Alistair McCleery, "The Future of the Book in Scotland: Trends and Prospects from 2000," in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, vol. 4: Professionalism and Diversity 1880-2000, ed. David Finkelstein, and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 473.

Blackwells, but Smith's was a share-swap and retained the trading name as it had done through all the previous transfers of ownership.⁵³ The shareholder regulations stated that whoever owned the highest number of company shares became the owner. The company can therefore claim to be the oldest independent continuously trading bookseller in the world.⁵⁴ To take matters further, there are no entries for John Smith in the index, even though they are mentioned in that volume.

1.6 John Smith Archive

That there is no continuous archive is not uncommon amongst the hundreds of firms that were part of the book trade. It is not unusual for the records of the book trade to be rather scarce, especially of booksellers, for as businesses they do not tend to exist for long periods of time; John Smith & Son is somewhat unusual in its longevity. Where records do survive they can create a bias as to how important various book centres are.

Much of the existing John Smith & Son archive was organised for the first company history in 1921 by J. C. Ewing. However, as the company developed its antiquarian and second-hand book department, a number of items came back into their possession particularly material that had been published during the nineteenth-century and earlier. All this material was passed into the author's hands, by the then managing director during a clear-out of items as the company was down-sizing in 2001.⁵⁵

Small caches of letters relating to the firm exist in several depositories: The National Library of Scotland (NLS), Mitchell Library, Glasgow University Library, Yale University Library, and Cambridge University Library, plus John Smith's donation of his personal library of pamphlets and ephemera to the University of Glasgow. By far the largest archive is in the present author's possession, including a large number of publications bearing the Smith imprint, from 1746 through to 2004.

⁵³ After John Smith, Youngest, the business transferred to David Watson, David Colquhoun and then John Knox, who eventually became sole owner. It passed onto Knox's son and grandson, then to Robert Clow. With retirement of Clow it passed to Willie Anderson, and finally Peter Gray through a share-swap. I was a shareholding employee and am in possession of the relevant papers concerning the share-swap.

⁵⁴ In 2016 John Smith & Son was voted Academic & Professional Chain Bookseller of the Year for the ninth time since 2006 (<https://www.jsgroup.co.uk/live/news/>). The trading estate covers at least 30 shops in UK, Ireland and Africa with further shops in the pipeline.

⁵⁵ In due course I aim to deposit the archive in a suitable institution.

1.7 Chapter Layout

The remainder of this thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 2 describes the datasets that were created to organise the multitude of resources encountered. The decision to create specialised databases is based on the lack of relevant information found in existing library catalogues, such as publisher imprints. One database records the bibliographic details of the books with the John Smith & Son imprint. A second database records the contents of Smith's personal library, divided into three parts covering books listed in the auction catalogue of his library; books and pamphlets donated to GUL; and a collection of ephemera, also donated to the Library. These databases provide the evidence for Smith's theological outlook and are used or referred to throughout the thesis.

Chapter 3 contains a brief history of the development of John Smith & Son through the three John Smiths. Much of the chapter will focus on John Smith, Youngest, from his life in Glasgow as a young boy, through his apprenticeship in Birmingham, and his return to Glasgow to become head of the family firm, identifying the influences that played on his development as an individual. To provide context the various educational establishments he attended are described, including the type of education that he experienced. Insights into John Smith's character can also be assessed from the authoritative positions he held through that of a councillor and merchant baillie. The council position shows how he contributed to the social improvement of Glasgow and allowed him to offer his services in publishing of reports for these organisations. Further aspects of Smith's character may be ascertained from his private library. The private library is an extension of the person's interests, such that some assumptions can be put forward, based on the books he collected. Subjects within his library will lend support to his religious interests and how these may have influenced how he lived and the works he published. The Calvinist environment that permeated Smith's home, school and business, addresses the second key research question identified: How much did John Smith's religious faith reflect the social milieu of his period?

Having introduced the Smith bookselling family, Chapter 4 focuses on some of the book organisations, associations and clubs that either Smith & Son were part of or John Smith himself was a member of. The chapter begins with a brief overview of the development of the book trade in Glasgow and comparison with the increasing population. The process of price maintenance through the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association is discussed and how it affected the trade in Glasgow and further afield. Smith opened the first

circulating library in Glasgow in 1753 until the 1830s and was a major part of its identity in Glasgow. Its role and importance is discussed in the chapter. The Bookbinders' Society of Glasgow is then considered as being the oldest trade organisation in Glasgow, being founded in 1740 and becoming the Incorporated Company of Stationers of Glasgow in 1837 before being dissolved in 2012. Insights into John Smith's character can also be assessed from his position as Secretary of the Maitland Club and his membership of many other printing clubs and societies.

Chapter 5 examines Smith's close relationship with the divine the Reverend Dr Thomas Chalmers, with a view to addressing the third key research question: How did John Smith's religious faith inform his engagement with the Scottish book trade? It is particularly affecting that the relationship soured and caused great emotional distress for the two men. The cause of the disagreement particularly highlights book trade practices of the time. The chapter further looks at the effects of the Disruption and how it affected Smith. Finally, the chapter concludes on the last decade of his life and the continuing legacy of the booksellers that he had developed.

Throughout the thesis the first key research question will be addressed at various points: What role and influence did John Smith, Youngest, play as a cultural agent, in Darnton's (1982) terms, in contributing to, and development of, the religious book trade of the period? Finally, Chapter 6 provides an overview and summary with suggestions for further study. To begin this journey we now look at how the various datasets were compiled.

Chapter 2 John Smith Booksellers: Data, Methods and Archive

2.1 Introduction and Overview

John Smith & Son has existed for more than two centuries, yet only a small portion of their archive exists, and even then it is limited. One particular aspect that provides a window into the past is the role of Smith & Son as publishers. The books to which they added their imprint represents Smith's acknowledgment and/or support of the author or the subject or content of the book. From this evidence and the existing archive various deductions can be made.

Simon Eliot, in his personal overview of quantitative analysis in book history, described many of the issues the bibliometrician encounters when sifting through large amounts of primary information. According to Eliot, the process is 'slow and laborious', involving a great deal of time and effort. But

even when the process of accumulation was over, the quantitative historian would only have begun. He or she must then devise ways of manipulating the data so that, without distorting or exaggerating the information, significant features, particularly changes over time, became visible. Once that had been done, the historian would then have to assess the statistical significance of these phenomena [...]. Only after all that might one stand back and attempt to interpret the statistical data's value in terms of book history.⁵⁶

Further, Leslie Howsam states that 'if a methodology for a historian's history of the book can be formulated and made rigorous, it might become a framework for a history of communication', indicating that one has to devise suitable ways to gather the data, and as the book historians work with many forms of raw and primary data, there was not going to be a single method applicable to the task.⁵⁷ To apply quantitative analysis for the purposes of this thesis it was necessary to find a convenient means of gathering together different forms of bibliographical information using made-for-purpose databases. Four databases were created to utilise this bibliographic information: one for the publications with a John Smith & Son imprint, and a further three for John Smith, Youngest's library that had been dispersed into different locations. These latter three were (1) a record of the auctioned and

⁵⁶ Simon Eliot, "Very Necessary but Not Quite Sufficient: A Personal View of Quantitative Analysis in Book History," *Book History* 5(2002): 285.

⁵⁷ Leslie Howsam, "Book History Unbound: Transactions of the Written Word Made Public," *Canadian Journal of History* 38, no. 1 (2003): 74.

dispersed part of Smith's library, while the other two databases record the material bequeathed to Glasgow University Library (GUL) in 1849, viz. (2) a pamphlet collection, bound in several hundred volumes; and (3), designated as 'Ephemera' by GUL, consisting of three volumes of loose material.

Alongside basic book information, such as author, title, publisher and date, additional fields were created to provide places for extra information, as well as identifying possible search strategies. Moreover, each of the databases has a set of matching fields to allow comparison of the information in the three databases and to allow merging of information during searches. The databases are summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Overview of Databases.

Database Overview		
Database Name	Content	Purpose
1. Bibliography	Database of all publications associated with John Smith & Son, Glasgow, booksellers. Each record was created for each edition or issue of a work. Separate fields were used to identify individual publishers, printer, date, edition, and classification.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Serves as a collection point for bibliographical information pertaining to each pamphlet, book or broadside issued with a John Smith & Son imprint. • The separate fields can be analysed individually or together to glean qualitative results. • Used to produce printed checklist. • Serves to answer research questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) What role and influence did John Smith, Youngest, play as a cultural agent, in Darnton's (1982) terms, in contributing to, and development of, the religious book trade of the period? 3) How did John Smith's religious faith inform his engagement with the Scottish book trade?

2. JS Library (3 databases)

- **Pamphlets**
- **Ephemera**
- **Auction catalogue**

Each database covers the different states of John Smith, Youngest's library.

- **Pamphlets:** lists those items that were donated to GUL in 1849. Though pamphlets are in bound volumes, each pamphlet has a separate record detailing author, title, place of publication, and date.
- **Ephemera:** lists those items removed from the original pamphlet collection to create the GUL's Ephemera collection. This is a mixture of broadsides, printed sheets, pamphlets and catalogues. Each item has been given a separate record.
- **Auction catalogue:** lists those works from a book sale of John Smith, Youngest's library. Each record of the database represents one lot, with fields covering author, title, place of publication, and date.

All three databases were set up with similar fields to allow information to be combined if necessary for analysis. Additional classification fields were also added.

- The purpose of these databases was to list all the items within John Smith's library in an attempt to obtain an overview of his collection as a whole.
- To arrange his books and pamphlets into an order through a classification system to understand where John Smith's interests lay.
- To estimate the physical size of his collection.
- Serves to answer research questions:
 - 1) What role and influence did John Smith, Youngest, play as a cultural agent, in Darnton's (1982) terms, in contributing to, and development of, the religious book trade of the period?
 - 2) How much did John Smith's religious faith reflect the social milieu of his period?

2.2 Bibliography Data Set

The information for this database was obtained from a descriptive bibliography of books published under the John Smith imprint compiled by the author beginning with over 300 books in the author's possession, then other books located in various libraries. The bibliography identified each edition and variant giving a current total of 738 different titles with that imprint dating from 1751 to 2000.⁵⁸ Figure 2.1 demonstrates the number of titles issued at 25 yearly intervals (apart from the eighteenth century) over the course of two centuries. The graph does not include catalogues or titles with more than one edition.

⁵⁸ No further books have been published in Britain since that date. In 2008 the imprint Books Botswana was formed to encourage new African authors.

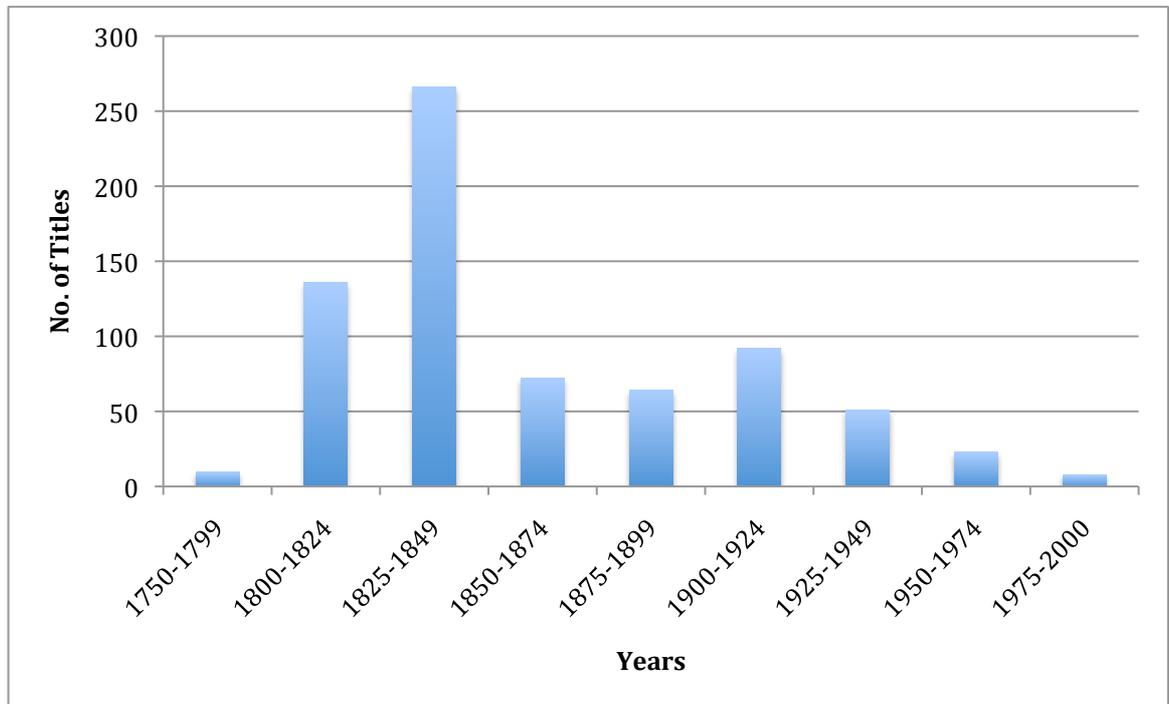


Figure 2.1: Number of John Smith & Son titles published 1751-2000 (total: 738)
Does not include *Books Botswana* titles published from 2008.

The graph clearly indicates a substantial number of titles issued between 1800 and 1849 equating to 411 titles published. This same period covers the time of John Smith, Youngest (1784-1849) when he was active in the business after his apprenticeship, and covers the main period of this research.

The aim of this database was to break down the components of the descriptive bibliography into searchable fields, with each edition having its own database record such as seen in Figure 2.2. Further the database had related tables of authors, printers and publishers. A particular object at the creation of the database was to identify and list the imprints of co-publishers that were associated with John Smith & Son; this was done in such a way as to retain the order in which each of the imprints appeared on the title page (Figure 2.2). From the database a paper checklist was created to assist in the search of further publications. Periodically, a search was made of OPAC systems, bookseller catalogues and book sales to locate and identify possible unrecorded titles.

Bibliography ID 881

Authors: Fox, Joseph Life: []

S/Title: Proceedings of the Glasgow Lancasterian

Title: Proceedings of the Glasgow Lancasterian Schools Society, at a meeting held on the 31 St January 1814; with illustrations and remarks. Dedicated to the Lord Provost of Glasgow. 1814. iv, 78 [1]pp. Edition: [] Date: 1814

Printer: Ramsay & Co., George: Edinburgh

Publishers:

1	Constable, Archibald & Co.: Edinburgh	11
2	Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown: London	12
3	Smith, John & Son: Glasgow	13
4	[]	14
5	[]	15
6	[]	16
7	[]	17
8	[]	18
9	[]	19
10	[]	20

JS Address: [] Notes: []

Location: GL: Sp. Coll. Mu22-a.4

Full Bibliog: PROCEEDINGS | OF THE | GLASGOW | LANCASTERIAN SCHOOLS SOCIETY, | AT A | MEETING | HELD | ON THE 31 ST JANUARY 1814; | WITH | ILLUSTRATIONS AND REMARKS. | DEDICATED TO THE | LORD PROVOST OF GLASGOW. | BY JOSEPH FOX, | SECRETARY OF THE INSTITUTION FOR PROMOTING THE | BRITISH SYSTEM FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE LABOURING I AND MANUFACTURING CLASSES OF SOCIETY, | OF EVERY RELIGIOUS PERSUASION. | [double rule; thick, thin: 24mm] | EDINBURGH; | [italic] Printed by George Ramsay and Company, | FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY, EDINBURGH; | AND FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN | LONDON; AND JOHN SMITH AND SON, GLASGOW. | [rule: 11mm] | 1814.

Hodgson Cat: EDU Supply: Print Eliot Cat: EDUC Bib: Yes JS&S: Yes Photocopy: Yes Price: []

Figure 2.2: Example record from the author's bibliographical database.
 The example is *Proceedings of the Glasgow Lancasterian Society* (1814) by Joseph Fox [JSID881].

2.2.1 Issues Regarding Bibliographic Resources

The decision to create a database for compiling the bibliography was a result of the inadequate library records of the imprints of many works. Where a book may have an imprint list of several publishers, sometimes only the main printing centre and the first publisher are noted, with the rest being ignored. For example, compare the bibliographical description of *The Pocket Encyclopedia* [JSID753] with Figure 2.3, which is an image from the National Library of Scotland catalogue record for that title:⁵⁹

THE | POCKET ENCYCLOPEDIA [sic] | OF | SCOTTISH, ENGLISH, AND IRISH | SONGS, | SELECTED FROM | THE WORKS OF THE MOST EMINENT POETS; | WITH | A Number Of Original Pieces, | AND | NOTES, | CRITICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL. | [double rule: 24mm] | IN TWO VOLUMES. | VOL. I. [II.] | GLASGOW: | *Printed by Andrew & James Duncan,* | AND SOLD BY J. SMITH & SON, A. & J. M. DUNCAN, W. TURNBULL, | AND BRASH & REID; A. CONSTABLE & CO. J. BALLANTYNE, | AND P. HILL, EDINBURGH; B. CROSBY & CO. AND | LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME & BROWN, | LONDON. | [rule: 5mm] | 1816.

⁵⁹ The NLS only had the first volume; the second volume was viewed through Google Books.

The screenshot shows the NLS website header with the logo and navigation buttons. Below the header, there is a search bar and a list of titles. The selected title is 'The pocket encyclopedia of Scottish, English and Irish songs ... with ... notes, critical and biographical.' The record details are as follows:

Author(s):	Encyclopaedias.
Date(s):	1816.
Publisher:	Glasgow,
Format:	Book
Size etc:	2 v. ; 12mo.

Consult in:	Special Collections Reading Room: stored offsite
Shelfmark:	I.37/2.f
Number of items:	1
Status:	Available

Figure 2.3: NLS's catalogue record of *The Pocket Encyclopedia*. (Library record viewed 18 October 2016)

It can be clearly seen that the Publisher field only lists 'Glasgow.' This title was identified from an advertisement in Smith's publications of the eighth edition of Chalmers's *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation*, in 1817 [JSID124]. The NLS is not the only library to have such records; it has been noted in many other library catalogues, both public and academic.⁶⁰ It is not seen only in early nineteenth-century works; similar cases can be found in the twentieth century. Only recently, and probably due to the increased interest in books through the study of book history, are libraries beginning to add full descriptions, but the vast number of titles in their holdings means it will be some time before the whole catalogue has been updated.⁶¹ Recently added books tend to have a complete record created.⁶² This lack of information limits library catalogues as a reliable source for statistical analysis, particularly in regards to specific imprints. A comparison of holdings of Glasgow imprints in three major libraries: National Library of Scotland (NLS), Glasgow University Library (GUL) and the British Library (BL) are given in Table 2.2.

⁶⁰ Also noted by T. H. Howard-Hill, "Why Bibliography Matters", in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, edited by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 18.

⁶¹ St Andrews University Library is currently undertaking large-scale retrospective cataloguing under the "Lighting the Past" project (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/library/specialcollections/collections/rarebooks/projects/lightingthepast/>).

⁶² This is not always so, as seen in the recent online catalogue of Scott's Library held at the Advocates Library. For example, the record for *Survey of Selkirkshire or Etterick Forest* (1829) only shows one imprint when it has three - for description see below.

The library figures include multiple copies of same title as not all records are merged and so makes it difficult to judge the true number of Glasgow titles in these institutions, the JS&S figures from the database do not include multiple editions of the same work. Additionally, a search specifically for John Smith & Son on COPAC becomes confused with other books that have the words ‘Smith’ and ‘Son’ in their imprint list.

Table 2.2: Comparison of library holdings of Glasgow imprints from COPAC.⁶³ COPAC indicates the results are ‘estimated’.

Number of titles – Dates of Glasgow Imprints						
Library	1800-1809	1810-1819	1820-1829	1830-1839	1840-1849	Total
NLS	1005	830	1337	1711	1727	6610
GUL	600	765	1241	1978	1681	6265
BL	452	490	840	1253	1233	4268
JS&S imprint in all 3 libraries	3	73	37	88	95	296
JS&S from author’s database	17	98	67	105	123	410

A further issue is that of subject. As most library OPACS are primarily from universities or large national libraries, their subject holdings will reflect the needs of the institution not the publisher or collector. For example, GUL was a legal deposit library from 1709-1836, requiring a copy of every book deposited in the Stationers’ Hall in London. Dr. Stevenson Macgill (1765-1840), Professor of Divinity at Glasgow College (University), in 1826 in his letter to the University senate, stated that the library receives ‘very few valuable books’ and ‘a great many idle books’, which was probably what Macgill considered the ‘juvenile texts, fiction and fugitive poetry’ which the Library had freely obtained.⁶⁴ Pamphlet material, subscription books, or limited edition books with special plates, for example, were not necessarily acquired by libraries at this time; either because not all copies of titles which passed through the Stationers’ Hall reached their designated library, or due to lack of authoritative control to manage what was being sent. Though several of Smith’s publications were registered with Stationers’ Hall, these were not checked against the

⁶³ <http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/>.

⁶⁴ William P. Dickson, *The Glasgow University Library: Notes on Its History, Arrangements, and Aims*. (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1888), 16.

University's acquisition records. Many libraries now have more complete holdings through purchase or donation. For example, in GUL, the main ones related to Glasgow material are those of John Smith (Smith Collection 1849), David Murray (1842-1928) (Murray Collection 1927) and Robert Wylie (d.1921) (Wylie Collection 1921).⁶⁵

Various sources were used in compiling the bibliography beyond what was in the author's possession. OPAC systems of various library catalogues were used, and the online catalogues COPAC and WorldCat were particularly useful in searching multiple libraries.⁶⁶ The main difficulty associated with lack of catalogue descriptions is that not all imprints are recorded as noted above. Another source of locating copies was through Google Books.⁶⁷ Google's scanning of books held in libraries throughout the world, and the use of Google's search engine to be able to pick out words and phrases within the scanned books, has assisted in the location of copies of some titles not listed in various OPAC systems, particularly from Eastern European countries. Complementary to Google Books was Internet Archive, another digital library of scanned books.⁶⁸

There is a disadvantage of using online sources as the basis for the description of the title page and the contents. The physical nature of the work cannot be determined, as also bibliographical elements, such as size. In several cases, only one volume of a multi-volume work may have been scanned; or there may be missing plates if these interfere with the scanning process. Ultimately, one cannot determine an ideal copy, though this was not the purpose of the bibliography, though it does allow for the title to be recorded with the possibility of locating an actual copy at some point in the future.

The final method for locating copies was a persistent scan of antiquarian bookshelves, looking at each book's title page with checklist in hand. This may seem like a long-winded, time-consuming process, but several titles have been found in this way, e.g., Robertson Buchanan's *Practical and Descriptive Essays on the Economy of Fuel and Management of Heat* [JSID913]. This work was issued originally in 1810, in three parts, with a fourth part in 1815, together with a new title page for binding all the parts together.

⁶⁵ CURL, *A Guide to the Research Collections of Member Libraries* (Leeds: Consortium of University Research Libraries, 1996), 46.

⁶⁶ COPAC: <http://copac.ac.uk/>; WorldCat: <http://www.oclc.org/uk/en/default.htm>

⁶⁷ <http://books.google.com/>

⁶⁸ Internet Archive (<http://www.archive.org/>), founded in 1996 is non-profit organisation 'offering permanent access for researchers, historians, scholars, people with disabilities, and the general public to historical collections that exist in digital format'. It has expanded its archive to include images, audio, video, software and web pages.

John Smith's imprint appears in the 1810 issue, but is absent from the 1815 issue.⁶⁹

Multiple library copies have both the 1810 and 1815 title pages, though only one indicates John Smith & Son imprint.⁷⁰

The descriptive bibliography was based on the techniques of Philip Gaskell and Fredson Bowers, and as much pertinent information was recorded, including details of the contents, with notes to any points of interest, usually where there was information that would be helpful in researching the book's background.⁷¹

2.2.2 Bibliographic Description

Bibliography, in its simplest definition, is the study of books, but its overuse by subsequent librarians, academics, book collectors and non-specialists has led it to mean different things to different users. Bibliography, then, has been broken up into different aspects depending on the focus. Generally it is split between enumerative and analytical, where enumerative refers to the construction of a list of books, usually grouped together with a common theme, such as a subject, author, format, or a period of time, with little note of the book's physical construction. Analytical bibliography, which looks at books as physical objects, is itself split into three major components: historical, textual and descriptive. Historical aims to cover the history of books both as material objects and how they affect society; textual looks at and compares books of similar nature, usually used in determining the critical edition of a work out of the many variations; and descriptive bibliography looks at describing the books in detail, where a description of the 'ideal copy' is attempted, which means looking at as many copies of the same work as possible to identify variants and issues.⁷²

The purpose of the descriptive bibliography for this thesis was 'to present all the evidence about a book which can be determined by analytical bibliography applied to a material object' and then be used for 'literary, historical or critical purposes.'⁷³ Variant copies that were identified were recorded separately as they contained specific details related to

⁶⁹ The 1810 issue was printed in Glasgow, with Longman of London being top of the imprint list of ten publishers, seven of which were Glasgow based.

⁷⁰ Online catalogue, Western Libraries, Canada.

⁷¹ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972); Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1994).

⁷² Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, 113.

⁷³ Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, 34.

imprints or possible date of publication. The particular points of description used in creating the John Smith Bibliography was a quasi-facsimile transcription of the title page, which lists all the information on the page and followed the procedure as in Gaskell and Bowers.⁷⁴ With regards to the quasi-facsimile description, words and phrases in italic, bold or black letter have been retained in the bibliography, but the change in font is noted within square brackets, e.g. '[italic]' in case original formatting is lost. Transcription of lithographed pages can sometimes present other issues due to the many styles employed by the lithographer and so an image was also obtained for reference. Such is in the case of the *Survey of Selkirkshire or Etterick Forest, Containing the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Agriculture of This County* (1829) [JSID814], where all eight leaves of the book, plus the title page are lithographed (Figure 2.4).

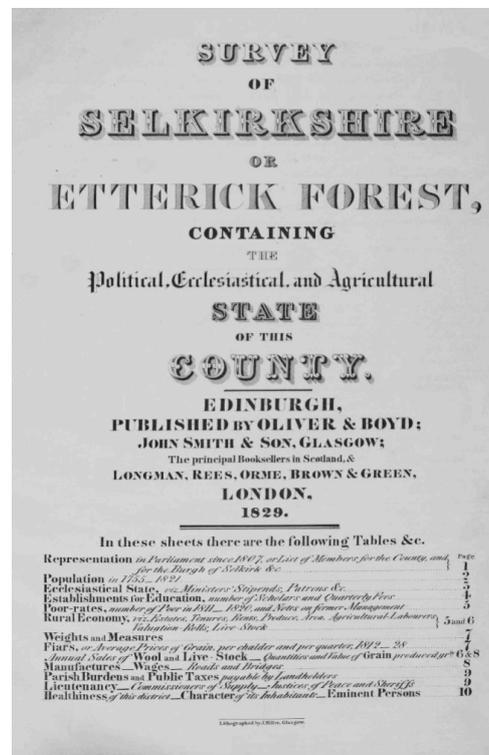


Figure 2.4: Title page of *Survey of Selkirkshire or Etterick Forest* [JSID814].

Additional material recorded included: the patron in the dedication; date of the preface; price; printer; and if Smith was the publisher, seller, distributor or agent. The imprint of each publisher was recorded as it appears on the title pages. This adds to the publisher history as many firms added or subtracted their names depending on the state of their business. For example, the 'John Smith' imprint name varies over many years; Table 2.3 lists those used from 1751 to 1849:

⁷⁴ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 323; Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, 135.

Table 2.3: Variations of the John Smith imprint 1751-1849.

Imprint	Dates used
John Smith, Bookbinder	1751
John Smith & Son	1764, 1778, 1793, 1806, 1808, 1811, 1844, 1846, 1849
John Smith	1764, 1785, 1795, 1800, 1806, 1820, 1826, 1829
J. Smith	1786, 1794, 1798, 1820
Smith, Glasgow	1791, 1833
J. Smith, jun., Glasgow	1796
John Smith & Son, Booksellers & Stationers	1804, 1835, 1837, 1845
J. Smith & Son	1806, 1811, 1820, 1825, 1829, 1832, 1839, 1841, 1843, 1848, 1849
Smith & Son	1808, 1814, 1816, 1818, 1821, 1824, 1826, 1829, 1834, 1836, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1849
John Smith & Son, Booksellers	1817, 1822, 1836, 1839, 1842, 1846
Smith, J. et Filius, Glasgow	1831

By far the most frequent use is that of ‘John Smith & Son’ and ‘J. Smith & Son’. Where the imprint is just ‘Smith’, ‘J. Smith’ and ‘John Smith’, the connection with the firm has been determined by comparing the co-partner list with the similar lists found in other titles where there is no dubiety, or if a later edition has used the full imprint. For instance, in two works by Giovanni Aldini: *General Views on the Application of Galvanism to Medical Purposes* (1819) [JSID938] and *A Short Account of Experiments Made in Italy, and Recently Repeated in Geneva and Paris, for Preserving Human Life and Objects of Value From Destruction by Fire* (1830) [JSID795]. Aldini (1762-1834) was an Italian physicist with interest in muscular electricity and several writers have suggested his work and practice was the inspiration for Mary Shelley and *Frankenstein*.⁷⁵ The Aldini works noted above both have Smith as an imprint, though the *Short Account* has ‘Smith & Co., Glasgow’. When compared with the other title it is correctly shown as ‘Smith & Son, Glasgow’. The 1830 title has Smith as ‘Smith & Co.’ is clearly an error either by the printer G. Schulze or the publisher P. Rolandi who were both involved in the translation and distribution of European works in Britain.⁷⁶ The Post Office Directory for Glasgow

⁷⁵ For example, Alan Rauch, “The Monstrous Body of Knowledge in Mary Shelley’s ‘Frankenstein’”, *Studies in Romanticism* 34, no. 2 (1995): 227-53, and others.

⁷⁶ Stefan Manz, Schulte, Beerbuhl Margit, and Davis, John R., ed., *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain, 1660 to 1914: Historical Relations and Comparisons* (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur Verlag, 2007), 109.

confirms this, as a ‘Smith & Co.’ is not listed.⁷⁷ In any case, if there was more than one firm trading with the same name, it would be advantageous for those involved to clearly identify themselves as it represented the source from where the book could be bought.

John Peters has pointed out that though there is great interest in the printing and publishing of books, the collecting of books from a publishing or printing house is not as important as it should be.⁷⁸ When Peters began collecting the Hogarth Press in the 1960s, collecting imprints was unusual. Since that time, imprint bibliographies have become more important, with many key publishers now having their histories investigated, but then usually of those of note, such as Foulis Press by Philip Gaskell, or John Murray by William Zachs.⁷⁹ The main difficulty with such a focus is that the number of titles that need to be found before any investigation can begin can be very large, particularly where publishers could also be printers as in the case of James MacLehose of Glasgow.⁸⁰ In many cases the imprint bibliography is limited to a portion of the publisher or printer’s output, or of those with a small number of publications, for example James Ewing’s work on Brash & Reid of Glasgow’s poetry, and S. Roscoe and R.A. Brimmell’s work on James Lumsden of Glasgow’s juvenile books and chapbooks.⁸¹ With the John Smith imprint as many titles as possible have been located for the period, though new ones are continually being found.

2.2.3 Classification (Coding)

A coding system was deemed appropriate to aid analysis and provide evidence for both John Smith’s publications and library. Coding can be defined as ‘a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data.’⁸² In this case when applied to data

⁷⁷ *The Glasgow Post-Office Directory, for 1828-29: Containing an Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Traders, Manufacturers and Principal Inhabitants* (Glasgow: John Graham & Co., 1828). Similarly for 1829-30.

⁷⁸ Jean Peters, “Publishers’ Imprints,” in *Collectible Books: Some New Paths*, ed. Jean Peters (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1979), 200.

⁷⁹ Philip Gaskell, *A Bibliography of the Foulis Press* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1964; second edition 1986); William Zachs, *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade* (London: Published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁸⁰ James MacLehose & Sons (1838-1982). Archive held with Glasgow University Library, <http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/maclehosecollection/>.

⁸¹ James C. E., *Brash and Reid Booksellers in Glasgow and Their Collection of Poetry Original and Selected* (Glasgow: Robert Maclehose and Co., 1934); S. Roscoe, & Brimmell, R. A., *James Lumsden & Son of Glasgow: Their Juvenile Books and Chapbooks* (Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 1981).

⁸² Johnny Saldana, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2009): 3.

it can be used to perform simple or complex measurement to show trends or clustering. Within the book trade classification or cataloguing is used as a standard way of assisting the selling and organising of books either in the shop (or library) and is by definition a form of coding. A variety and number of book classification systems have developed over the last two hundred years, in some cases becoming very complex as they encompass the whole of knowledge. Rather than use a modern system or create one for this thesis, I considered looking at systems that were in use at the time of John Smith.

The earliest evidence of John Smith, Youngest, as a bibliographer was his arrangement of William Hunter's (1718-1783) library after it was donated to University of Glasgow in 1808. In the catalogue to the Hunterian Museum in 1813, John Laskey acknowledges Smith's assistance, with the arrangement reflecting Smith's knowledge and experience of cataloguing as a bookseller and reflects the unusual arrangement in the printed catalogue.⁸³ Smith was well acquainted with cataloguing books from the arrangements in the circulating library catalogues to the sale catalogues and may have compiled them. For example, in John Smith & Son's catalogue of 1820 the 3742 books are arranged under the following headers:

General History and History of Britain
 Biography
 Antiquities, Local History and Topography
 Voyages and Travels
 The Dramas, Poetry and Novels
 The Fine Arts and Mathematical Science
 Bibliography and Typography
 Agriculture, Botany, Chemistry, Mineralogy and Natural History
 Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, Physiology
 Law and Jurisprudence
 Theology
 Miscellaneous Literature [annals of commerce, army lists, essays, and some which could go in other categories]
 Grammars and books of Education
 Auctores Classici Graeci et Latini
 Scriptores Recentiores Miscellanei
 Livres Francoise
 Libri Italiani
 Libros Espanoles
 Deutsche Bucher

⁸³ Laskey, *A General Account of the Hunterian Museum*, vi.

Books of Prints and works on painting in various languages⁸⁴

Bookseller catalogues had by this time become a standard method of displaying their wares, clustering titles into categories gives a retail advantage of being able to sell similar books that a customer may not have known existed. The catalogues of the London book trades were a natural resource for booksellers in the provinces and further afield, due to London being the largest print centre in Britain producing the greatest numbers of books. One of the major catalogues produced at this time was William Bent's (d. 1828) *London Catalogue of Books*.⁸⁵ This was a catalogue that Smith & Son used, amongst others, in maintaining their stock.⁸⁶ Bent's catalogue has also been used as a source for current book trade analytics by several authors.⁸⁷

Thomas Hodgson took over the publishing of the *London Catalogue of Books* from William Bent, and he completely revised its layout and had substantially reordered the material and began to develop a classified listing to increase the usefulness of the Catalogue in helping booksellers find the books they required.⁸⁸ The full Catalogue was issued in 1846, with the Classified Index in 1848 entitled *Bibliotheca Londinensis*.⁸⁹ Hodgson produced a Supplement to the catalogue in 1849 continuing the classified list to 1849.⁹⁰

Simon Eliot in his seminal work, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800-1919*, investigated different patterns related to publishing within the book trade, including

⁸⁴ *British and Foreign Literature: A Catalogue of Books, Comprising Many Rare and Valuable Articles Now on Sale* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, [1820]) [JSID520], no title appears to be dated later than 1819. A further 775 titles are added in an appendix.

⁸⁵ For example, *Bent's London Catalogue of Books, with Their Sizes, Prices and Publishers, Containing the Books Published in London, and Those Altered in Size and Price, since the Year 1800-March 1827*, and other editions.

⁸⁶ For example, see Ephemera, Eph N/716 and Eph N/720.

⁸⁷ For example, Fiona A. Black, "'Horrid Republican Notions' and Other Matters: School Book Availability in Georgian Canada," *Paradigm: Journal of the Textbook Colloquium* 2(2001): 7-18; J. E. Elliott, "The Cost of Reading in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Auction Sale Catalogues and the Cheap Literature Hypothesis," *ELH* 77, no. 2 (2010): 353-84; Peter Garside, & Mandal, Anthony, "Producing Fiction in Britain, 1800-1829," *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780-1840*, no. 1 (1997), http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/cc01_n01/.

⁸⁸ Thomas Hodgson, *London Catalogue of Books Published in Great Britain, with Their Sizes, Prices, and Publishers' Names from 1814-1846* (London: Thomas Hodgson, 1846).

⁸⁹ Thomas Hodgson, *Bibliotheca Londinensis: A Classified Index from The "London Catalogue of Books" 1814-1846* (London: Thomas Hodgson, 1848).

⁹⁰ Thomas Hodgson, *Supplement to the London Catalogue of Books 1846-1849* (London: Thomas Hodgson, 1849).

pricing, types of books and aspects of employment.⁹¹ To analyse the book trade in the first half of the nineteenth century, Eliot chose Hodgson's *Bibliotheca Londinensis*. Eliot took Hodgson's 22 categories and reduced them to 11 from which he developed his analysis, though he did not extend it to include those titles from 1846 to 1849 catalogue. Comparing the Supplement with first the previous Catalogue, the content does not duplicate the first listing. This aspect formed the basis of the analysis used within this thesis. The advantage being that the subject headers were in current use in the 1840s, then used for analytics in the 1990s, and again being used in this thesis, creating a link with the past and the present plus allowing for a consistency in comparison.

My concern with Eliot's reduction was the mixing of several subjects together in what could lead to bias in certain areas. For example, Hodgson provides separate categories for Fine Arts, Mathematical Sciences, Natural Philosophy and Natural Sciences, which Eliot merges altogether into one. There are clear differences between these subject areas, particularly since Smith also separated them in his catalogue. A further example is the use by Eliot of the category 'Belles-lettres', which is absent from Hodgson's list, and as the term has changed in usage since the eighteenth century, it is not clear as to why Eliot has particularly associated it with Logic and Moral Philosophy. Table 2.4 shows how Eliot combined Hodgson's categories.⁹²

Table 2.4: Hodgson's categories as modified by Eliot and his coding.

Categories		
Hodgson	Eliot Coding	Eliot
Antiquities – Architecture	GTHB	Geography, travel, history & biography
Biography – Correspondence	GTHB	
Divinity – Eccles History – Theology	REL	Religious texts, sermons & discourses
Domestic Economy – Games & Sport	EDUC	Education, including textbooks
Drama & Poetry	PY/DR	Poetry & drama
Education – Learning	EDUC	
Fiction – Novels – Romances	FIC/J	Fiction – juvenile works
Fine Arts	ASMI	Arts, science, mathematics, illustrated books
Geography – History – Travels	GTHB	
Juvenile works – Moral Tales – Etiquette	FIC/J	

⁹¹ Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800-1919* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1994).

⁹² Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*, 167.

Languages ancient & modern	EDUC	
Law & Judisprudence	LAW	Law texts
Logic Moral Philosophy	LPB-L	Logic philosophy & Belles-lettres
Mathematical Sciences	ASMI	
Medical sciences	MED	Medical texts
Natural Philosophy	ASMI	
Natural Sciences	ASMI	
Naval & Military	PESMN	Politics, sociology, economics, military & naval books
Political Economy	PSEMN	
School & College books	EDUC	
Trade & Commerce	PSEMN	
Misc	MISC	Miscellaneous

Hodgson's catalogue was published in 1846, with the index 1848 covering books published between 1814 and 1846, presumably because there were so few books prior to 1814 likely to be in stock. The discussion of the popularity of titles or authors can cloud the reality of the bookselling and publishing business. Hodgson's 1846 catalogue with titles going back to 1814 indicates a financial investment in stock that has not been sold; particularly with slow selling books, which is still a major concern of the book trade today.⁹³ There are no dates of publication given in the catalogue, so it is difficult to tell what proportion of titles were still available 30 years after publication; certainly Smith & Son's catalogues had many titles several decades after publication. For example, in Smith's 1820 sale catalogue noted above, catalogue number 367 'Watson's History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax ... Lon. 1775', and number 1649 'Frazer's (Lord Lovat) Trial for Rebellion ... Lon. 1747'.⁹⁴

Hodgson's catalogue arranges the titles by author, brief title, size, price, and London distributor (though some can be identified from other parts of the country). In total, the catalogue contains 542 pages printed in a small typeface by G. Woodfall & Son of Angel Court, Skinner Street, London, giving a total of 41535 titles. Hodgson compiled the index as the result of 'repeated solicitations' by users being unable to find a book in the *London Catalogue* because they only knew the title and not the author. It provides 48 divisions of subjects under 22 headings, with a Table of Reference at the rear providing further breakdown of subjects. For the analytics used in this thesis a code was created following the lines of Eliot, which is shown in Table 2.5.

⁹³ Simon Frost, & Hall, Stephen, "John Smith's: Historical Perspectives and Historical Precedence," *Book 2.0 5*, no. 1-2 (2015): 33.

⁹⁴ John Smith & Son, *British and Foreign Literature: A Catalogue of Books* [JSID520].

Table 2.5: Coding for Hodgson's Categories

Main Category	Sub Categories	Code
Antiquities – Architecture	Archaeology, Genealogy, Heraldry, Numismatics, Peerages, Mythology	AA
Biography – Correspondence		BIO
Divinity – Eccles History – Theology		REL
Domestic Economy – Games & Sport	Dancing, Knitting, Music, Needlework	DEGS
Drama & Poetry	Poetry & drama	POE
Education – Learning	Bibliography, Language, Literature, Philology	EDU
Fiction – Novels – Romances	Fiction – juvenile works	FIC
Fine Arts	Costume, Drawing, Engraving, Illustrated Works and Annuals, Painting, Penmanship, Perspective, Sculpture, Short-hand, Typography	FA
Geography – History – Travels	Atlases, Chronology, Manners and Customs, Topography	GHT
Juvenile works, Morals, Moral Tales – Etiquette		JME
Languages ancient & modern	Anglo-Saxon, Gaelic, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Dialects and Glossaries (including other languages)	LAN
Law & Jurisprudence		LAW
Logic, Moral and Mental Philosophy	Ethics, Metaphysics, Rhetoric	LMP
Mathematical Sciences	Algebra, Arithmetic, Calculus, Geometry, Logarithms, Trigonometry	MATH
Medical sciences	Anatomy, Medicine, Pathology, Physiology, Surgery, Veterinary Art	MED
Natural Philosophy	Astrology, Astronomy, Chemistry, Engineering, Measuring, Mechanics, Natural Philosophy, Railways, Steam and Steam Engines, Surveying	NATPH
Natural Sciences	Agriculture, Botany, Conchology, Entomology, Fruit, Gardening, Geology, Ichthyology, Mineralogy, Ornithology, Zoology	NATSC
Naval & Military		NM
Political Economy, Parliamentary, Statistics		PESS
School & College books	Educational works, English	SCH
Trade & Commerce		TRCOM
Misc - Arts and Sciences	Anecdotes, Fables, Misc Prose and verse, Wit, Omissions (general science, encyclopaedias, dictionaries)	MISC

The various categories are self-explanatory, and Hodgson did point out that if titles could not be located in one section, they could be possibly found in another, that is, the

information was not duplicated within the index. In Hodgson's 'Miscellaneous' category there were titles that could have been possibly placed in other sections, but it mainly contained titles that covered multiple topics or those not easily classified.

A specific search was not conducted within Hodgson's catalogue to locate the Smith & Son titles, but two are mentioned here as examples. The first is the famous Eglinton Tournament of 1839. The Tournament was funded and organised by Lord Eglinton (Archibald William Montgomerie, 1812-1861) according to Romantic notion of mediaeval tournaments, and was set in the grounds of Eglinton Castle in Ayrshire.⁹⁵ The event drew over 100,000 people inspired by Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and was the subject of several books and paintings at the time, though it was beset by rainstorms and ridiculed by the Whigs. Smith's involvement was not just through publications linking to the public interest in the event, but also through his cousin, James Smith, who was present as Commodore of the Royal Northern Yacht Club, and headed one of the processions.⁹⁶ Smith was linked with three works published in connection with the Tournament, two by the poet, folklorist and printer Peter Buchan (1790-1854), *A Full Report of the Grand Tournament at Eglinton Castle* (1839 [JSID095]) and *The Eglinton Tournament, and Gentleman Unmasked* (1840 [JSID096]); and the poet Alexander MacLeod's *Prize Poem* (1839 [JSID742]). The works by Buchan are listed under 'Eglinton Tournament' in Hodgson's catalogue and under 'Illustrated Works, Costume, Annuals' in the Index, which is coded as GHT in the database. The work by MacLeod is coded as POE in the database.⁹⁷ The other example is James Cleland's *Description of the Banquet Given in Honour of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel* (1837) [JSID162], which is placed in the Miscellaneous section in both Hodgson's *Index* and the database; and Cleland's *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow* (1832) [JSID163] under 'Cleland', indexed as 'Scotland, Inhabitants of Enumeration (Cleland)', and coded as PE.⁹⁸ Compared with Hodgson's 41,535 titles, only 411 titles (excluding catalogues and multiple editions) were issued with the Smith imprint during the period 1814 to 1849.

⁹⁵ Recently works include: Ian Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella: An Account of the Eglinton Tournament 1839* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1963) and Gordon Pentland, "The Eglinton Tournament 1839: A Victorian Take on the Anglo-Scottish Rivalry," 4 September 2014, *The History of Parliament (Blog)* <https://thehistoryofparliament.wordpress.com/2014/09/04/the-eglinton-tournament-1839-a-victorian-take-on-the-anglo-scottish-rivalry/>.

⁹⁶ An undated letter gives John Smith permission to shoot on the land of Eglinton Castle. John Smith Correspondence, NLS, MS20349.

⁹⁷ Hodgson, *London Catalogue of Books Published in Great Britain*, 151; Hodgson, *Bibliotheca Londinensis*, 127 and 307.

⁹⁸ See pages 255 and 273 of Hodgson's classification.

Table 2.6: Percentage of titles issued by John Smith between 1814 and 1849, using Hodgson's classification (coding).

Hodgson's Classification	No. of titles	%
REL	158	38.4
EDU	28	6.8
TRCOM	27	6.6
POE	26	6.3
LAW	26	6.3
GHT	25	6.1
MED	24	5.8
PE	12	2.9
NATSC	13	3.2
BIO	10	2.4
NATPH	10	2.4
FIC	8	1.9
SCH	8	1.9
LAN	8	1.9
LMP	8	1.9
DEGS	6	1.5
AA	4	1.0
FA	4	1.0
NM	4	1.0
MISC	2	0.5
JME	0	0.0
MATH	0	0.0
Total	411	100.0

Table 2.6 shows, the number of titles issued under the John Smith imprint between 1814 and 1849; and Figure 2.5 shows this graphically in relation to Hodgson's classification.

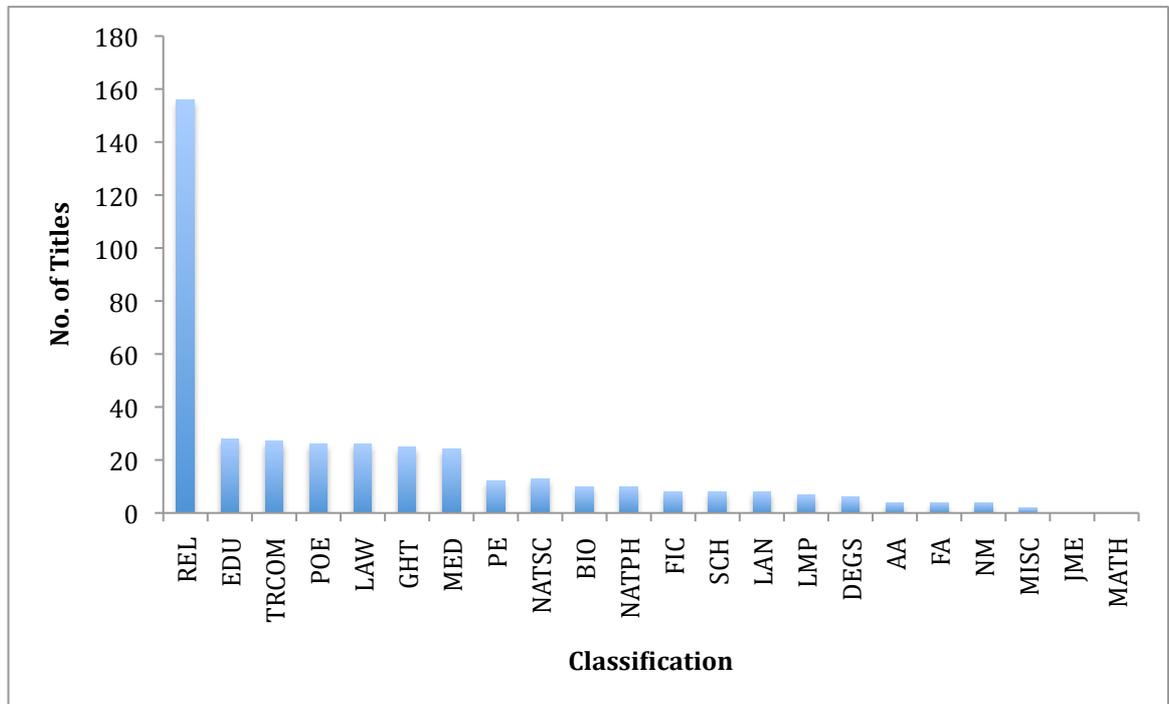


Figure 2.5: Number of titles per category of John Smith titles with Hodgson's classification.

The graph clearly shows that the predominant subject area that John Smith was involved with was of religious and theological texts (38.4%), supporting the research questions and indicating that this was Smith's primary interest. The output for the next six subject areas represents the main bulk of Smith's other interests, relating to his position in the merchant class, and the interests they had on educational development, trade, commerce and law. There is little difference in percentage outputs (5.8 to 6.8) at this point so that if further titles were discovered it would not affect the largest percentage for Religion & Theology.

Comparing these categories with Eliot's analysis, those of Education (EDU), Medicine (MED) and Law (LAW) follow the national trends that he identified.⁹⁹ Strikingly, it is the low percentage of fiction (FIC, 1.9%) that greatly differs from Eliot. Though there was a great deal of fiction around, it was mainly cheap reprints.¹⁰⁰ New fiction was expensive to produce and expensive to sell. For example, Scott's *Kenilworth* sold at 31s 6d for three volumes when first published, far higher than the average weekly wage of a skilled worker, and in such cases Smith chose to sell rather than publish (Figure 2.6). Specific works of fiction would only appear with the John Smith imprint in the twentieth century.

⁹⁹ Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*, 45.

¹⁰⁰ Simon Eliot, and Andrew Nash, "Mass Markets: Literature," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 6: 1830-1914, ed. David McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 418.

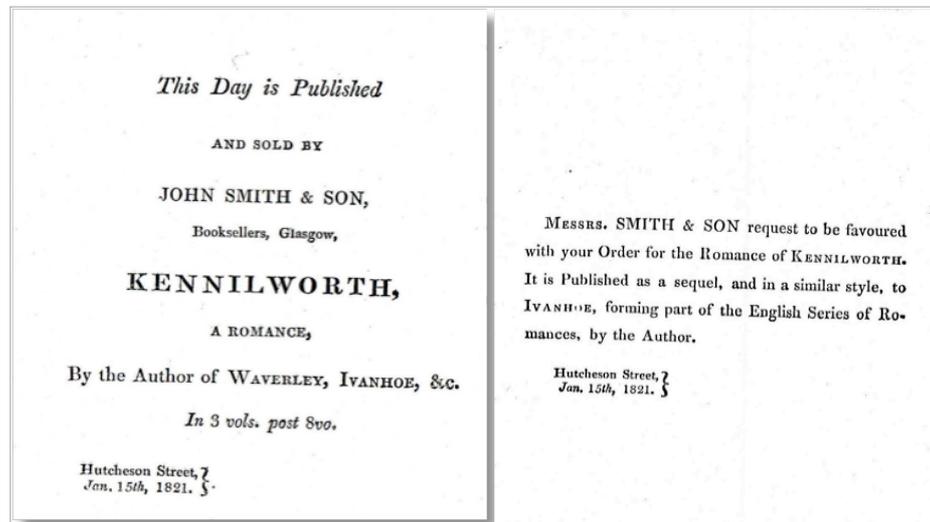


Figure 2.6: Prospectus for Scott's *Kenilworth*, published by Archibald Constable in 1821 [JSID444]. Originally published in three volumes for 31s 6d. John Smith's imprint did not appear on the final published work. Not noted in Todd and Bowden's bibliography of Scott. Note spelling of Kenilworth. Source: NLS (APS.1.99.38).

Further analysis shows that of the publications issued between 1800 and 1849, 126 variants of printer names are found; of these 49 are of Glasgow printers. Similarly, 85 variants of publisher names are found, with 39 being Glasgow imprints (not including John Smith). Of the publications issued between 1800 and 1849, 162 titles recorded with the Smith imprint are top of the imprint list on a title page, and of those 34 were published solely by Smith with no other imprints.

2.3 John Smith's Library

Like many individuals of the period with disposable income, Smith developed a personal library, probably following in the footsteps of his father, and maybe his grandfather before him. Glasgow University had awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws to Smith in 1840 and in return Smith wrote to the Very Reverend Principal Duncan Macfarlane on the 31 March 1847 from his town house at 120 West Regent Street:

Influenced by feelings of profound respect for the distinguished institution over which you preside; the members of the Senate of which were pleased to confer on me of late December 4th 1840, the honour of a degree of Doctor of Laws, I beg to make the following communication.

It is my intention to present to the Senate, for the use of the Library of the University of Glasgow, copies of the publications of the several Literary and Archaeological Societies of which I am a member; as well as of those of some other similar associations.

Of almost all those works the impression is limited, and in some cases is so restricted that the books cannot now be acquired by purchase.

I venture to hope therefore that they will not be unacceptable to the University, and that they may be of service in promoting a study, from which I have derived much pleasure, the cultivation of Historical Literature.

In separate papers I subjoin a list of the works, which I thus offer to the University.

It is my desire to continue to pay the annual subscriptions to the several associations, so that the University shall be put in possession of all the Books issued by the societies of which I am a member.

I also offer for the acceptance of the University a collection of Tracts chiefly relative to the civil, ecclesiastical, commercial, and political affairs of the City of Glasgow.

They are arranged and bound in forty-two volumes folio, and quarto; and in sixty-two volumes octavo and duodecimo.

The formation of this collection has occupied a considerable share of my attention for many years past, and I cannot but think that it contains a store of materials, which will hereafter be of the highest value for illustrating not only the local history of the city; but many important points in the manners, customs, amusements and feelings of the inhabitants of the West of Scotland generally.

I reserve the custody of the collection, and publications and tracts, during my own life line; permitting the free use of the volumes by any member of the senate of the University, who may have occasion to consult them.

I trust the Senate will duly appreciate the motives which lead me to stipulate, that the volumes when received into the University Library, be kept together in a separate department; and shall never on any pretext be carried beyond its walls, and that whatever additions, either of manuscripts or of books, I may present at any future period, shall be held under the same restrictions.¹⁰¹

There then followed a list of material offered:¹⁰²

Complete series of the works issued by the English Historical Society, London. (20 [24] vols.)

Complete series of the works issued by the Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh. (26 vols.)

Complete series of the works issued by the Irish Archaeological Society, Dublin. (10 [12] vols.)

¹⁰¹ John Smith to Duncan Macfarlane, 31 March 1847 in *Catalogue of Books Presented to the University of Glasgow by John Smith, LL.D.*, GUL, MSGen1222.

¹⁰² Numbers in square brackets refers to actual number of volumes donated in 1849.

Complete series of the works issued by the Spalding Club, Aberdeen. (19 [21] vols.)

Series of chronicles and other works issued by the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh. (25 vols.)

Complete series of the works issued by the Percy Society, London. (19 [26] vols.)

Complete series of the works issued by the Wodrow Society, Edinburgh. (17 [23] vols.)

Complete series of the works issued by the Spottieswood Society, Edinburgh. (6 [8] vols.)

Complete series of the works issued by the Parker Society, London. (24 [34] vols.)

Complete series of the works issued by the Camden Society, London. (35 vols.)

Tracts chiefly relative to the City of Glasgow (25 vols. Folio)

Tracts chiefly relative to the City of Glasgow (17 vols. Quarto)

Tracts chiefly relative to the City of Glasgow (62 vols. Octavo)

Bundles of miscellaneous papers (not identified) [3 bundles]

By May the University Senate had debated Smith's offer to which they contacted him:

The Principal transmitted to the Meeting a Letter from John Smith Esq. of Crutherland, LL.D. which he had received since last meeting of the Senate. This letter having been read by the Clerk, it was unanimously resolved that it be entered on the Minutes of this Meeting.

The Senate unanimously agreed to accept of this most valuable donation on the condition set forth in the above letter, and they appointed the Principal and Clerk to draw up a suitable acknowledgement, conveying the thanks of the Senate to Dr Smith for his important gift, including so many rare and expensive works illustrative of Scottish history and local antiquities, and forming so appropriate an addition to the Library of this University; and to intimate the Senate's grateful acceptance of the gift on the conditions prescribed by the Donor in his letter to the Principal of the 31st of March last.

At the same time the Catalogue of the several works comprised in the Donation was laid before the meeting; and it was ordered that it be placed in custody of the Librarian and kept by him in the Manuscript Press.¹⁰³

By the end of May Smith's library of pamphlets was delivered to the University and acknowledged by the Clerk of Senate, James Seaton Reid with conditions of use by Smith,

¹⁰³ "Extract Minute of the Senate of the University of Glasgow at a Meeting held within the College of Glasgow on the first day of May, 1847 years." GUL, MSGen1222, page 121.

I hereby certify that, as Clerk of Senate, I have here this day, in presence of Doctor John Smith of Crutherland and of his Clerk, John Knox, received delivery, on behalf of the Senate of the University of Glasgow, from the said Doctor John Smith of the several volumes whose titles were entered in the foregoing Catalogue to page 107 inclusive, amounting to all three hundred and six volumes:¹⁰⁴ Being his donation to the Library of the said University, in terms of his Letter to the very Rev. the Principal, of the 31st of March last prefixed to this Catalogue, and as accepted by the preceding page: All which volumes are, in the meantime and so long as he may so fit, to remain in the custody of the said Doctor John Smith, in conformity with the stipulation to that effect contained in his above mentioned letter of the 31st of March last.¹⁰⁵

Finally, two months after the death of John Smith, the remainder of the volumes were delivered to the University:

I send herewith the following books being part of the bequest of the late Dr Smith of Crutherland to the University of Glasgow –

Viz.

Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiasticae, 2 Vols. 4to¹⁰⁶

Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club, Vol II. 4to

Miscellaneous Tracts of Glasgow, Vol. 50. 8vo

These had been lent by Dr S[mith] to a gentleman for consultation.¹⁰⁷

The University now had one of the largest collections of Glasgow pamphlets, until the acquisition of the collection belonging to David Murray. Unlike later acquisitions, Smith's pamphlets were documents and materials that he had handled in the course of his business and by the time the collection was properly sorted and catalogued in the late twentieth century, many of the personalities, companies and context were no longer accessible and understood.

2.3.1 Smith Collection, Glasgow University Library

In preparation for the donation Smith had bound the volumes of tracts and pamphlets in half calf, with dark grey/blue boards, and marbled endpapers.¹⁰⁸ The printing club

¹⁰⁴ Annotated in pencil '341'.

¹⁰⁵ Receipt issued 22 May 1847. GUL, MSGen1222, page 121.

¹⁰⁶ This title was originally acquired in a book swap with David Laing, see below.

¹⁰⁷ 'Additional volumes,' dated 15 March 1849. GUL, MSGen1222, letter attached to rear pastedown.

¹⁰⁸ The bookbinder is not identified.

publications retained their original bindings as issued. Over time there have been three different groups of Pressmarks for the collection as it was transferred around the University Library. Originally the pressmarks beginning XLVII.7, XLVII.8 and XLVII.9; I.2 and II.2; and then Ky.1, Ky.2 Ky.3 were used and written into the original catalogue that Smith had provided.¹⁰⁹ According to the University library staff, no information exists describing these Pressmarks. The Collection now has the Pressmarks of BG33 and BG34. In the creation of the sheaf-catalogue for the Collection it was noted, in December 1983, that BG33a and b were missing. The sheaf catalogues have annotations from the cataloguers:

[Typewritten note, December 1983]. This catalogue is far from complete, there being much useful material in a number of volumes at the beginning of pressmarked section BG33 and BG34 which, through lack of time, I was unable to include. A large part of this material related more directly to Smith himself (letters from his bankers, etc.) but some of it is more general interest and should be included at later date.

[Handwritten note, date unknown]: The original subject index (typewritten) has now been enlarged. All pamphlets in the Smith Collection have been covered with the exception of any in BG33a and b (which are unlocated [sic] in Dec. 1983).

Further investigation revealed that BG33-h.9, BG33-d.22, BG33-e.2, e.4, and e.9, BG33-h.14, BG34-a, BG34-b.1-4, BG34-d.1, BG34-h.14 and h.17 were also missing. Additionally, Pressmarks Sp Coll q830 and Sp Coll q831, and several from Bf76-i and Bf76-k, has material similar to the volumes in the Smith Collection, containing material addressed to John Smith or annotated 'John Smith' in Smith's hand, but does not match material listed in the sheaf-catalogue. To confound the situation further, the library has moved some individual volumes from different parts of the Smith Collection from the Research Annexe to the Special Collections in the University Library and re-classed them as Sp. Coll. RB 4806 through to 4811, but links with the original classes of BG33 and BG34 are lost in the public version of the record, and any physical identification is now being lost due to being re-bound.¹¹⁰

In 1979 the University Library took the 'Bundles of miscellaneous papers (not identified)' and created their Ephemera collection. The Ephemera consists of over 5,000 items culled

¹⁰⁹ This is MSGen1222.

¹¹⁰ The librarian has assured me that a link remains when viewed through staff access.

from various collections within the library, mainly from the nineteenth century and primarily of Glasgow interest and is housed in the Special Collections Department.¹¹¹ The Pressmark beginning ‘Eph’ relates to material that came from the Smith Collection, which represents about 3,000 items contained in 52 archive boxes.¹¹² An investigation of this material has identified duplicated catalogue numbers and items that have gone missing since 1979.

2.3.2 What is Special About the Smith Collection?

Much of Smith’s donation pamphlet and tract material is ephemeral in nature, in that it represents ‘minor transient documents of everyday life’, but when it is collected systematically it becomes more than just transient.¹¹³ The Smith Collection is a representative of John Smith’s interests, showing the function of both his business and social life. It gives an example of how a man of means, and in several cases of influential positions, functions. His occupation as bookseller together with his interests in local government and antiquarianism, along with his social standing, brought him into contact with many influential people of his day. The John Smith Collection is contemporaneous with early nineteenth-century Glasgow, Scotland and Britain at a time of the sudden expansion in population, wealth, and industry, underpinned by increasing social deprivation and disease. The Collection’s abundance of information on the welfare, social and charitable societies that flourished in Glasgow, providing practical, moral and religious support gives a particular ‘eye witness’ aspect knowing it was collected by Smith as events unfolded and presents an invaluable resource. Smith’s donation is possibly the oldest bookseller archive (Collection + Ephemera) in Scotland, if not in Britain.

The Collection functions as a repository and window into the lifestyle of early nineteenth-century Glasgow. For example, the necessity to provide insurance cover for property and its contents forms part of our responsibility to ourselves and to those around us. But it does not readily feature in the history books. When the annual contracts are finished they are usually discarded being replaced by newer documents. In the Smith Collection we have

¹¹¹ GUL, ‘Ephemera’, <http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/ephemera>; CURL, *A Guide to the Research Collections of Member Libraries* (Leeds: Consortium of University Research Libraries, 1996), 46.

¹¹² The ‘Eph’ code was confirmed as relating to the Smith Collection in conversation with David Weston, Keeper of Special Collections (retired). The total was obtained after sorting the material described in the Access database.

¹¹³ Maurice Rickards, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian* (London: The British Library, 2000), v.

these documents, and sometimes not just one policy, but a sequence of them. One can follow the changing prices, the change in types of policy and even note when the insurance company itself has an alteration in the name. Companies such as the Aberdeen Fire and Life Assurance Company (Eph H/53-58) may have disappeared, but others are still in existence. Scottish Widows was founded in 1815 as the Scottish Widows Fund Life Assurance Society and several reports can be found at BG33-g.13, and meetings, circulars and letters soliciting business can be found at Eph H/170-180. It may now be part of a bigger financial group, but in Smith's day it was independent and could boast of Sir Walter Scott as a client.

Police history, especially connected with Glasgow, is scattered throughout the Collection (BG33-e.20, BG34-h.10 and BG34-i.5). The first modern force of preventative policing was founded in Glasgow in 1800, and Smith, being a Commissioner of the Police, gathered material covering the rules and regulations of this force from 1800 to 1817 (BG34-i.5) to be able to do his job effectively. Additionally, there is also material on prisons, including a broadsheet covering a prison breakout, *An Account of a Daring Attempt to Break the Prison of Glasgow* on Sunday 24 April 1825, in which it is revealed that,

Mr. John Smith, Youngest, one of the Commissioners of Police, having met a Turnkey whom the Governor had sent to the Police Office for assistance, ran to the Coffee-room and brought a number of gentlemen down to the prison,¹¹⁴

and control was regained. In his capacity as a conscientious citizen, Smith was concerned with many of the issues of having to deal with crime and how to rehabilitate offenders. With regard to reform, Smith published the letter of William Brebner (1783-1845) to the Lord Provost, Alexander Garden, in 1829 for an establishment for juvenile offenders.¹¹⁵ Brebner introduced changes in the way offenders were treated within the prison system such as providing education, proper meals, cleanliness and for them to do constructive paid work.

In his letter Brebner identified the cause as to why there was such a problem with juveniles. He commented that they had

¹¹⁴ "An Account of a most daring attempt to break the Prison of Glasgow", 26 April 1825 (Glasgow: Printed by John Muir), Ephemera, Eph G/4.

¹¹⁵ William Brebner, *Letter to the Lord Provost, on the Expediency of a House of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders*, (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1829 [JSID083]). See Kenneth J. Neill, *The Life and Works of William Brebner*, http://www.electricscotland.com/history/kenneill/william_brebner.htm; Andrew Coyle, "The Responsible Prisoner: Rehabilitation Revisited," *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice* 31, no. 1 (1992): 2.

been actually tutored by worthless parents in schools of idleness and nurseries of vice. Numbers of this description are constantly to be seen in bands, reconnoitring during the day – while at night they separate into smaller gangs, and prowl about in search of prey.¹¹⁶

Brebner argued that as the current short detentions were not preventing juveniles from repeat offending, suggested a means whereby they would be properly educated and taught forms of trade, that is a House of Refuge for the rehabilitation of young offenders set up by charity. Sixteen men, who were well-known around Glasgow, including John Smith, supported Brebner's letter.¹¹⁷ A list of comments was appended to the letter where the various gentlemen gave their views on Brebner's idea. John Smith commented:

I coincide most sincerely with former Visitors who have recommended that the public attention be directed to the erection of a House of Refuge for juvenile offenders, where, under a system of classification, industry, schooling, and encouragement to virtue, they might become the instruments of real reformation.¹¹⁸

Smith continued his interest in Brebner's ideas up to 1844 (Brebner died the following year from a heart attack) and reports and notices are collected at Eph G/156-165.

The Smith Collection abounds with information of other welfare, social and charitable societies that flourished throughout Britain. Many were founded to assist or help a specific group, providing moral and religious support. The Glasgow Highland Society (founded 1752) was established to provide support to many of the Highland migrant workers and the collection contains various pamphlets issued by the Society from 1788-1831 (BG33-e.19), including fundraising events, such sweepstakes (Eph E/15) and dinners (Eph B/125). The Society continues today in providing grants for people of Highland descent. Education of Highland children was also of keen interest to many at the time, not only as a way of improving people through education, but also to counter the Catholic influence of the Highlanders. The Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools was founded (in Edinburgh 1811 and Inverness in 1818) for that purpose. A run of reports from 1811 to 1847 exists in the Collection (BG33-g.15).

¹¹⁶ Brebner, *Letter to the Lord Provost*, 4.

¹¹⁷ The men were: James Ewing, James MacKenzie, William Smith, Anthony Wigham, James Smith, George Alston, William Wardlaw, John Wright, James Wingate, John Smith, Ygst., James Playfair, Duncan Macfarlan, H. Heugh, Robert Struthers, Gilbert Wardlaw, John Alston.

¹¹⁸ Brebner, *Letter to the Lord Provost*, 33.

Education features heavily in the Smith Collection, ranging from school to university. The Andersonian Institution, Glasgow University and the Glasgow Mechanic's Institution (BG34-h.12, Eph H/235) were important not only to Smith, but also to other members of the Smith family. James Smith of Jordanhill was President of the Andersonian Institution, providing a substantial financial donation together with material for its Museum.¹¹⁹ John Smith himself contributed a selection of coins to the Institution's Museum. He was also involved with similar organisations, such as the Dublin Mechanics' Institution, where there is a subscriber's report (Eph J/108).

Concern for welfare and working conditions were of interest and though a large portion of the literature was typically politically conservative for the period, such as supporting Kirkman Finlay's *Ten Hours' Factory Bill* (1833) [JSID225] (BG34-h.9), which opposed the demand to reduce working hours, arguing that it would undermine the competitiveness of the cotton trade against foreign imports as well as having lower wages for the workers. Yet, he read and collected radical literature, for example there is a run of the first ten issues of the publication *Politics of the People* (1848) (BG33-e.18), a socialist Christian weekly edited by the Charles Kingsley and J. M. Ludlow.¹²⁰

A large part of John Smith's life was influenced by his religious beliefs and concerns. Apart from the religious connections with many authors through his publishing, Smith was involved with many of the religious bodies and societies that existed in Glasgow and beyond, collecting reports, broadsheets and notices. Various runs of annual reports related to Bible societies are throughout the Collection, such as for the Glasgow Bible Society from 1813 when Smith first subscribed to the society (BG33-h.18); the Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of the Poor of Glasgow and its Vicinity (Glasgow City Mission) from 1827 to 1845 (BG33-h2); and Reports of Glasgow Missionary Society (founded 1796) from 1821 to 1843 at BG33-h.2, together with a request for funds at Eph C/13. Debates of the Disruption were collected together in a volume at BG33-g.12.

Of the institutions and organisations identified in the Smith Collection, 178 were associated with Glasgow and Edinburgh, with a further 26 from those from the rest of Britain. Table 2.7 gives the most common societies and institutions identified in the Smith Collection.

¹¹⁹ *Account of the Andersonian Museum, Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1831 [JSID019]), 31.

¹²⁰ Norman Vance, "Kingsley, Charles (1819–1875)", *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15617>.

Table 2.7: The main institutions and societies found in the Smith Collection.

Type of Institution	Glasgow & Edinburgh	Other areas
Religious	42	5
Welfare	29	2
Domestic economy	20	
Education	17	3
Medical & Health	17	1
TOTAL	125	11

As is expected the religious or theological societies are predominantly found with those dealing with welfare and charity forming also an important group. Those in Glasgow and Edinburgh dealing with assurance, finance and banking, followed by those covering education and medical and health.

2.3.3 John Smith Collection Data Set

The details of the pamphlets, tracts and printing club publications were added to a made-for-purpose database as shown in Figure 2.7.

Smith_Coll 1 of 2047

Coll_ID: 44

Call No: BG33-e.18 New Call No: Pamphlet

Parm_No : 1

Author : Prefix: Suffix:

DOB :

Title : Report presented to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society at its first General meeting, May 6th, 1841. Cambridge: Printed at the Pitt Press by John W. Parker, University printer, 1841. 24pp.

pages: Date : 1841 Size : cm: Town:

ESTC:

Subject : Cambridge Antiquarian Society Series:

Cat1 : Cat2 : Cat3 :

Notes :

Figure 2.7: Record from the Smith Collection Database.

The University Library had listed the ‘Ephemera’ collection in an Access database from which the John Smith material was extracted. This extract was used to create a made-for-

purpose for use in this thesis. Some issues were identified such as with the first five entries as shown in Table 2.8, where multiple items had been added to one record in the Access database. These multiple entries were expanded and each given their own record for my database (Table 2.9).

Table 2.8: Extract of the first five records of the Access database converted to Excel. As can be seen the information recorded is not as complete as it could be. Row ID2444 contains multiple items, and is missing the letter designation.

ID	Author_1	Title	Edition	Imprint	Notes	Call_number	Subject1
2444	Glasgow Stirlingshire Charitable Society	Notices of meetings, 6th Jan. 1832, 11th Dec., 1834, 6th Jan. 1835				Eph. 18, 27, 66	Glasgow - Charities
3104	Jacobite Rebellion, 1745	19th century lithographic reproductions of letters and notices dealing with the Jacobite occupation of Glasgow in 1745		1745		Eph. A/106-108	Militaria
3105		By the King. A proclamation, for granting the distribution of prizes taken from the subjects of the United Provinces, subsequent to the fifteenth day of September one thousand seven hundred and ninety- five... Given at our court at Saint James's [25th November, 1795]		[1795]		Eph. A/109-110	Militaria
3106	The Battle of the Nile	[Song celebrating Nelson's victory over the French at Aboukir Bay, August 1798.]		[1798]		Eph. A/111	Militaria
3107		National medal. To His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, Duke of Clarence [...] this medal in commemoration of His Royal Highness's accession to the... office of Lord High Admiral... List of subscribers. [1827]		[1827]		Eph. A/112	Militaria

It can be seen from Table 2.8 that multiple entries with separate call numbers located in the same row. In the database these have been separated into their individual call numbers. To expand ID3014, for example, the original row is now divided into three entries (Table 2.9) and now has separate entries in the database:

Table 2.9: Expansion and detail from entries Ephemera A/106-A/108.
 These were lithographs commissioned by James Smith of Jordanhill for inclusion into the Maitland Club volume *The Cochrane Correspondence Regarding the Affairs of Glasgow, MDCCXLV-VI*. (Glasgow: 1836).

Call No.	Description	Date
A/106	<p>Four documents issued prior to the Jacobite invasion of Glasgow in 1745.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Glasgow Sept 1745. ‘Whereas the city of Glasgow [...]’ beseeching four merchants, a wright and a weaver to meet the force and agree terms with them to protect the inhabitants and commerce of the City. 205 x 265mm 1p. 2. Letter from Charles R. to the Provost and Magistrates of Glasgow, dated 13 Sept 1745, demanding £15,000, arms and anything else he wants. 1p. 3. Page of signatures and dates Oct-Dec 1745. 1p. 4. Notice demanding the surrender of the Import Books of the Town and suburbs, signed by J. Murray [Sir John Murray of Broughton, 7th Baronet Stanhope, 1718-1777] <p>Lithographed by Maclure & Macdonald, lithographers, 190 Trongate.</p>	1745
A/107	<p>Lithographed copy of letter from George R [George III] to the Provost and Magistrates of Glasgow, authoring them to take up arms in defence of the Town. Dated 12 September 1745. With the Royal Seal. Folio. 1p. 215 x 330mm.</p> <p>From bound volume, has not been folded. Lithographer not identified.</p>	1745
A/108	<p>Duplicate of A/107. Pencil annotation at top of page: ‘To face a fold from the top Page 19’.</p>	1745

The expanded information was then incorporated into a made-for-purpose database allowing for analysis.

2.3.4 Auction of Smith’s Library and Data set

The auction of the remaining content of Smith’s Library took place on the 19 of March 1849, two months after Smith had died. The auctioneers, Barclay & Skirving, were located at 76 Buchanan Street in the Monteith Rooms, and handled a wide selection of goods and materials, not just books (see Figure 2.8).¹²¹ Little is known of the Glasgow auctioneers, Thomas Barclay and Alexander Skirving, except that Skirving (1782-1868) was the son of William Skirving (d. 1796), one of the Scottish Martyrs. The catalogue was sold in Edinburgh through James Skillie, manuscript dealer, who later became embroiled in the

¹²¹ At least ten Barclay & Skirving catalogues are present in Smith’s donation to Glasgow University, the auctions covering paintings, minerals, shrubs, newspapers and books.

forgery of Robert Burns's poems towards the end of the nineteenth century;¹²² and London through the booksellers and publishers, M. A. Nattali.

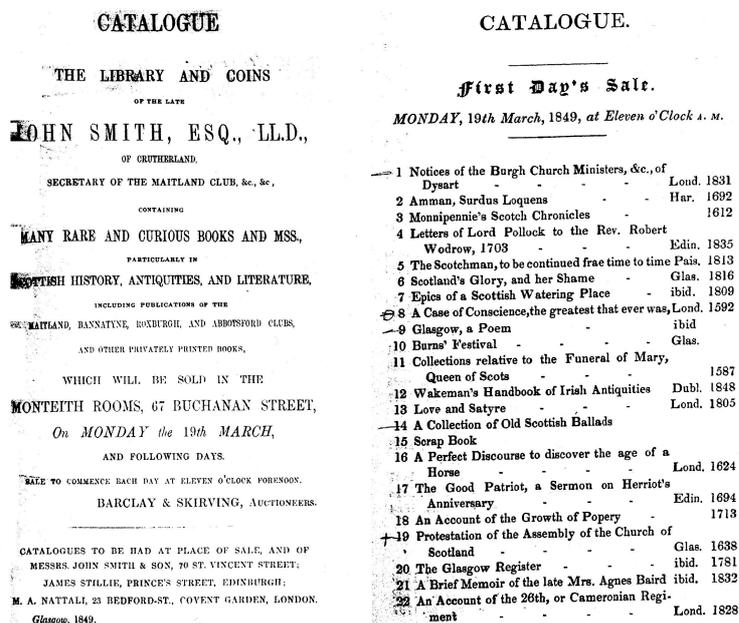


Figure 2.8: Auction catalogue title page and page showing first day of sale [JSID521].

The sale lasted four days with 1004 Lots totalling 952 books, 54 manuscripts and over 617 coins; the final Lot being '[a]bout 120 Volumes, chiefly odd'. No specific details were given of the coins (Figure 2.9), but it was not unusual for men like Smith who had an interest in history and antiquities to collect coins.¹²³

¹²² David Fergus, "'Antique Smith' the Affable Forger", <http://textualities.net/david-fergus/antique-smith-the-affable-forger/>.

¹²³ Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon & London, 2004), 14.

COINS.

Upper Drawer, 54 Silver Coins
 Next do. 35 do. do.
 Do. do. 23 do. do.
 Do. do. 15 do. do.
 Do. do. 5 Gold Coins
 Do. do. 81 Foreign Metal Coins
 Do. do. 75 Copper Coins
 Do. do. 80 do. do.
 Do. do. 64 do. do.
 Do. do. 84 do. do.
 Do. do. 36 Various do.
 14 Silver Coins
 2 Medallions
 1 Package Marked Danish Coins
 1 Do. do. Portugese Coins
 1 Do. do. Roman Coins
 1 Do. do. Russian do.
 1 Do. do. Roman Brass Coins
 1 Do. do. do. Silver do.
 1 Do. do. United States Coins
 1 Do. do. Early Scotch Communion Tokens
 1 Do. do. French Coins
 1 Do. do. Nondescript Coins
 1 Bag Copper Provincial Coins
 1 Paper Box containing 49 Coins, numbered
 Also, Two Antique Fowling Pieces.

Figure 2.9: John Smith's coin collection from the Auction Catalogue.

As is typical of the catalogues of the period, little descriptive information is provided in an attempt to sell the goods. An initial survey of the titles listed in the auction catalogue revealed several inaccuracies, mainly typographical; the most common being that of publication date. For instance, catalogue number 595, 'John Knox Reasoning with the Abbot of Crossraguell', is stated as being published in Edinburgh in 1381. This is inaccurate on two counts: first, obviously, is the date as John Knox was born c1513, and the earliest known edition was published Edinburgh 1563; secondly, this was most likely the facsimile edition of the original printed by George Ramsay, and edited by Sir Alexander Boswell in 1812, as Smith had other works edited by Boswell in his library.¹²⁴ These issues placed doubt on the accuracy of the information contained in the catalogue if it were to be used as evidence of Smith's collecting habits or making assumptions of the actual works he collected. To overcome this problem, a full search was made to identify each of the titles from the catalogue and entered into a database (see Figure 2.10), but several titles were unable to be identified. For example, Lot No. 81 'Papers in the Douglas Cause, 3 vols. Edin. v. y.' because a large number of pamphlets were issued about the case, and it seems that Smith may have bound them together; No. 384 'Monro's Genealogies of the Clans', could not be identified from the many editions existing at the time; or No. 65 'Scarce Law Tracts', which is vague, and may in fact be another bundle of tracts. Other

¹²⁴ *Heir followeth the coppie of the ressoning which was betuix the Abbote of Crosraguell and John Knox, 1563, reprinted Edinburgh, 1812 [JSAuc595]. The other works edited by Sir Alexander Boswell were: Ane Oratioune, set furth be Master Quintine Kennedy, Commendatour of Crosraguell, 1561, reprinted Edinburgh, 1812 [JSAuc598], and A Breefe Memoriall of the Lyfe and Death of Doctor James Spottiswood, Bishop of Clogher in Ireland, reprinted Edinburgh, 1811 [JSAuc599].*

titles were identified but their location was unable to be determined. For example, Smith had several manuscripts belonging to the Maitland Club in his possession when he died and these were returned to the Club. Subsequently the University Library acquired the library of the Maitland Club in 1873 and though these can be identified from the University Library's acquisition book, they cannot be located.¹²⁵ Altogether 120 Lots were unidentified because there were multiple editions and the edition was not identified, or the description was too vague to identify the actual work, or it refers to several works on the same subject.

The screenshot shows a database record for 'Library of John Smith'. At the top, there are navigation icons: First, Last, Previous, Next, First page, Last page, Delete, Cancel, and Validate. Below the navigation is the record title 'Library of John Smith' and '1 of 1005'. The record ID is 307, with a 'Complete' status. The Auction_No is 1, and the title is 'Notices of the Burgh Church Ministers, &c., of Dysart. Lond. 1831'. There are checkboxes for 'Maitland Lib' and 'Manuscript'. The Author is '[Muir, William]', Prefix is 'Rev.', and Suffix is empty. The Date is '(1794?-1864)'. The Title is 'Notices of the Burgh, Church and Ministers, School and Teachers of Dysart. Edinburgh: Printed by Andrew Jack & Co. MDCCCXXXI.'. The Pages are '35p.', Date is '1831', Size is '4to', h cm is '14cm', and Town is 'Edinburgh'. The Subject is 'History - Genealogy', depth is empty, Cat2 is empty, and Cat3 is empty. The Locaton is 'GUL: Sp Coll BD1-k.30' and ESTC is empty. The Notes section contains a detailed note about the Edinburgh imprint and its acquisition.

Figure 2.10: Database record created from the Auction Catalogue of Smith's library.

The same coding used for the bibliography was applied to Smith's library (Figure 2.11). It was decided that since many items within the Smith Collection were of reports, or issued from printing clubs with a specific theme, such as the Wodrow Society, which was religious, or from the Camden which was antiquary, the coding was applied only to those items that went to auction.

¹²⁵ GUL, Acquisitions book 1867- Mar 1890 No. 107. Maitland Club Library donated 31 January 1873.

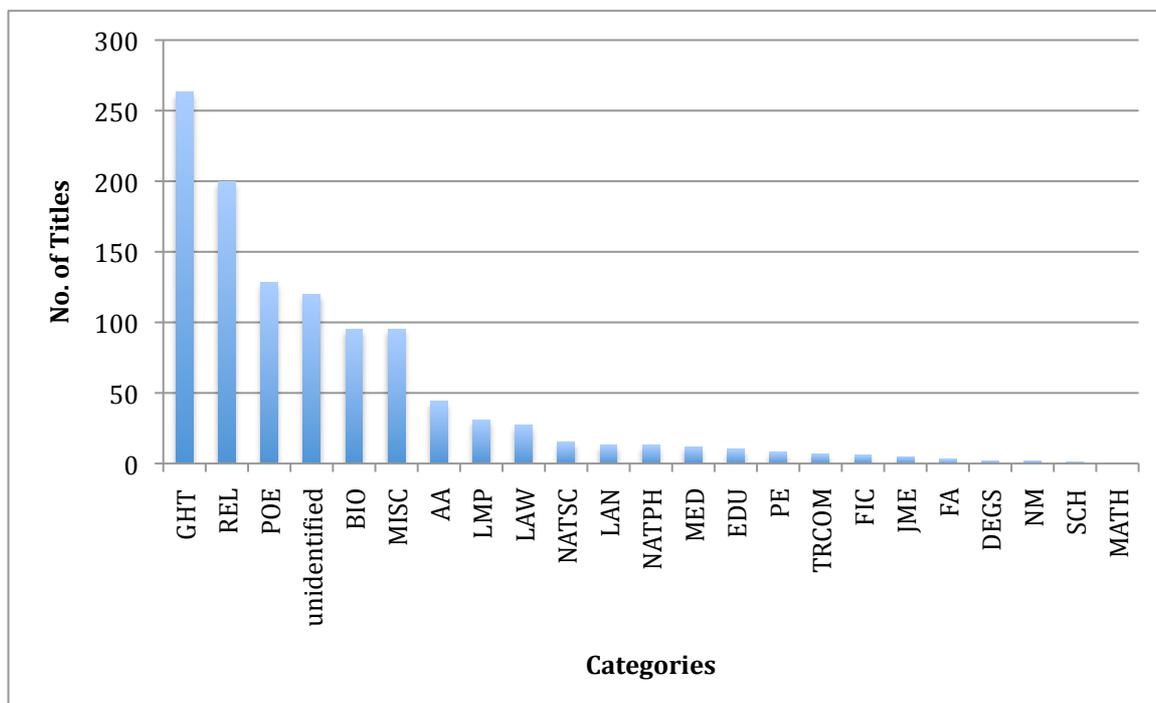


Figure 2.11: Distribution of Smith's books (auction) by Hodgson's classification.

Most of the books in the Smith Collection were in English with some of those from the printing clubs issued in Latin. The material that went to auction on the other hand contained nine other languages excluding English. Predominantly the other language was Latin found in 70 works. Ten books were multilingual with Latin being one of the languages. French language titles were also highly represented in 33 works. German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch and Arabic, though only in one or two books, were also found as well as books in Scots, Gaelic and Welsh.

Of the 54 manuscripts in his library, 31 of those had been borrowed from the Maitland Club, which were returned before the auction.¹²⁶ In many cases they were originals of the printed works produced by the editors or from source. For example, 'The Scottish metrical romance of Lancelot du Lak ... Edited by Stevenson,' became the Maitland Club publication *The Scottish Metrical Romance of Lancelot du Lak*, edited by Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839).¹²⁷ Others such as 'Minute book of the Pantheon Society, Edinburgh 1773-79', were added to the Maitland Club Library by one of the members.¹²⁸ The other manuscripts were originals of several of Smith's publications, for example, a bound volume containing 'Canto II' from *The Isle of Palms* and 'The Frost King', by John Finlay (Figure 2.12).

¹²⁶ Entry for 18 March 1849, *Minutes of the Maitland Club*, NLS MS 120.

¹²⁷ JSAuc938. The manuscript title is taken from the GUL acquisition book.

¹²⁸ JSAuc932. The manuscript title is taken from the GUL acquisition book, the work is now missing.

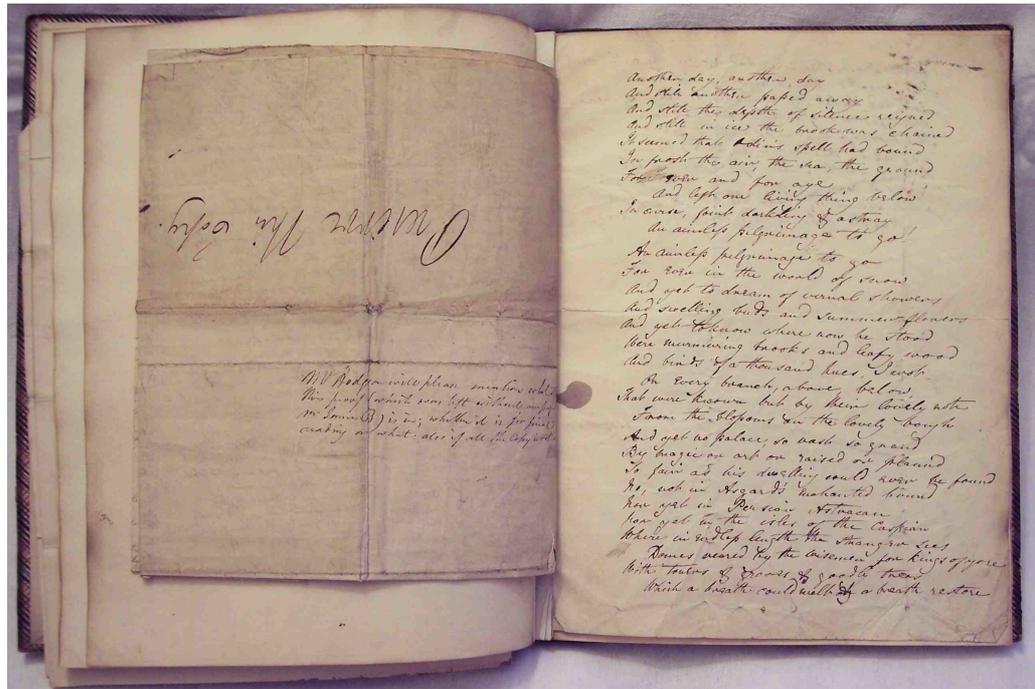


Figure 2.12: Manuscript of John Wilson's 'Canto II' and John Finlay's 'The Frost King' [JSAuc917] (Author's collection).

Books on geography, history, travel (GHT), religion and theology (REL) predominate, followed by poetical works (POE). The earliest identified book in these categories, and of the library, is Alexander Carpenter's (fl.1429) 1497 work *Destructorium viciorum*, a moralistic and preaching text in a similar style to Wycliffe and highly popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries. John Wycliffe's *The Last Age of the Church* is also in Smith's library, though in an edition published much later in 1842.¹²⁹

A number of titles cover history of the reformation, or history of the church in Scotland, such as Gilbert Stuart's *The History of the Establishment of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*.¹³⁰ Smith had 25 Bibles and New Testaments, in various languages, in his library, the earliest being *Biblia Sacra* published in Geneva on vellum in 1530.¹³¹ The earliest New Testament in his library was by one of Glasgow's earliest printers, Robert Sanders (the Elder) (c.1656-1694), *The New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ* (Glasgow, 1691).¹³² The book was translated from the original Greek and printed in black letter. Of those books published or printed in Glasgow, Smith had the first that was printed in the

¹²⁹ The Auction catalogue (JSAuc819) gives the publication date as London, 1842, but so far the only copy located through OPAC has been Dublin, 1840.

¹³⁰ Gilbert Stuart, *The History of the Establishment of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (London: Printed for J. Murray, 1780 [JSAuc489]); see William Zachs, *With Regard to Good Manners: A Biography of Gilbert Stuart 1743-1786* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 131-142.

¹³¹ No. 87 "Biblia Sacra, vellum. Geneva, 1530" [JSAuc087].

¹³² JSAuc970.

town, *The Protestation of the Generall Assemblie of the Church of Scotland* (1638); next a work on Hebrew vocabulary, *Eelef Hadbirim-Chilias Hebraica*, (1644); then Zachary Boyd's *The Psalms of David in Meeter* (1648); and John Welch's *Popery Anatomized* (1672) amongst several others from the seventeenth-century on sermons, theology and biblical study.¹³³

2.4 Summary

The databases that were created from Smith's library and publications provide the means to produce supporting evidence of the importance and dominance of religious topics on Smith's thinking and work. Throughout the following chapters reference will be made to these databases with other evidence from archives in the author's possession and in repositories. Chapter 3 will focus on the founding of the bookselling firm and the book trade of Glasgow to give context.

¹³³ JSAuc019, JSAuc971, JSAuc969, and JSAuc912 respectively.

Chapter 3 History of John Smith Booksellers

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter set out the evidence on which this thesis was based, viz. the material from which the databases were constructed. Chapter 3 expands and contextualises this material with an account of the history of the firm and John Smith, Youngest's relationship to it. The chapter will describe the origins of this retail firm and how it established itself in Glasgow in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It will look at how the Smiths, and particularly John Smith, Youngest, through their business innovations and social connections, became a major bookselling firm of Glasgow, and further, their outreach to different parts of the world.

In 2013 John Smith's opened their newest shop in Swansea University adding to their portfolio of 24 university shops throughout the UK and Ireland, with a further two in Botswana and Ghana respectively.¹³⁴ Together with their professional outlets of Hammicks Legal (dealing as its name suggests with law), Institute of Education (educational practice) and medical sales through the BMJ Bookshop, the company has been trading continuously since 1751, defying the downturn of the shop-based bookselling retail model.¹³⁵

John Smith and Son has always been in its own terms an agile operation, and the same agility in responding to market demand was evident in John Smith, Youngest's time. We are fortunate in being able to reconstruct these market conditions through analysing the operation of two contemporary book-trade associations: the Company of Stationers in Glasgow and the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association. Within this larger framework, and through further analysis of the books Smith & Son published, or were associated, we can determine their importance in the trade. It will become clear from such analysis that the company was above all a religious publisher – a finding that underpins key research questions for the thesis – so this chapter will focus in particular on the religious works produced by the firm.

¹³⁴ The company name was shortened from John Smith & Son (Glasgow) Limited (from 1908) to John Smith's as a more dynamic name for the twenty-first century retail environment.

¹³⁵ Two recent articles investigate the sales strategies and relationships of John Smith's in the higher education marketplace: Simon Frost, & Hall, Stephen, "John Smith's: Historical Perspectives and Historical Precedence," *Book 2.0* 5, no. 1-2 (2015): 27-37; Simon Frost, "Bespoke Bookselling for the Twenty-First Century: John Smith's and Current UK Higher Education," *Book 2.0* 5, no. 1-2 (2015): 39-57.

3.2 Beginnings – John Smith, Eldest

The brief company history of 1921 states that John Smith & Son was founded in 1751, the date from which the firm has continuously traded under the name of John Smith (& Son); but evidence shows that Smith, Eldest, had long been involved with the book trade before 1751.¹³⁶ When John Smith & Son published books through the nineteenth century they added a publisher's device featuring the Glasgow Coat of Arms indicating the founding date as 'AD 1742' (see Figure 3.1).

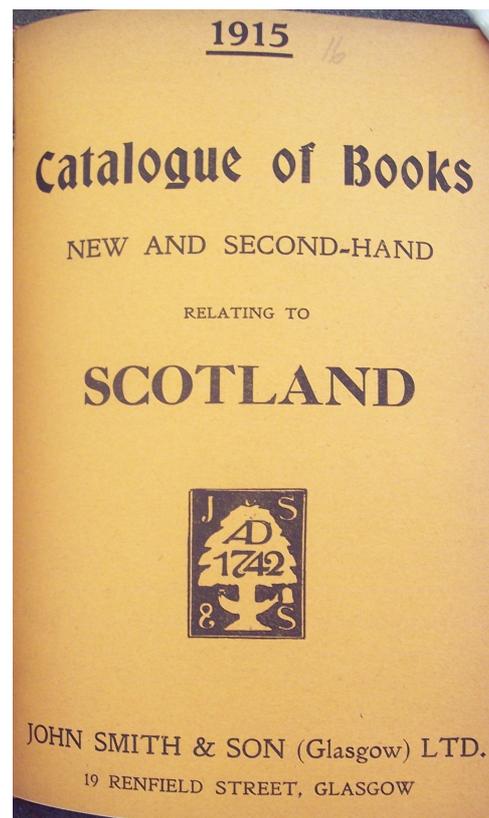


Figure 3.1: Catalogue of Books (1915) [JSID542] showing publisher's device with the founding date of 'AD 1742'.

In an annotation in the catalogue, the antiquarian and lawyer David Murray stated that this was the first catalogue to be issued by the firm 'in a long time'.

The early period is further noted in James Cleland's history of the City of Glasgow, where he states that John Smith had founded three shops before the one in 1751, which is reiterated in the ninth edition of *Chambers Biographical Dictionary* (2011).¹³⁷

Additionally, the trade and literary gossip column of the *Bookseller* in April 1875 refers to

¹³⁶ Ewing, & Stewart, *A Short Note on a Long History*, 9;

¹³⁷ James Cleland, *The Annals of Glasgow Comprising an Account of the Public Buildings, Charities, and the Progress of the City* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1829 [JSID160]), 331; *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, 9th ed. (Edinburgh: Chambers, 2011). The dictionary entry first appeared in the 6th edition in 1997.

John Smith having ‘commenced in the year 1742, in the Saltmarket’.¹³⁸ Moreover, John Smith appears as one of the earliest signatories of the Glasgow Bookbinders’ Society, which was founded in 1740.

The first John Smith (1711-1814) was the third son of John Smith (1675-1732), 2nd Laird of Craigend in Strathblane, and Margaret (Mary) Williamson(e) of Mugdock.¹³⁹ His elder brother, Robert (b. 1709) was a bookseller and the two appear to have worked together in the first half of the eighteenth-century, which is derived from John Guthrie-Smith’s (1834-1894) genealogical notes of the Smith family.¹⁴⁰ J. C. Ewing gathered further evidence for the company history of 1921, giving an occupation of John Smith as a saddler, and it is not difficult to see the transition from that trade to one of bookbinder, or in fact having the two trades simultaneously. The earliest confirmed record is of Smith taking John Galloway as an apprentice in 1743.¹⁴¹ Smith’s association with the Bookbinders’ Society of Glasgow will be discussed in Chapter 4.

It could well be that John Smith had begun trading in 1742 but other events took him in another direction. The call to arms by the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow after the threat of the Jacobite army destroying the city took Smith away from the book trade.¹⁴² Whether he gave up the business totally or left someone, possibly Robert, to run it for him, is unknown. Twelve hundred men joined the Glasgow Volunteers or Militia, officially named the 3rd Regiment of Foot, under command of Lord Home.¹⁴³ It is unknown who

¹³⁸ “Trade and Literary Gossip,” *The Bookseller*, no. 209, 3 April (1875): 305-6.

¹³⁹ John Smith baptised on the 18 March 1711, Scotland’s People (O.P.R. Births 491/00 0020 0084 Strathblane). Previous work giving 1724 as his birth date was from the obituary in the *Scots Magazine* in which his age of 90 years was given, “Deaths,” *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* Jan. 1804 - July 1817, no. 5 (1814): 396-400.

¹⁴⁰ John Guthrie Smith, “Smiths of Craigend, Jordanhill and Carbeth Guthrie: History and Portions of Family Tree.” Smith of Jordanhill Papers, Glasgow City Archive, Mitchell Library, TD1/1010. The eldest son, James became the 3rd Laird of Craigend.

¹⁴¹ Ian Maxted, “The British Book Trades 1710-1777: An Index of Masters and Apprentices. Masters: S,” Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History, <http://bookhistory.blogspot.co.uk/2007/01/apprentice-masters-s.html>.

¹⁴² ‘Whereas We judge it necessary [sic] at this Juncture That Our good Subjects in that part of Our Kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland be authorized [sic] and impowered [sic] to take up arms and raise Men for the Defence [sic] and Support of Our Government [...]’, issued by the Provost, Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, September 1745. See James Dennistoun, ed., *The Cochrane Correspondence Regarding the Affairs of Glasgow, 1745-1746* (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1836), 19. Presented to the Club by James Smith of Jordanhill. Copies of the lithographs, paid for by James Smith, can be found in the Ephemera, Eph A/106-A/108.

¹⁴³ James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow, Comprising an Account of Its Public Buildings, Charities, and Other Concerns* (Glasgow: James Brash & Co.; John Smith & Son; et al., 1820 [JSID166]), 186. William Home, Eighth Earl of Home (d. 1761). The commander Lieut-General Henry Hawley described them as the ‘Glasgow Regt. of Enthusiasts’ quoted in Katherine Tomasson, and Francis Buist, *Battles of the '45* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1962), 104.

were actually members of this force, as any lists probably would have been destroyed as a precaution against retribution by the Jacobite forces if the council papers fell into their hands.¹⁴⁴ At least two members who had a connection, or association, with the Smith family can be identified as being members of the militia, John Anderson (1726-1796), and John Shortridge (1711-1778).

John Anderson joined the Volunteers after graduating from the University of Glasgow and, on his return, became first Professor of Oriental Languages before becoming Professor of Natural Philosophy. He posthumously founded the Andersonian Institution (later Anderson's University, later still the University of Strathclyde) in 1796, of which James Smith of Jordanhill was director in the 1830s. John Smith, Youngest donated a collection of Scottish coins to the Institution's Museum.¹⁴⁵ John Shortridge was a descendant of the Spreull family of Glasgow, was a merchant baillie in 1778, and owned several properties on Argyle Street. His daughter, Janet, would marry John Smith, 4th Laird of Craigend.¹⁴⁶

The Volunteers' only engagement with the Jacobite forces was at Falkirk, together with the regular Hanoverian army, under Lieutenant-General Henry Hawley (1679-1759). Though the Hanoverian forces were routed, the Volunteers, stationed behind the Hanoverian lines due to their lack of military experience, had stood their ground and suffered the brunt of the Jacobite attack.¹⁴⁷ The Volunteers afterwards retreated to Edinburgh where they remained as protectors of the city and finally were 'honourably dismissed' when reinforcements arrived from Newcastle and other places. After the final defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden, the Dragoons, under the Duke of Kingston, were disbanded, but the Duke of Cumberland, impressed by the skill of the men, was granted permission to raise his own Regiment of Light Dragoons, enlisting men from this disbanded regiment and elsewhere.¹⁴⁸ It was in this regiment that John Smith, Eldest, enlisted under command of

¹⁴⁴ Maggie Craig in her book *Bare-Arsed Banditti: The Men of the '45* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2009) mentions that John Witherspoon, one of the founding fathers of Princeton University, and John Home, a friend of the Reverend Alexander Carlyle, were also members of the militia (p. 166).

¹⁴⁵ The Andersonian Institution (University from 1828-1887) was the precursor to the University of Strathclyde in 1964, see John Butt, *John Anderson's Legacy: The University of Strathclyde and Its Antecedents 1796-1996* (East Linton: The Tuckwell Press, 1996). *Account of the Andersonian Museum, Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1831 [JSID019]).

¹⁴⁶ John Guthrie Smith, and John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry 2* ed. (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1878); Senex, *Glasgow, Past and Present* (Glasgow: David Robertson & Co., 1884), 2:394.

¹⁴⁷ Katherine Tomasson, and Buist, Francis, *Battles of the '45* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1962), 120.

¹⁴⁸ Richard Cannon, *Historical Record of the Fourteenth, or the King's, Regiment of Light Dragoons* (London: Parker, Furnivall & Parker, 1847), xxii.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Manners-Sutton (1722-1762).¹⁴⁹ Smith subsequently saw action at the Battle of Lauffeld (Lafelt) in 1747 during the War of the Austrian Succession. During the ensuing battle Smith lost two fingers from his right hand, which prevented him from further active service; he was discharged in October of that year (Figure 3:2).

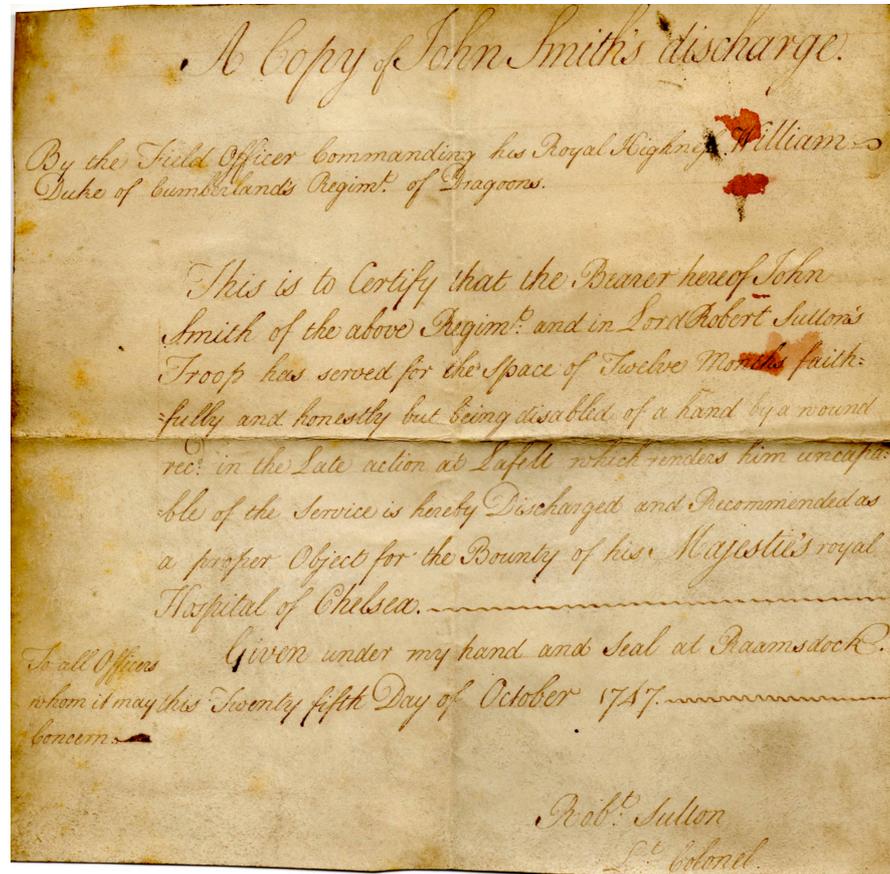


Figure 3.2: Copy of John Smith's Discharge.

Source: Author's collection.

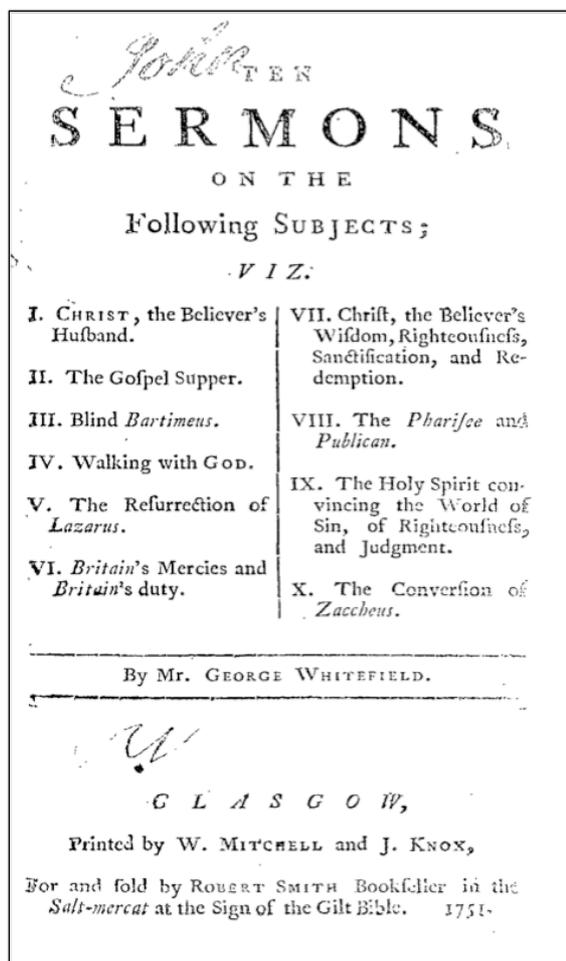
'By the Field Officer Commanding his Royal Highness William – Duke of Cumberland's Regim^t of Dragoons.

This is to Certify that the Bearer hereof John Smith of the above Regim^t and in Lord Robert Sutton's Troop has served for the Space of Twelve Month's faithfully and honestly but being disabled of a hand by a round rec^d in the Late action at Lafelt which renders him incapable of the Service is hereby Discharged and Recommended as a proper Object for the Bounty of his Magesties royal Hospital of Chelsea.

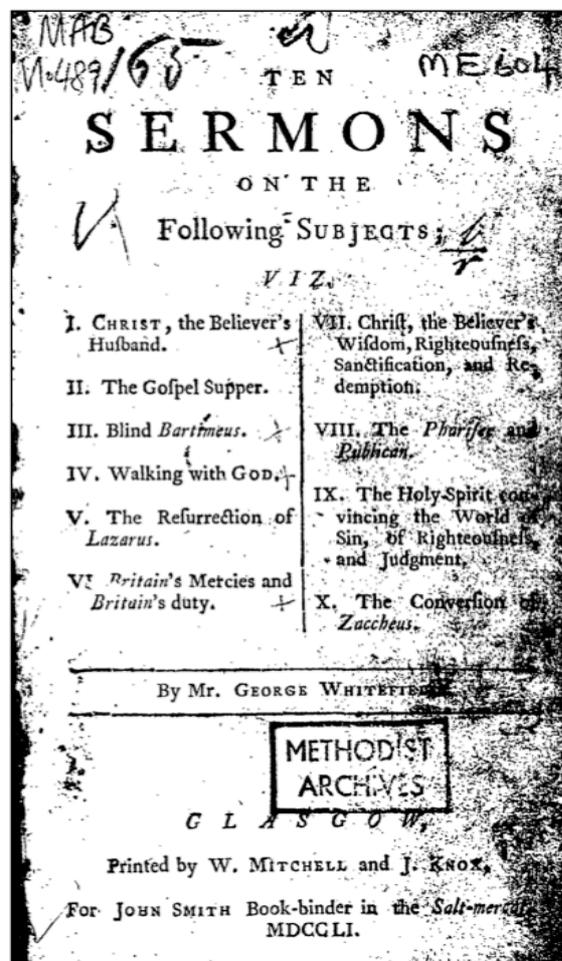
Given under my hand and Seal at Raamsdock. Twenty fifth Day of October 1747. [signed] Robt. Sutton, Lt. Colonel.'

We cannot be certain when Smith returned to Glasgow, but it seems he re-entered the book trade, and together with his brother Robert released, as separate printings in 1751, the sermons of George Whitefield (1714-1770) (Figure 3.3).

¹⁴⁹ John Brooke, "Manners Sutton, Lord Robert (1722-62), of Kelham, Notts," History of Parliament Online, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/manners-sutton-robert-1722-62>.



a



b

Figure 3.3: Title pages of Whitefield's work issued by (a) Robert Smith and (b) John Smith. Note, both use same printer and are located in the Saltmarket. Source: Eighteenth Century Collection Online <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>>.

Whitefield was a preacher associated with the Methodist movement and evangelical preaching. He first came to Scotland in 1741, after his travels in America, and would visit a further fourteen times.¹⁵⁰ Though a popular preacher and well thought of in Scotland, he caused various disputes and a pamphlet war within the Church of Scotland over matters of theological dogma.¹⁵¹ His successes at Cambuslang and Kilsyth made Whitefield's sermons a popular choice for reprinting, adding to the various editions already being published throughout the country. The preface, by Gilbert Tennant (1703-1762), to this work was written in Philadelphia in 1746. The publication of this work was therefore a significant coup for the firm in terms of popular appeal.

¹⁵⁰ *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 867.

¹⁵¹ *Dictionary of Scottish Church History*, 867.

Similarly agile in catching the popular mood was the firm's foundation of the first Glasgow circulating library. One could speculate that when the Glasgow Volunteers were stationed in Edinburgh, Smith took the opportunity to frequent Ramsay's circulating library (founded in 1728), inspiring him to set up a similar enterprise in Glasgow. This he did in 1753 at Buchanan's Head (a tenement block) in King Street.¹⁵² It certainly proved a profitable venture, releasing their first catalogue before the 1760s with 1500 titles.¹⁵³ In 1754 he took on his brother's son Robert as an apprentice.¹⁵⁴

It was not long before others saw a circulating library as a means of a livelihood. David Home opened his in 1759 in Exchange Walk; James Knox almost two decades later in 1778 near Smith's new premises at the time in Donald's Land in the Trongate; and Archibald Cowbrough (or Coubrough) in 1778 who had opened his 'New Circulating Library' in the High Street.¹⁵⁵ Cowbrough was a Burgess and Guild Brother and had served his apprenticeship with John Smith in 1776, Cowbrough also coming from Strathblane.¹⁵⁶ Not everyone was successful with their circulating libraries, for example, Montgomerie & M'Nair was being sold off after two years of providing subscriptions in 1781.¹⁵⁷ Their shop was at the corner of King Street and the Trongate on Buchanan's Land, where Smith's circulating library had been. Smith had moved his premises in 1763 to 'a commodious shop in Mr. Donaldson's Land in Trongate, opposite the Tron Church'.¹⁵⁸ When Smith moved premises they retained the designation 'at the Buchanan's Head', which may have been in reverence to the Glasgow merchant James Buchanan (1696–1758), whose land it originally was.¹⁵⁹ John Smith was married three times, firstly to Susannah Crawford

¹⁵² 'John Smith's Circulating Library, at Buchanan's Head, Head of King's Street, Glasgow', from the first catalogue of the Circulating Library, n.d. (Smith Collection, GUL, BG34-h.16 [JSID534].

¹⁵³ Circulating Library catalogues, Smith Collection, GUL: BG34-h.16.

¹⁵⁴ Maxted, "The British Book Trades 1710-1777".

¹⁵⁵ K. A. Manley, *Books, Borrowers, and Shareholders: Scottish Circulating Libraries and Subscription Libraries before 1825* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 2012), 201. Senex, *Glasgow, Past and Present* (Glasgow: David Robertson & Co., 1884) 2:252. William Cowbrough was apprenticed to Robert Smith around 1751, Maxted, "The British Book Trades 1710-1777".

¹⁵⁶ Scottish Book Trade Index, NLS; John Guthrie Smith, *The Parish of Strathblane and Its Inhabitants from Early Times: A Chapter in Lennox History* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1886), 98; Coubrough Family, "1791: A New Job in a New Town", 2008, "The Coubrough Times", Vol. 12 No. 2 Autumn, 2008. 1 August 2009. <http://www.coubrough.com/newsletters/July%202008.htm#R14> [Website no longer active]; James R. Anderson, ed., *The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow 1751-1846* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1935), 95.

¹⁵⁷ Senex, *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 2:255.

¹⁵⁸ Notice in the *Glasgow Journal* of 23 June, quoted in Senex, 2:252. The commodious shop was 16 feet by 14.

¹⁵⁹ Ewing, *A Short Note on a Long History*, 13. Buchanan's son Andrew (1798-1882) purchased Craigend from the other branch of the Smith family in 1851.

(Crawfurd) (1725-1768) in 1752, secondly to Jean (Janet) Mallard (1723-1794), and thirdly to Janet Hamilton (d.1805), with all the children coming from the first marriage. Smith had two sons, John and James, and three daughters, Margaret, Susannah and Elizabeth. His eldest son John, born in the same year as the founding of the circulating library (1753), would join the family bookselling business; and James would join the Royal Navy as a midshipman.

Smith, Eldest, became a Burgess and Guild Brother of Glasgow on 24 November 1763 through his first wife, the daughter of James Crawford, Shipmaster.¹⁶⁰ It was not necessary for Smith to become a Burgess, but possibly his investments in companies trading in the West Indies and North America made it beneficial for him to take on this role.¹⁶¹ Being a Burgess and Guild Brother, having freedom of the burgh, gave members access to the mercantile and civic government of Glasgow, which provided a privileged way of trading, with members swearing to act in an honourable way befitting of their status and town.

The success of Smith, Eldest's circulating library business, together with his own personal wealth, allowed him to become one of the early feuars of Finnieston when the land of Matthew Orr was sold. His outlay in feu duty is recorded as £8.0.4½ per annum and of the 32 feuars he was the seventh largest, indicating substantial property.¹⁶² Between November 1774 and January 1778 John Smith took his son as a co-partner, which lasted until 1781 when the *Glasgow Mercury* of 8 March 1781 announced that 'the copartney between John Smith and Son, Booksellers and Stationers, was dissolved in this 1st instance and is now carried on by John Smith, junior'.¹⁶³

3.3 John Smith, Senior

John Smith, Senior (1753-1833), married Mary (Kathryne) Bryce (1753-1811) in 1781, daughter of Hector of the Mains of Dunure, and had eight children, of which three were boys.¹⁶⁴ The eldest was John Smith, Youngest, born 23 March 1784 (see Section 3.4), followed by Hector (1785-1811) and then Thomas (1794-1816). Of the daughters, only

¹⁶⁰ "Extract of Burgess and Guildry Ticket, John Smith of Glasgow," 1763 (Author's Collection); James R. Anderson, ed., *The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow 1751-1846* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1935), 48.

¹⁶¹ John Smith, Youngest, inherited shares in West Indies plantations, Legacies of British Slave-ownership, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44576>.

¹⁶² Senex, *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 3: 20.

¹⁶³ Quoted in Senex, *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 2: 256. This is John Smith, Senior, refer to page xi.

¹⁶⁴ Smith, Senior became a Burgess & Guild Brother on 11 March 1779.

Elizabeth (1798-1831) survived to adulthood. She married the West India plantation manager Francis Brown (died Trinidad, 1826) in 1822, and became known to the public as the ‘Mrs Brown’ of the published correspondence of Anne Grant of Laggan.¹⁶⁵ Elizabeth’s only daughter, Mary, was provided for in John Smith Youngest’s will. Smith’s younger brother, Hector would become a manager of the plantation at Jordan Hill in Trinidad. He died there aged 28. The youngest brother, Thomas, was aiming to become a Writer (i.e. a lawyer) until his untimely death at the age of 22, but took the opportunity during his short life to become a favourite correspondent with the distinguished divine Thomas Chalmers (see Chapter 5 below).

Under Smith, Senior, the circulating library continued to expand, but he also became involved in publishing. The sermons of Rev. Archibald Smith, *An Inquiry Into the Subject and Manner of Apostolical Preaching* (1764) [JSID651], and the Rev. William Porteous, *The Doctrine of Toleration Applied to the Present Times* (1778) [JSID410], were distributed through the circulating library. Archibald Smith (no relation) was a minister of the Presbytery of Fintry when his sermon, which was aimed at new ministers and how they should preach, was published. He seemed to have been well-liked by the various Presbyteries where he was in charge, but otherwise little is known of him.¹⁶⁶ William Porteous (1735-1812), by contrast, was a well known, even notorious, minister in the west of Scotland being involved in the important debate in the latter half of the eighteenth century concerning relief for Roman Catholics.¹⁶⁷

Since the Reformation, anti-Catholic laws had been a major feature of Scottish polity at both national and local level, especially in the west of the country. The Burgess oath of Glasgow prohibited Catholics from becoming freemen of the town by having them ‘renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry’ and swearing allegiance to the King.¹⁶⁸ Legislation however was passed in England (the ‘Papists Acts’) for ‘Relief’ for English Catholics in 1778, leading to violent anti-Catholic rioting (the ‘Gordon Riots’) in 1780.

¹⁶⁵ J. P. Grant, *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, 3 vols, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1844). Francis Brown was the son of Jane Euing and James Brown of Beith, Jane’s sister, Isobel, married Archibald Smith of Jordanhill, the ‘Mrs Smith’ of Grant’s letters.

¹⁶⁶ Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, vol. 3: Synod of Glasgow and Ayr New ed. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1928), 354.

¹⁶⁷ Porteous’s role in the American Independence debate is covered in John McIntosh’s, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 156-157.

¹⁶⁸ Full Oath quoted in Senex, *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 3:254. The oath was modified when the Scottish Catholic relief bill was passed in 1793.

The prospect that a similar Bill would be passed for Scotland created fears of similar disturbances in Scotland. The General Assembly debate produced a clear split between the Moderates, who dominated the Assembly and were for Roman Catholic Relief, and those of the Popular Party.¹⁶⁹ The reporting of the events in the periodicals stimulated further public debate, with the Committee for the Protestant Interest in the east and the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in the west declaring their opposition to any Catholic Relief on 13 October 1778. Many of the ministers of the Synod released anti-Catholic pamphlets in the winter of 1778 including leading ministers John Erskine, John MacFarlane and William Porteous.

Porteous's sermon was delivered on 10 December 1778, the day of fast appointed by the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. In Porteous's argument Christians should tolerate all religions, 'provided they preach no doctrines which are destructive to the state, or dangerous to the particular members of it'.¹⁷⁰ Porteous goes on to suggest that Catholicism could be considered 'as a false religion, a faction in the state, and as a system of immorality'.¹⁷¹ In the question of toleration, as a religion it should be tolerated, as a faction, politicians would determine toleration, but as a system of immorality it could not be tolerated. The aspect of immorality was the allegiance to the Pope rather than the sovereign, the issuing of pardons and indulgences, and that no faith is to be kept with heretics.¹⁷²

Vehement attacks were not reserved to the pulpit. Several times from October the citizens of Glasgow took to the streets in violent crowds, but it was the riot on 9 February 1779 that was the most violent. They had targeted Robert Bagnal's residence where it had been said that Roman Catholics had used for worship. The irony of the situation was that there were only a few Catholics worshiping in the town. Rioters raided the house of Robert Bagnal where they suspected the worshippers were, and also destroyed Bagnal's shop.¹⁷³ Though peace was restored and several rioters were jailed, the instigators were never found, and

¹⁶⁹ Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), 281.

¹⁷⁰ William Porteous, *The Doctrine of Toleration Applied to the Present Times* (Glasgow: Printed and sold by John Smith & Son at the Circulating Library, 1778 [JSID410]), 13.

¹⁷¹ Porteous, *The Doctrine of Toleration*, 15.

¹⁷² Porteous made reference to Thomas Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* (London: T. Cadell, 1776) in support of his argument. Smith had the 1781 French version of this work in his library [JSAuc265].

¹⁷³ Senex, *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 3: 271-275. Senex recalls the events as his parents lived near Bagnal and feared they would be targeted, as they were Dissenters.

hostility was finally allayed when it was announced that a Catholic Relief Bill in Scotland had been withdrawn.

Smith & Son, as did many others in Glasgow, supported the Popular Party. In March of 1779 Smith, along with others, issued an ‘emblematical print, representing the introduction of the Popish Bill. Among the figures in the print are The Whore, Beast, Pope, Devil, &c.’ As no actual copy has been found we do not know how these elements were portrayed in relation to each other.¹⁷⁴

Leaving aside such controversial work, Smith also ventured into other subjects, such as poetry. His shop at the time was at 111 Trongate, which was located near to the Black Bull Inn, which was a frequent place of leisure of Robert Burns when in Glasgow. However the arrangement came about, Smith became the distributor and agent, in Glasgow and the west of Scotland, for the subscribers of the Edinburgh edition of Burns’s *Poems*. Burns had instructed his publisher William Creech, on 18 June 1787, to send Smith fifty copies, with Smith himself subscribing for twelve copies.¹⁷⁵ According to Smith & Son company folklore, when accounts were being settled, Smith gave Burns a generous commission, to which the poet replied, ‘You seem a decent sort of folk, you Glasgow booksellers, but, eh, they’re sair birkies in Edinburgh’.¹⁷⁶

William Peebles (1753-1826), a contemporary of Burns, also interested Smith. Peebles was the minister of Newton in Ayr and had a flair for writing and publishing poetry. Burns satirised Peebles in two of his poems, *The Holy Fair* where he considers Peebles’s stiffness of manner:¹⁷⁷

In guid time comes an antidote
Against sic poison’d nostrum;
For Peebles, frae the water-fit,

¹⁷⁴ Advert in the *Glasgow Mercury*, 4 March 1779, quoted in Senex, *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 3: 256. The print was sold by ‘Dunlop & Wilson, John Smith, James Duncan, and other booksellers’ [JSID1037], not seen.

¹⁷⁵ J. De Lancey Ferguson and G. Ross Roy, *The Letters of Robert Burns*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1985), 1:124.

¹⁷⁶ The actual letter has not been located, but it has been part of the Company history since the nineteenth century: Robert Alison, *The Anecdote of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1892), 101. The fifty copies sent to Smith had yielded £11.19s.1d. for Burns which was indicated in a letter dated 18 July 1788 (Ferguson, *Letters* 1:298). This would give about 4% commission, which was lower than that given by Edinburgh booksellers.

¹⁷⁷ James Paterson, *The Contemporaries of Burns: And the More Recent Poets of Ayrshire* (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, 1840), Appendix, 9.

Ascends the holy rostrum:
 See, up he's got the word o' God,
 An' meek an' mim has view'd it.
 While "Common-sense" has taen the road
 An' aff, an' up the Cowgate
 Fast, fast that day.

and in *The Kirk's Alarm* where he mocks Peebles's poetical affectation:

Poet Willie! poet Willie, gie the Doctor a volley,
 Wi' your "Liberty's Chain" and your wit;
 O'er Pegasus' side ye ne'er laid a stride,
 Ye but smelt, man, the place where he sh-t,
 Poet Willie! Ye but smelt, man, the place where he sh-t.¹⁷⁸

Smith, though, thought differently as he sold the collected poems of Peebles in 1810, *Poems: Consisting Chiefly of Odes and Elegies* [JSID729]. Peebles's religious and didactic approach attracted Smith. Peebles's works were described as being 'chaste in point of style and arrangement and delivered with much emphasis and feeling', although when necessary Peebles could express 'the most severe castigations'.¹⁷⁹ Smith distributed Peebles's *Sermons on Various Subjects* (1794) [JSID393] and *The Universality of Pure Christian Worship, and the Means of Promoting It* (1796) [JSID394]. The interest that Smith, Senior, showed in Ayr and surrounding district may have resulted from his sisters Margaret (1759-1791) and Elizabeth marrying merchants in Kilmarnock, enough for him to become a Burgess and Guild Brother of Kilmarnock in 1801.¹⁸⁰ Gaining Burgess status would also help his male grandchildren if they chose to follow their fathers into business.

To the north, Smith supported Morison's of Perth's *Scottish [sic] Poets* [JSID747] series of volumes, issued between 1786 and 1789, which is considered to be Morison's first important work.¹⁸¹ Though issued as a uniform set, each volume had separate title pages,

¹⁷⁸ Robert Burns (Intro. by W. J. Davies), *Burns' Poetical Works* (London & Glasgow: Collins, n.d.), 163 and 328.

¹⁷⁹ James Paterson, *The Contemporaries of Burns: And the More Recent Poets of Ayrshire* (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, 1840), Appendix, 10.

¹⁸⁰ Burgess ticket, 5 October 1801. Author's collection. Margaret married Hugh Allan and Elizabeth married William Gregory (b. 1742).

¹⁸¹ R. H. Carnie, "The Bibliography of Scottish Literature 1957-1967: A Survey," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 3, no. 3 (1967): 266. Morison expected to cover the *Poets* in seven volumes, but only five were issued: Thomas F. Bonnell, *The Most Disreputable Trade: Publishing the Classics of English Poetry 1765-1810* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 331.

where only the half titles and paper wrappers identify Smith's involvement, such as Volume 2 covering the poems of Gavin Douglas:¹⁸²

[wrapper]: Vol. II. | [coat of arms Earl of Buchan] | Dedicated, by permission, to | THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BUCHAN, &c. | [double rule: 65mm] | SCOTISH POETS, | This Volume CONTAINS: | [rule: 23mm] | I. ORIGINAL MEMOIRS OF GAVIN DOUGLAS. | II. THE PALICE OF HONOUR, a Poem by do. | III. A Collection of Celebrated PROLOGUES, by do. | IV. An ORIGINAL GLOSSARY of Obsolete Words. | V. An Old POEM, entitles A Satyre, Author unknown. | PERTH: | Printed by R. MORISON, JUNIOR. | For R. Morison and Son; and Sold by them and G.G.J. | and J. Robinfon, No. 25, Pater-Noster-Row, London; | C. Elliot, Edinburgh; J. Duncan, Dunlop & Wilfon, | and J. Smith Glasgow; W. Anderfon and W. Chrifitie, | Stirling; Paterfon and Brown, Aberdeen; G. Miln, Dun- | dee; and the other Bookfellers in England and Scotland. | M,DCC,LXXXVII.¹⁸³

Another important work of the time was the *History of Glasgow, and of Paisley, Greenock and Port Glasgow* by Andrew Brown, issued as two volumes between 1795 and 1797 [JSID088]. Though the first volume covered ecclesiastical history, the second volume covered the merchant and trade development of the area, providing a template for the statistical accounts that would be written by James Cleland in the early part of the nineteenth century and published through John Smith & Son.

3.4 John Smith, Youngest

As the oldest son of John Smith, Senior, Smith, Youngest was destined to join and inherit the family business, but not before receiving suitable education. Nothing is known of Smith's pre-Grammar School days, but he would certainly have received some primary education, possibly at one of the town schools around Glasgow where the basics of reading and writing were taught. His near-contemporary Robert Reid, or 'Senex' (1773-1865), the son of a mahogany merchant and later Glasgow historian, was first taught at the reading school of Mr Cree and then that of Mr Dickson, before entering the Grammar School in 1782.¹⁸⁴ 'Senex's' account is suggestive for Smith's early education; the Grammar School

¹⁸² Few copies retain the original wrappers, e.g. Vols. 2 and 3 in Gardyne Collection, Vol. 179, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

¹⁸³ One speculates how many books with John Smith imprint have been missed because their name occurs only on the wrapper and the book being re-bound.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Reid, *Autobiography of the Late Robert Reid (Senex)* (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1865), 9.

was the preferred choice of school for the sons of Glasgow merchants and surrounding area, either before joining the family firm, or before proceeding to the University.¹⁸⁵

Glasgow's Grammar School dated from well before the founding of the University in 1451. Though the school had been rebuilt in the seventeenth century, by the middle of the eighteenth it had become so dilapidated that the Magistrates and Council had elected to rebuild rather than repair it, taking into account the recommendations of a Committee established in 1782, that 'as the present School-House in the Grey Friar's Wynd has neither free air nor good light, and has no place connected with it, fitted for the innocent diversions of the Boys, recommend that a new School-House be erected in a convenient situation'.¹⁸⁶ It was not until 1789 that the school was finally rebuilt from the designs of John Craig.¹⁸⁷ The Corporation used the proceeds from the sale of the old Greyfriars Wynd, and obtained support from individual subscriptions, to bring about the new School. The building, as described by James Cleland in the *Annals of Glasgow*, was made of a

front, which has a light cheerful appearance, consists of three compartments, the centre receding from the wings, in which large Venetian windows are formed. The interior is subdivided into a common hall, 70 feet long, and seven large well aired rooms for the accommodation of the classes. At the back of the building more than half an acre of ground is enclosed for the use of the students.¹⁸⁸

The Council stipulated that the School should belong to the people of Glasgow, with only the management being under the control of the Council and Magistrates in the form of a Committee.¹⁸⁹ The Council further decreed that the post of Rector was no longer required, and that four Masters, of equal rank, were to be employed for teaching the four years, each

¹⁸⁵ T. M. Devine, "The Golden Age of Tobacco," in *Glasgow, Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830*, ed. T. M. Devine, and Jackson, Gordon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 161. An overview of grammar school education is given by M. L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), with chapters specifically on Scottish schools; and Richard S. Thompson, *Classics or Charity? The Dilemma of the 18th Century Grammar School* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), covering only the schools of England.

¹⁸⁶ James Cleland, *The Annals of Glasgow Comprising an Account of the Public Buildings, Charities, and the Progress of the City* (Glasgow: Printed by James Hedderwick, 1816), 2:158.

¹⁸⁷ He may have been related to James Craig who designed the New Town of Edinburgh, Glasgow's Tontine Hotel and the buildings on the Blythswood Estate.

¹⁸⁸ Cleland, *The Annals of Glasgow*, 1:81. The building is described in greater detail in James Denholm, *The History of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs*, 3rd ed. (Glasgow: Printed by R. Chapman for A. Macgoun, Bookseller, 1804), 205-206.

¹⁸⁹ James Cleland, *Historical Account of the Grammar School of Glasgow, with a List of the Duxes, from 1782 Till 1825* (Glasgow: Printed by Khull, Blackie & Co., 1825), 20. John Smith would become a member of this Committee in 1826.

in turn taking the rudimentary class and continuing with it until the pupils had reached their fourth year, the presidency passing each year to the master teaching the first class. Each pupil paid quarterly sixpence for coals, a small amount towards the janitor's fee and a stipend for the Masters at the end of the year; but the Masters themselves were paid a salary from the Glasgow Council. Classes began on the 10th of October, and every morning all the pupils would assemble in the main hall for prayers before taking up their respective classes.¹⁹⁰ Schooling in the winter months was from 9am till 11am, and 12pm till 2pm; and in summer from 7am till 9am, and 10am till 12am, then 1pm till 3pm. Holidays were four weeks from the beginning of July. 'Play-days' were allocated throughout the year such as at the Spring and Winter Sacraments, Wednesday afternoons, Christmas day, New Year's Day, the last Friday in January, Candlemas day, the first of May, the King's birthday, and two or three days after examinations, one class on Saturdays in winter and none in summer.

It was into this newly-built school that John Smith, Youngest, entered in 1792 at the age of nine, under the guidance of John Dow, or 'Doosey' as the pupils called him.¹⁹¹ This was a very different place than that experienced by his father who had entered the School in 1762. In his father's day there was no organising Committee to oversee the running of the school, as this was the function of the Rector. The Rector himself only took the fourth-year class and only he had the authority to wear a gown in school and the Magistrates of the City only visited once a year. There were no class examinations during the year, but only an annual one, on which progress solely depended. Prize books, supplied by Dunlop & Wilson, were given for merit only.¹⁹²

When John Smith, Youngest, arrived the school was very different. First-year pupils were called 'Chickens', and as they progressed through the years, were called 'Earnocks', 'Hens' and then finally, in their fourth year, 'Cocks'.¹⁹³ The position of Rector had been abolished and replaced by an organising Committee, which oversaw the curriculum, salaries and represented the school to the City Council. Several pupils in their later lives would be members of this Committee, including Smith. The Council representatives now

¹⁹⁰ Denholm, *The History of the City of Glasgow*, 207.

¹⁹¹ Smith is listed in the classes from 1792 to 1795 in 'Papers of the High School of Glasgow', Glasgow City Archives, The Mitchell Library, MS140/16/1. Reference to John Dow in J. F. S. Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1872), 667.

¹⁹² Cleland, *Historical Account of the Grammar School*, 10-11. Dunlop & Wilson's shop window displayed busts of Adam Smith, David Hume and others, John Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, 3rd rev. ed. (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1864 [JSID468]), 83f.

¹⁹³ Gordon, *Glasghu Facies*, 664.

visited eight times a year, and pupils were regularly examined. Discipline remained strict – harsh by modern standards – and teaching emphasised repetition.

Smith, Youngest, spent four years at the school, and was expected to have mastered Latin, Greek, English, English grammar, composition, elocution, French, Italian, German, writing, drawing, arithmetic, geography and a range of other topics; though principally Latin was concentrated upon.¹⁹⁴ An extract from the Minute books of the School from the 9 October 1786 states ‘that the 4th or Rudimentary class should be totally engaged with the Rudiments [of Latin] during the first session in order to have the boys well grounded in the principles of Language tho if their Teacher think proper they may need very few Colloquies of Cordirus towards the end of Session’.¹⁹⁵ The emphasis on Latin had been decreed in *The Education Scotland Act* of 1496 in which it stated that

all barons and freeholders who are wealthy put their eldest sons and heirs into school from the time they are eight or nine years old, and to remain at the grammar schools until they are competently instructed and have perfect Latin, and thereafter to remain three years at the schools of art and law, so that they may have knowledge and understanding of the laws, through which justice may reign universally throughout the realm, so that those who are sheriffs or judges ordinary under the king's highness will have the knowledge to do justice [and] that the poor people should have no need to seek our sovereign lord's principal auditors for each small injury. And any baron or freeholder of wealth whosoever who does not keep his son at school, as is said, with no lawful excuse but fails herein, from the information that can be had of it, he shall pay the king the sum of £20.¹⁹⁶

Anthony Blackhall, an eighteenth-century apologist for Classical education, stated that the studying of the Classics would develop ‘sound morals’ for the young boys, giving them ‘precepts of a virtuous and happy life’. Further it would accordingly enlighten aspects of the Bible, as ‘there is no Book in the World so like the Style of the Holy Bible as Homer’.¹⁹⁷ This was emphasised by the blurb on the title page of John Mair's *An*

¹⁹⁴ James Pagan, *Sketch of the History of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Robert Stuart & Co., 1847), 125.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Papers of the High School’, MS140/1/3. The actual Minute book is wanting, but notes had been made from it sometime in the nineteenth century. Latin was still the main focus of the school in Smith's time.

¹⁹⁶ *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* (St Andrews, 2007-2016), A1496/6/4, <http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/A1496/6/4>. This Act introduced compulsory schooling for the first time in Scotland. Subsequent Acts developed the parish school to promote Protestantism, and an education for all.

¹⁹⁷ Anthony Blackhall, *An Introduction to the Classics: Containing, a Short Discourse on Their Excellencies; and Directions How to Study Them to Advantage*. (London: Printed for John & James Rivington, 1746), 67-69.

Introduction to Latin Syntax, where the examples of moral and historical passages were used, together with a study of creation to Birth of Christ as a means to study history, plus improve their knowledge of Latin.¹⁹⁸ Of course, the study of George Buchanan's *Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica*, or *Psalms*, was the mainstay of religious instruction in Scotland, as 'Buchanan's immortal Paraphrase on the Psalms, which, as well upon account of the subject being a part of sacred scripture, as the inimitable beauty of the verse, can never be too much read or studied in christian [sic] schools'.¹⁹⁹ The Scottish poet and philosopher, James Beattie (1735–1803), enthused that the pupils 'may learn, without any additional expence [sic] of time, the principles of history, morality, politics, geography, and criticism' which they will be more attentive to when given in a foreign tongue.²⁰⁰ An understanding of Latin was a prerequisite for entry to the College and the curriculum of the school continued the tradition of studying the Latin authors, like Terence, Cicero, Horace and Sallust, since the sixteenth century.²⁰¹

To demonstrate their proficiency and progression in their Latin learning, the pupils were expected to recite passages from their Latin lesson books every month, graded according to their competence, and at the end of the year awarded prizes, which consisted of a bound copy of one of the Classics. Prizes were also given for full attendance during the year. The aim was to encourage and inspire the pupils to achieve better results next time. In the first year pupils began reciting from the standard Scottish school grammar book of the period, Thomas Ruddiman's *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*, before beginning on the *Colloquiorum* of Corderius.²⁰² In that first year 19 prizes were awarded out of a class of 63 pupils, with John Smith coming 32nd in the list. First prize was a copy of Horace in a fine binding of Turkey awarded to John Riddell. Second prize, also of Horace, but in Calf, went to Andrew Rankine. Third prize, a copy of Cornelius Nepos, went to William Sheddon.

¹⁹⁸ John Mair, *An Introduction to Latin Syntax: Or, an Exemplification of the Rules of Construction, as Delivered in Mr Ruddiman's Rudiments* (Edinburgh: Printed by T. and W. Ruddiman, 1750), title page. By the 1790s it was in its 12th edition (in Kilmarnock, by John Wilson).

¹⁹⁹ William Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: MacLachlan & Stewart, 1849), 84.

²⁰⁰ James Beattie, *Essays. On Poetry and Music, as They Affect the Mind. On Laughter, and Ludicrous Composition. On the Utility of Classical Learning* (Edinburgh: Printed for William Creech, 1776), 497.

²⁰¹ Alexander Gray, "The Old Schools and Universities in Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review* 9, no. 34 (1912): 119.

²⁰² Thomas Ruddiman, *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue: Or, a Plain and Easy Introduction to Latin Grammar: Wherein the Principles of the Language Are Methodically Digested Both in English and Latin. With Useful Notes and Observations, Explaining the Terms of Grammar, and Farther Improving Its Rules*. First published in 1714, and continued to be reprinted, in various towns, into the nineteenth-century. By 1790 twelve editions were in existence: George Chalmers, *The Life of Thomas Ruddiman* (London: Printed for John Stockdale and William Laing, 1794) 93; Smith had a copy of the biography in his library [JSAuc171].

The remaining prizes were of Eutropius; and those pupils who had full attendance received a copy of Corderius.²⁰³

In the 1793-94 session the pupils were reciting from *Life of Miltiades* and the *Life of Hannibal* by Cornelius Nepos. Smith came 55th out of 63 boys. His very poor performance compared with the other years, may be attributable to the fact that John Dow was now very elderly and suffering from ill health, and the monthly class recitals were classed as 'revision'. James Gibson replaced Dow in February of 1794 and began to bring the pupils back to a suitable standard.²⁰⁴ John Dow died in 1795. Out of the 63 boys, 18 prizes were awarded, and yet again John Riddle and Andrew Rankine had secured first and second places and were given copies of Ovid. The third prize of Mair's *Introduction* went to William Blair, with Buchanan's *Psalms* for the remainder of the prizes.²⁰⁵ Attendance prizes were a mix of works by Ovid, Mair's *Introduction* and the *Sacred Dialogues*, distributed around 18 pupils. In the third year, prizes were given for recitations from Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Gellius's *Noctes Atticae*, and the *Aeneid*. Smith achieved 38th place out of the class of 53 pupils. Seventeen pupils received prizes. First prize was a Delphini copy of Horace bound in Turkey and given to Donald Cuthbertson; second prize, a calf-bound Horace went to William Blair, and third prize, a plain bound copy of Ruddiman's *Grammar* went to John Riddle. The remaining prizes contained Lucan and Horace, with those having full attendance receiving Buchanan's *Psalms*.

The top prize, a Delphini bound in Turkey, that is goatskin, having a fine grain and being soft to touch but firm, was an expensive gift, and cost the school 11s 6d, compared with a plain Calf copy of 9 shillings. Delphini refers to the 'Delphin Classics' of French classical scholarship and literature, originally published for Louis XIV, 'The Dauphin', in about 65 volumes.²⁰⁶ During the eighteenth century these were highly collectable due to their association with the French Royalty and editorship. Thomas Dibdin, in his work on *Rare and valuable Editions of Greek and Latin Classics*, stated that they had 'great utility' as 'the copious Index which accompanies each edition [are] highly necessary and

²⁰³ 'Papers of the High School', MS140/16/1. Full title, or, which edition, formed each prize is not given in the Class Books. Cornelius Nepos and Eutropius were standard works of many schools of the period, Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain*, 51.

²⁰⁴ James Gibson was formerly a pupil of the school having entered in 1766. Cleland, *Historical Account of the Grammar School*, 29.

²⁰⁵ Possibly John Mair's *An Introduction to Latin Syntax: Or, an Exemplification of the Rules of Construction, as Delivered in Mr Ruddiman's Rudiments*.

²⁰⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. 'Delphin Classics,' <http://original.search.eb.com/eb/article-9124813>.

convenient'.²⁰⁷ These editions had fallen out of use by the nineteenth century. Thomas Hardy briefly refers to them in *Jude the Obscure*, when young Jude tries to educate himself by reading 'the simpler passages from Caesar, Virgil, or Horace [...]. The only copies he had been able to lay hands on were old Delphin editions, because they were superseded, and therefore cheap. But, bad for idle school-boys, it did so happen that they were passably good for him'.²⁰⁸

In the final year, designated the Primus Class, recitations from the Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline*, Mair's *Introduction* to degrees of comparison of nouns and adjectives, Virgil, *Aeneid* and finally Mair's *Introduction* to Gerund and Supines. Out of the 39 boys, 12 prizes were awarded, with Smith achieving 33rd place. All prizes for recitations were of various bindings of Virgil, the first prize being the usual Delphini bound in Turkey, went to William Blair. Second prize, in Calf, was given to Donald Cuthbertson, and third to Colin Bogle. For full attendance, the works of Terence were presented to 16 pupils, but those three boys who had achieved full attendance for the four years were awarded with a copy of the *History of Greece*.

Although he was not a star pupil, the classical texts encountered at school remained in Smith's consciousness in later years, although interestingly often in translation. Smith's library contained a French copy of Cornelius's lives (*Les Vies des Grandes Capitaines de la Grece*, Paris 1715 [JSAuc818]), together with a 1732 Italian version that had been translated for Remigio Fiorentino (Nannini) (1521-d.1581) (*Cornelio Nipote Veronese degli uomini illustri di' Grecia tradotto per Remigio Fiorentino*, Verona, 1732 [JSAuc750]), but no Latin version. He had French and Italian prints of Cornelius's *Lives* [JSAuc818 and 750], but not in Latin. Nor did he have Buchanan's *Psalms*, but had instead Buchanan's *History of Scotland* of 1733 [JSAuc342]. However, his library contained works by Horace and Cicero, and some seventy-eight works in Latin in all, ranging from Alexander Carpenter's *Destructorium Viciorum* of 1497 [JSAuc287] on witchcraft, to James Reddie's *De Edictis Praetorum Specimen Primum* of 1825 [JSAuc 658].²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics: Including an Account of Polyglot Bibles; the Best Greek, and Greek and Latin, Editions of the Septuagint and New Testament; the Scriptorum De Re Rustica; Greek Romances, and Lexicons and Grammars*, 3rd ed. (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808), 2:422.

²⁰⁸ Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1896), 31.

²⁰⁹ The prize-winners would all become notable citizens of Glasgow in the nineteenth-century. Donald Cuthbertson, by 1826, with his classmate John Smith, would be part of the School Committee, Cuthbertson becoming Director of the Chamber of Commerce from 1829 to 1830. Andrew Ranken,

As a publisher Smith lent his imprint to student Latin texts including a re-issue of Ruddiman's *Rudiments of The Latin Tongue* revised by Reuben John Bryce (1798-1888), Principal of Belfast Academy, in 1840 [JSID1046]. Smith also supported Bryce's earlier work, *Elements of Latin Prosody* (1820 [JSID093]), through three editions between 1820 and 1828. He was the principal publisher for Professor William Ramsay's *Elementary Treatise on Latin Prosody* (1837 [JSID598]) and *Elegiac Extracts From Tibullus and Ovid* (1844 [JSID644]), and lent his imprint to two variants of *Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary*, *Morell's Abridgement* by Alexander Jamieson (1827 [JSID1043]).

One of the traditions among the pupils after they had left school was the Class meeting. This was a celebratory dinner held on the 10th of October by each class to reminisce and propagate the friendships created from their school days, with the tradition usually commencing several years after completing school. Cleland, writing in 1825, said there were so many meetings happening in the city that it would have been tedious to recount them all, but had focused on one particular meeting of the 1762 class.²¹⁰ This class was that of Mr Holmes and one of the pupils was John Smith's father. The tradition demonstrates not only the camaraderie of the class but of the philanthropic nature of the gathering. During the years the group met they assisted a classmate with business capital to get his business started; they also provided a pension for the widow of their Master, and in 1811 supported his daughter in her 84th year, gaining assistance to do so from several of Glasgow's elite. By 1818 only five pupils still met out of the 1762 class of 107: John Smith, Alexander Wilson, both booksellers, William Aitken of Friskey, and John Hamilton of North Park. Seventy had died, 15 were alive, seven of which were in Glasgow, and the rest were unaccounted for. Cleland indicates that Smith was deceased by the time he wrote this account but he may have been confused with Smith, Eldest, who died in 1814.

By the time Smith left school he had witnessed and experienced behaviour and principles that he would take into adulthood. Through engagement with Latin texts, he gained an understanding of Christian moral and ethical principles. Through the special bindings of the prize books he witnessed how books could be objects of admiration beyond the text they contained, and the philanthropic behaviour of those around him, emphasising the Christian ethos of helping those in less fortunate circumstances.

became one of the Directors of Glasgow Eye Infirmary, 1831-32, and may have been the Andrew Ranken that married Hannah Smith, daughter of John Smith the 4th Laird of Craigend, in 1809.

²¹⁰ Cleland, *Historical Account of the Grammar School*, 50.

3.4.1 Glasgow College Years

If ye've a knacky son or twa,
 To Glasgow College send them a';
 Wi' whilk, for gospel, or for law,
 Or classic lair,
 Ye'll find few places here awa,
 That can compare!²¹¹

On leaving school, the youngest Smith matriculated at Glasgow University in 1796, studying along with 21 fellow-students from the Grammar School under William Richardson (1743-1814), Professor of Humanities.²¹² It would seem that Smith remained four years at University, if not five, as the next confirmed date in his biography is his apprenticeship with Knott & Lloyd of Birmingham in 1802.

Richardson, Smith's professor, was a notable scholar who had himself studied at the University, graduating in Divinity in 1763. He had been tutor to the children of Lord Cathcart, and remained with them when they went to Eton, and then to Russia when Lord Cathcart became ambassador-extraordinary to Russia in 1768; he returned to Britain in 1772. His experiences in Russia were the basis of his *Anecdotes of the Russian Empire in a Series of Letters, Written, a Few Years Ago, from St. Petersburg* (1784). He also wrote criticism of Shakespeare, *A philosophical analysis and illustration of some of Shakespeare's remarkable characters* (1802), which John Smith's, according to their catalogue of 1817, published.²¹³ Smith himself had a copy of this work (JSAuc729); unfortunately this version has not been located. Smith also had a copy of Richardson's *Pastorals* (Glasgow, 1776) (BG34-a.4).²¹⁴

The years at university exposed Smith to more advanced thinking processes of logic, divinity and the sciences, as well as the right to wear a scarlet gown and top hat, and to

²¹¹ John Mayne, *Glasgow: A Poem* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1803). In Smith's library: JSAuc009.

²¹² Matriculation number 5806. W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728-1858* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1913).

²¹³ An edition with John Smith & Son imprint has so far not been located. Other works above and below this title in the catalogue have Smith's imprint.

²¹⁴ The volume of pamphlets is missing from the Smith Collection in GUL. The work is not located in any current catalogue.

vote in Rectorial elections.²¹⁵ Moreover, during his time at University his social connections developed, several of which eventually materialised as business connections.

3.4.2 Smith in Birmingham

Smith entered into apprenticeship with Knott & Lloyd of Birmingham around 1802. The partners of Jonathan Knott and Robert Lloyd (1778-1811) had just recently acquired the bookshop of Thomas Aris Pearson in 1801, which included the established *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*.²¹⁶ It was through Lloyd's brother Charles (1775-1839), who was a poet of some distinction, that Robert Lloyd met Charles Lamb and possibly with Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth.²¹⁷ Smith, working in the shop, may have met or overheard conversations regarding these literary men. He certainly would have been aware of the publication of *Blank Verse* by Charles Lloyd and Charles Lamb in 1798 and may have even read it.²¹⁸ Unfortunately, Smith's library gives us few clues. There are no works by Lloyd, Lamb, Southey or Wordsworth, although he did later read Coleridge's *The Friend* which boasted being a 'literary, moral, and political weekly paper, excluding personal and party politics and the events of the day'; this publication, however, appeared long after Smith had returned to Glasgow.²¹⁹

The Lloyds were Quakers, and though they had rebelled from their strict upbringing, they had not abandoned their faith. Smith's time in Birmingham may have been the first real exposure to this religious group, and, interestingly, Smith had four volumes concerning the Religious Society of Friends. Two by the Scottish Quaker, Robert Barclay (1648-1690), *A Catechism and Confession of Faith* (3rd ed., London, 1690), and his *Apology of the True Christian Theology* in French but published in London, 1702.²²⁰ The third was by Barclay's son Robert (1672-1747) *A Genealogical Account of the Barclays of Urie*

²¹⁵ Michael Moss, Moira Rankin, and Lesley Richmond, *Who, Where and When: The History & Constitution of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2001), 69.

²¹⁶ Joseph Hill, *The Book Makers of Old Birmingham: Authors Printers and Book Sellers Birmingham* (Birmingham: Printed at the Shakespeare Press for Cornish Brother Limited, 1907), 123.

²¹⁷ Robert Lloyd (1778–1811), his brother, Thomas Lloyd (1779–1811), a merchant in Birmingham, and sister, Caroline Lloyd (1790–1811), all died of typhus September-October 1811, see 'Letter 2057', Robert Southey to Herbert Hill, 10 March 1812, *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey*, http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEd.26.2057.html.

²¹⁸ Hill, *The Book Makers of Old Birmingham*, 124.

²¹⁹ Smith's library: JSAuc152.

²²⁰ JSAuc645 and 260 respectively. *Apologie de la véritable theologie Chrétienne*. The auctioneers used the title *Apologie, De Les Trembleurs*.

(London, 1812) being a reprint of the 1740 edition, edited by Henry Mill.²²¹ Smith also had the curious *Collection of Testimonies Against the Quakers* (London, 1760), which may have contained the charges of blasphemy brought against the Society by Protestants in the seventeenth century, or concerning their more progressive views on women's roles in society; but as no copy has been located in current library catalogues we cannot be certain.²²² It is not unusual for Smith to have counter arguments of topics in his library. This can be seen with Thomas Paine's (another Quaker) (1737-1809) *The Rights of Man*. Smith had two copies of the *Rights* in his collection, one printed in two parts by H. D. Symonds of London, 1792 and the other in Philadelphia (printer, seller and date erased).²²³ Elsewhere in the pamphlet collection was a criticism of the *Rights* by an anonymous author writing under the name of Publicola, *Observation on Paine's Rights of Man in a Series of Letters* (Edinburgh, n.d.), the other was a defence of Christianity by Richard Watson (1737-1816), the Bishop of Llandaff, *An Apology for the Bible, in a Series of Letters* (7th ed., London, 1796), against the second part of Paine's *Age of Reason* (1795).²²⁴

It should be recalled that on arrival in Birmingham Smith was 18 years old, and probably on his first long stay away from family and friends; and as with all teenagers away from home their parents can be both happy and concerned for them. Smith's grandfather in a letter sent probably not long after Smith had taken up his apprenticeship, expressed a natural concern, writing that he was

extremely happy when hearing how well you was and also so Happily Situated, both in Respect to the Gentlemen in whose employ you are and with the good folks with whom you have had the good fortune to be Interduced [sic] as a Lodger and Boarder.²²⁵

Although his grandfather is 'fully Persuaded that you have the good Sence [sic] to be Perfittly [sic] Sencable [sic] of this, and will Exteem them Accordingly', he reminds him of his 'Duty to your Creator', and continues anxiously:

²²¹ JSAuc029

²²² Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 6; Patricia Howell Michaelson, "Religious Bases of Eighteenth-Century Feminism: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Quakers," *Women's Studies* 22, no. 3 (1993): 281.

²²³ BG33-e.18 and BG33-g.3 respectively.

²²⁴ BG33-g.3 and BG34-i.7 respectively.

²²⁵ Smith, Eldest to Smith, Youngest, 1 October 1802. Private collection.

The evils and Temptations to which your are [sic] or may be exposed no doubt contribute not a little to Increase My anxiety on your Account. The Grace of you alone can Keep you from the evil that is in the World and help you in the hour of Temptation. Never think light, or little of the Smallest Sin, You Know that the wages of Sin is Death.²²⁶

A subtle warning follows:

Pray take care of the Company you take up with, I am afraid you will not find the best of company Among your own Country men.²²⁷

Unfortunately, Smith's grandfather does not elaborate on who these 'Country men' might be, but he may be referring to Jacobite sympathisers as there was a large Scots Catholic presence in Birmingham.

Smith began exploring the local publications and in so doing engaged with the political and social events around him. Hutton's *History of Birmingham* was one of the most widely read and popular local histories of the time and it would seem that Smith's interest in Hutton continued long after he had returned to Glasgow, as we also find Hutton's biography of 1817 in Smith's library.²²⁸ Hutton (1723-1815) was a bookseller, dissenter and antiquary and took great pleasure in disregarding the usual antiquarian etiquette. Because of this he was declined membership of the Society of Antiquaries in London, though he was made honourable member of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.²²⁹

Smith's engagement with the Birmingham pamphlet literature of the late eighteenth-century is shown in his library. The time of the French Revolution revived the debate for Parliamentary reform, and Smith collected material from both sides of the political and religious debate, for example the *Ten Minute reflection on the Late Events in France*, was a reply to Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*.²³⁰ Though he had many pamphlets written by Job Nott, there were also those of Joseph Priestley (1733-1804) and Jeremiah Smith

²²⁶ Smith, Eldest to Smith, Youngest, 1 October 1802.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon & London, 2004), 147. William Hutton, *An History of Birmingham, to the End of the Year 1780* (Birmingham: Printed by and for Pearson & Rollason, 1781) [JSAuc723]; Catherine Hutton, *The Life of William Hutton*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for Baldwin, Cradock, & Joy, Paternoster-Row; and Beilby & Knott, Birmingham, 1817) [JSAuc715].

²²⁹ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 114.

²³⁰ *Ten Minute Reflection on the Late Events in France, Recommended by a Plain Man to his Fellow Citizens* (Birmingham, 1792) [BG33-h.20].

(1771–1854). Nott was a pseudonym of Theodore Price, a buckle maker and local magistrate.²³¹ The Nott pamphlets were issued through the 1790s, and were used by many writers of differing political opinions; ‘Job Nott, Bucklemaker’, was a loyalist and wrote for church and King.²³² Written in colloquial speech, the account of his life details how he began work at the age of five with an employer whom he would eventually become partners with. Through self-determination he learned to write, was pious and hard working.²³³ The account was intended to counter the demand for Parliamentary reform, where if the poor are industrious and pious they too could be successful under the existing government and did not need reform.²³⁴ In contrast Priestley’s pamphlet *The Conduct to be Observed by Dissenters in Order to Procure the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts* led to dissenters being accused of Republicanism.²³⁵ The pamphlet from Rev. Jeremiah Smith, *A Vindication of Defensive War and of Military Profession*, was inscribed to John Smith ‘from the author’.²³⁶

The curious aspect is that several of these pamphlets were sold by Knott & Lloyd or their predecessor Thomas Pearson, and so may have inspired Smith to develop the selling of books and pamphlets with the Smith imprint. This may have been the case as several later works had both the Knott & Lloyd and Smith imprints, such as George Freer’s *Observations on Aneurism, and Some Diseases of the Arterial System* (1807) [JSID1020], which was printed by Knott & Lloyd and sold in Glasgow by Smith & Son and others. Further, in 1823, Alexander Wilson & Sons, letter-founders in Glasgow, appointed Beilby & Knotts of Birmingham, as agents for their newspaper fonts.²³⁷ Alexander Wilson’s daughter, Mary (1789-1847), married James Smith (1782-1866) of Jordanhill. The

²³¹ Harry Smith, “William Hutton and the Myths of Birmingham,” *Midland History* 40, no. 1 (2015): 88. Other writers suggest John Morfitt, a nail merchant, as the author.

²³² John Money, “The West Midlands, 1760-1793: Politics, Public Opinion and Regional Identity in the English Provinces During the Late Eighteenth Century,” *Albion* 2, no. 2 (1970): 88; John Money, “Taverns, Coffee Houses and Clubs: Local Politics and Popular Articulation in the Birmingham Area, in the Age of the American Revolution,” *The Historical Journal* xiv, no. 1 (1971): 46.

²³³ *The Life and Adventures of Job Nott, buckle-maker, of Birmingham*, 11th ed. (Birmingham: Printed by E. Piercy, 1793) [BG33-g.9].

²³⁴ Smith, “William Hutton and the Myths of Birmingham”: 63.

²³⁵ R. B. Rose, “The Priestley Riots of 1791,” *Past & Present* Nov., no. 18 (1960): 71. Joseph Priestley, *The Conduct to Be Observed by Dissenters in Order to Procure the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, Recommended in a Sermon Preached before the Congregations of the Old and New Meetings at Birmingham, November 5, 1789* (Birmingham: Printed by Thomas Pearson, 1789) [BG33-g.10].

²³⁶ Jeremiah Smith, *A Vindication of Defensive War and of Military Profession: A Sermon Preached before the North Worcester Volunteers, May 12, 1805* (Birmingham: Printed and sold by Knott & Lloyd, 1805) [BG33-g.2].

²³⁷ Ephemera, Eph. N/16. Alexander Wilson’s daughter, Mary (1789-1847), married James Smith (1782-1866) of Jordanhill. She was granddaughter of Professor Alexander Wilson (1714-1786), type-founder.

Wilson's were also booksellers, and the link with Birmingham may have come through John Smith.

3.4.3 Smith in Glasgow

When Smith returned to Glasgow, he changed how the family business operated. The family firm now occupied 85 Hutcheson Street, and their sale catalogues of the period identified their expansion into book selling and publishing as well as the circulating library. In the first decade of the nineteenth-century the Smith imprint appeared on at least 19 titles covering diverse topics. For example, in 1806 there were six publications with one being entirely issued by themselves: *Trial of Richard Patch, for the Wilful Murder of Mr Isaac Blight* (1806) [JSID743]. The trial was well-known at the time, occurring on 5 April 1806 (the murder had occurred on the 23 September 1805) and made the front page of *The Times*. Various printers of London issued the proceedings in several editions, though primarily sold by M. Gurney who was related to Joseph and W. B. Gurney who had transcribed the case in shorthand at the trial in 1806. Gurney issued at least five editions of the work in 1806, each with additional material. One can only speculate why Smith had an interest in this publication, but he must have felt he could turn some profit after costs of production. It was certainly in a very reduced form of 28 pages compared to the London imprints with 197 or more pages. Isaac Blight was formerly a West India merchant in Jamaica in the late 1790s, who may have been known to the Smiths through their West India trade connections. Because of financial problems Blight had returned to Britain and started a new business as a ship breaker. The case is still referred to today as having been the first to establish the use of qualified medico-legal expertise in a trial, and the murder is still described in a local guided walk around Rotherhithe wharves in London.²³⁸

Smith, Youngest began to take more responsibility for bringing works to the public, the negotiations with printers, authors and other booksellers, arranging advertising and payment of credits. The complexity of the bookselling relationship can be demonstrated through the intricacies of the relationship with the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, which will be fully discussed in Chapter 5. Separate from his role as Chalmers's publisher, Smith taught at one of Chalmers's Sabbath Schools. The schools were created to help the children of the

²³⁸ Stuart Rankin, *Maritime Rotherhithe History Walk: Walk B: Shipyards, Granaries and Wharves* (London: Culture & Heritage, Environment & Leisure, Southwark Council, 2004), 10.

poor with both their spiritual and educational needs.²³⁹ A severe chest infection prevented Smith from continuing in that role for long.²⁴⁰

Smith's developing social network included those that would become important members of the Glasgow community in the later decades of the nineteenth century. In 1827 he was designated Principal Baillie of the Barony of Gorbals.²⁴¹ The following year he was Magistrate of the Town Council of Glasgow, that is, a merchant baillie, and from that point Smith was involved in some form of civic duty for the rest of his life (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: John Smith's civic duties 1828-1849 listed in Glasgow Post Office Directories.

Civic duty	Years in office
Principal Baillie of the Barony of Gorbals	1827/28
Magistrate of the Town Council of Glasgow - Merchant Baillie	1828/29, 1831/32 – 1833/34
Merchant Councillor	1829/30 – 1830/31, 1833/34, 1844/45
Director, Merchant's House	1831/32 – 1832/33, 1837/38, 1842/43
Director, Town's Hospital (as a baillie)	1828/29 – 1831/32
Member, Committee on River Clyde & Harbour of Glasgow	1829/30 – 1833/34
Commissioner of Police, Ward 8	1829/30 – 1830/31
<i>ex officio</i> Commissioner of Police for Glasgow	1831/32 – 1833/34
Commissioner Calton and Mile End (police establishment)	1833/34
Gorbals Commissioner of Police, Ward 10	1835/36
Justice of the Peace in Lower Ward of Lanarkshire	1834/35 – 1835/36, 1837/38 – 1848/49
Director, Asylum for the Blind	1837/38 – 1838/39, 1839/40 – 1841/42 (elected), 1842/43 – 1843/44
Director, Glasgow Royal Asylum for Lunatics	1842/43, 1844/45 (visitor), 1845/46 (chosen from subscribers)
Manager, Glasgow Royal Infirmary	1840/41 – 1841/42

²³⁹ Francis Wayland, *Memoir of the Christian Labors, Pastoral and Philanthropic of Thomas Chalmers* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1964), 65.

²⁴⁰ Letter from John Smith, Youngest, to William Collins, 4 November 1817. Thomas Chalmers Papers, cha 5-3-212, New College Library, University of Edinburgh.

²⁴¹ Information regarding Smith's various roles are taken from McFeat's *Glasgow Directory* 1799 to 1828 and *Post Office Directory* 1828 to 1849.

Member, Board of Commissioners of Prisons for the County of Lanark	Elected May 19, 1841, 1842/43 – 1843/44, 1844/45 (chosen by magistrates)
Director, Commercial Travellers Scotland' Society of Scotland	1843/44 – 1844/45

Added to Smith's civic duties listed in Table 3.1 is his involvement in the many social, welfare and educational organisations that existed, and many of the reports and notices issued during the period would become part of Smith's library. Smith's civic position also led to publishing. His Directorship of the Asylum for the Blind provided the opportunity for the distribution of at least 20 titles that came off the Asylum's printing press. Smith was a director of the Asylum at least as early as 1834, though much of the Asylum material is missing from the Smith Collection, there is evidence that he was involved with promoting the Asylum from its inception as Smith contributed £10 10s during the Asylum's founding year.²⁴² The aim of the Asylum was to instill a moral and religious interest in the blind, and 'religious education' and 'Sabbath-day exercises' were fundamental to their education.²⁴³

John Leitch, of the West India sugar merchants Smith & Leitch, established the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind in January 1828 through a bestowment of £5000.²⁴⁴ Leitch had suffered from failing eyesight and was almost blind when he died and the Asylum was founded to support others with a similar affliction. John Alston (1778-1846) joined the Asylum not long after as Treasurer, he also being a merchant and baillie, with links to the Thistle Bank. In 1836 he began to experiment with the prize winning embossed type of Dr E. Fry of London, which he then presented to The Edinburgh Society of Arts in 1837. Using a specially designed press in the Asylum, Alston printed the New Testament, and by the 1840s had successfully printed the first Bible in embossed type suitable for the blind.²⁴⁵

²⁴² Volumes BG33-a.13, BG33-h.14 containing pamphlets on the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind are missing; other material can be found in Ephemera (Eph K/) such as *Report of a meeting of the Friends of the Blind held in Hutcheson's Hospital on 17th April, 1828* [Eph. K/272]. *First Report by the Directors of the Asylum for the Blind, 21 January 1828* (Glasgow: Printed by James Hedderwick & Son, 1828); *Seventh Report by the Directors of the Asylum for the Blind, 22 January 1834* (Glasgow: Printed by the Courier Company, 1834), 12.

²⁴³ John Alston, *Statement of the Education, Employments, and Internal Arrangements, Adopted at the Asylum for the Blind, Glasgow*, 5th ed. (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1839 [JSID013]), 25. John Smith, Senior, had left £20 in his legacy for the Asylum.

²⁴⁴ *Abstract of an "Act for Modifying and Extending the Purpose of Certain Deeds of Settlement of John Leitch, Esq., Deceased: And for Establishing an Asylum for the Blind in the City of Glasgow"* (Glasgow, 1825). [BG33-a.13 (missing)]. Archibald Smith of Jordanhill (younger son of James Smith, 3rd Laird of Craigend) was co-partner.

²⁴⁵ The Old and New Testaments came to 19 volumes. Alston appealed to the Ladies of Glasgow who overwhelmingly responded with donations.

The output of the Asylum Press included the Scriptures, liturgies, Psalms, music, and science and a large number were sold through John Smith & Son (Figure 3.4).

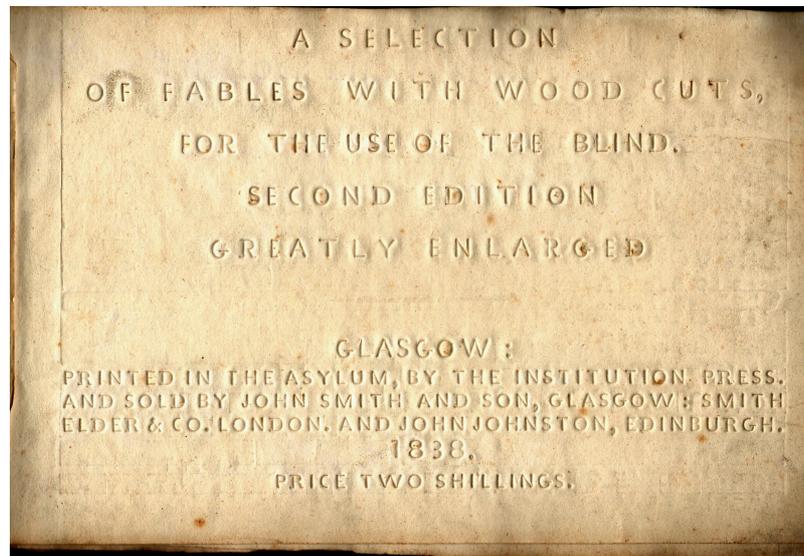


Figure 3.4: *A Selection of Fables with Woodcuts for the Use of the Blind*, 2nd ed. (Glasgow, John Smith & Son, 1838 [JSID604]).

The work contained a selection of the Tales of Aesop.

The decade between 1825 and 1835 saw the subjects that Smith published greatly diversify. Religious and theological works still played a key role, but was closely followed by books and pamphlets dealing with educational and commercial subjects reflecting the positions of responsibility he had now assumed. Additionally he had been proposed for membership of the newly formed Maitland Club in 1828. It was through his work with the Maitland Club that the University of Glasgow conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on Smith in 1840. The discussion of the effects of that Club on Smith and the other clubs and societies he joined will be covered in Chapter 4. In return for the honour of Doctorate, Smith bequeathed an extensive part of his library as previously mentioned in Chapter 2.

In 1839 John Smith took David Watson (1808-1882) as co-partner working with the firm since his apprenticeship in 1822.²⁴⁶ Smith's integrity, honesty and moral sensibility greatly impressed Watson to the extent he named his first-born John Smith Watson (1835-1888). Though he expected his first-born to continue in the profession of his father, it was his second son, David Colquhoun Watson (1837-1869) that entered the business. About the time of Watson's co-partnership, John Knox (d. 1889) began his apprenticeship and after

²⁴⁶ Indenture between John Smith & Son and David Watson, 1823 (Private Collection).

the death of John Smith in 1849, Watson took Knox as his co-partner, retaining the trading name John Smith & Son.

3.4.4 Disposition and Settlement of John Smith Youngest

Throughout the 1840s Smith suffered various illnesses, but it was the severe attack of ‘bronchitis’ that was the inducement to setting out his last will and testament.²⁴⁷ It was a complex document running to 33 pages of manuscript describing how his estate was to be used. He designated eight people to be the trustees: Alexander Macduff of Bonhard (1816-1866), Writer to the Signet, husband to Smith’s niece Mary; Archibald Smith (1795-1883) (declined), Merchant, of Jordanhill; William Ewing [Euing] (1788-1874), Underwriter; Cunningham [Cuningham] Smith, Merchant; William Gourlie, Junior, Merchant; Alexander Ranken, Merchant (declined); William Cockey, Iron Merchant; and David Watson, Bookseller.²⁴⁸

The aim of Smith’s Will was to create a legacy which would benefit not only members of his immediate family, but to provide support for others in the community, and in so doing he demonstrated an awareness and forward thinking. The main conditions are first laid out: the Trustees are to invest £10,000 in purchasing ‘Government Stock, Bank of England Stock, or in the stock of any public Bank in Scotland, or upon heritable security’, and to manage the funds of a life rent to Mary Macduff (néé Brown) wife of Alexander Macduff. To each of her children, when over 21 years, to receive £10 each and if she dies while the children are young, they are to be provided for and educated. If Mary did not have children or if they died before maturity, £10,000 was to be given to the River Clyde and Harbour of Glasgow for ‘erecting and maintaining and supporting an Hospital in the vicinity of the Harbour of Glasgow, called “Smith’s Hospital”’.

To his relatives he stipulated that £20 per annum was to go to his first cousin Susannah Crawford Allan,²⁴⁹ £20 per annum to Ann Humphrey, daughter of the late William

²⁴⁷ “Death of Dr. Smith of Crutherland”. *Glasgow Herald*, 26 January 1849, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=GGgVawPscysC&dat=18490126&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>.

²⁴⁸ “Disposition and Settlement of Dr John Smith of Crutherland”, 10 December 1846, registered 30 January 1849. Scottish Record Office: Ref RD5/825 and Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills: Ref SC36/51/27. Original in Private Collection. Surnames in square brackets are correct spellings taken from signed letter from Trustees dated 27 September 1853.

²⁴⁹ Smith’s aunt Margaret Smith (1759-1791) married Hugh Allan, merchant in Kilmarnock. They had three children but only Susannah was surviving in 1846.

Humphrey, Merchant in Greenock,²⁵⁰ £10 each to his first cousins Susan, Mary, Eliza, and Jessy, all daughters of the late William Gregory (b. 1742) Merchant of Kilmarnock;²⁵¹ £10 each also to his first cousins Susannah, Magdalen [sic], and Eliza, all daughters of the late John Hutchison of Fulbar, Renfrew.²⁵² His ‘cousin’ John Heriot, Surgeon in the Sixth Dragoon Guards, was to receive £400, and Jean Heriot, widow of the late David Ballingall Rector of the Academy Ayr, £10; and £1000 to his nephew[-in-law] Alexander Macduff of Bonhard. Others who received gifts were William Fleming (1794-1866), Doctor of Divinity, Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Glasgow and John Smith Forsyth, son of the Reverend James Forsyth (1797-1879), Doctor of Divinity, Aberdeen who both received £100. To each of his Trustees he gifted £25 each if they wished to accept it.

To each of his servants Smith gave £10 and provided ‘mourning cloaks suitable to their sex, and station in life’, but especially to Jean Wallace whom, ‘at present in my service’, he gave £100 plus an annuity of £10. Smith does not indicate her station, apart from servant, but he must have had great respect for her, either as a long-standing member of staff or maybe as a confidante.

In concluding his gifts to family and friends he stipulated that ‘the parties who are females, shall be exclusive of the *jus mariti* of their present or future husbands, and not liable for such husbands debts or deeds or the diligence of their Creditors, all which are hereby expressively excluded’. An unusual request for the time, but it expresses how Smith earned the respect of many people.

Finally, Smith requested that £500 was to be given to The Presbytery of the Church of Scotland, in the City of Glasgow, and £500 to the Incorporated Stationers Company of Glasgow, to oversee bursaries in the College (University) of Glasgow, called ‘Smith’s Presbytery Bursary or Bursaries’. In 1895, the University of Glasgow merged the two bursaries and named them the ‘Smith (Crutherland) Bursary’. It was primarily aimed at the sons of members of the Incorporated Stationers Company of Glasgow, and if none came

²⁵⁰ Possibly related to the Humphreys on his Great Grandmother’s side (Crawfurds of Greenock).

²⁵¹ Smith’s aunt Elizabeth Boyd Smith married William Gregory, merchant in Kilmarnock. They had many children but only four daughters were surviving in 1846. A son, William (1789-1875), however was a merchant banker in Alexandria, Virginia, whose grandson became a surgeon in the Civil War.

²⁵² Smith’s aunt Susannah Smith (b. 1761) married John Hutchison. They had in total eleven children.

forward, the bursary was to be made eligible to other students. The bursary was tenable for four years.²⁵³

John Smith passed away at his home at 120 West Regent Street at five o'clock in the morning of Monday 22 January 1849. He was aged 65. Many tributes expressed and confirmed Smith as a deeply religious and unassuming man, who was 'kind and intelligent', with business acumen and principle. Dibdin considered him as one of the gallant 'rank and file of bibliomaniacal veterans'; and the poet, Thomas Campbell wrote of Smith as his 'liberal friend and publisher'.²⁵⁴ In summing up their acknowledgement of John Smith, Youngest, the *Glasgow Herald* stated:

Dr. Smith was characterised by the liberality of his public spirit, not less than by the kindness of his disposition in private life. He rendered valuable services to many of our public institutions; and the University (which conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws) receives, by his death, a legacy of a valuable collection of rare and privately printed works, together with a curious and voluminous series of tracts illustrating the history and statistics of Glasgow. His charities were dispensed with a generous but discriminating hand; and more than one act of kind and considerate munificence will rise to the memory of his more familiar friends. The last piece of business in which he was engaged, was an endeavour to do something for the declining years of an author whose early compositions had received the praises of Sir Walter Scott and Mrs. Joanna Baillie. He was occupied with this matter up to the evening before the last fatal recurrence of his malady; and although he was too ill to read the letter which announced the success of his exertions, yet he was not deprived of the satisfaction of knowing that he had been the means of procuring for the deserving object of his solicitude, a handsome grant from the Royal Literary Fund.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ *The Glasgow University Calendar for the Year 1921-22* (Glasgow: MacLehose, Jackson & Co., 1921), 479.

²⁵⁴ J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1837), 351; Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *A Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland* (London: James Bohn, 1838), 2:768 [JSID204]; William Beattie, *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell* (London: Hall, Virtue & Co., 1850), 3:54.

²⁵⁵ "Death of Dr. Smith of Crutherland". *Glasgow Herald*, 26 January 1849, Issue 4799, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=GGgVawPscysC&dat=18490126&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>. The grant from the Royal Literary Fund was to John Struthers (1776-1853), poet and anthologist, who received £40. Struthers was one of Smith's authors. Through Joanna Baillie, Struthers came to the notice of Scott in 1803. See Ephemera, Eph. N/990 Testimonial from Struthers to Smith concerning position of Librarian at Stirling's Library, Oct 17 1832.

On his death Smith's estate was valued at £5032 19s 8d, with £3932 17s 3d from the business of John Smith & Son, the remainder from rents and personal belongings.²⁵⁶

Smith's niece Mary Brown had married Alexander Macduff of Bonhard in 1842, and had four children, the first child in 1849, which meant that 'Smith's Hospital' could not be founded.²⁵⁷

Of the many roles that John Smith, Youngest, performed throughout his career the most persistent was his involvement with the many book trade organisations. Chapter 4 will look more closely at these organisations, how they functioned and their impact on the book trade of the period.

²⁵⁶ "Inventory of the personal Estate of John Smith of Crutherland Bookseller in Glasgow". Scottish Record Office, SC36/48/35.

²⁵⁷ Mary Macduff died 21 March 1866, followed two months later by her husband.

Chapter 4 John Smith, Youngest: Book Organisations and Clubs

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 illustrated how Smith positioned himself in his immediate milieu, through his family, and as a bookseller. Chapter 4 will look at how Smith engaged with the wider community through various organisations and institutions around him especially relating to the book trade or the wider bibliophilic world that the trade supplied. This Chapter will begin by looking at the organisations that encouraged and supported price control, such as the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association, and how they operated. Then the role and function of the Bookbinders' Society of Glasgow across the Smith years. Finally, the role of Smith, Youngest, in the historic printing clubs of the nineteenth century and his library is considered. To give some context as to the extent of the book trade in Glasgow we begin by briefly looking at the development of bookselling in the city.

Jane Norton in her *Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales* stated that trade directories are 'by nature and origin, instruments of commerce', and provide the research a wealth of information on organisation, distribution and movement of people.²⁵⁸ John Tait published Glasgow's earliest trade directory in 1783 followed by one in 1787 by Nathaniel Jones. Jones issued further Directories in 1789, 1790 and 1792.²⁵⁹ With the death of Jones in 1792 seven years lapsed before Walter M'Feat issued his new directory in 1799. The directory was created from an 'actual survey [of] as many names, designations, and places of business, of the Merchants, Manufacturers, Shop-keepers, &c'.²⁶⁰ Envisioning the directory as a long-term project, he encouraged members of the public and trade to assist with the compilation, and to inform him of any changes by the beginning of June so that the next edition would be accurate. M'Feat included additional material that would be useful to business, traders and the public and expanded the directory from 108 pages in 1799 to 234 pages by 1828. In 1828 the Post Office took over the publication using the same format and order as that of McFeat's, which suggests that he

²⁵⁸ Jane E. Norton, ed., *Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales, Excluding London, Published before 1856* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950), 1. On Glasgow directories: J. Wyllie Guild, 'Early Glasgow Directories', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 2 (1883): 199-203.

²⁵⁹ Guild, 'Early Glasgow Directories': 201. Jones's grandson, also called Nathaniel, would become the librarian for Glasgow College (d. 1863).

²⁶⁰ *The Glasgow Directory* (Glasgow: W. M'Feat & Co., 1799), preface.

may have transferred his copyright to the Post Office, it was now printed by John Graham & Co.²⁶¹

Using the trade directories, information on the book trade was extracted from 1783 to 1849 at five-yearly intervals; it is assumed that entries have the primary trade listed first followed by any secondary trade.²⁶² The results relating to booksellers and stationers were graphed as pertinent to this thesis. Additionally, superimposed on the graph, is the rise in population over the same period (Figure 4.1). The graph clearly demonstrates the rise in population corresponding to the rise in book trade.

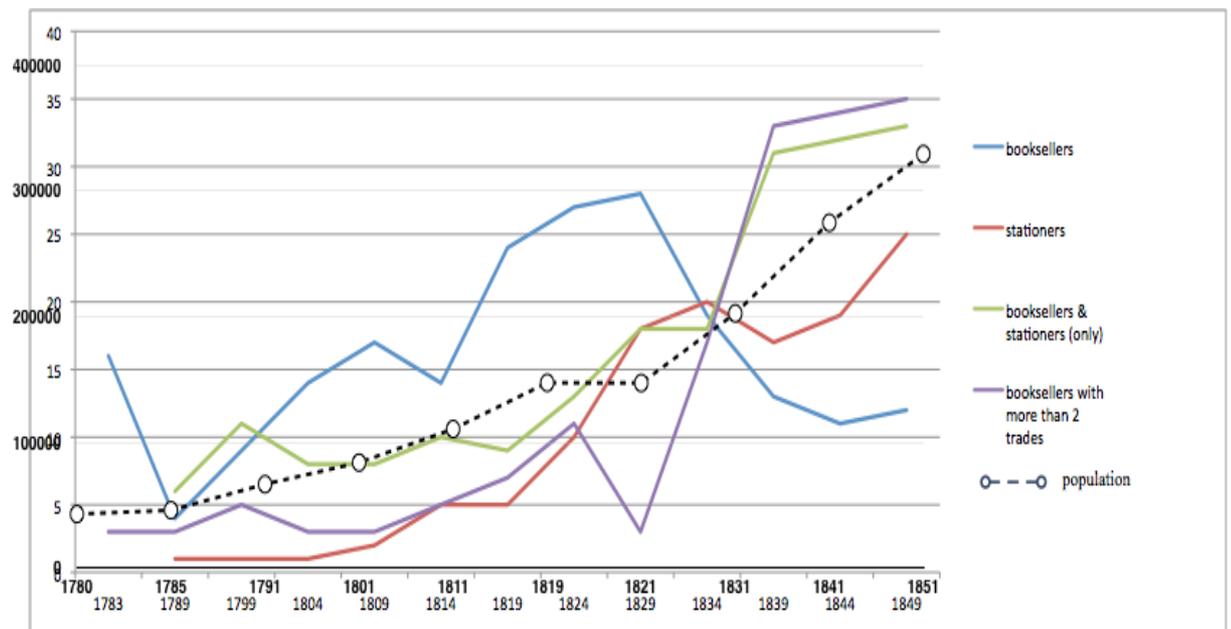


Figure 4.1: Book trade of Glasgow 1783-1849 showing corresponding rise in population (1780-1851). Population scales in bold.²⁶³

The graph shows how bookselling dominated the trade together with bookseller/stationers through the later part of the eighteenth-century up until the 1820s when the trade began to greatly diversify with more businesses providing a variety of trades other than bookselling.

²⁶¹ *John Tait's Directory for the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Tait, 1783); *Jones's Directory* (Glasgow: Printed by John Mennons, 1787-1790); *Glasgow Directory* (Glasgow: W. M'Feat & Co., 1799-1828); *Glasgow Post Office Directory*, 1828-1849.

²⁶² For the use of directories for analyses see: J. L. Oliver, "Directories and Their Use in Geographical Inquiry," *Geography* 49, no. 4 (1964): 400-9; Gareth Shaw, & Wild, M. T., "Retail Patterns in the Victorian City," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series*, 4, no. 2 (1979): 278-91; James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: British Library, 2014).

²⁶³ Population figures taken from: James Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1840 [JSID168]), 11; Charles Withers, "The Demographic History of the City, 1831-1911," in *Glasgow: 1830 to 1912*, vol. 2, ed. W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 142.

The shift could have been accounted for by the change in directories, but M'Feat records more trade than the Post Office (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Variation between Directories of M'Feat and the Post Office for 1828.

Directory 1828	Booksellers	Stationers	Booksellers/ Stationers	Booksellers/ Stationers+	Booksellers+	Total
M'Feat	24	13	17	2	14	70
PO	33	14	10	1	3	61

During the 1820s, there is a corresponding rise of booksellers combined with other trades, such as, bookseller-stationer, bookseller-printer and even one bookseller-grocer. The firm of John Smith & Son was listed in all the directories from 1783 to 1849 as having three concurrent trades: bookseller, stationer and librarian (or circulating library). Overall, between 1804 and 1829 there was a 96% increase in booksellers in Glasgow in total (stand-alone trade and combined with others), but between 1829 and 1849 there was only a 46.94% increase. The main commercial and business area of Glasgow was about one square kilometre taking in the High Street, Trongate, Argyle Street and George Street and the streets in between; within this small area were 54 bookselling businesses (in 1834). As the diversity of trades increased it suggests that bookselling, as a single trade, was not sufficient on its own to provide a living wage, and had to be supplemented. Together with expanding on the services provided, the need for a sustainable income led many booksellers to resort to underselling: a means whereby new titles are sold with greater discounts to customers in the hope that increased sales will in turn produce increased profits. With popular titles the concern of publishers was to prevent others undermining their profit, which in turn led to the development of protection organisations. The next section addresses how booksellers in Glasgow came together to control and prevent underselling.

4.2 Processes of Control in the Book Trade

The cost of books whether referring to trade prices or selling prices has been a concern amongst booksellers for as long as there has been competition in the book trade coupled with the demands of the public for cheap books. As a result, the issue of underselling formed the basis of several regulatory bodies that appeared throughout the country at different periods. As the numbers of players within the book trade increased, together with increased competition as booksellers jostled with each other to sell the latest works off the press, organisations were formed to regulate the marketplace. The Smiths themselves

demonstrate some of the conflicting practices performed in trying to profit from book sales.

In 1774, Smith's grandfather had, along with other Glasgow and Edinburgh booksellers, been accused by James Dodsley of handling the pirated edition of *Letters Written By the Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope*, specifically of importing three pirated editions of 10,000 copies and a further 10,000 of another edition.²⁶⁴ Smith did not appear in Court and a Decree in Absence was issued.²⁶⁵ The bookseller C. Macfarlane had been promoting the book as a new edition in Edinburgh, as it had additional material from the Earl himself, and other booksellers could easily view it as a legitimate edition. The Courts upheld Dodsley's claim of it being illegal.

Such examples abound during the period. Despite being accused of handling illegal editions themselves, as in the Stanhope case, the accusers themselves sought means to prevent outsiders from encroaching on their trade. The Burgess members (including Smith), in 1777, appealed to the Dean of Guild to intervene and prevent traders from outside Glasgow underselling books in the City.²⁶⁶ They intimated that, as these outsiders did not contribute to the City in either taxes or charity, they had an unfair advantage in being able to undercut the resident sellers. Similarly, in Edinburgh, The Society of Booksellers was formed in 1776 to control the sale of reprints from Ireland, fix prices of London books, and control the distribution of printers who were not booksellers within its limited definition of the term 'bookseller'.²⁶⁷ Further, in 1798, Smith, Senior, together with twenty-seven others, issued a broadsheet proclaiming that the price of stationery was fixed and warned against the sale of cheap Irish editions. The broadsheet listed forty-four book titles with their retail and wholesale prices, together with the prices for different grades of paper.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ Philip Dormer, *Letters Written by the Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to His Son, Philip Stanhope, Esq; Late Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Dresden* (London: Printed by J. Dodsley, 1774).

²⁶⁵ Warren McDougall, "Smugglers, Reprinters, and Hot Pursuers: The Irish-Scottish Book Trade, and Copyright Prosecutions in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550-1990*, ed. Robin Myers, and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), 174.

²⁶⁶ Printed letter regarding underselling by auctioneers in Glasgow and an appeal to the Dean of Guild, Glasgow, 20 March 1777: 'Unto the Honourable the Dean of Guild of the City of Glasgow, and his Brethren. The Memorial of the under-mentioned Booksellers of said City', *Ephemera*, Eph N/62.

²⁶⁷ Richard B. Sher, "Corporatism and Consensus in the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade: The Edinburgh Booksellers' Society in Comparative Perspective," *Book History* 1, no. 1 (1998): 55.

²⁶⁸ 'We, Subscribers, Booksellers and Stationers in Glasgow, Have Agreed to Sell Bibles, School Books, Paper and Paper Books, &c. At the Prices Affixed in the Following Tables, and to Conform to Them in

How successful the Glasgow sellers were in their efforts is difficult to ascertain. It is possible that in a close community such as Glasgow pressure from the Burgess system was more than enough to prevent any real threat from outside. Underselling, though, was to remain a major concern for booksellers into the nineteenth century. There was a fine line between trying to maximise profits and monetary gain and the perceived perception of fairness and decency of the bookselling profession. In 1796, The Edinburgh Booksellers' Society declared that booksellers who offered high discounts below the published prices were conducting an 'unfair & unjust practice, and highly detrimental to the interest of the fair trader'.²⁶⁹ The opinion had not changed by 1835 when the Edinburgh Booksellers' Society received an anonymous letter, expressing similar concerns, that underselling was 'destroying the respectability as well as ruining the temporal interests'.²⁷⁰ The situation in Glasgow was similar, and the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association was duly formed as a result.

4.2.1 The Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association

Much of what is currently known of the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association (GBPA) is through the work of Iain Beavan.²⁷¹ The archive source of the GBPA exists in three separate locations: a deposit in the Mitchell Library which was the basis of Beavan's article; several papers in the Smith Collection (Ephemera) held in the Special Collections of GUL; and items held by the author. The material held in the Mitchell contains correspondence between the Association and members of the book trade in London and Edinburgh, printed circulars and account details. The Smith Collection contains a selection

Every Respect [...] dated Glasgow, 18 August 1798, Ephemera, Eph. N/107. The 27 subscribers were: James & Andrew Duncan; James & Matthew Robertson; Dunlop & Wilson; John & William Shaw; John Smith, jun. [Senior]; Robert Farie [Fairie]; Archibald Coubrough; James Gillies; James Duncan, jun.; James Lumsden; Andrew Macaulay [M'Aulay]; Brash & Reid; Andrew Orr; David Niven; Andrew Bryden [Brydon]; Alexander Cameron*; Stewart & Meikle; Robert Hutchison; James Dymock; John McFadyen [M'Faden]; Richard Scott*; John Murdoch; Walter McFeat [M'Feat] & Co.; Maurice Ogle; James Imray; A. MacGoun [M'Gown], jun.; Andrew Carrick – those marked * are not listed in M'Feat's *Glasgow Directory* for 1799.

²⁶⁹ Quoted in Iain Beavan, "'What Constitutes the Crime Which It Is Your Pleasure to Punish So Mercilessly?' Scottish Booksellers' Societies in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Moving Market: Continuity and Change in the Book Trade*, ed. Peter Isaac, and Barry McKay (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2001), 77.

²⁷⁰ Beavan, "'What Constitutes the Crime'", 77.

²⁷¹ Beavan, "'What Constitutes the Crime'", 71-82. Beavan also covered the Association in Vol. 3 of the *Edinburgh History of the Book*: Iain Beavan, "Bookselling," in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, vol. 3: *Ambition and Industry 1830-1880*, ed. Bill Bell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 136-140. GBPA appears in e.g. James J. Barnes, *Free Trade in Books: A Study of the London Book Trade since 1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 18; and W. G. Corp, *Fifty Years: A Brief Account of the Associated Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland 1895-1945* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1945), 2.

of printed circulars that were distributed throughout the trade with printed signatories of the Association. The author's collection consists of two Minute Books covering the period of the Association's existence (1834-1844), an account book, memorials, correspondence and printed circulars. John Smith, as one of the major booksellers in Glasgow, became a focus for the Association's activities, as did many others. Smith's connection with the Association was limited, as he took no active part in the running of it, yet its influence affected his retail activities.

4.2.2 Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association and Price Maintenance

In December 1834, a group of publishers and booksellers issued a printed circular aimed at the London book trade identifying a crisis that they felt was engulfing the book trade of Glasgow:

[F]or some time past, a practice of underselling has been carried on by many of the Retail Booksellers, and the public have been led to imagine that they ought to have a discount on *all* publications; because they are not aware of the different conditions under which books may be purchased, and this has given rise to a system of estimating and beating down prices, which has at last left little – and in many cases, *no remuneration* – remaining to the Retail Bookseller, who is regularly obliged to sacrifice his lawful profit.

Viewing with alarm the consequences which must necessarily follow, if such a state of trade was permitted to continue, the Retail Booksellers of Glasgow, at a General Meeting, appointed a Committee to devise a means of putting an end to it; and the Committee, [...] have procured the signatures of nearly all the respectable Booksellers in Glasgow [...].²⁷²

The Committee took the name the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association, and at a meeting on the 18 December 1834, declared to its members that there had been favourable acknowledgement of the Association's intentions. David Robertson, the Chairman, noted that though 'Messrs Smith & Son, James Brash & Co., Mr. Collins and Mr. Dewar' had declined to sign, all but Mr. Dewar had stated that 'they fully concurred with the object of the Association'.²⁷³ Unfortunately the Minutes do not elaborate on the reasons for their not signing; though, speculatively, they may have been sceptical of its success within an already established, though unpopular, practice.

²⁷² GBPA, printed circular, Glasgow, 31 December 1834. Author's Collection. The circular had 42 signatures from Glasgow booksellers, and 27 from Edinburgh.

²⁷³ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 28 November 1834.

The GBPA had been formed a couple of months prior to December to address the issue of underselling in the book trade. The state of the local market spurred the publisher Archibald Fullarton (of A. Fullarton & Co.) and bookseller John Reid (of John Reid & Co.), and others, to come together to discuss the possibility of curbing the trend. The first formal meeting (the General Meeting noted the quote above), held on 28 November 1834, discussed the possibility of a ‘sale of discount as applicable to all copyright books of the latest edition not broken in price or published more than five years’, with further discussions on whether ‘the maximum sale of discount [...] should be 12½ or 16⅔[%] or two pence off the shilling’.²⁷⁴ A discount of 16⅔% off the shilling was agreed on all copyright books published within the last five years. A further meeting the following week laid down the rules and regulations of the new Association, electing a Committee, and set the quorum to five. Table 3.1 lists the Committee members of the first four years.

Table 4.2: Glasgow Booksellers’ Protection Association Committee Members elected 1834 to 1836.

Committee Members between 1834 to 1836			
5 December 1834	4 March 1835	4 December 1835	23 June 1836
David Robertson (Chairman)	David Robertson (Chairman)	David Robertson (Chairman)	David Robertson (Chairman)
John Finlay (Secretary)	John Reid (Secretary)	John Reid (Secretary)	John Reid (Secretary)
James Brash, jun	David Bryce	Archibald Fullarton	David Bryce
John Dow	John Dow	George Gallie	William Collins
Alexander Hadden	John Finlay	Robert Jackson	John Dow
Robert Jackson	Archibald Fullarton	Andrew Lottimer	John Finlay
Andrew Lottimer	George Gallie	John McLeod	Archibald Fullarton
John McLeod	Alexander Hadden	Thomas Murray	John Keith (Treasurer)
Thomas Murray	Robert Jackson		Andrew Lottimer
Maurice Ogle	Andrew Lottimer		Thomas Murray
John Reid	Thomas Murray		Andrew Rutherglen
Andrew Rutherglen	John Niven		Peter Salmon
George Watson	Andrew Rutherglen		
[5 to a quorum]	[5 to a quorum]	[3 to a quorum]	[not indicated]

The Committee was the core elected group that met regularly to further the Association’s intentions, contacting members of the trade, and following up on complaints. The 1834 Committee was made up of the following people, several of whom had business dealings with Smith:

²⁷⁴ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 28 November 1834.

(a) David Robertson, who was elected Chairman, was a bookseller and stationer, with a shop in the Trongate. Robertson (1795-1854) was a well-known storyteller with a passion for Scottish poetry. He published the *Whistle-Binkie: A Collection of Comic and Sentimental Songs* in 1832, which was edited by John D. Carrick, a founder member of the Maitland Club. Robertson's shop was a well-known meeting place of various literary people including William Motherwell and William Kennedy, and Robertson was awarded the title of the Printer to Her Majesty in Glasgow in 1837. He died of cholera in 1854.²⁷⁵ Smith co-published seven titles with Robertson, and others, during his lifetime.

(b) John Finlay, the Secretary, of R. & J. Finlay, carvers, gilders, looking glass manufacturers, printsellers, booksellers and stationers to the King, had premises on Buchanan Street in the Dilettante Building. Robert Finlay was the carver and gilder. By 1837, John Finlay was co-partnered with his wife Margaret, and continued the business as John & Margaret Finlay. He published the first daily newspaper, *The Day*, but it only lasted a year (1832-1833).²⁷⁶

(c) James Brash, jun. from James Brash & Co., booksellers and stationers in the Trongate. His uncle, also called James, had been co-partner with William Reid in the firm of Brash & Reid. When that co-partnership dissolved in 1817, they formed James Brash & Co. The firm ceased trading in 1841. Brash, Senior, and Smith, Senior, both elders of the Tron Church, together with William Collins, and responsible for bringing Rev. Thomas Chalmers to Glasgow.²⁷⁷ Between 1793 and 1841 61 titles had Brash and Smith listed together, along with others.

(d) John Dow, bookseller, was situated in the High Street. John Dow and Charles Dewar were in partnership until 1829 when it was mutually dissolved.²⁷⁸ Dewar would later become a persistent offender with regards to the Association's rules, which will be considered later.

(e) Alexander Hadden, bookseller, also in the High Street, fell foul of the Association's rules and was suspended several times over the years.

²⁷⁵ John Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, 3rd rev. ed. (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1864 [JSID468]), 467f.

²⁷⁶ Printed circular for *The Day*, 12 March 1832, in the Ephemera, Eph N/750.

²⁷⁷ See Chapter 5, Section 5.2.

²⁷⁸ Notice, *The Glasgow Herald*, No. 2758, 29 May 1829, 3.

(f) Robert Jackson & Co., were booksellers and stationers on Argyle Street. Little is known of his business, but went into sequestration in 1855.

(g) Andrew Lottimer was primarily regarded as a seller of schoolbooks.²⁷⁹

(h) John McLeod was a bookseller and stationer on Argyle Street. Little is known of his business, either, but between 1838 and 1843 Smith and McLeod issued seven jointly published titles, mainly related to the Glasgow Assembly and the issue of working men and liberty. They also issued works describing the Eglinton Tournament of 1839, in which James Smith of Jordanhill took part.

(i) Thomas Murray, bookseller and stationer on Argyle Street. Little is known of him apart from being an agent for the lottery. Murray co-published with Smith & Son five titles between 1822 and 1849, of a theological nature. After Smith's death in 1849, Smith & Son, under David Watson and John Knox, continued co-publishing with Murray, but on law and education titles.

(j) Maurice Ogle, bookseller and stationer in the Royal Exchange Square. Ogle was a prolific publisher of religious works, fifty of which were issued with Smith as a co-partner.

(k) John Reid of John Reid & Co. specialised in foreign, English and American books, and were situated on Queen Street, even advertising in American journals of the time.²⁸⁰ They issued two titles co-partnered with Smith, written by the theologian Rev. William Cuninghame on prophecy based on calculating events from the Old Testament.

(l) Andrew Rutherglen was a bookseller and stationer based in the Trongate.

²⁷⁹ See advert in *Ephemera*, Eph N/341.

²⁸⁰ 'John Reid & Co., Foreign and English Booksellers, Inform the Booksellers of the United States of America that they are the only booksellers in Scotland who regularly import American new books and export new British books [...].', dated Glasgow 31 January 1834. *The Booksellers' Advertiser, and Monthly Register of New Publications. American and Foreign*, Vol. 1, No. 6, June 1834, 48. Adverts also appeared in subsequent months.

(m) George Watson was a stationer and librarian located in Stevenson Street and may have been related to David Watson, Smith's partner in business.

Of the 27 members that turned up for the first meeting (three sent apologies), only nine attended the next.²⁸¹ Nevertheless at this second meeting, new rules and regulations were discussed and sent to the printers for distribution amongst the trade in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Members of the Committee then visited those who had not signed the regulations to persuade them to agree and join the Association. It was at this point that, James Brash, William Collins, Charles Dewar, and John Smith, Youngest had declined to sign the regulations.

After the GBPA's printed circular of December 1834 the Association continued to persuade more booksellers to join their cause. Early in January 1835, Robertson, having returned from Edinburgh, reported that he had managed to sign up 'almost every wholesale house there and stated that every one fully concurred with the object of the Association'.²⁸² It was agreed to issue another circular with the intention of contacting all the 'wholesale houses in London soliciting their cooperation with the Association'.²⁸³ Their hopes were dashed when the Clerk of the London trade, W. Bounds, and John Taylor informed them that the London trade could not agree to 16½% and expressed that 10% was the maximum they could allow.²⁸⁴

The Circulars which I received from you have been shewn [sic] to the Members (individually) of the Booksellers Committee and they are each of opinion that the allowance of 16½ p Cent cannot be sanctioned by the London Trade. They did not therefore think it necessary to bring this matter formally before the Committee at their meeting yesterday. Should however the Booksellers of Glasgow feel disposed to reduce the Discount to the same as allowed in London viz. 10 p Cent I am sure the London Committee will be most happy to assist in carrying the resolutions into effect but they cannot countenance a larger allowance in Glasgow than is permitted in London.²⁸⁵

²⁸¹ In the 1834 PO Directory, 54 entries had some form of bookselling business, with only 19 considered as being purely booksellers, the remainder were various combinations of bookseller/stationer, bookseller/publisher, bookseller/library or bookseller/printer.

²⁸² GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 9 January 1835.

²⁸³ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 9 January 1835.

²⁸⁴ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 4 March 1835. See also Printed Circular issued the same day Ephemera, Eph N/65.

²⁸⁵ Letter from John Taylor to John Reid, 13 February 1835. The Records of the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association, 1834-1851, Folder I, Arts Department, Mitchell Library, Glasgow (Ref: 891733)

The GBPA members capitulated, realising that the success of their proposals lay with the backing of the London trade. They therefore voted for a change in their own rules to limit the discount to 10%, and wrote to their members for their opinions.²⁸⁶ It is surprising the Glasgow trade were not already aware of what was happening between themselves and the London houses and had not contacted them at the same time as they had the Edinburgh houses. It suggests the communication between the two print centres was not as well informed as was assumed even though several in Glasgow agents frequented London, and vice versa. It seems that the Glasgow Association had not thought out their action carefully enough to anticipate the reluctance of the London trade to give more away than they would like.

As 1835 progressed, only a further four meetings were recorded in the Minute Book, on 9 and 13 March, 20 November and 4 December where procedures were discussed on how to monitor and enforce their various regulations. Moreover, amendments were being suggested to the regulations to take into account different types of customer, for instance, a byelaw was proposed to allow teachers to obtain the old discount of 2d in the shilling.²⁸⁷

On the 9 February 1836 it was finally agreed to establish firmly the method of price control amongst the book trade of Glasgow. The date of 1 July 1836 was fixed to allow time to inform the trade, develop the regulatory system and a method of membership identification to be discussed in the following meetings.²⁸⁸ A printed circular was distributed to the trade outlining the declaration:

We, the undersigned, Booksellers in Glasgow and vicinity, engage that, on and after the 1st day of July, 1836, we will not, in any instance, give or allow to the public a discount of more than 10 per cent from the selling prices of the latest editions of copyright books; unless that they can be bought at a discount of more than 10 per cent. under sale, in which case they are to be considered broken in price, and not subject to the above rule. It is also understood that works which have been more than five years published without any new impression having been printed are also exempt from this regulation.²⁸⁹

SR171TOC) [hereafter cited as GBPA Mitchell]. Reid was agent for Taylor as the letter also expressed how much Reid should advertise the 'Records of Science to the extent of 2L', probably referring to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, of which Taylor was Treasurer.

²⁸⁶ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 4 March 1835.

²⁸⁷ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 9 March 1835.

²⁸⁸ Disappointingly, the specifics of the discussions were not minuted.

²⁸⁹ Printed circular, dated 22 March 1836. Ephemera, Eph N/73.

It appears that several members of the trade were not forthcoming in their response to the circulars that had been sent out with regards to opinions, and the meeting of 13 June tasked Thomas Murray and David Robertson ‘to call on Ogle, Messrs Collins & Reid, on [sic] Griffin & Co, Smith & Son & Brash & Co, in order to endeavour to get their concurrence and be present at the next meeting’.²⁹⁰ It was reported that though Ogle agreed, Griffin would not and Smith was doubtful.²⁹¹ The fact that Griffin disagreed and Smith was doubtful of its success was probably based upon how such a system could be policed and its interference with the ability of booksellers to charge their own prices. It was likely they were aware that some of their long-standing trade customers probably received more than 10% discount and were considering how it would affect the service they provided.

In preparation for Friday 1 July, the Association sent out a public notice, a circular to the Edinburgh Trade, issued a ready-reckoner for calculating discount on a range of published prices, a list of the rules and bye-laws, and a ticket identifying those that had signed the declaration (see Figure 4.2).²⁹² On the following Monday, the 4 July, they had their weekly meeting where Reid reported that a substantial number of booksellers had signed the declaration, and that an update to the printed circular was required listing the new names, in fact Reid reported that the majority of the trade were following the declaration.

²⁹⁰ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 13 June 1836. The prior meeting on the 6 June has the entry ‘No one appeared but Mr. David Robertson, consequently no business was transacted’.

²⁹¹ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 20 June 1836.

²⁹² GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 27 June 1836.

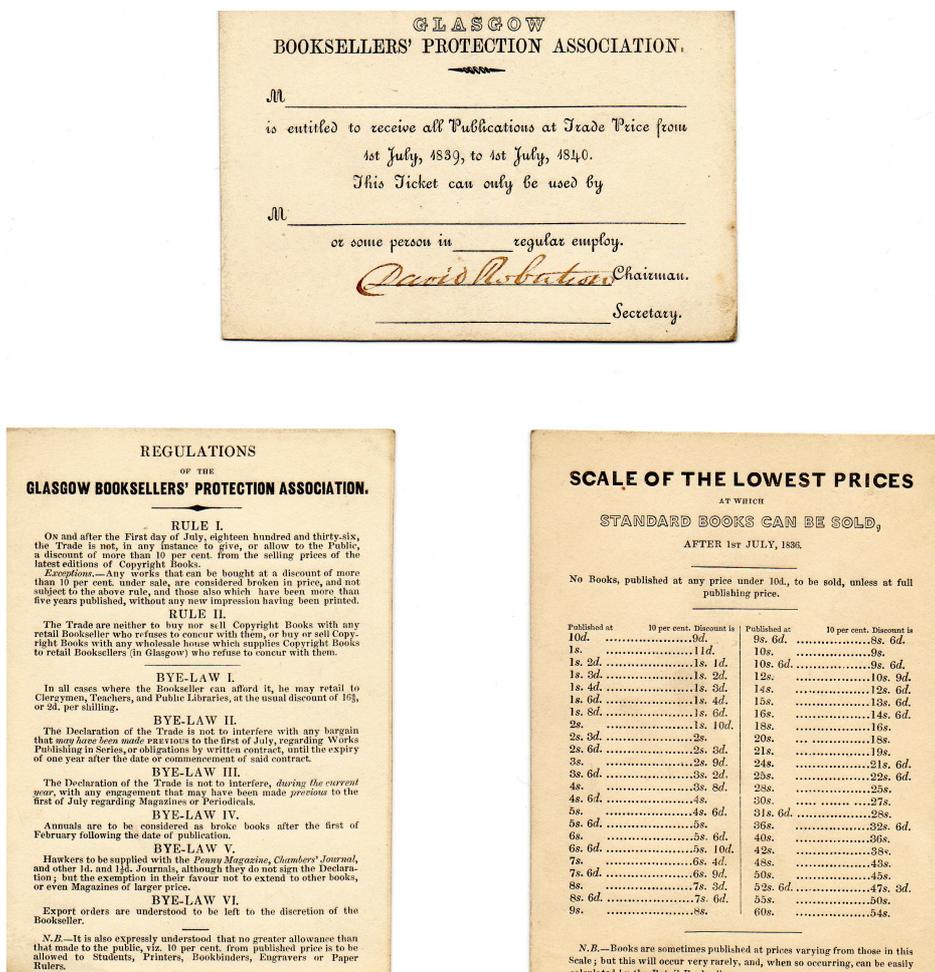


Figure 4.2: Member's ticket of the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association signed by David Robertson, Chairman, list of regulations and ready-reckoner. These items were small enough to fit in a pocket (Author's Collection).

There were still some booksellers that refused or were not convinced of the Association's motives. They considered the Association curbed their ability to market their stock and compete with others, and if they had arranged special discounts with their customers, a fixed price may encourage customers to patronise another bookseller.

Gallie was instructed to write to Hamilton, Adams & Co. in London to persuade Ogle who seems to have become disillusioned since his role on the Committee in 1834, to comply with the declaration, which they did:

They [the GPBA] wished us to write to you on the subject, and to urge a compliance with the general wish – We have great pleasure in doing this from a conviction that such an arrangement would be fair towards the public and beneficial to the Booksellers.

The experiment has been making in London during the last 4 or 5 years with far more success than could have been anticipated considering that the number who signed was upward of 1600.²⁹³

Hamilton, Adams & Co. wrote back to Gallie to say they were satisfied that Ogle & Sons were complying and that the London Trade had a fresh impetus, or as Hamilton Adams put it, a ‘new order [...] has been introduced into the London Trade since these rules were adopted’.²⁹⁴ The relationship between the Glasgow and London Associations appeared cordial, but there seemed a sense, from reading the correspondence, that it was the Glasgow Association that was taking precedence in all matters. There was still a lot more to do to convince the London booksellers. ‘How serious was the London Association in pursuing the aims of the GBPA?’, was an accusation that would be raised by the members in the coming year.

The meetings following the 1 July began to identify issues within the trade and the misdemeanours that were being committed. Now that Ogle was fully supporting the Association, he in turn pointed out that Smith & Son, and others, were still supplying him with books based on their former business agreements, contravening the Association’s regulations. John Niven reported that Alexander Hadden was selling Morrison’s *Book Keeping* for 5/9.²⁹⁵ Smith in fact apologised, not realising that books had been sent with the old discount, probably the error of a junior member of staff.²⁹⁶

Waugh & Innes of Edinburgh refused point blank to agree with the GBPA regulations and the Committee expressed their disappointment

that a house who had, when waited upon for their signature, so warmly entered into the arrangements of the Glasgow trade, should never have even attempted, to support them, and resolve to act upon the declaration “that they will not buy or sell copyright books with any wholesale house which supplies copyright

²⁹³ Hamilton Adams & Co., London to Gallie, 19 July 1836, with copy of letter to Ogle transcribed. GBPA Mitchell, Folder I.

²⁹⁴ Hamilton Adams & Co., London to Gallie, 19 July 1836.

²⁹⁵ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 25 July 1836. The book may have been *The Elements of Book-keeping, by Single and Double Entry* by James Morrison (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1825), which was highly popular at the time and was priced at 8/-. Smith co-published Morrison’s *Young Ladies’ Guide to Practical Arithmetic and Book-keeping* in 1813, together with Brash & Reid and Steven & Frazer [JSID380].

²⁹⁶ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 9 August 1836.

books to actual booksellers who refuse to concur with us in said declaration".²⁹⁷

Later, when William Collins received an order from Waugh & Innes, he brought it before the Committee seeking advice. The order did not contravene the regulations, yet the verdict was not to supply.²⁹⁸ The decision seems to have been punishment to Waugh & Innes for their refusal to sign, as it can be surmised that the order was a request for non-copyright works and the regulations only applied to those in copyright. This type of 'punishment' would lead the Association into further difficulties in the 1840s with another wholesale house, Richard Griffin & Co.

After the formal launch of the Regulations, requests were still being received from booksellers wishing to join the Association. Such requests were actioned by delegating a couple of members to visit the shop and enquire of the potential member's trading habits. This was to determine if the request was from a genuine bookseller and not of someone who sold books aside to their main business. Not all within the trade were successful. The Bookvendors Society requested membership, and together with their request, provided a copy of their regulations.²⁹⁹ The Association's decision was several months later as it had been postponed until the main Committee had met. Ultimately the Secretary of the Bookvendors Society was informed 'that they consider the trade of Vending Books [...] to be distinct from that of bookselling, and in accordance with the former resolution of only granting tickets to such as have shops or warehouses in which they keep a stock of books for sale they cannot accord to them their request'.³⁰⁰ Those considered solely trading as bookbinders were also prohibited from joining as Mrs. Leslie found out when applying for a ticket, yet the Post Office directory for Glasgow in 1838-39 identified her as a bookseller.³⁰¹

It was becoming clear that the Association was becoming more dictatorial in its methods, and that a certain amount of intrusion into the business practices of what could be considered non-member rivals was occurring. In an area the size of Glasgow 77 (in 1839) firms operated as booksellers either as their sole business or in part. Co-publishing to some

²⁹⁷ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 1 August 1836. Underlined in original.

²⁹⁸ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 15 August 1836.

²⁹⁹ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 25 May 1837.

³⁰⁰ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 27 July 1837.

³⁰¹ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 27 July 1837. Leslie, E. & J. & Co. as booksellers, at 17 Charlotte Lane, *Glasgow Post-Office Directory, 1838-39*.

extent may have spread the cost, decreasing the competition between those co-partners. Smith & Son, being well-established, understood the principles behind the Association, even if they did not agree with some of its methods. John Smith, though, had found a way to circumvent the Association's rules on discount by creating the Select Reading Club (see Section 4.2).

Within the Glasgow and Edinburgh trade it was fairly straightforward to promote the views of the GBPA whether by letter or by making personal visits; with the London trade it was not so easy. It was still a matter of concern that the London book trade was still supplying discounted books to non-members and it was assumed that the Association's intentions had not been taken seriously. Further it was deemed that the Travellers, or representatives of the London firms, they had spoken to seemed to know little, if anything, of the Glasgow Association. John Reid was instructed to contact the London Association Secretary, W. Bounds, to try to persuade him to inform more of the London trade. Bounds's reply was curt with a tone of exasperation:

In reply to your letter in which you mention that from what the members of the Glasgow Association have been able to learn from the travellers of such London publishing houses as had lately been at Glasgow it appeared that the existence of the Glasgow Association was not known in London and consequently the Glasgow trade could not receive the assistance required from that London trade. I cannot discover how the Travellers from London being ignorant of the Glasgow Association can warrant the conclusion that consequently you could not receive the assistance you require for they appear to me to have no relation with each other, but the London trade have given the matter every consideration many, very many times, and they do think that before Co-operation is required from them the members of the Glasgow Association should put their own shoulders to the wheel and act firstly in their own defence, they have done a good deal, but if the Glasgow Trade would act together & each individual write to his London correspondent & one & all clearly inform them that if they wished to continue to receive their commission, they must cease sending books to those in your city whose efforts to injure your trade was so well known, if this step was taken you would immediately find that not one of the London trade who non supply those of whom you have a just right to complain would send another book, do this & much of your grievances would be removed and if afterwards more indirect means were adopted there would be some propriety in looking to the London Trade for their co-operation, but really you must not require the London Trade to fight your battles, when tho' the suggestion has been often made you decline, or at least forbear to take the easy & very obvious means that would most certainly be successful.

I have sent thro' Messrs Whittaker a list of the London Trade but from its having been printed so far back in 1831 I fear will be of little use.³⁰²

A printed circular to the London trade was suggested and agreed to, after the reading of Bounds's letter to the Committee on the 29 August, with the rules and prices explained.³⁰³ Even though infractions of the regulations were reported and investigated, it was stated that overall the regulations were 'working well'.³⁰⁴ The interpretation of the regulations was constantly being refined.

Apart from minor infractions that were quickly resolved, mainly caused by mistakes in processing of orders, some members brought to attention their own misdemeanors as in the case of Andrew Rutherglen.³⁰⁵ He had quickly written to David Robertson when he had realised his mistake, but he was still investigated by a deputation before the Association issued their new circular in September 1836. The greatest cause for concern was Charles Dewar, bookseller and stationer on the High Street, who constantly circumvented the Association's attempts to curb his underselling. Dewar probably did not expect his trading with London booksellers would come to the notice of those in Glasgow, but it was discovered that Westley & Davis were supplying him, and Robertson was instructed to ascertain why. Their response, as in the case of many others that had been found out, was 'that it must have been a mistake'.³⁰⁶ Information supplied by Sherwood & Co. of London indicated that several London houses were supplying Dewar with his necessary stock and pledged to find out who these houses were so they could 'correct this evil'. All the Committee could do was to send a printed circular requesting a 'distinct pledge from them [the London houses] that they would support the Association', and specifically targeted the major wholesale houses in London, who supplied a greater portion of book stock throughout the country:

Longman & Co.
Baldwin & Cradock
Sherwood & Piper
Simpkin Marshal & Co.
Whitaker & Co.

³⁰² Bounds to Reid, 23 August 1836. GBPA Mitchell, Folder I. The book list is possibly *A List of the Booksellers of London and Its Environs* (London: Marchant, 1831).

³⁰³ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 15 August 1836.

³⁰⁴ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 19 September 1836.

³⁰⁵ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 29 August 1836.

³⁰⁶ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 1': 17 October 1836.

Bains & Sons
 Seel[e]y & Burnside
 L[eonard] & G[eorge] Seel[e]y
 S[amuel] Holdsworth
 J[ames] Nisbit [& Co.]
 [George] Cowie & Co.
 [William] Pickering³⁰⁷

Dewar, based on the High Street in Glasgow, was in prime position to be visited by the students of Glasgow College and offered discounts on many of the required reading texts of the College. His actions had repercussions on several other booksellers in Glasgow, including John Dow, who was only a couple of doors from Dewar on the High Street; Alexander Hadden, also on the High Street; Andrew Lottimer in the Trongate; and John Reid on Queen Street, all of whom indicated that Dewar was ‘hurting their trade’ on musical books. The course of action agreed by the GBPA was to drop the prices on musical titles to allow them to compete.³⁰⁸ Evidence from Charles Black in Edinburgh showed that though Dewar was selling Thomson’s *Euclid* cheaply he was not being supplied by anyone in Edinburgh and it was surmised that it was someone in Belfast.³⁰⁹ The Committee confronted the bookbinder David Blair (of Blair & Co.) about reports that he had supplied Dewar, an accusation he denied.³¹⁰

As the years progressed the Association continued to accept new members, chastised current members for misdemeanors, and created links with other book trade protection agencies that were forming in England and Scotland. Some members continued to be regular breakers of the rules; particularly Charles Dewar and Griffin & Co. Dewar frequently joined, was expelled and re-joined the Association, until finally he declined in July 1839 to join through ill-health indicating he was going to give up his business.³¹¹ Smith did not have any co-partnership with Dewar but did have with Griffin. Both firms occur together on the imprints of six titles between 1822 and 1840. Three were theological, one a travel book of the Clyde area, one a school text, and the other being views of Glasgow. Of the theological, one was a defence of Chalmers (1823), one a gazetteer of the

³⁰⁷ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 21 November 1836. Checked against *A List of the Booksellers of London*.

³⁰⁸ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 7 November 1836. List of titles not given.

³⁰⁹ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 14 November 1836. The book was James Thomson’s *The First Six and the Eleventh and Twelfth Books of Euclid’s Elements* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1837).

³¹⁰ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 7 November 1836.

³¹¹ GBPA, ‘Minute Book: Vol. 1’: 8 July 1839. Dewar stopped trading sometime between 1842 and 1843, as he is not listed in the *Glasgow PO Directory 1843-44*.

Old and New Testaments written by Smith's friend and beneficiary, Reverend William Fleming, and the other was a critique of the Reverend William Cuninghame's millennial writings.

Griffin & Co. were another bookseller that fell foul of the Association's rules. Richard Griffin had joined in the early meetings of the Association in 1834 before it had been fully ratified as an Association, but declined to fully join in 1836. The situation had changed in the firm as Griffin's son, John, joining the firm in 1835 and later John Joseph and Charles in 1840 were less enthusiastic members of the Association.³¹² It was John Joseph writing in 1844 that brought the practices of the Association to the public's notice sparking a debate.³¹³ The debate so concerned the Association that they sought legal counsel. The findings of the counsel were that the rules of the Association were 'liable to objection', could not be modified without a change in the objects of the Association, and that the Association could not dictate how booksellers could dispose of their copyright material.³¹⁴ One could sense the disappointment in the entry on the 10 July 1845, of the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association Minute Book, that after consulting with their members on the findings of the legal counsel that the 'Association should be dissolved'.³¹⁵

4.3 Select Reading Club

In response to the restrictions of the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association, and because of the previous success of the Circulating Library, John Smith began their Select Reading Club in 1835. The unique aspect was the offering of biannual sales, 'auctions', of books discounted with a third off their retail value from books previously chosen by members.

The Club was limited to a hundred members and a year after its founding 77 people had joined. Five of the members formed a Committee of Management and in 1836 these were: Kirkman Finlay (1773-1842) merchant and MP; Professor Ramsay (this may have been William Ramsay (1806-1865), Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University); James

³¹² <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index>.

³¹³ [John Joseph Griffin], *Is the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association a Lawful Association, or Is It an Illegal Conspiracy?* (Glasgow, [1844]). The debate is covered in Beavan, "What Constitutes the Crime", 73-75.

³¹⁴ "Opinion of Counsel on Memorial for the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association" (Jan 1845), Author's Collection.

³¹⁵ GBPA, 'Minute Book: Vol. 2': 10 July 1845.

Browne, merchant and Dean of Guild in 1839; John Gardiner Kinnear, merchant; and Thomas Buchanan, Jun. of Glasgow. The Club was based at John Smith & Son's new shop at 70 St Vincent Street and the membership lists prominent merchants, academics and landed gentry, many of whom were also members of the Maitland Club and Smith's authors. Five members were female. John Smith is listed as being of Crutherland and he received notices of sales at his estate address.³¹⁶

The members could order for the Club any book of 'octavo size, in English, Italian, French, or German, within two years after its publication, if it does not exceed £4 4s'.³¹⁷ The Committee members were responsible for choosing books to be put up for auction after they have been six months in circulation. The books were a mix of travel, history, science and fiction; 142 titles were listed in 1836, such as: *Astoria* by Washington Irving, a selection of *Bridgewater Treatises*, a *Musical History* by George Hogarth, and Frances Trollope's *Life And Adventures Of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw*, among others.

Little is known of the actual functions of the Club apart from the sale catalogues that Smith retained in his possession, and even less is known of it after Smith passed away as no account books or minutes have survived. The Club continued until 1892 when it was dissolved.

4.4 Glasgow Circulating Library

Of the 369 circulating libraries recorded in Britain before 1801 only 31 were recorded in Scotland.³¹⁸ Glasgow had 13 circulating libraries and one subscription library compared with Edinburgh having 25 circulating and two subscription libraries up to 1801, though not all existed concurrently.³¹⁹ As stated in Chapter 3, John Smith began the earliest known circulating library in Glasgow in 1753 and may have been as early as 1751.

Our knowledge of the Library comes through the existence of catalogues, several of which were bound together and form part of the Smith Collection at GUL, and brief references in

³¹⁶ Ephemera, Eph N/212-233, 1836-1846.

³¹⁷ 'Regulations of the Select Reading Club, December 1836'. Author's Collection.

³¹⁸ John Crawford, "Libraries," in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, vol. 3: Ambition and Industry 1830-1880, ed. Bill Bell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 189.

³¹⁹ Counted in K. A. Manley, *Books, Borrowers, and Shareholders: Scottish Circulating Libraries and Subscription Libraries before 1825* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 2012). Circulating libraries were generally run by booksellers or other trades people, whereas subscription libraries were run by private shareholders, see Manley, 1-2.

the works of Senex, the Glasgow historian. The bound copies have been annotated with dates, possibly in the hand of one of the John Smith's. No borrowing records have been located. The first catalogue (Figure 4.3), which is undated, was issued from his King Street premises, sometime before the move to Trongate in 1763, listing just over 1500 volumes, which details the contents and the costs of lending. Smith was charging ten shillings per year, five shillings six pence per half year, three shillings per quarter, one-shilling sixpence per month and a penny per night in advance.³²⁰ The catalogue itself cost four pence for sixty pages. The library opened from eight in the morning until eight at night, presumably Monday to Saturday.

The circulating library was a convenient way for people to access books that were generally too expensive to purchase individually, and though Smith's lending charges were high for a year, a large number of people could afford subscriptions for the shorter lending periods. London wages, though higher compared to other parts of Britain, can be taken as a guide. Clerks could have an average wage of a £1 a week, shopkeepers, on the other hand, may earn an average of 10 shillings per week.³²¹

³²⁰ *New Catalogue of a Circulating Library* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, [1763] [JSID534]), 2.

³²¹ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 2nd ed. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 51; Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade*, 3rd ed. (London: Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1974), 55.

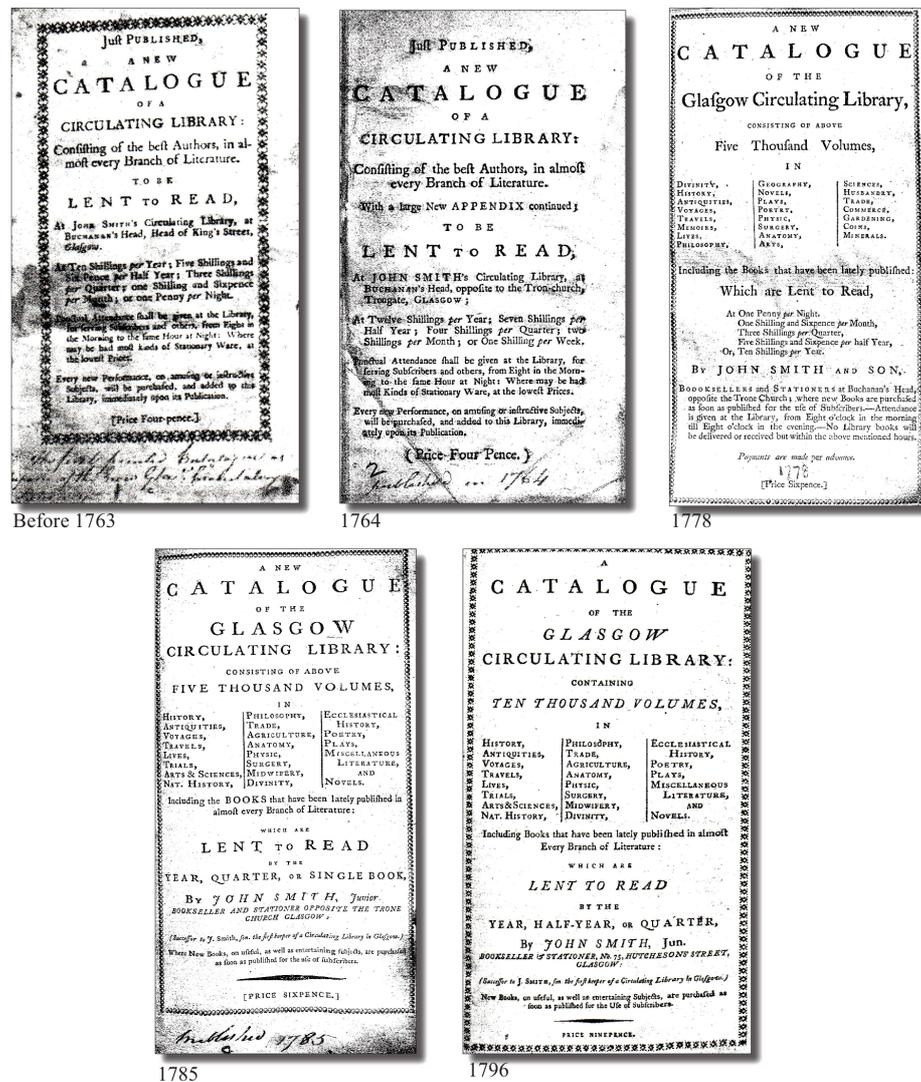


Figure 4.3: John Smith's Glasgow Circulating Library, catalogues circa 1760 to 1796. Annotation on 1763 title page says, 'the first printed Catalogue of the [...] Glas^w Circulating Library'.

By about 1769, the library had increased to containing 3,000 volumes, or over 1,700 titles. The subscription charges were the same, though Smith had tried to increase the charges unsuccessfully in 1764, but had brought them back down to their previous rates. By 1778, the library now had the designation of the Glasgow Circulating Library, and consisted of over 5,000 volumes. The designation 'John Smith and Son' now graced the title page, but by the 1785 issue, this had changed to 'John Smith, junior [...] Successor to J. Smith, sen. the first keeper of the Circulating Library in Glasgow'. The 'ten thousand volumes' catalogue of the 1796, available for nine pence, was organised by subject:

History of Antiquities of Great Britain, Ireland and Foreign Nations,
Geography, Voyages and Travels, Lives, Trials, Nos. 1-801 [801 titles]

Arts and Sciences, Natural History, Philosophy, Trade, Husbandry, Poetry,
Plays, Essays, Letters, etc., entertaining and Critical, Nos. 802-1776 [974 titles]

Periodical Publications, Nos. 1777-2331 [554 titles]

Divinity and Ecclesiastical History, Nos. 2332-2505 [173 titles]

Novels and Romances, Nos. 2505-3631 [1126 titles]

Appendices to the catalogue were issued annually up to 1804 comprising of new books that had been added to the library taking the number of titles to 4829. These appendices were available at two pence each.³²² The arrangement of the catalogue under each section was by author or by title if anonymous. Multi-volume works were either split into their respective volumes and given a number or grouped as one title. At No. 1537 *Rousseau's Confessions with the Reveries of the Solitary Walker* in two volumes is given one entry, whereas, *The Rambler*, by Samuel Johnson, a four-volume work, is given an entry for each volume.

Smith used a similar arrangement when organising the library of William Hunter for display in the Hunterian Museum.³²³ Smith arranged the books as *Auctores Classici et Antiqui*, *Auctores Recent Miscellanei Variss Linguis*, *Books in Vellum*, *English Press*, *Scottish Press*, and *Manuscripts*. The first two sections provide a list of books, all incunabula in order of title; the remaining sections contain brief descriptions of books highlighting those of special note, quoting from Thomas Frognall Dibdin for those in Vellum.³²⁴ Dibdin (1776-1847) was a well-known bibliographer at the time, though his works were heavily criticised for having too many typographical errors and inaccuracies. He founded the Roxburghe Club in 1812 and was invited to dine with members of the Maitland Club in 1836.³²⁵

The circulating library was such a successful venture for John Smith & Son gaining the prestige of being known as the 'Glasgow Circulating Library'. John Strang remarks in his account of Glasgow clubs, that the books were in such a poor state through excessive handling and being defaced by readers, that they were generally described as 'rather greasy tomes'.³²⁶ What irritated subscribers the most, though, was the missing volumes from sets, especially from the multi-volume novels that were in vogue at the time, with subscribers

³²² Further appendices may have been issued, but the bound copy I have only goes to 1804.

³²³ John Laskey, *A General Account of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, [...], 1813 [JSID304]), 88. The written annotations in Smith's hand can be seen on Laskey's manuscript, GUL, MSGen810. Smith also had Laskey's *A Description of the Series of Medals Struck at the National Medal Mint by Order of Napoleon Bonaparte* (London, 1818) [JSAuc908].

³²⁴ John V. Richardson Jr., "Dibdin, Thomas Frognall (1776–1847)," *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7588>.

³²⁵ See below.

³²⁶ Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, 129.

being informed that their book was ‘out’ which really meant ‘it was lost’.³²⁷ Coubrough’s Circulating Library a competitor to Smith’s was generally considered to have poor stock, and was particularly lacking in novels of which Smith had greater stock.

At the turn of the century the library had expanded to 10,000 volumes and by 1810 had further increased to 15,000. James Cleland, writing in 1829, described the library as consisting of ‘upwards of 20,000 volumes’ for which Smith was charging subscribers a variety of rates, for example:³²⁸

Subscribers at £3.3s per year; £1.15s half year; £1.1s quarter; 10s.6d per month
– can borrow 10 volumes at a time in town, 24 in the country.

[...]

Subscribers at 16s per year; 10s half year; 6s per quarter; 3s per month – can
borrow 1 volume at a time in town, 3 in the country.

Single night: books charged from 2d to 6d per volume depending on novelty
and value.

The subscription rates reflected the broad range of customers that frequented his shop. By the end of the decade it was sold to John Smith. Of this John Smith there is no information. It is such a coincidence that it would have been acquired by a namesake that I suggest that it was Smith, Senior, who at this time would have been an elderly gentleman of 80. It would be a way of keeping in contact with old customers, and possibly be less demanding in terms of business. The library did not continue for long, as Smith, Senior, died in 1833.

The circulating library was not the only library Smith was involved with. In 1820 he published the regulations for the Fort William Subscription Library (Figure 4.4). The garrison town of Fort William, in 1819, was developing into a thriving commercial centre after the Highland and Napoleonic wars. Within the spirit of developing commercialism, several dignitaries met with the intention of creating a subscription library for the town. Though it was successfully set up, it had a dearth of books for its subscribers who were inclined to copy them before returning them to the library. In 1820 the committee set up a means of ordering new books. The regulations contained a printed notice from John Smith offering ‘to pack and despatch [sic] any books ordered either in Glasgow or Edinburgh’.³²⁹

³²⁷ Senex, *Glasgow, Past and Present*, 2:253.

³²⁸ Cleland, *The Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1829), 331. 20,000 volumes is a considerable number, which if accurate, must have been housed in a fairly large space requiring approximately 500 meters of shelving. A catalogue for this period has not been found. There were also rates for those who wished to borrow 2 or 6 volumes.

³²⁹ Quoted in Edith MacGregor, “A Letter to Sir Walter,” *Glasgow Herald*, 21 February 1949.

Why a Glasgow bookseller would be issuing a catalogue for a Highland town has not been ascertained, but Smith, persuaded Sir Walter Scott to send the library several volumes.³³⁰

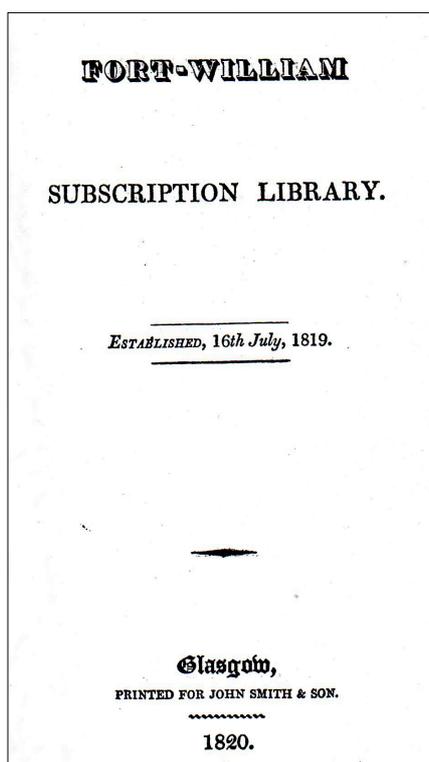


Figure 4.4: The Fort William Subscription Library rules and regulations [JSID026].

Smith was also director of Glasgow's first public (free) library, between 1828 and 1834, known as Stirling's Library. Founded by Walter Stirling (c1710-1791) who had bequeathed his library and house in 1791 to the people of Glasgow.³³¹

4.5 Bookbinders' Society of Glasgow

In the previous chapter it was noted that Smith, Eldest, was a member of the Bookbinders' Society of Glasgow. Of this Society little is known. The second volume of *The Edinburgh History of the Book*, covering the period 1707 to 1800, makes no mention of such an organisation. Very little archive survives, though we can get some idea of this organisation's purpose and function from later historical accounts given in reports of the

³³⁰ Smith's acquaintance with Scott was through John Gibson Lockhart, see Section 5.4.1.

³³¹ Thomas Mason, *Public and Private Libraries of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Privately printed by Thomas D. Morison, 1885), 35, 80. Mason also wrote *The Free Libraries of Scotland* in 1880, published by John Smith & Son [JSID366].

Company of Stationers of Glasgow (its later manifestation, also unmentioned in the *Edinburgh History*).³³²

From the little remaining evidence we can ascertain that the Bookbinders' Society of Glasgow was founded 10 December 1740, and existed in the city without any form of published regulations. Its primary function was to control the prices of bookbinding in which members dealt, with the surplus monies being given to charities. No date is given indicating when John Smith signed the pledge or register, but he was listed as the twenty-fifth member.³³³ One of the first five members was John Smith's brother Robert.

Although Glasgow was a small town, with a mid-eighteenth century population of approximately 20,000 people, there was sufficient demand from customers, with disposable income, for the services of at least 25 bookbinders.³³⁴ Stuart Bennett provides evidence that, contrary to existing thought, bookbinding within the trade was common, with bookbinders being commissioned to bind printed works by printers to be sold as 'bound'.³³⁵ It is possible that these firms felt the need to establish a supporting body to protect themselves from travelling bookbinders offering cheaper work.

As Glasgow transformed from a small modest town to a large one with a burgeoning industry and wealth, with the increased commerce came the need for better record keeping and accounting. Such an awareness was noted by the Members of the Bookbinders' Society in the second half of the eighteenth century, indicating their organisation lacked written support for their intentions, or as the members put it, 'without determinate regulations', and so set about remedying the situation. This was achieved at a formal meeting on 6 November 1792. This meeting not only produced printed regulations, but also expanded the society's remit to cover not just bookbinders, but stationers, booksellers,

³³² A similar organisation, The Glasgow Journeymen Printers' Society, founded in 1771, existed at this time, which also looked to membership from the various branches of the book trade. It changed its name to the Printers and Bookbinders Society in 1824, and again there is no mention of it in *The Edinburgh History of the Book*.

³³³ *List of the Members of the Company of Stationers in Glasgow. From Its First Institution, 10th December, 1740 to 1st November, 1828* (Glasgow, 1829), Ephemera, Eph N/91. The first five members were Thomas Moodie, John Gilmour, Alexander Carlisle, Robert Smith and John Robb. Robert Smith was John Smith, Eldest's brother. *Records of the Company of Stationers of Glasgow*, Glasgow City Archives, TD175/3/1, Roll Book. No dates were given against the early members.

³³⁴ *List of the Members of the Company of Stationers in Glasgow*.

³³⁵ Population of Glasgow in 1740 was 17,034, and in 1755, 23,546: Cleland, *Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1840), 10; Stuart Bennett, *Trade Bindings in the British Isles 1660-1800* (London: The British Library, 2004), 15.

printers, pocket-book makers and papermakers.³³⁶ As part of membership, the Society stipulated that every member (except papermakers) employing an apprentice should record his name.³³⁷

In 1814 the regulations of the Society were further revised, this time including the changing of its name to the Company of Stationers of Glasgow. This coincided with an increased membership fee to add to the funds of the Company:

[E]ach person who has served an apprenticeship to any of the above branches in the City or the son, son-in-law of a member shall at his admission pay the sum of one guinea as entry money; 1½ guineas if bred outwith the City and 2 guineas if bred outwith the professions, but at time of entry be carrying them out in Glasgow or neighbourhood, besides two shillings to the Clerk, one shilling to the officer.³³⁸

The Magistrates of Glasgow granted the Stationers a Seal of Cause on 19 June 1823. In 1830 the regulations were again revised and the extent of the members expanded to include typefounders, engravers, copperplate and lithographic printers, quill dressers, architects and printsellers, though members of any profession could become honorary members for a fee of two guineas. The new regulations clearly show how diversified the book trade had become. Although the Society did provide financial assistance to members in ill health; they did not consider themselves a benefit or friendly society. The Friendly Societies Act of 1829 clarified their legal position.³³⁹ The Act had been passed to provide better regulation, prevent misappropriation of funds, give members a legal standing in case of disputes, stipulated fixed allowances and limited the amount of money given out.³⁴⁰ The limitations imposed by the Act concerned the Society's membership, particularly in how the Society managed its funds by investing in property. It was understood that the Seal of Cause from the Glasgow Magistrates protected their property investment, but the Edinburgh Magistrates suggested that a Royal Charter would give better assurance and

³³⁶ Company of Stationers of Glasgow, *Regulations of the Company of Stationers of Glasgow: Agreed to at a General Meeting Held on the 16 March 1830* (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1830).

³³⁷ These records are not extant.

³³⁸ Company of Stationers of Glasgow, *Regulations for the Company of Stationers of Glasgow, Agreed to at a General Meeting, July 8th, 1814*, (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1817).

³³⁹ Friendly Societies Act 1829 indicated that such societies should be certified by the barrister appointed by the National Debt Commissioners under the Act of 1828 to conform to the rules of savings banks in England, and by corresponding officers in Scotland and Ireland. Charles Ansell, *A Treatise on Friendly Societies: In Which the Doctrine of Interest of Money, and the Doctrine of Probability, Are Practically Applied to the Affairs of Such Societies*, (London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1835), 22-23.

³⁴⁰ Company of Stationers of Glasgow, *Proposed Regulations of the Company of Stationers of Glasgow, Incorporated 10th August 1837* (Glasgow: Printed by William Graham, 1837), 6.

exclude them from the Act and its control. Through voluntary subscriptions, to cover the cost of the application, they succeeded in being awarded the Royal Charter on the 10 August 1837, resulting in a change of name to the Incorporation of Stationers' Society of Glasgow.

Members of the Smith family played important functions within the organisation, primarily as treasurers. John Smith, Eldest, became Treasurer in 1797, followed by his son, John Smith, Senior, in 1804, who had joined in 1781. John Smith, Youngest, became Treasurer the following year (1805) after joining in 1798.³⁴¹ James Lumsden, in his speech at the Dinner in his Provostship, said,

I have been connected with this Company for nearly forty years; and I believe there are only three senior members present, the one an immediate descendant of a founder of the Society – I mean my excellent friend Dr Smith [...] and it is particularly gratifying to have with us so influential a member as my friend.³⁴²

He went on to say,

I am afraid that by-and-by, unless proper means are taken, the names of some of those whose ancestors aided in establishing the Society, may disappear altogether, and that our venerable clerk will lose even the names of a Smith or an Orr [...] if they persist in holding out much longer in the list of bachelors.³⁴³

James Lumsden (1778-1856) was a member of the Trades House, and had joined the Company of Stationers' of Glasgow in 1805; at the time John Smith became Treasurer. Being a 'tradesman' initially excluded him from the office of Lord Provost, but after the Reform Acts this had become possible. To celebrate his appointment the Society had arranged a special Dinner in 1843

for the purpose of testifying the gratification which they felt on the occasion of a member of their body being for the first time elevated to the civic chair, and also of showing the respect which they entertained for his Lordship as a public-spirited citizen.³⁴⁴

³⁴¹ *Records of the Company of Stationers of Glasgow*, Glasgow City Archives, TD175/3, Roll Books.

³⁴² *Report of Dinner Given by the Incorporation of Stationers, to the Hon. James Lumsden of Yoker Lodge, Lord Provost of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Printed by James Hedderwick & Son, 1944), 8-9. The dinner was in honour of Lumsden becoming Lord Provost and was held in Trades Hall; John Smith had become a Doctor of Laws in 1840.

³⁴³ *Report of Dinner*, 9. Referring to the previous three John Smiths, and John and Francis Orr.

³⁴⁴ *Report of Dinner*, 3.

The events and toasts given at the dinner were commemorated in a *Report of Dinner Given by the Incorporation of Stationers*.

Following John Smith, subsequent managing directors of John Smith & Son were also members of the Stationers Society, Robert Clow (managing director and chairman 1969-1994), being the last member. The Incorporation of Stationers continued into the twenty-first century, when it was dissolved in 2012.³⁴⁵

4.6 Printing Clubs and Societies

During the eighteenth century various societies, publishers and individuals dabbled occasionally in printing works considered to have historic importance.³⁴⁶ In the latter part of the eighteenth century the classical tradition gradually became less important with the development of a more regional literary taste. The publishing of books such as the *Works of Ossian* by James Macpherson (1765), Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) and *Rowley's Poems* by Thomas Chatterton (1799), and many others, were popularised by increased public demand for such literature.³⁴⁷ Smith's library contained a copy of *Rowley's Poems* [JSAuc157] and a French edition of *Ossian* [JSAuc177] plus *Poetry of Nature*, also by Macpherson [JSAuc588]. The work by Percy would inspire the foundation of The Percy Society in 1840, one of many clubs and societies which were formed in the nineteenth-century.

The antiquarian and historic clubs and societies formed two distinct groups: one was exclusive with limited membership and produced works primarily for its members, usually in exquisite bindings; the other had more flexible membership and offered its publications to the wider public, though the number of copies were limited. Table 4.3 lists the printing clubs that were founded in the first 47 years of the nineteenth-century, eleven of which Smith was an active member, and several others he had an interest in.³⁴⁸ Smith's outlay in

³⁴⁵ Email from McClure Naismith LLP, Glasgow, 12 Nov 2014.

³⁴⁶ Rosemary Sweet in her *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon & London, 2004) and Harrison Ross Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship in Great Britain and the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), discuss the various types of books that were published.

³⁴⁷ There is continuing debate as to whether the works of Macpherson and Chatterton are forgeries or not.

³⁴⁸ Sources: A. Hume, *The Learned Societies and Printing Clubs of the United Kingdom: Being an Account of Their Respective Origins, History, Objects, and Constitution* (London: G. Willis, 1853); Bernard Quartich, *Account of the Learned Societies and Associations and of the Chief Printing Clubs of Great Britain and Ireland [Miscellanies No. 14]* (London: Sette of Old Volumes, 1886); Harrison Ross Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship in Great Britain and the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913); Charles Sanford Terry, *A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish*

retaining his memberships was in excess of £14 per annum, not including the original joining fees of 10 guineas for the Maitland and £4 for the Irish Archaeological Society. Many of the societies reflected Smith's interest in historical ecclesiastical matters and to a lesser extent those of literary.

**Table 4.3: Printing clubs and societies 1800-1847.
John Smith's membership identified in bold.**

Club Name	Purpose	Date founded	No of members	Cost of membership
The Roxburghe Club	Reprint of rare editions & manuscripts	1812	originally 31, increased to 40	5 Guineas annually
The Bannatyne Club	History, Antiquities & Literature of Scotland	1823	originally 31, increased to 100	5 Guineas annually
The Maitland Club	History, Antiquities & Literature of Scotland	1828	originally 75, increased to 100	10 Guineas on admission + 3 Guineas annually
The Oriental Translation Fund	Publications of translations of Eastern Languages into European	1828	no limit	10 Guineas or 5 Guineas annually depending on large or small paper copy
The Iona Club	History, Literature & Antiquities of Highlands & Islands of Scotland	1833	no limit	1 Guinea on admission + 1 Guinea annually
The Surtees Society	Moral, Religious & social conditions in area N. England & Scottish Lowlands	1834	300	2 Guineas annually
The Abbotsford Club	Historical, Literature & Antiquities	1834	50	3 Guineas annually

Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies: And of the Volumes Relative to Scottish History Issued by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1780-1908. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1909); Marinell Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 1980), 59-86. and David & Wendy Stevenson, *Scottish Texts and Calendars: An Analytical Guide to Serial Publications* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987).

English Historical Society	Early English historical literature	1836	100	
The Camden Society	Civil, Ecclesiastical, Historical texts of United Kingdom	1838	1200	£1 annually
The Spalding Society	Genealogical, Ecclesiastical, Historical of NE Scotland	1839	500	1 Guinea annually
Irish Archaeological Society	Genealogical, Ecclesiastical, Historical of Ireland	1840	500	£4 on admission + £1 annually
The Parker Society	Early Fathers & writers of the Reformed English Church.	1840	no limit	£1 annually
The Percy Society	Ancient ballad	1840	500	£1 annually
The Shakespeare Society	Shakespeare & his time	1840	no limit	£1 annually
Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts	Oriental (Middle East to Asia)	1841	69	2 Guineas annually
The Wodrow Society	Early Fathers & writers of the Reformed Church of Scotland	1841		
The Aelfric Society	Anglo-Saxon literature	1842	500	£1 on admission + £1 annually
The Chetham Society	Archaeological, historical literature of Lancaster & Chester	1843	350	£1 annually
The Sydenham Society	Medical literature	1843	no limit	1 Guinea annually
Spottiswoode Society	Scottish Episcopal texts	1843	no limit	£1 annually
Calvin Translation Society	Reprinting the works of Calvin	1843		
The Ray Society	Texts of Natural History	1844	no limit	1 Guinea annually
The Wernerian Club	Texts of Science	1844	25	1 Guinea annually

The Wyclif Society	Texts of nonconformists in Great Britain	1844
Hanserd Knollys Society	Texts of Baptists in Great Britain	1845
Anglia Christiana Society	Ecclesiastical history of Anglia	1845
Caxton Society	History & miscellaneous literature of middle ages	1845
The Cavendish Society	Texts of Chemistry	1846
The Hakluyt Society	Voyages, Travels & Geography	1846

4.6.1 Formation of Printing Clubs and Societies

The format of the Roxburghe Club inspired the development of the printing club in the nineteenth-century. The Roxburghe began as a dinner gathering in June 1812, to celebrate the sale of Duke of Roxburghe's library, which had achieved unprecedented sales at the time of £23,000.³⁴⁹ Initiated by Thomas Frognall Dibdin, the group of eighteen 'self-styled bibliomaniacs', presided over by Earl Spencer, celebrated and toasted the famous European printer families of Aldine and Giunti.³⁵⁰ By the time they had had their third anniversary meeting they were being reported in the various gentleman's magazines of the city. The Roxburghe studied fine books, bindings and typography, with each member 'to furnish the Society with a reprint of some rare old tract, or composition – chiefly of poetry'.³⁵¹

The later Bannatyne and Maitland clubs looked towards the Roxburghe as giving them a format but their concept, purpose and aims originally arose in the previous century. The Bannatyne, in fact, resembled more closely the publishing aims of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (SAS). In 1780, Lord Buchan had outlined that part of the original intentions of the Society was it should reflect the ancient state of the country, from the nobility down to the customs and manners of the people, and that included the

³⁴⁹ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Reminiscences of a Literary Life* (London: John Major, 1836), 1:366.

³⁵⁰ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliographical Decameron* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1817), 3:69-75. After two years membership was increased to 31.

³⁵¹ Dibdin, *Bibliographical Decameron*, 3:72.

antient [sic] unpublished manuscripts [...] curious unpublished local conventions and customs [...] deeds hitherto unpublished, from private as well as public repositories; private missive letters; biographical gleanings of illustrious persons.³⁵²

By the time of Buchan's Anniversary Address in 1787, the Society of Antiquaries in London had published *The Domesday Book* in 1783, providing an essential and important resource for the many historians, genealogists and antiquaries throughout England.³⁵³ Buchan, attempting to inspire the waning membership, laid out the requirements he hoped the Society in Scotland would aspire to:

That our members, both at home and abroad, will be so good as send us copies (or the originals when they can be procured) of such state papers, historical or biographical documents, ancient or modern, missive letters, or learned tracts, as may tend to throw a light on the various objects of our research: That they will give us an account of any such as are not within their reach, but will also transmit to us such drawings, original or copies, as may represent any ancient fabric, monument, inscription, or portrait, connected with the History and Antiquities of Scotland.³⁵⁴

A future volume of the *Transactions* was to have a complete list of manuscripts and documents in the museum, in the hope that it would encourage individual members 'to contribute in extending the Collection of Printed Books, and in filling up the many deficiencies, particularly of those classes of Lexicography, History, and Numismatics, which are more immediately connected with the object of Antiquarian pursuits'.³⁵⁵

The list of members noted in the Society's journal *Archaeologica Scotica*, volume 3, included many names of important members of both the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs. Sir Walter Scott had joined the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1796 before he became a Baronet, and was vice-president from 1827 to 1829. Robert Pitcairn had joined the Society in May 1821 together with James Maidment. David Laing (from 1824) was an active member of the SAS helping it to regain its footing after a period of inactivity.³⁵⁶

³⁵² William Smellie, *Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Sold by William Creech, 1782), 17.

³⁵³ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 236, 280.

³⁵⁴ Samuel Hibbert, and Laing, David, "Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, Part III, 1784-1830," *Archaeologica Scotica* 3(1831): Appendix I: ix.

³⁵⁵ Hibbert and Laing "Account": xxxi.

³⁵⁶ Marinell Ash, "'A Fine, Genial, Hearty Band': David Laing, Daniel Wilson and Scottish Archaeology", in *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition: Essays to Mark the Bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of*

Earlier Patrick Fraser Tytler followed the footsteps of his father William, joining the Society in January 1820. Of the founders of the Maitland: John Dillon had been a member of the SAS since March 1816, and John Kerr had joined in March 1828. Fullarton's father, Colonel William Fullarton, had been made an honorary member in January 1791; and a further nine members of the Maitland Club were also members of the Society.³⁵⁷

Scott had already been thinking of forming a publishing club early in January of 1823 or possibly earlier.³⁵⁸ In a letter to Robert Pitcairn, lawyer and antiquary, on 22 January 1823, Scott, in response to locating Pitcairn's privately published volume *Nugae Derelictae*, makes his idea known. 'I have long thought that something of a Bibliomaniacal Society might be formed here for the prosecution of the important task of publishing dilettante editions of our National Literary Curiosities'.³⁵⁹ He went on to note that David Laing was also interested, but further discussions would be necessary. No mention was made of the Roxburghe or its intentions but using the term 'bibliomaniacal' was certainly a Dibun expression. The *Nugae Derelictae* was the sort of thing Scott had in mind as Pitcairn recalled to the editor writing the Bannatyne Club history:

The Association which we originally contemplated was one for the preservation of historical and antiquarian tracts which had previously been privately printed by ourselves, and distributed among our friends, and were afterwards collected into one volume, under the title of "Nugæ Derelictæ".³⁶⁰ Sir Walter's original intention was, that the cost of these publications should be defrayed at the mutual expense of the Members, and the amount of the contribution to be fixed on and paid at each Annual Meeting – that each Members [sic] should occasionally contribute a tract or reprint at his individual expense – and that the shape and size of such contributions ought necessarily to vary, according to the taste of the contributor, from 16mo to quarto.³⁶¹

Scotland and Its Museum, 1780-1980, edited by A. S. Bell, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1981), 91.

³⁵⁷ "List of Office-Bearers and Members," *Archaeologica Scotica* 3(1831): Appendix II.

³⁵⁸ Walter Scott, "Art. V. – Trials, and Other Proceedings, in Matters Criminal," *Quarterly Review* 44, no. 2 (1831): 449, where Scott writes of the Club being instituted in 1822.

³⁵⁹ H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (London: Constable & Co., 1934), 7:315-316.

³⁶⁰ J.[ames] M.[aidment], and R.[obert]P.[itcairn], *Nugae Derelictae* (Edinburgh: Privately printed, 1822). The collection of tracts, originally issued as separate works in limited print runs, were gathered together and issued in one volume for the first time. The editor estimated that only six copies existed with all the tracts bound together. A similar work was issued, in 1823, contained 21 tracts, edited by Maidment, Pitcairn and James Hill, (see <http://www.nls.uk/collections/rarebooks/acquisitions/singlebook.cfm/idfind/177>). The 1822 publication was re-issued in 1888 (Edinburgh) in a limited edition for subscribers.

³⁶¹ *Notices Relative to the Bannatyne Club* (Edinburgh, 1836), vi.

In 1823 the Bannatyne Club made its formal appearance with the purpose of printing and publishing of ‘works illustrative of the history, literature, and antiquities of Scotland’.³⁶² The Bannatyne stood apart from its distant cousin the Roxburghe by actively seeking experienced editors and transcribers, removing the exclusiveness of the club volumes in making some of them available to the public, having members discuss and decide the merits of material suitable for printing, and by sometimes collaborating with the Maitland Club, and Irish Archaeological, Wodrow and Spottiswoode Societies in printing of relevant material.³⁶³ The Bannatyne Club was named after George Bannatyne (1545-1607/8). Membership was at first similar to the Roxburghe with thirty-one members, but it soon became clear that the aims of the Bannatyne coupled with the increased demand to join, demanded the membership to rise to forty, and then to one hundred. The Maitland Club followed in 1828 in the west of the country. It took its initiative from the Bannatyne, by copying word-for-word its rules and regulations, except in specific instances: the Club members were limited to fifty as opposed to that of one hundred; the membership fee was to be three guineas, rather than five; and these fees were to not only aid the club in printing works, but also for covering any other costs that may be ‘connected with the furtherance of its objects’.

In the following decades of the 1830s and 1840s the printing clubs and societies multiplied, each specialising in their own particular niche, but not in isolation from each other as many boasted members subscribing to more than one, and some were formed by members of other clubs. For example, David Laing (1793-1878), Secretary to the Bannatyne, was a member of the Maitland, Abbotsford and Spalding Clubs, founder of the Wodrow Society, and president of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. His editorial work and contributions to many clubs and societies are still sought by collectors. Other scholars such as Cosmo Innes (1798-1874), David Irving (1778-1860), Joseph Stevenson (1806-1895), and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (1781-1851) were just as important to the success and importance of the various publications and their services can also be found in clubs and societies.³⁶⁴

The following section will explore in greater detail the various clubs and societies that John Smith was member of, beginning with the club that was most important to him: the Maitland Club.

³⁶² Terry, *A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies*, 26.

³⁶³ Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship*, 110.

³⁶⁴ Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary*, 111. For biographies see *ODNB*.

4.6.2 The Maitland Club

On a cold January in John Wylie's bookshop at 97 Argyle Street, Glasgow, four men conversed on the state of Scottish antiquities and the apparent lack of interest shown to these antiquities within Glasgow.³⁶⁵ These men were John Fullarton of Overton, John Donald Carrick, John Kerr and John Wylie. Fullarton (c1780-1849) was a military man, a former lieutenant in the 71st Regiment with a keen interest in Ayrshire antiquities and genealogy.³⁶⁶ Carrick (1788-1837) originally trained as a potter, but turned his hand to song writing and journalism. He became a sub-editor of the *Scots Times* and wrote articles for *The Day*, Glasgow's first daily newspaper.³⁶⁷ Kerr (1791-1881), was a Writer, and also Fellow of the Scottish Society of Arts; and Wylie was a classical and antiquarian bookseller responsible for issuing many books reprinting antiquarian texts, including the four volumes of *Miscellanea Scotica: A collection of tracts relating to the history, antiquities, topography and literature of Scotland* (1818-1820).³⁶⁸

As the men pondered the lack of interest in Scottish antiquities, Fullarton suggested that maybe a society could help alleviate this lack of interest, and allow for fellow enthusiasts to come together. After debating further, they concluded that a club similar to the Bannatyne could possibly work, and Kerr was to write to David Laing, Secretary of the Bannatyne Club, to obtain a set of rules whereby regulations for the new club could be prepared.³⁶⁹

The name for this new organisation was the next consideration and the name of a local antiquary was put forward, that of John Dillon. Dillon was the son of Luke Dillon, an Englishman who had come to Glasgow as a plasterer. When John Dillon retired he became the Sheriff-Substitute for Glasgow and continued to pursue his antiquarian interests.³⁷⁰ In

³⁶⁵ John Kerr, "Origin of the Maitland Club, May 1828", in *Notabilia of the Maitland Club, Vol. 1*. MsC140 1:1, University of Calgary, Special Collections; NLS microfilm, MfMSS197.

³⁶⁶ James Paterson, *History of the County of Ayr, with a Genealogical Account of the Families of Ayrshire* (Edinburgh: Thomas George Stevenson, 1852), 2:138. The date of his Regiment enlistment is unknown.

³⁶⁷ The editor of *The Day*, John Strang, would become one of the non-balloted members of the Maitland Club. Strang also supplied articles to the *Scots Times*, see Andrew Aird, *Reminiscences of Editors, Reporters, and Printers, During the Last Sixty Years* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1890), 14.

³⁶⁸ Similarly, Smith was linked to the publication *Scotia Rediviva: A Collection of Tracts Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1826 [JSID099]). Only the first volume of the proposed six was published, probably due to the recession at the time, but it may have been the difficulty of organising the people and material necessary to bring the project to fruition, particularly for a publisher. David Laing assisted with the editorial as well as selling the work.

³⁶⁹ Kerr, "Origin".

³⁷⁰ J. F. S. Gordon, ed., *Glasghu Facies: A View of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1872), 1078.

his letter to Dillon, Kerr expressed why the new club should be named The Dillon Club, namely because of his and the club's similar interests, 'the originality of pursuit betwixt you and us' in historical literary works and of his connection with Glasgow.³⁷¹ In reply to Kerr's letter, Dillion was 'honoured', but had to decline:

It is however a distinction that upon consideration I have to decline. My name is not so well known as to add importance to [your] proposed association, out of which the title might be the ground for attributing an undue degree of presumption. But independent of that, I do not see myself possessed of these attainments and qualifications, which the proposed would imply, and that the want of which might be exposed by placing [me] in too conspicuous a situation without benefitting the Club.³⁷²

Though unassuming in his reply, Dillon was essentially correct, as today he is little known. The name of the club fell back to Kerr's original suggestion, that of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun (1496-1586), 'the amiable and accomplished Poet, as well as the tasteful and industrious Collector and pious preserver of Ancient Scottish Poetry' and on consensus was named The Maitland Club.³⁷³ Maitland was a Writer and courtier of James V. Mary, Queen of Scots, made him Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland for life in 1562 but passed this role to his son John in 1567. By this time he was almost blind and retired from active involvement within the court and politics.³⁷⁴ He instead focused his energies on writing and collecting poetry. His work on the history of the House of Seyton, or Seaton, the family line of his mother, was chosen as the first work to be issued by the Maitland Club in 1829 and his poetry was issued as the Club's fourth volume.³⁷⁵

With the Club name and rules settled, they then solicited candidates from a list of gentlemen, merchants and nobility they considered might be interested in such a venture. A sufficient number of enthusiastic replies heralded the first constitution meeting of the Club

³⁷¹ Kerr to Dillon, 12 March 1828. *Notabilia of the Maitland Club, Vol. 1*. MsC140 1:2.

³⁷² Dillon to Kerr, 15 March 1828. *Notabilia of the Maitland Club, Vol. 1*. MsC140 1:3.

³⁷³ Richard Maitland, *The Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knight*, Edited by Joseph Bain (Glasgow: The Maitland Club, 1830), ix.

³⁷⁴ The founder of the Maitland Club, John Kerr, also went blind and had to sell his library, as he could no longer read.

³⁷⁵ Richard Maitland, *The History of the House of Seytoun to the Year MDLIX*, Edited by John Fullarton (Glasgow: The Maitland Club, 1829). Also issued as a publication of The Bannatyne Club; *The Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knight*, Edited by Joseph Bain (Glasgow: The Maitland Club, 1830).

on 21 March 1828 (see Table 4.4).³⁷⁶ The Earl of Glasgow was elected President, Kerr and Dillon as Vice-presidents, and the directors were James Smith of Jordanhill, John Fullarton, James Hill, R.A. Kidston and J. H. Maxwell, with John Eadie as Treasurer and John Wylie as Secretary. The object of the Club was, ‘to print works illustrative of the antiquities, history and literature of Scotland’.³⁷⁷ Each member was to have printed, ‘at his own expense, particular Works or Tracts relative to Scottish affairs’ with each member receiving a copy of the work free of charge.³⁷⁸

Table 4.4: The un-balloted (original) members of The Maitland Club, March 1828. Order as listed in the *Notabilia of the Maitland Club*.

Member No.	Name		Occupation	Place
1	George Boyle, Earl of Glasgow	1766-1843		Glasgow
2	John Dillon	d.1831	Sheriff-Substitute, antiquary	Glasgow
3	John Kerr	1791-1881	Writer	Glasgow
4	James Smith of Jordanhill	1782-1867	Geologist, Biblical historian	Jordanhill
5	John Fullarton of Overton	c.1780- 1849	Antiquary	Overton
6	William Motherwell	1797-1835	Poet, editor	Glasgow
7	James Hill		Writer to the Signet	Glasgow
8	R. A. Kidston		Merchant	Glasgow
9	J. H. Maxwell	d.1833	Writer	Glasgow
10	John Eadie		Accountant	Glasgow
11	James Ewing		Dean of Guild, Lord Provost, M.P.	Dunoon Castle, Glasgow
12	William Smith of Carbeth	1787-1871	Magistrate	Glasgow
13	Andrew MacGeorge	1774-1857	Writer	Glasgow
14	Donald MacIntyre		Writer	Glasgow

³⁷⁶ Minutes of the Meeting held at the Royal Hotel, 31 March 1828. *Notabilia of the Maitland Club, Vol. 1.* MsC140 1:5.

³⁷⁷ “Maitland Club Rules: March 1828”, Papers of the Maitland Club, MSGen313, GUL.

³⁷⁸ “Maitland Club Rules: March 1828”, MSGen313.

15	Alexander MacNeill		Advocate	
16	Joseph Bain, younger of Moriston	d.1832	Advocate	Edinburgh
17	John Strang	1795-1863	'City Chamberlain' in Merchant House. Vinter, editor.	Glasgow
18	David S. Meikleham			Glasgow
19	William Meikleham		Writer	Glasgow
20	John Bain, younger of Moriston	d.1831		Glasgow
21	Robert Adam		Writer	Glasgow
22	Robert Aird			Glasgow
23	John Donald Carrick	1788-1837	Songwriter, journalist, editor	Kilmarnock
24	P. A. Ramsay			Paisley
25	James Dobie		Writer	Beith
26	William Robertson			Glasgow
27	J. C. Poterfield			Porterfield
28	Willam MacDowall			Garthland
29	William Wilson, younger of Thornlie			Thornlie
30	Richard Duncan of Bonnker			Glasgow
31	George Ritchie Kinloch	1797/8-1877	Writer to the Signet	Edinburgh
32	John Wylie		Bookseller	Glasgow

Further memberships were through ballots in December 1828, bringing the total number of members to 43 (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: Balloted members joining on 3 December and 30 December 1828.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁹ Compiled from The Maitland Club Correspondence of John Smith Youngest, MSGen294-312, GUL.

Member No.	Name		Occupation	Place
33	John Smith of Swinridgemuir			Dalry
34	Robert Pitcarin	1793-1855	Writer to the Signet	Edinburgh
35	Henry Cockburn, Lord Cockburn	1779-1854	Advocate, M.P.	Edinburgh
36	Laurence Hill		Collector in Merchant House	Glasgow
37	John Smith, Youngest	1784-1849	Bookseller	Glasgow
38	Sir Patrick Walker of Coats			Edinburgh
39	James Maidment	1793-1879	Advocate, Antiquary	Edinburgh
40	Hamilton Pyper		Advocate	Edinburgh
41	William Henry Miller	1789-1848	M.P.	Craigentiny
42	Alexander Macdonald	c.1791-1850		Edinburgh
43	David Laing	1793-1878	Antiquarian, librarian	Edinburgh

John Smith was the thirty-seventh member, being proposed by William Smith. Smith came into his own when he was elected in 1831 as Secretary, after John Wylie had resigned. From this point on Smith kept a detailed archive of the correspondence of the Club by binding the correspondence, minutes and circulars.³⁸⁰

As the constitution of the Maitland Club demanded there be fifty members frequent ballots were taken as candidates were proposed. The method was by having a shortlist of candidates to which members allocated their preference as either first, second or third, the candidates receiving the highest votes being made members. Out of the 35 possible votes each candidate required to obtain two-thirds, or at least 24 votes. On the first ballot in

³⁸⁰ Donated to GUL by The Maitland Club 31 January 1873. It consisted of 23 volumes published by the Spalding Club, some from the Bannatyne and fragments of Maitland material; 34 manuscripts and other pieces [now missing]; and 30 volumes of material gathered by John Smith [MSGen294-321 & MSGen1288-1289]. See newspaper article: J. C. Ewing. "A Centenary Sketch," *The Glasgow Herald*, 31 March 1928.

March 1829 seven candidates were proposed, including Sir Walter Scott and John Gibson Lockhart (see Table 4.6).³⁸¹

Table 4.6: Sir Walter Scott and other candidates proposed for election on 13 February 1829.

Proposed candidate	No. of Votes Received	Date member
Sir Walter Scott	34	2 March 1829
Thomas Maitland	4	
J. G. Lockhart	26	2 March 1829
Robert Bell	24	2 March 1829
George Smythe	27	2 March 1829
James Dennistoun	17	
David Irving	12	

The proposal for Lockhart and Scott had first been received on 21 January 1829 to the delight of the members. Different Club members proposed each candidate, with Lockhart being proposed by John Smith, and seconded by John Kerr and Laurence Hill, with Scott being proposed by James Maidment, and seconded by Joseph Bain and Robert Pitcairn. Essentially the Glasgow members backed Lockhart, and the Edinburgh members backed Scott.³⁸² The ballot held on the 13 February produced four new members. The candidates who failed to make membership had their names put forward to the next ballot. Thomas Maitland eventually became a member after a further eight ballots, on 24 February 1831. James Dennistoun, after a further two ballots, was made a member on 19 March 1829; but David Irving (1778-1860) never achieved membership. He requested his name be removed from the selection list after a further two ballots continued to return low numbers of votes.

Smith's contribution to the Club was the *Burgh Records of the City of Glasgow MDLXXIII-MDLXXXI* in 1832. His position as councillor and merchant baillie afforded him particular access to the Council records of Glasgow. As he said:

It has frequently occurred to me, that much valuable and minute information illustrative of Scottish history, local antiquities, manners, customs, as well as many interesting hints regarding the progress of civilisation, would be obtained

³⁸¹ "Minutes of the meeting held 2 March 1829", *Notabilia of the Maitland Club, Vol. 1*, MsC140 1:41.

³⁸² Smith proposed and succeeded in electing: Kirkman Finlay, John Whitefoord MacKenzie, George Macintosh, younger of Crossbasket, and Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, amongst others.

by the partial publication of a class of national muniments which have hitherto been seldom consulted by the professional historian or antiquary.³⁸³

This was the first time a volume devoted to a Scottish burgh had been published and indicated a new historical awareness of Scotland's towns, further expressed by Smith's bequeathment to the Glasgow University Library, 'a collection of Tracts chiefly relative to the civil, ecclesiastical, commercial, and political affairs of the City of Glasgow'.³⁸⁴ Of the *Burgh Records*, Smith highlights the usefulness of the volume to historians, lawyers, philologists and antiquaries and hopes to direct others 'to this unbeaten field of enquiry'.³⁸⁵ For the historian the work alludes to facts not known in the general histories and the 'pleasure of tracing domestic habits and manners'. The lawyer gains insight into civic government and the disputed rights of individuals and corporations. The use of old language provides the philologist examples of language no longer in use, and the genealogist gains much into the history of families and individuals.³⁸⁶ In bringing the volume to fruition Smith acknowledges the services of William Motherwell and James Hill.

The *Burgh Records* is a diplomatic rendition of the original records with little in the way of editorial remarks, with an appendix of the Seals of the See and the City of Glasgow. Included are four engravings of the Cathedral by Joseph Swan, to which Smith advertises in a footnote that a work was in the press by 'my friend Archibald McLellan' on 'the Gothic architecture of the Cathedral'.³⁸⁷ McLellan (1795-1854) was a heraldic draughtsman and founder of the McLellan Galleries in Glasgow, and Deacon-Convener of The Trades' House in 1831.³⁸⁸ The engravings of the 'View of the Interior of the Choir of the Cathedral' and the 'The Crypt' of the *Burgh Records* were re-used from an earlier Smith imprint: *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs* (1828 [JSID469]).

³⁸³ John Smith, ed., *Burgh Records of the City of Glasgow MDLXXIII-MDLXXXI* (Glasgow: [Maitland Club], 1832), i.

³⁸⁴ Richard Marsden, *Cosmo Innes and the Defence of Scotland's Past c.1825-1875* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 91. John Smith to Duncan Macfarlane, 31 March 1847 in *Catalogue of Books Presented to the University of Glasgow by John Smith, LL.D.*, GUL, MSGen1222.

³⁸⁵ Smith, *Burgh Records*, iii.

³⁸⁶ Smith, *Burgh Records*, iv-v.

³⁸⁷ Smith, *Burgh Records*, xv. Archibald McLellan, *Essay on the Cathedral Church of Glasgow* (Glasgow: 1833 [JSID345]).

³⁸⁸ George Fairfull Smith, "McLellan, Archibald (1795/1797-1854)," *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17663>.

Ill-health prevented Smith from carrying out much of his Secretarial duties towards the end of the 1840s and at the Club Council elections on the 4 July 1848 he was elected as Treasurer with Duncan Macfarlan becoming Secretary to ease his situation. It was not to be. Smith died seven months later. The Club Minutes expressed the loss of their valued colleague and friend:

His professional experience and business habits, with his zeal and devotedness to the objects of the Society, qualified him in no common degree for the office of Secretary, and rendered his labours in that capacity of the highest value [...] and which mingles, with the regrets of personal friendship, a deep feeling of what the Club has lost to him, as an active coadjutor and most efficient Office-Bearer.³⁸⁹

4.6.3 Other Printing Clubs John Smith Supported

This section describes the other printing clubs and societies that Smith joined, in chronological order, beginning with (a) The Abbotsford Club. W. B. D. D. Turnbull founded the Club in 1834 in honour of Sir Walter Scott for ‘the printing of miscellaneous pieces, illustrative of history, literature, and antiquities’ referred to Scott’s works.³⁹⁰ Turnbull also edited many of the volumes, two of which were in conjunction with the Maitland Club.³⁹¹

(b) The English Historical Society, was founded in 1836 ‘to print accurate, uniform and elegant editions of the most valuable English Chronicles from the earliest period to the succession of Henry VIII. Plus additional volumes on important lives of saints, letters, state papers, historical poems, the proceedings of councils and Synods, Papal Bulls & Decretal Epistles’ and lives of saints.³⁹² Several of the works produced were of historical importance including Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*.³⁹³ The Society also jointly published with the Camden and Parker Societies.

(c) The Camden Society was founded in 1838 in memory of the antiquary William Camden (1551-1623). Its aims were to publish historical documents, letters, and poems

³⁸⁹ Minutes 11 July 1849. *Minutes of the Maitland Club*, MS120, NLS.

³⁹⁰ Smith Collection: 26 books BG33-d.3 to BG33-d.24, BG33-e.1 to BG33-e.4.

³⁹¹ Terry, *A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies*, 1; Hume, *The Learned Societies and Printing Clubs*, 254.

³⁹² “English Historical Society Prospectus” (1836), MSGen1289, GUL.

³⁹³ *Venerabilis Bedae Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (Londoni: Sumptibus Societatis, 1838 & 1841). Smith Collection: 25 books BG34-e.1 to BG34-e.23, BG34-f.1 to BG34-f.2.

representing the civil, ecclesiastical and literary history of the United Kingdom.³⁹⁴ John Smith & Son were the Glasgow agents for the Society in 1841.³⁹⁵ Smith had three works of Camden's in his library: *Britannia, siue Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum Adiacentium ex Intima Antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio* (1607), *Annales Rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum* (1615), and *A Second Edition of Camden's Description of Scotland* (1695).³⁹⁶ A similarly named body, the Cambridge Camden Society, was formed in 1839 to 'to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains', later changing its name to the Ecclesiological Society. John Smith & Son were listed as agents in Glasgow for the Society's journal *The Ecclesiologist*, though no publications from the Society are found in Smith's library.³⁹⁷

(d) The Spalding Club was named after John Spalding, (c.1624-c1669) and founded in Aberdeen in 1839 by Joseph Robertson. Spalding became a Clerk to the Consistorial Court of the Diocese of Aberdeen. He was both an Episcopalian and a Royalist and compiled narratives relating to the hostilities and feuds occurring in the north east of Scotland. He also described the revolt against King Charles I as it happened in Aberdeen, providing a rare first-hand account of the events. Spalding's, *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England, AD1624-AD1645*, existed in several differing manuscripts, which were used as the basis of the printed editions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries including the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs.³⁹⁸ The club's aims were to print the 'historical, ecclesiastical, genealogical, topographical and literary remains' of the north east of Scotland, and took its inspiration from the 'Bannatyne, Maitland and Camden Clubs'.³⁹⁹ While a member, Smith would order books for The Maitland Club library and

³⁹⁴ Hume, *Learned Societies and Printing Clubs*, 256. Smith Collection: 33 books BG34-d.2 to BG34-d.27.

³⁹⁵ "The Camden Society", MSGen1288, GUL.

³⁹⁶ JSAuc138, 076, and 335 respectively.

³⁹⁷ Christopher Webster, "Cambridge Camden Society (Act. 1839–1868)," *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/96307>. *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge Camden Society, 1846), 56.

³⁹⁸ For example, *The History of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland and England, from the Year 1624 to 1645*, 2 vols., (Aberdeen: Printed for T. Evans, sold by A. Angus, Aberdeen and W. Creech, Edinburgh, 1792; *The History of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland and England, from MDCXXIV TO MDCXLV*, Edited by James Skene, 2 vols., (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, and The Maitland Club, 1828-29); *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England, A.D. 1624-A.D. 1645*, Edited by John Stuart, 2 vols., (Aberdeen: The Spalding Club, 1850-51).

³⁹⁹ Advertisement in *The Aberdeen Constitutional*, 5 December 1839, quoted in Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History*, 81.

when he came to donate the club's works he included the posthumous work of the secretary John Stuart, *Essays, Chiefly on Scottish Antiquities* with the collection.⁴⁰⁰

(e) The Irish Archaeological Society was founded in 1840 'to collect and print rare or unpublished works of documents, illustrative of the history and antiquities of Ireland'.⁴⁰¹ Smith was listed as one of original members and was branch Secretary for Scotland in 1841 receiving correspondence for Scottish members through his address at St Vincent Street, Glasgow. Smith's membership fell into arrears in 1842, though this must have been resolved as he continued to receive publications.⁴⁰²

(f) The Parker Society reprinted the works of the Fathers and early writers of the Reformed English Church, ecclesiastical and devotional. Founded in 1840, it was named in honour of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury (1504-1575). At its height it had an excess of seven thousand members, indicating its importance compared with other societies at the time, the Camden having twelve hundred.⁴⁰³

(g) The Percy Society, founded in 1840, collected important and obscure pieces of ballad poetry. Named after Thomas Percy (1729-1811), Bishop of Dromore, and editor of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*.⁴⁰⁴ Critically, the society was not as important as the Shakespeare Society in terms of the material it published, but is considered the first to totally devote itself to that of English ballad literature. The volumes themselves were unassuming in nature without any form of ostentation.⁴⁰⁵

(h) The Wodrow Society was instituted in 1841 through the efforts of David Laing 'for the publication of the works of the Fathers and early writers of the Reformed Church of Scotland'.⁴⁰⁶ The Society was named in memory of Robert Wodrow (1679-1734), minister of Eastwood parish and ecclesiastical historian. He was an avid collector of manuscripts

⁴⁰⁰ "Subscription list for *Poll Tax list of 1696* [1842]," MSGen1288, GUL; *Essays, Chiefly on Scottish Antiquities by John Stuart, with a Brief Sketch of the Author's Life* (Aberdeen: Printed by William Bennett, 1846) BG33-e.5; Smith Collection: 20 books BG33-f.1 to BG33-f.20.

⁴⁰¹ "Irish Archaeological Society", MSGen1288, GUL.

⁴⁰² Smith Collection: 13 books BG33-e.6 to BG33-e.17.

⁴⁰³ Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship*, 128. Steeves in error indicates Martin Parker as the Archbishop.

⁴⁰⁴ Smith Collection: 26 books BG33-i.1 to BG33-i.25.

⁴⁰⁵ Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary*, 142.

⁴⁰⁶ Smith Collection: 23 books BG34-f.3 to BG34-g.9.

and pamphlets many of which are held in the NLS.⁴⁰⁷ The Society was formed on a similar basis and plan to the Parker Society of London, though the Church of Scotland Fathers were not as prolific writers as their English counterparts. The most important works produced were the *History of the Kirk of Scotland by David Calderwood, Minister of Crailing* (8 volumes, 1842-1845) and the *History of the Reformation in Scotland by John Knox* (2 volumes, 1846-1847), which was published jointly with the Bannatyne as part of their *Works of John Knox* series.⁴⁰⁸

(i) The Spottiswoode Society was formed in Edinburgh in 1843 for ‘the revival and publication of the acknowledged works of Bishops, clergy, and laity of the Episcopal Church of Scotland [...] illustrative of the civil and ecclesiastical state of Scotland’. The Society was named after John Spottiswoode (1566-1639), the first Scottish Archbishop after the Reformation. Smith handled subscriptions for the Society.⁴⁰⁹

(j) The Surtees Society founded in 1834 for the ‘publication of inedited manuscripts illustrative of the moral, the intellectual, the religious, and the social condition of those parts of England and Scotland [...] which constituted the Ancient Kingdom of Northumberland’.⁴¹⁰ The Society was formed in memory of Robert Surtees of Mainforth, author of the *History of the County Palatine of Durham* (4 vols., 1816-1840). As Smith had only four titles from the Society, it may be assumed he was not a member, or was only a member for a short time, and obtained the volumes through public sale.⁴¹¹

Smith’s primary interest in theological and ecclesiastical subjects led him to contemplate membership of other printing clubs and societies and obtaining their prospectuses. A few can be determined from the Maitland Club archive: The Oriental Translation Fund (founded 1828) whose object was to translate Eastern works into European languages, many of which were theological in nature;⁴¹² the Calvin Translation Society (founded

⁴⁰⁷ L. A. Yeoman, “Wodrow, Robert (1679–1734),” *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29819>.

⁴⁰⁸ *The History of the Reformation in Scotland* was edited by David Laing who continued to work on the volumes long after the Society had dissolved, the sixth and final volume was published in 1864.

⁴⁰⁹ Hodges & Smith of Dublin March 4 1844 regarding subscriptions, MSGen1288, GUL. Ephemera, Eph B/83, B/87. Smith Collection: 8 books BG34-g.10 to BG34-g.17.

⁴¹⁰ Hume, *The Learned Societies and Printing Clubs*, 250.

⁴¹¹ Jordan Fantosme, *Anglo-Norman Chronicle of the war between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174* (1840) [JSAut34] and ‘The Publications of the Surtees Society, 3 vols. Lond. v. y.’ [JSAuc035] titles not identified. Smith may have paid subscription dues 17 August 1843, Letter 180, Maitland Club Correspondence, MSGen308.

⁴¹² “Catalogue of works printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1832” Ephemera, Eph N/367-368.

1843) prospectus which Smith had annotated, although he does not appear to have acquired any titles, but as none of the Society's books can be found in any library catalogues, the Society may not have managed to issue any publications;⁴¹³ the Ray Society (founded 1844) to print original works in zoology and botany, rare tracts and reprints of foreign works;⁴¹⁴ the Wyclif [Wycliffe] Society (founded 1844) 'to reprint the more scarce and valuable texts and treatises of the earlier reformers, puritans and nonconformists of Great Britain' (John Smith was not listed in the 1844 subscription list);⁴¹⁵ and the Anglia Christiana Society (founded 1845) 'to publish lives, letters and documents, as more directly pertain to the Ecclesiastical history of this County'.⁴¹⁶

Many other societies existed whose publications are represented in Smith's library, even if he was not a member. For example, the Iona Club had a remit to print works pertaining to the history, literature and antiquities albeit of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Smith had several works reflecting the subject matter of the Highlands, including *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland* by Donald Gregory (d. 1836), who was Secretary of the Iona Club.⁴¹⁷

4.7 Smith's Collecting and his Library

What did Smith gain by being a member of so many clubs and societies? Several possibilities might be suggested: to engage with antiquarian material in line with many contemporaries; to acquire uniformly bound volumes as decoration to drawing rooms or personal libraries as opposed to having to bind material newly bought or acquired through auction; to develop a personal library of resources, as many of the original manuscripts and rare works were held in private collections or in institutions that would require letters of introduction for access, and not necessarily convenient if the research was taken as part of private research; and the exclusiveness of the volumes.

Smith used many means to acquire material he thought useful. As he was not a member of the Bannatyne Club and so not able to receive the volume by subscription he arranged with

⁴¹³ "Prospectus of Calvin Translation Society", Ephemera, Eph N/694.

⁴¹⁴ "Prospectus of The Ray Society", MSGen1289, GUL.

⁴¹⁵ "Prospectus of The Wycliffe Society", MSGen1288, GUL.

⁴¹⁶ "Prospectus of Anglia Christiana Society", MSGen1288, GUL. Smith had *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores* by Roger Twysden in his library [JSAuc094].

⁴¹⁷ Donald Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1836) [JSAuc743]. Book prospectus sent to John Smith, see Sp Coll q830, GUL.

David Laing, the Club's Secretary, to swap volumes from their respective clubs, 'I think we may enhance the value of our private collections by such right minded barter'.⁴¹⁸ Laing was agreeable to such an arrangement and a week later books were being exchanged: *The Anatomie of Humors; and the Passionate Sparke of a Relenting Minde by Simion Grahame* (1830); *A Relation of Proceedings Concerning the Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland by John Earl of Rothes* (1830); *Memoirs of the War Carried on in Scotland and Ireland. MDCLXXXIX-MDCXCI by Major-General Hugh MacKay* (1833)⁴¹⁹; *Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh* (1828); *The Palace of Honour by Gawyn Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld* (1827); *Thomae Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum sive de Scriptoribus Scotis* (2 vols., 1829); and *A Diary of the Proceedings in the Parliament and Privy Council of Scotland by Sir David Hume* (1828). Smith acquired twenty-five of the Bannatyne's publications which were included in the donation to the University.⁴²⁰

It is evident that Smith was in communication with other antiquaries to develop his library. J. W. Semple wrote from Paris in August 1829, at the request of his father, to Smith describing the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du Roi [Bibliothèque Nationale de France] relating to the See of Glasgow and the history of England.⁴²¹ Semple disappointingly writes of only locating one and that the 'title is "Chartiolarium Ecclesiae Glascuensis in Scotia" it is added to the end of another document which bears the title "Carta Authentica Roberti Seneschalli Scotiae"'.⁴²² He goes on to indicate that it was printed in 1693, but no copy appears to exist in the library. With regard to Smith's request for manuscripts related to the history of England, Semple indicates that large numbers exist and goes on to list 35 titles from the catalogue.

Smith was an avid follower of auction sales and many lists were annotated with ticks or prices.⁴²³ In the Sale Catalogue of the late Robert Thomson, of 9 December 1835, for instance, Smith marked entry number 14, 'Poetical Works of Sir W. Scott 10 vols.', without indicating a price, but it suggests that he bought it as it can be found in his own

⁴¹⁸ John Smith to David Laing, 8 December 1835. Laing Collection, University of Edinburgh, La.IV.17, Folio 8740. Laing had resigned from the Maitland two years after joining due to financial difficulties.

⁴¹⁹ As this was also issued by the Maitland Club, it suggests that Smith may have wanted The Bannatyne bindings.

⁴²⁰ Smith Collection: 25 books BG33-c.1 to BG33-c.23; BG33-d.1 to BG33-d.2.

⁴²¹ J. W. Semple may be the translator of Kant's *Metaphysics of ethics* (Edinburgh, 1836), and possibly son of the antiquary David Semple (1808–1878), Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, author of the *Poems and Songs of Robert Tannahill* (Paisley, 1874).

⁴²² Semple to Smith, 21 August 1829. Author's collection.

⁴²³ GUL, Sp Coll q830.

auction catalogue at No. 48 [JSAuc048]. Further, the *Letters from the Cardinal Borgia, and the Cardinal of York, MDCCXCIX-MDCCC*, listed at number 45 in the *Catalogue of Valuable books Classics, Antiquities, Maitland Club and MS* sold on 4 November 1836, is annotated ‘7/3’; the work is in Smith’s own auction catalogue at No. 496 [JSAuc496].

4.7.1 Books John Smith Gifted

Smith not only spent time gathering and buying books for his library he also gifted them to organisations and institutions. In 1836 the Glasgow and Clydesdale Statistical Society was founded to procure, arrange and publish facts of the ‘present state of the country with a view of its future improvement’.⁴²⁴ The President was James Cleland with Smith as a Fellow and Member of the Committee for Revising Regulations and Organising the Society.⁴²⁵ Several of the members gifted material to the Society’s library including Smith with two items: *History, Political and Statistical, of the Island of Cuba, Exhibiting the Progress of its Population, its Agriculture and its Commerce*, by Ramón de la Sagra, and *Thirteen Tables or Sheets Relative to the Trade of Great Britain, the West Indies, and America*.⁴²⁶ On the death of Cleland the Society ceased to function as a body.⁴²⁷

Smith, as one of the Directors, presented to the Glasgow Deaf and Dumb Institution the Maitland Club publication *The Works of George Dalgarno of Aberdeen* (1834). Dalgarno (c.1616-1687) who studied all forms of language wrote *Didascalocophus, or, The Deaf and Dumb Man’s Tutor* (Oxford, 1680) which looked at the use of language by the deaf, and created a ‘finger alphabet’ to aid the process of teaching.⁴²⁸ The Institution was founded in 1819, and a sum of £2000 was subscribed, and buildings provided by the Barony Glebe.⁴²⁹ In 1866 it was moved to Prospect Bank, Queen’s Park.

⁴²⁴ Glasgow and Clydesdale Statistical Society, *Constitution and Regulations* (Glasgow, 1836), 3. The Society was instituted in April 1836.

⁴²⁵ Glasgow and Clydesdale, 102.

⁴²⁶ The book was originally in Spanish, *Historia Economico-politica y Estadística de la Isla de Cuba: Ó Sea de sus Progresos en la Poblacion, la Agricultura, el Comercio y las Rentas* (Habana, 1831) – as no English version has been located in library catalogues we cannot determine if Smith donated an English version.

⁴²⁷ Hume, *The Learned Societies and Printing Clubs*, 190.

⁴²⁸ The Maitland Club book was presented by Lord Cockburn, and edited by Thomas Maitland. Dalgrado’s works *Didascalocophus* and *Ars Signorum* are included.

⁴²⁹ Glasgow Deaf and Dumb Institution, *A Brief Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1835 [JSID020]), 17.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was another organisation that received gifts from Smith as a member. On 6 December 1832, he presented a copy of the *Burgh Records* he had recently produced for the Maitland Club and the casts of sixteen archiepiscopal and other official seals of Glasgow, which were illustrated in the appendix of that book.⁴³⁰

The above chapter has covered two aspects of Smith's corporate world. On the one hand, organisations pertaining to the book trade as they maintained control over their commodities, balancing quantity and quality to achieve maximum profit. On the other, printing clubs and societies ignored profit to produce objects that were perceived as having quality as well as usefulness and providing an outlet the ordinary book trade could not sustain or support financially.

Printing clubs and societies were a way for Smith to extend his engagement with the ecclesiastical history of the British Isles since the Reformation. Chapter 5 will consider, through Smith's actions as a publisher and bookseller, how he was able to facilitate others to engage with theological works, through his publications of the divine Thomas Chalmers and later his contribution to Disruption literature.

⁴³⁰ "Antiquarian Researches," *Gentleman's Magazine*, December (1832): 561

Chapter 5 John Smith, Youngest: Religious Book Publishing

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored how the Presbyterian faith permeated the private and business life across the generations of the Smith family. How religion and religious publishing played a great part in the world of John Smith, Youngest, is the focus of the current chapter. It demonstrates the complexity of Smith's world, that, far from him being a humble bookseller, he was a multifaceted individual aware of polite society, but also a passionate supporter of things that mattered to him and his fellow human beings.

The chapter is split into two parts. The first part of the chapter explores, how Smith, Youngest, interacted with the Reverend Thomas Chalmers, in the second decade of the nineteenth-century. Chalmers was an important influence on Glasgow society at the time, and later in the nineteenth-century. Smith had great reverence for Chalmers, but he did not shirk from standing his ground when confronting Chalmers while being accused of underhanded business practices, and though he was willing to compromise in some areas, his sense of fairness, which permeated Smith's personal and business life, shone through. The relationship was not just between Smith and Chalmers alone, but involved many other players in a complex web of relationships. As Smith's relationship with Chalmers changed dramatically, the two men's friendship fractured.

The second part of the chapter visits Smith in the last decade of his life, through the debate on Church patronage, and subsequently, the Disruption. The church debates indirectly brought Chalmers back into his life. Smith lent his support to the Established Church and Smith's contribution is through the pamphlets on which his imprint appears. Smith's imprint highlights a close relationship with the authors and the importance of those pamphlets to him in the context of the Disruption.

PART I

5.2 Stevenson Macgill and William Collins

The events leading to Thomas Chalmers coming to Glasgow are linked with Reverend Stevenson Macgill and William Collins. Macgill (1765-1840) had graduated from Glasgow and gained a licence to preach the Gospel in Paisley in 1790 before being asked to become the minister to the Parish of Eastwood in 1791.⁴³¹ During this time, through his own instructional work with the poor, he became aware of the educational and spiritual work of William Collins. Collins (1789-1853) was born in the village of Pollokshaws in 1789, and upon leaving school, went to work as a weaver in Pollokshaws at the start of the nineteenth-century and at eighteen years of age had become clerk in the cotton mill of John Monteith.⁴³² Collins was a deeply religious young man and a devout Christian who spent many hours studying the scriptures. He had such a persuasive style that he offered religious instruction to his work colleagues whom he felt had fallen from grace. He had presence enough to begin a Sunday school with additional schooling in the evenings where he taught the mill workforce English, arithmetic and writing, subsequently the reputation of the mill improved. Collin's work came to the attention of Stevenson Macgill while minister for the parish of Eastwood. When Macgill, in 1797, transferred to the Tron Church in Glasgow, he continued to follow the work of Collins though it was some distance from his parish. After much persuasion he encouraged Collins to become a full-time teacher, to which he responded by founding a private school on Campbell Street, in Glasgow, to the east of the College (University) grounds in 1813 where he continued to teach English, writing and arithmetic.⁴³³

While at the Tron, Macgill initiated a monthly discussion group, the Clerical Literary Society (from 1800) to which he read various essays, and in 1809 he had those collected and published as *Considerations Addressed to a Young Clergyman*.⁴³⁴ The pamphlet was 'sold by all the principal booksellers in Glasgow', which no doubt included John Smith, with the firm becoming the primary publisher of the expanded second edition in 1820.⁴³⁵

⁴³¹ Robert Burns, *Memoir of the Rev. Stevenson Macgill* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1842), 13.

⁴³² David Keir, *The House of Collins* (London: Collins, 1952), 22.

⁴³³ Keir, *The House of Collins*, 23.

⁴³⁴ Burns, *Memoir of the Rev. Stevenson Macgill*, 30. Smith had *Laws and Regulations of the Glasgow Literary and Commercial Society* (n.d. 6p) in his library in missing volume from GUL, BG33-g.5.

⁴³⁵ Stevenson Macgill, *Letters to a Young Clergyman*, 2nd ed. (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1820 [JSID331]).

Macgill focused a great deal of his energy on relief support for the poor, the sick, education, reformation of criminals, and those that society had ignored in the squalor of an increasingly growing city, appealing to the Christian duty of the wealthy inhabitants for support. Two such examples were the subjects of Macgill's sermons: *On Lunatic Asylums: A Discourse* (1810 [JSID333]), prior to the laying of the foundation stone for the Glasgow Asylum for Lunatics; the other *On Elementary Education: A Discourse Delivered Before the Glasgow Society of Teachers* (1811 [JSID332]).

The Asylum pamphlet was extremely popular, with 13 booksellers taking an active part in the distribution: five in Glasgow, including John Smith, two in Edinburgh, two in Paisley, with one each from Greenock, Ayr, Kilmarnock and London. The laying of the foundation stone involved a major procession of more than 2000 people and 240 musicians, comprising of city officials, incorporations, military and the Grand Lodge of Scotland.⁴³⁶ The plan was to have the Lord Provost of Glasgow as President, but by the time the *First Annual Report of the Directors of the Glasgow Asylum for Lunatics* was published in January 1815, Archibald Smith of Jordanhill was President. John Smith kept an active interest on the Asylum's developments as his library contained the Reports up until 1848 (34th Report).⁴³⁷

Magill's other sermon was on the importance of education for the young. The sermon to the Glasgow Society of Teachers was published with the intention that all 'Profits to be applied for the Benefit of the Society', so the six booksellers and printer received no financial profit for their effort. The balance between financial profit and Christian principles underpinned Smith's religious publishing. Smith would eventually publish a collection of Macgill's sermons in 1839 for financial remuneration, the year before Macgill died, Smith being the principal publisher.⁴³⁸ Macgill's character was such he was described as 'an enemy to all corruption and the staunch friend of all reform'.⁴³⁹

The teaching of Christian principles through education was also the reason why Macgill was so supportive of William Collins, whom he brought to the attention of the Elders of the Tron Church. Collins's enthusiasm and dedication so impressed the Elders that they

⁴³⁶ Stevenson Macgill, *On Lunatic Asylums*, 33.

⁴³⁷ Smith Collection, BG33-h.15. As the Reports were published in January of the year, the 35th Report for 1849 probably arrived too late for inclusion in his library, as Smith died on the 22 January 1849.

⁴³⁸ Stevenson Macgill, *Sermons* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1839 [JSID334]).

⁴³⁹ Burns, *Memoir of the Rev. Stevenson Macgill*, 323.

made him an Elder at the age of 25 in 1814, the youngest ever for the church.⁴⁴⁰ The Tron Church, located in the Trongate, primarily catered for the merchants of the city, which included John Smith, Senior.⁴⁴¹ The other Elders were: Andrew Cowan, James Brash, Robert Todd, William Collins, William Orhart, Michael Muirhead, William Rodger, James Craig, and William Currie.⁴⁴² Of these ten names, two were in the book trade at the time: Smith and Brash.

James Brash (1758-1835) began as an apprentice of the Foulis brothers, before setting up a partnership with William Reid, from Dunlop & Wilson booksellers, in 1790. They traded in the Trongate until 1817, when the co-partnership was dissolved and Brash formed 'James Brash & Co'.⁴⁴³ From 1793 to 1841, 60 publications in total feature both Smith & Son and Brash (either with his co-partner or on his own) as separate imprints, 38 of which with Brash & Reid. William Reid was particularly adept at composing rhymes to fit a situation or event. When the bookseller Maurice Ogle opened his shop on Wilson Street with a large stock of religious works, Reid quickly wrote:

Ye that would mend your faith and hope,
 Repair to the new gospel shop:
 Whene'er your faith begins to coggle,
 Ye'll be set right by Maurice Ogle.⁴⁴⁴

Though today Brash & Reid are known for their publications of poetry and a series of chapbooks, they in fact published a diverse range of subjects including theology.⁴⁴⁵ Those published with John Smith were quite diverse. The earliest was *Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical* by David Grant in 1793 [JSID588]. The publication included the funeral sermon

⁴⁴⁰ Keir, *The House of Collins*, 25.

⁴⁴¹ Lionel Alexander Ritchie, "Macgill, Stevenson (1765–1840)," *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17509>.

⁴⁴² Burns, *Memoir of the Rev. Stevenson Macgill*, 332. James Brash junior was a member of the Glasgow Booksellers' Protection Association; see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2.

⁴⁴³ J. C. Ewing, *Brash and Reid Booksellers in Glasgow and Their Collection of Poetry* (Glasgow: Robert Maclehose & Co., 1934), 2.

⁴⁴⁴ Quoted in Robert Alison, *The Anecdote of Glasgow Comprising Anecdotes and Anecdotal Incidents of the City of Glasgow and Glasgow Personages* (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1892), 166. Alison does not provide his source. See also George Eyre-Todd, *The Glasgow Poets* (Glasgow & Edinburgh: William Hodge & Co., 1903), 116, for a brief biography and selection of poetry.

⁴⁴⁵ Brash & Reid chapbooks are discussed in Ewing, *Brash and Reid Booksellers*; and Sandro Jung, "The Glasgow Poetry Chapbook, 1796-1799: Brash and Reid's 'Small Selections', Cameron and Murdoch's 'Most Celebrated Pieces, Bith Scots and English', Murdoch's the Polyhymnia and the Stewart and Meikle Burns Chapbooks," *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* No. 10(2015): 90.

of Rev. William Peebles, one of Smith's authors.⁴⁴⁶ Their final publication involving the two firms was the second edition of Robert Owens's work on practical social improvement, *An Address Delivered to the Inhabitants of New Lanark* (1816 [JSID389]), published in London by Longman, with others in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Smith had been involved with this publication since the first edition in 1816 and continued until the fourth in 1819. The other publications ranged from sermons of Stevenson Macgill and others, medicine, law, and education, with only three of the titles focusing on poetry.

Macgill was invited to the Chair of Theology in the University of Glasgow, and the Church Elders and the congregation, in praising his work and character, presented a farewell address to the esteemed Reverend on the 20 April 1815. When Collins was not teaching and preaching, he would travel the country listening to or giving religious instruction. In his various travels around Scotland, Collins heard the preaching of Thomas Chalmers in the village of Kilmany, Fife. He was so taken with Chalmers's oration that on his return to Glasgow he persuaded the Tron Elders that Chalmers would be a suitable candidate for the now vacant position in the Tron.

5.3 Thomas Chalmers and the Smith Family

You ask me to tell you about Dr. Chalmers. I must tell you first, then, that of all the men he is the most modest, and speaks with undissembled [sic] gentleness and liberality of those who differ from him in opinion. Every word he says has the stamp of genius; yet the calmness, ease, and simplicity of his conversation is such, that to ordinary minds he might appear an ordinary man.⁴⁴⁷

Enthused Anne Grant in a letter to Mrs. Hook in London, being a typical contemporary view of the effect Chalmers had on those that witnessed his preaching or met him, including the Smiths. Conversely, Stuart Brown in his assessment of the Divine concluded that:

Chalmers has remained a controversial figure since his death. For some biographers [...] Chalmers was a saintly figure [...] For others [...] he was the 'evil genius' of the nineteenth-century church, a middle-class ecclesiastical politician whose poor-relief programmes brought hardship to the labouring

⁴⁴⁶ See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.

⁴⁴⁷ J. P. Grant, *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1844), 2:167. Letter dated 26 February 1817.

orders and whose ambition for power and unwillingness to compromise led to the unnecessary break-up of the national church.⁴⁴⁸

As we shall see below, Chalmers's refusal to compromise had serious implications on his business arrangements with John Smith.

Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), born in Anstruther, Fife, had already a reputation that, 'much learning and religion [had] made [him] mad', but a delegation of five representatives from Glasgow, went to Kilmany to witness his preaching on Sunday for themselves.⁴⁴⁹ It was fortuitous that on that Sunday Chalmers was giving a sermon in remembrance of the local minister, the Reverend John Honey of Bendochy, who had died young. Honey was a local hero after his exertions in rescuing sailors from a ship that was wrecked on the reefs of St Andrews Bay. The Glasgow delegation witnessed, what seemed to them, like the whole parish present to hear Chalmers speak. The church was full and a window had been taken out to allow those gathered outside to hear. When the congregation moved to the graveside, Chalmers began reading a psalm, and after the congregation had sung it, as was typical of worship at the time, Chalmers began to preach which a witness described:

I have heard many eloquent men, but this I have never seen equaled [sic], or even imitated. It was not learning, it was not art; it was the untaught and the unencumbered incantation of genius, the mightiest engine of which the world can boast.⁴⁵⁰

By the time Chalmers had finished his sermon the Glasgow delegation were totally convinced of his suitability as their minister for the Tron. When the Glasgow delegates returned to the city they began a letter campaign to gather support to persuade Chalmers to become the new minister of the Tron and also put his name forward for election. Chalmers was reluctant, and debated with himself the pros and cons of staying at Kilmany or going to Glasgow. The Glasgow delegates eventually persuaded him to give a sermon in Glasgow to demonstrate his preaching and to counter the opposition of the Duke of Montrose, Sir Islay Campbell, the College, and the Lord Provosts, both past and present, to

⁴⁴⁸ Stewart J. Brown, "Chalmers, Thomas (1780–1847)," *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5033>.

⁴⁴⁹ William Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1850) 1:449.

⁴⁵⁰ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 1:440. Mrs. Oliphant in her biography of Chalmers names the minister as John Henry: Mrs. Oliphant, *Thomas Chalmers* (London: Methuen & Co., 1905), 51.

Chalmers's possible appointment. The congregation was made up of 140 heads of families and 70 individuals. They had petitioned the Magistrates and the Council, the most active were Michael Muirhead (merchant), John Smith (bookseller), William Collins (teacher), and John Urquhart (merchant). The decision to elect Thomas Chalmers to the Tron Church was made on 26 November 1814, winning with fifteen votes against his nearest contender, the Rev Dr M'Farlane of Drymen.⁴⁵¹ Four months later, Chalmers gave his first official sermon in Glasgow on Thursday the 30 March 1815. It attracted a wide audience wanting to hear him preach, including John Gibson Lockhart, who travelled all the way from Edinburgh to witness it. He gave a lengthy detailed description of Chalmers's appearance and presence, concluding that,

I have heard many men deliver sermons far better arranged in regard to argument, and have heard many deliver sermons far more uniform in elegance both of conception and of style. But more unquestionably I have never heard, either in England, or Scotland, or in any other country, any preacher whose eloquence is capable of producing an effect so strong and irresistible as his.⁴⁵²

Chalmers's first month in Glasgow was not what he expected. The smog, dampness and the sense of isolation from people he knew gave him a sense of 'desolation', which would be expected coming from a small simple village like Kilmany to a large bustling town like Glasgow.⁴⁵³ In an early publication he had put forward the claim that 'a parish minister's duties consisted of little more than preaching on Sunday, leaving the remainder of the week for whatever scholarly or scientific interests he wished to pursue'.⁴⁵⁴ In Glasgow, on the other hand, he had received over a hundred visitors within a week.⁴⁵⁵ But his depressed mood was to change, as his biographer William Hanna (1808-1882) described:

ere the first month of that residence had gone by, his affections had alighted upon a youthful member of his congregation, to whom he speedily became bound by ties of such peculiar strength and tenderness as threw over their brief earthly intercourse all the air of a spiritual romance.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵¹ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 1:452.

⁴⁵² J. G. Lockhart, *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; [...] Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1819 [JSID609]), 1: 273. Smith's imprint does not appear on the 3rd ed., 1819.

⁴⁵³ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:26.

⁴⁵⁴ Brown, "Chalmers", *ODNB*.

⁴⁵⁵ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:19.

⁴⁵⁶ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:26.

This ‘youthful member’ was Thomas Smith, the third son of John Smith, Senior. Born in Glasgow on 27 February 1792 he aspired to follow a career as a Writer. His early school days clearly indicate he was of a different character to that of his fellow students, and possibly reserved in manner. He seemed to avoid those that played practical jokes on students and masters, as described in a letter (neatly written as part of a class writing exercise) to his elder brother Hector:⁴⁵⁷

I was happy to hear by Mary[']s⁴⁵⁸ letter that you was well. M^r Wilson has given up his class in Grammer [sic] School as the boys had quite got the better of him, and we have a M^r Cristal from Stirling[.] A man of whom we are all very fond of, the rebels are all out of our class[.] I am just now in M^r Wilson[']s writing and Counting, and likewise M^r Hamilton’s dancing. I am sorry to say the boys are behaving very ill to M^r Hamilton but I do not follow thier [sic] example. I have got the present of a sloup of war from John Humphry which is named Hector[.] I got the cannon and carriage lying in one of your drawers[.] Christy has her compliments to you and hopes that you do read your bible every Sunday and remember the rules of the family on that day. I have no more to say at present but remains [sic].⁴⁵⁹

Chalmers was certainly impressed by the young Smith, a man 12 years his junior (Chalmers was 35), and they began a close relationship that flourished over the coming year (Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1: Chalmers, aged 35, as John and Thomas Smith knew him in 1817. From *Peter’s Letters to his Kinsfolk* [JSID609], Vol. 3, facing p269.

⁴⁵⁷ Hector Smith, 1785-1811, became manager of the Jordan Hill Plantation, Trinidad. Died in Grenada.

⁴⁵⁸ Mary Smith, 1789-1808.

⁴⁵⁹ Thomas Smith, Glasgow to Hector Smith, Charleston, 14 February 1806. Author’s collection, [photocopy, original unknown].

Chalmers had found a disciple. He had found someone he could nurture through his ministry in Glasgow and welcomed the companionship and role as mentor to the young Smith. Sometimes Chalmers himself had questioned his role in the impassioned entries in his journal of their relationship: ‘Had long walks and conversations with T. S. – O my God, save me from all that is idolatrous in my regard for him!’⁴⁶⁰ The two men would exchange letters, go for long walks along the Monkland Canal or go riding together. The first letter that Hanna publishes was from Thomas to Chalmers in Edinburgh on the 13 November 1815, though clearly by the opening line, their relationship had developed quite considerably by then, ‘after a week’s separation from you [...] has been very tedious to me’.⁴⁶¹ Thomas goes on to express his admiration for the Moravian Missionaries from a book that Chalmers had lent him. The letters continue until May 1816, covering a diverse range of topics, with questions being asked of Chalmers, such as, ‘How comes it that a man predestined to salvation has it not in his power to fall away from it?’ and Chalmers responding with guiding thoughts and anecdotes. In a flattering, but sincere, acknowledgement of Thomas’s religious development, Chalmers states:

I am much pleased with your humility in thinking that I have overrated your religion and morals; but I trust I do not overrate them when I say, that you hunger and thirst for righteousness; that measuring you by others you stand at a wide distance from all the gross and vulgar proliferation of this unhallowed generation.⁴⁶²

Their relationship abruptly came to a halt with the death of Thomas in 1816 from consumption. Chalmers was distraught and was given a lock of Thomas’s hair in remembrance by the Smith family.

The Smiths were already familiar with the works of Chalmers. In 1808, Smith & Son advertised Chalmers’s *An Enquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources* (Edinburgh, 1808) in the *Glasgow Herald*, of 4 April 1808.⁴⁶³ The same page noted Chalmers as a contributor to the new *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, which would form the

⁴⁶⁰ Quoted in Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:27. William Hanna, *A Selection of the Correspondence of the Late Thomas Chalmers* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co., 1853). There does not appear in the literature any interpretation of the Chalmers-Smith relationship and letters with their themes of ‘idolatry’ and a likeness to love-letters.

⁴⁶¹ Hanna, *A Selection of the Correspondence of the Late Thomas Chalmers*, 11.

⁴⁶² Hanna, *A Selection of the Correspondence of the Late Thomas Chalmers*, 19.

⁴⁶³ ‘This day is published [...] by Oliphant & Brown, and sold by JOHN SMITH & SON, Booksellers, [...], *An Enquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources*,’ *Glasgow Herald*, 4 April 1808, 3; sold in Boards for 8 shillings.

content of the *Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation* in 1815.⁴⁶⁴ This was a general article on the foundation of Christianity based on historical evidence. Smith desperately wanted to obtain this and contacted his friend and fellow bookseller William Whyte of Edinburgh, who replied,

I observe what you say in regard to the Price of his Evidences – As my Associates have [looked?] through rules laid down by themselves I consider the agreement dissolved and I therefore with pleasure send you one dozen at sale price.

I also send you 25 of his Address 2d Edition 25 Stewarts Letter 12mo and 12 ditto in 8vo and shoul[d] be greatly obliged to promote the sale of them.

I had meant to send the advertisements to you, but on second thoughts, I thought it better to continue them in the old channel to Prevent jealousy. I send you 100 appendix to the Address for the advantage of the purchases of the first edition – If you think you can charge 1d for it, do it, if not give it gratis.⁴⁶⁵

The *Evidences* originally sold for 4s 6d. Smith, Senior and Youngest, worked together to stock their shop; Smith, Senior, being the senior partner would be the initial point of contact, with Smith, Youngest, tasked with acquiring suitable stock. By the summer of 1815, Smith, Senior, in a letter to his son, indicated, ‘I have an Order for all the Publications of M^r Chalmers to send abroad, among others his Evidence [...]’.⁴⁶⁶ The next work that the Smiths desired to obtain was *Scripture References Designed For the Use of Parents, Teachers and Private Christians*, but would prove to be a point of disputation in the future. The purpose of the *References* was ‘to assist parents and teachers in the important work of instructing and examining the young’. This involved committing to memory verses of the Bible as a means to show the importance and utility of God’s word; even just repetition of the verses would give an understanding to the children.⁴⁶⁷

Smith & Son were not the first bookseller to try to obtain the *References*. Maurice Ogle had tried to obtain this pamphlet in 1814 when the *Scripture References* had first appeared in Glasgow. There was such a demand from the Sabbath Schools that Ogle enquired as to

⁴⁶⁴ The *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, first published by William Blackwood between 1808 and 1830. Several of Smith’s authors had contributed to the *Encyclopædia* during its lifetime. *Evidence* went through several editions between 1815 and 1818 without Smith appearing on the imprint list.

⁴⁶⁵ Whyte to Smith, 11 January 1815. Thomas Chalmers Papers, cha 5-3-4, New College Library, University of Edinburgh [Hereafter cited as Chalmers].

⁴⁶⁶ Smith, Senior to John Smith, Youngest, 28 July 1815. Chalmers, cha-5-3-7.

⁴⁶⁷ [Chalmers, Thomas], *Scripture References Designed For the Use of Parents, Teachers and Private Christians*, 3rd ed. (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1817 [JSID793]), iii. [4th ed., 1818 JSID123, 5th ed., 1820, JSID997].

publishing the work, only to be informed that he could not as it belonged to Edward Lesslie of Dundee, but Lesslie was willing to send him copies of the then recently printed second edition.⁴⁶⁸

Edward Lesslie (Leslie) of Dundee had been gifted the work by Chalmers in 1814 ‘to publish the References in a cheap form so as they might be purchased for Sunday Schools and by the lower classes of Society’.⁴⁶⁹ Lesslie himself was known as a ‘leader of the advanced radicals [...] he narrowly escaped prosecution for sedition [...]. He ultimately went to the United States and died there about 1830’.⁴⁷⁰ With Chalmers preaching in Glasgow, the demand for the book had increased enormously, and since Smith & Son were now considered to be Chalmers’s booksellers, it would be economical if they had control of the publishing of the work. Though the work seemed to be popular, it was not from a business point of view. Francis Orr was sent 456 copies by Lesslie in 1815, but indicated that:⁴⁷¹

after useing [sic] my best endeavours [sic] to get them disposed I was obliged to return M^r. Leslie 12½ doz Copies being considered unsaleable [sic] on the 25th. November 1816, which shews clearly that the copyright was of very little value, in my opinion if M^r. Chalmers had asked any money for the copyright M^r. Leslie would have declined having anything to do with it.⁴⁷²

Smith, possibly, through his trade contacts, was well aware of this, but still wanted to have the title to hand. They contacted Lesslie in March 1817 and offered ‘to take all the “Scripture References” [...] at 3^d. each & to give 12 Copies, D^r. Chalmers Discourses for the entire right of printing & publishing the work’, to which Lesslie agreed.⁴⁷³ He wrote on the 20 March,

At your request I now send you all the Copies of the “Scripture Reference”, both stitched and printed on one side, except a few I have left in the shop for retail –

⁴⁶⁸ Affidavit from Maurice Ogle, 15 January 1820, Chalmers, cha-5-5-85. The second edition was published in 1815. Smith had the first edition in his library (Smith Collection, BG34-h.8).

⁴⁶⁹ Affidavit from Alexander MacGilvra, December 1820. Chalmers, cha-5-5-87.

⁴⁷⁰ *Scottish Book Trade Index*.

⁴⁷¹ Francis Orr (b. 1765) was a pocket-book maker (*Glasgow PO Directory*, 1815). Referred to in Lumsden’s speech – see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.

⁴⁷² Affidavit from Francis Orr, 16 December 1820. Chalmers, cha-5-5-86.

⁴⁷³ Note from John Smith Letter Book. Chalmers, cha-5-5-83.

I now give up the Book for your publishing in future and what I may have occasion [sic] ^for^ will order them from you. Please send the twelve copies of Dr. Chalmers Discourses which you promised to give me.⁴⁷⁴

On the copy of the letter, Smith had written: ‘Assignment of Copyright of Scripture References from Mr Lesslie Dundee’, assuming that since Lesslie had given all the copies it included the copyright. Smith’s relationship with Lesslie was more than just supplier and seller; it appears that Smith was looking after a relation or friend of Lesslie’s: ‘I am particularly obliged to you for taking the trouble of kindly inviting Edward to your house when I wrote you about him,’ Lesslie writes, indicating that, ‘I meant only that you would encourage him to frequent the shop at leisure hours to prevent him from falling in with other company which might not be for the improvement of his morals. I am happy to learn that he is pleasing his master’.⁴⁷⁵ The letter indicates that Smith’s moral character was known beyond the sphere of the Glasgow, and was a trusted individual. The relationship with Lesslie continued, where he and Smith, in 1817, were listed as sellers, with others, of George Muirhead’s *A Sermon Which Was Intended to Be Preached in the Parish Church of Dysart* (1817 [JSID1030]).

The issue of copyright did not enter into the conversation when Smith contacted Chalmers regarding adding his name to the title page as the original work was anonymous. Chalmers refused to have his name added as he felt that the pamphlet had so many errors and he did not have the time to revise the writing, but ‘he had no objection that it be inserted in all the advertisements of this work as his and if an edition of the text at length was considered likely to be profitable to us he would be glad to see it gone on with’.⁴⁷⁶ Smith took Lesslie’s third edition of the *Scripture References* of 1815 and re-issued it with a new title page, dating it 1817.⁴⁷⁷ A year later an extended fourth edition appeared, still without the author’s name. It would not be until the fifth edition in 1820 that the issue of copyright would come to the forefront, together with other issues. But still in 1815 Smith was developing a close relationship with Chalmers.

⁴⁷⁴ Lesslie to Smith, 20 March 1817. Chalmers, cha-5-5-84.

⁴⁷⁵ Lesslie to Smith, 20 March 1817. Chalmers, cha-5-5-84. It is unknown whether Edward was an apprentice of Lesslie or of Smith. An E. Leslie was trading as a bookseller in Glasgow in the 1840s, in SBTI.

⁴⁷⁶ Chalmers to Smith, 3 July 1817. Chalmers, cha 5.3.194.

⁴⁷⁷ *Scripture References Designed for the Use of Parents, Teachers and Private Christians*, 3rd ed., 1817. [JSID793]. Not seen, referenced from British Library: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AS5VAAAACAAJ&redir_esc=y

5.4 Smith's Publications of Chalmers

Chalmers was no stranger to publishing, having had his first piece of work, a pamphlet, published by R. Tullis of Cupar in 1805, followed by a second more substantial work of 365 pages in 1808, after which he was regularly published, often several times a year.⁴⁷⁸ In 1815, Smith began to be listed in the imprints of Chalmers's publications. The first he added his imprint to was the *Duty of Giving an Immediate Diligence to the Business of the Christian Life*, a work initially issued in Edinburgh by William Whyte, whom Chalmers had dealt with on several occasions. Smith was third on the list after Maurice Ogle of Glasgow. This was followed by *Thoughts on Universal Peace: A Sermon, Delivered on Thursday, January 18, 1816*, first published on 8 February 1816, in which Smith was the principal publisher followed by William Whyte and Longman. In four days 1,000 copies had been sold and was soon followed by a second edition on the 5 of April.⁴⁷⁹ Smith would be the principal publisher of most of Chalmers's works for the next three years, which are listed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Works of Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847) published by John Smith & Son.
Full titles are given in the descriptive bibliography at the end of the thesis.

Title	Notes
<i>The duty of giving an immediate diligence to the business of the Christian life [...]</i> .	Four editions: 1815 [JSID121]; 2nd ed. 1818 [JSID122]; 3rd ed. 1817 [JSID1012]; 4th ed. 1818 [JSID582].
<i>Thoughts on universal peace: A sermon [...]</i> .	Two editions: 1816 [JSID140], 2nd ed. [JSID141]
<i>The utility of missions ascertained by experience: A sermon [...]</i> .	Two editions: 2nd ed., 1816 [JSID143]; 3rd ed., 1817 [JSID144]
<i>The influence of Bible Societies, on the temporal necessities of the poor.</i>	Two editions: 3rd ed., 1817 [JSID708]; 4th ed., 1818 [JSID614]
<i>Scripture references designed for the use of parents, teachers and private Christians.</i>	Three editions: 3rd ed., 1817 [JSID793]; 4th ed., 1818 [JSID123]; 5th ed., 1820 [JSID997]
<i>A series of discourses on the Christian revelation, viewed in connection with the modern astronomy.</i>	Nine editions: 1817 [JSID124, JSID125, JSID126, JSID127, JSID128, JSID610, JSID129, JSID130], 9th ed. 1818 [JSID131]

⁴⁷⁸ Hugh Watt, *The Published Writings of Dr. Thomas Chalmers* (Edinburgh: Privately Published, 1943), 13.

⁴⁷⁹ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:74.

<i>Discourse VII of a series of discourses on the Christian Revelation viewed in connection with the modern astronomy.</i>	Presentation copy. [JSID120]
<i>A sermon delivered in the Tron Church on [...] the funeral of Her Royal Highness The Princess Charlotte of Wales.</i>	Three editions: 1817 [JSID132], 2nd ed. [JSID133]; 3rd ed. 1818 [JSID134]
<i>A sermon, preached before the Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick [...].</i>	Two editions. 2nd ed., 1817 [JSID135]; 3rd ed., 1818 [JSID136]
<i>The two great instruments appointed for the propagation of the Gospel [...].</i>	Two editions: 4th ed. 1817 [JSID142], 5th ed. [JSID1013]
<i>Uniform editions of all works of Thomas Chalmers, 4 vols.</i>	Collection of previously published work. 1817 [JSID1024] ⁴⁸⁰
<i>The doctrine of Christian charity applied to the case of religious differences: A sermon preached at the Scot's Church, London Wall [...].</i>	1818 [JSID707]
<i>The substance of a speech, delivered in The General Assembly, [...].</i>	2nd ed., 1818 [JSID139]
<i>Sermons, preached in the Tron Church, Glasgow.</i>	1819 [JSID138]

The following sub-sections will focus on two of Chalmers's important works for Smith: *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation* and *Sermons, Preached in the Tron Church*.

5.4.1 A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation

In the town of Glasgow in 1815, it was customary for the ministers to preach at the Tron Church every Thursday.⁴⁸¹ As there were eight such ministers in the town, each would preach once every two months, as their turn came around. Chalmers began his first service on the 23 November 1815 and over the coming year delivered seven of them. The services were spellbinding; Chalmers's oration captured the hearts of the people. As the Tron Church bell tolled, people would gather in the church, as the church became full, the people congregated outside, and soon a large crowd had gathered. So great was the desire to hear Chalmers speak that shops would close, merchants would leave the coffee rooms, and businesses allowed their staff to leave, until the whole of the Trongate was a mass of captivated people.⁴⁸² One such incident was recorded in Chalmers's diary for the 26 July

⁴⁸⁰ Not located. Watt indicates, 'no trace has been found [...] of any of these volumes'. Watt, *Published Writings of Dr. Thomas Chalmers*, 11. Advert for the work in Chalmers, cha 5-3-231.

⁴⁸¹ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:87.

⁴⁸² Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:88.

1815, ‘On Sunday Sir Henry Moncrieff preached an hour and twenty minutes in the forenoon - I preached an hour and a quarter. The crowd was immense’.⁴⁸³ Smith, Senior was present that day and he wrote to his son about the whole event:

I must give you his introduction on Sunday, it was by Sir Henry Moncrief and who introduced Rev^d D^r. MacGill (as he said himself nearly) Eighteen years ago his Sermon was most impressive & much to the purpose of the occasion happy is the People that have such an able Minister and Divine, among them, he preached to a very crowded audience it was a quarter after one oclock before we got out, and as we were to return to the Church by Two we had only time to come home and take a Biscuit etc and left the House at ½ past one, when I got to the Church it was a perfect Mob. I shou’d say Crowded, the pressure to get into the Church was intolerable I thought my sides was to press’d together, after getting in found things very comfortable, but by 2 Oclock I never witness’d such a crowd, middle pass quite cram’d, and with some of the first professors in Town that had been too late and could not get seats[.] We had a very excellent Sermon, [...?] for the occasion, he preached an Hour and a Quarter, and to me did not appear more than a quarter an Hour, he gives great satisfaction, fortunately it was his turn to Preach on thursday [sic], and he preached to a crowded audience to all denominations of Christians, there you would see those from the Tabernacle – from Allisons [...?] Chapel – from the [...?] from the Antiburghers – from the Independent and I dare say from the Methodists, although I am not acquainted with any of them – his Sermon gave great satisfaction, and I think by the blessing of God he is to do a great deal of good not only to his own Congregation but to the community at large. It [...?] hope’d his coming here may be a Spur to the other Clergymen in Town. So much at present from M^r Chalmers.⁴⁸⁴

John Smith perceived that such sermons deserved to be brought before a wider public, and suggested they should be published. Initially, Smith desired that a subscription be raised, as, from his experience, volumes of sermons were not always quick sellers. Chalmers declined, indicating that:

it is far more agreeable to my feelings that the book should be introduced to the general market, and sell on the public estimation of it, than that the neighbourhood here should be plied in all the shops with subscription papers, and as much as possible wrung out of their partialities for the author.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸³ Quoted in Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:10.

⁴⁸⁴ Smith, Senior to Smith, Youngest, 28 July 1815. Chalmers, cha-5-3-7.

⁴⁸⁵ Quoted in Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:89.

The sermons were published as *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation, Viewed in Connection with the Modern Astronomy*, by Thomas Chalmers (See Table 5.1 and Figure 5.2) on the 28 January 1817 at twelve shillings a volume, and became popularly known as the ‘Astronomical Discourses’.

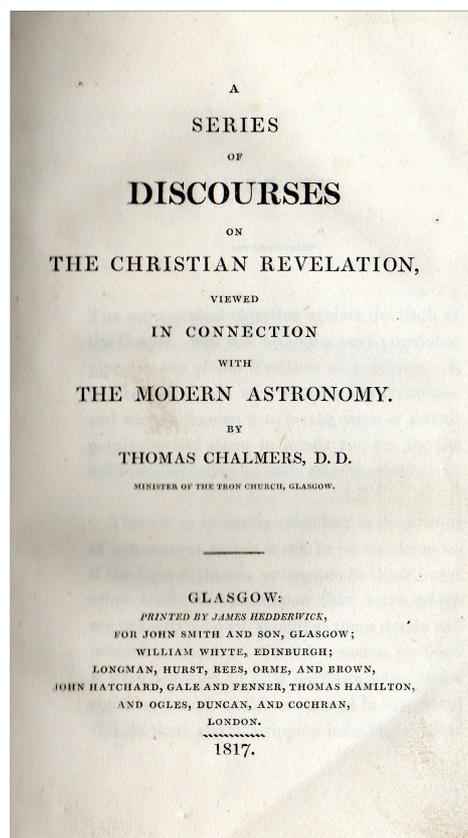


Figure 5.2: Title page of *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation*, by Thomas Chalmers, 1817 [JSID124]. 276pp.

The *Discourses* recognised Chalmers’s passion for astronomy and mathematics, a subject he had wished to teach before he received the evangelical calling. The rise of Newtonian physics and other developments of science, Chalmers considered to be eroding the Christian faith:

The astronomical objection against the truth of the Gospel, does not occupy a very prominent place in any of our Treatises of Infidelity. It is often, however, met with in conversation – and we have known it to be the cause of serious perplexity and alarm in the minds anxious for the solid establishment of their religious faith.⁴⁸⁶

His counter argument was laid out in seven discourses. The first two discourses discussed modern astronomy, referencing the work and theology of Sir Isaac Newton to counter the

⁴⁸⁶ Chalmers, *A Series of Discourses*, 5.

charge that ‘God cannot be the author of this religion, for he would not lavish on so insignificant a field [...] as are ascribed to him in the Old and New Testament’.⁴⁸⁷ The third discourse introduced Baconian philosophy to show the Divine will is infused throughout the universe from the individual to the most distant stars with equal measure. The subsequent Discourses establish how the different levels of the Divine world sympathise with man, his moral well being and his spiritual development. It also covered and referred to some widely debated theories such as speculations about extraterrestrial life, and Chalmers used this to demonstrate the extent of God’s divine creation and that it was not just limited to this planet.

Astronomy was an important component of many Christian Evangelistic sermons of the period.⁴⁸⁸ Chalmers’s mix of Christian piety and belief in extraterrestrial life has been suggested as one of the reasons for the *Discourse*’s popularity.⁴⁸⁹ Smith’s own library showed an interest in similar astronomical-religious theories, such as those of the natural philosopher, historian and theologian William Whiston’s *Astronomical Principles of Religion* (1717 [JSAuc370]); and the botanist John Hill’s *Urania: or, A Compleat View of the Heavens [...] and a Very Particular Enquiry is Made into the History of those mentioned in the Sacred Writings* (1754 [JSAuc072]). Whiston was an advocate for Newton’s natural philosophy and, as a writer, promoted him widely in public. This furthered Whiston’s belief in ‘primitive Christianity’, which looked to the early Christian texts and practices for understanding.⁴⁹⁰ Another work in Smith’s library was the pamphlet, *The History of the Moon, Or an Account of the Wonderful Discoveries of Sir John Herschel* (Printed by H. Robinson of Glasgow, c1835 [BG33-e.18]).⁴⁹¹ Written originally as a series of articles with illustrations by Richard Locke (1800-1871), a journalist with the *New York Sun*. It suggested that Herschel had discovered intelligent beings on the moon. The report caused a sensation and was believed by many, even though evidence showed that the moon lacked an atmosphere and not suitable for any life. It became known as the

⁴⁸⁷ Chalmers, *A Series of Discourses*, 6.

⁴⁸⁸ Michael J. Crowe, “Astronomy and Religion (1780-1915): Four Case Studies Involving Ideas of Extraterrestrial Life,” *Osiris* 16(2001): 212.

⁴⁸⁹ Michael J. Crowe, “William Whewell, the Plurality of Worlds, and the Modern Solar System,” *Zygon* 51, no. 2 (2016): 436.

⁴⁹⁰ Stephen D. Snobelen, “Whiston, William (1667–1752),” *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29217>.

⁴⁹¹ Six articles, beginning 25 August 1835. Smith had a letter of introduction to Herschel (see below): ‘Journey South’. Chalmers, cha 5-2-112. Sir William Herschel (1738–1822). Herschel had suggested life being existent on various planetary bodies.

‘The Great Moon Hoax of 1835’.⁴⁹² As we have noted above, Smith had Thomas Paine’s *Age of Reason* in his library, and Paine had argued that to believe in extraterrestrial life one had to reject Christianity.⁴⁹³ Unfortunately we do not have Smith’s views on the whole matter or what he accepted.

On the success of the *Astronomical Discourses*, Chalmers was invited by the Missionary Society to preach in London. On the 14 April 1817, Chalmers, his wife and John Smith (who was on his way to Paris) set out for London. Smith planned their journey through England to take in places of interest, providing letters of introduction, notably to William Herschel, and places to rest.⁴⁹⁴ Stopping at Carlisle for the night, they continued to Brougham Castle and then to Brougham Hall, followed by a visit to Appleby Castle. Stopping the night at Gretna Bridge, Smith suggested that the ‘Inn on the Southside of bridge is the best’.⁴⁹⁵ Continuing through Catterick Bridge, Ripon, the springs at Harrogate to York, where Smith suggests that ‘The Minster, Lunatic Asylums, Castle or Prison’ were ‘all worth seeing at any reasonable sacrifice of time particularly the first’.⁴⁹⁶ At Leeds the party visited Benjamin Gott (1762-1840) and sons at his woollen mill. The party continued through Sheffield, Nottingham, Leicester and then Birmingham.⁴⁹⁷

Smith wrote to his sister from Birmingham on 23 April that, ‘Our utmost expectations of a delightful journey have been more than realized [sic]. [...] We have been very merry & very wise, & I am sure three travellers were never happiest [...] than we have been’.⁴⁹⁸ No doubt while in Birmingham Smith paid a visit to Knott & Lloyd’s wholesalers where he spent his apprenticeship.⁴⁹⁹

The party went their separate ways at Warwick, Chalmers writing to Elizabeth Smith hoping to meet her brother on his return from Paris and to accompany them back to

⁴⁹² Michael J. Crowe, “William Whewell, the Plurality of Worlds, and the Modern Solar System,” *Zygon* 51, no. 2 (2016): 435.

⁴⁹³ Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2. Thomas Paine, *Age of Reason* (New York: G. N. Devries, 1827), 55.

⁴⁹⁴ ‘Journey South’. Chalmers, cha 5-2-112.

⁴⁹⁵ ‘Journey South’. Chalmers, cha 5-2-112.

⁴⁹⁶ ‘Journey South’. Chalmers, cha 5-2-112.

⁴⁹⁷ ‘Journey South’. Chalmers, cha 5-2-112.

⁴⁹⁸ Smith, to Elizabeth Smith, 26 April 1817. Chalmers, cha5-2-118.

⁴⁹⁹ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:93. Quoting letter from John Smith, 23 May 1817.

Glasgow via ‘Portsmouth, Bristol, Wales and the lakes [...]’.⁵⁰⁰ On his return from Paris, Smith rejoined Chalmers and his wife in London on 13 May. The next day he witnessed Chalmers preaching in the Surrey Chapel in an anniversary sermon for the London Missionary Society. The force and power of Chalmers’s preaching still had an effect on Smith as expressed in a letter to his sister Elizabeth:

This is to be considered as a Gazette Extraordinary – I write under the nervousness of having heard & witnessed the most astonishing display of human talent that perhaps ever commanded sight of hearing – The D^r. has just finished the Discourse before the Miss^y. Society. The [...] cause of his pilgrimage hitherwards – All my expectations were overwhelmed in the triumph of it – His has borne a testimony here which the spurge of many years will not obliterate – The Text was from 1st. Corinthians 15th. Chap[ter] beginning 23^d Verse & terminating it the end of the 25th. – Nothing from the Tron Church Pulpit ever exceeded it, nor did he ever more arrest and wonderwork his auditors – I had full view of the whole place – The carrying forward of minds was never so visible to me. – A constant ascent of the head from the whole people accompanied all his paragraphs, & the breathlessness of expectation permitted not the beating of a heart to agitate the stillness – [...] completely gained the day.⁵⁰¹

In the evening Smith and Chalmers parted company, with Chalmers visiting his brother Charles at his home in Walworth. The next day

after breakfast we were conveyed to Row^d. Hills chapel⁵⁰² – M^r. Hill read Prayers – After the Discourse was introduced to M^r. Cunningham author of *The Velvet Cushion*⁵⁰³ – To L^d. & L^y Elgin⁵⁰⁴ & M^r. Hughes, D^r. Morgan[?], D^r. Williams, D^r. Rinder[?] & the whole host.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁰ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:93. Quoting letter from Chalmers to Elizabeth Smith, 2 May 1817.

⁵⁰¹ Smith, to Elizabeth Smith, 14 May 1817 (Author’s collection). A portion of the letter was printed in Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:99. Elizabeth Smith married Francis Brown, West India merchant (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.4).

⁵⁰² Rowland Hill (1744–1833), an English preacher and evangelist, founded the independent Surrey Chapel, and was the resident pastor; a founder, and chairman, of the Religious Tract Society; and promoted the British and Foreign Bible Society and the London Missionary Society. Smith had publications and director statements from both these institutions in his library.

⁵⁰³ John William Cunningham (1780–1861), a foremost member of the evangelical party in the Church of England. *The Velvet Cushion* gave an account, from the evangelical point of view, of the Church of England since the Reformation. Smith had Cunningham’s *A Few Observations On Friendly Societies* (London, 1817) in his library (BG34-i.10, removed from Smith Collection to Sp Coll RB 4810).

⁵⁰⁴ Lord and Lady Elgin, see Hanna, *Memoirs* 2:189.

⁵⁰⁵ Smith, to Elizabeth Smith, 14 May 1817.

While Dr. Chalmers and his wife dined with Rowland Hill, Smith visited Longman and other literary people. Smith goes on to ask his sister, that she should contact their father,

to send for M^r. Collins ^Campbell St.^ to ten on Sat[urda]y [...?] when you could comfort him with the 1st page of this, and say that I mediate a letter to him.⁵⁰⁶

Chalmers preached his final London sermon on 25 May at the Scot's Church, London Wall for the benefit of the Hibernian Society in London, which was published a year later as *The Doctrine* (1818 [JSID 707]). Though it was printed in Glasgow, it had 11 named distributors, ten of which were based in London, with Smith being the only Scottish publisher.

Smith, Chalmers and his wife travelled north on 26 May by way of Portsmouth, Isle of Wight, Salisbury, Bath, Bristol and into Brecon in South Wales, where Smith writes enthusiastically on the 3 June 1817:

You would hear of the distinguished reception we had at Portsmouth from Sir George Grey [...] Lady Grey, in point of Christian excellence, is deemed in this country to be second only to Mr. Wilberforce. At Bath we were quite as fortunate. At Bristol even more so. The doctor saw Mrs. Hannah More; but as she had recently lost a sister, Mrs. Chalmers and I did not intrude.⁵⁰⁷

The party visited many sites in Wales before moving onto Liverpool and into the Lake District. At Liverpool, Smith picked up a souvenir of an advertisement poster for Chalmers's preaching at the Scotch Kirk (see Figure 5.3). Smith comments that, 'the interest in the doctor's appearance there was perhaps greater than anywhere else; of course the number of Scotchmen there must have had some effect'.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ Smith, to Elizabeth Smith, 14 May 1817.

⁵⁰⁷ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:104. Quoting letter from Smith dated Brecon, June 3, 1817. Hannah More (1745-1833) was a religious writer and philanthropist.

⁵⁰⁸ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:105. Quoting letter from Smith dated Newby Bridge, 12 June 1817.



Figure 5.3: Notice of Chalmers preaching in Scotch Kirk, Liverpool. Eph R/120

In Liverpool Smith and the Chalmers's met with John Gladstone (later Sir) (1764-1851), Scottish merchant and father of the future prime minister, William Gladstone, whom he probably met.⁵⁰⁹ Gladstone and several others built the Scotch Kirk and the Caledonian School for the education of their children in 1792.⁵¹⁰ After journeying through the Lake District, Dr Chalmers parted with the company to find solace to concentrate on his writing, leaving Smith and Mrs. Chalmers to return to Glasgow a couple of days later than Smith had anticipated. Smith returned to his shop to acquaint himself with the current sales of the *Discourses*.

During the course of 1817, the *Discourses* had gone through nine editions, with the ninth in 1818; in its first ten weeks it had sold 6,000 copies and by the end of the year over 20,000 copies had been sold. A presentation copy of the Seventh Discourse was issued sometime in 1817.⁵¹¹ The writer and critic, William Hazlitt (1778-1830) described the *Discourses* as running 'like wild-fire through the country' and was to be found in the windows of inns and other places. He describes finding a copy in an orchard and 'passing a whole and very delightful morning in reading it'.⁵¹² Even the politician and parodist George Canning (1770-1827) was 'entirely converted to admiration of Chalmers'.⁵¹³ The

⁵⁰⁹ William Gladstone would hear Chalmers preach in London in 1838, and in response Gladstone wrote *The State in Its Relations with the Church* (London: John Murray, 1838) to defend the English Church.

⁵¹⁰ H. C. G. Matthew, "Gladstone, Sir John, First Baronet (1764-1851)," *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10786>.

⁵¹¹ Smith Collection: BG33-h.19

⁵¹² William Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age*, 3rd ed. (London: C. Templeman, 1858), 239.

⁵¹³ Robert James Mackintosh, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Macintosh*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1853), 2:348.

extent of the interest in the work spread to the new world, with Kirk & Mercein of New York publishing the first copies of it in the United States in the same year.

The closest book comparison, in terms of sales and excitement, was that of *Tales of My Landlord*, by Sir Walter Scott, though it was initially published anonymously. The publication reached the public in December 1816 and by January 1817 had sold out its original print run of 2,000, with the second edition appearing before the first had sold out. Third and fourth editions followed a year later, by which time 9,000 copies had been sold in total. A fifth edition was called for by 1819 before the fourth had sold out.⁵¹⁴ It is not strictly a true comparison as the *Tales* was a four-volume work executed by a single printer, John and James Ballantyne of Edinburgh. Several printers, on the other hand, printed the editions of the *Discourses*, each edition being produced by a different printer. Editions one to five alternated between James Hedderwick and Andrew & James Duncan both of Glasgow, with editions seven to nine alternating between Hedderwick and Walter & Greig of Edinburgh.⁵¹⁵ The other complication to the comparison was that the *Tales* were part of a complex publisher-printer-author relationship, which was not always in agreement, with the added complexity that the author was anonymous to the publishers.⁵¹⁶ *Discourses* was primarily an arrangement between Smith and William Whyte of Edinburgh, with Longman in London as distributor for the south, with further London booksellers joining the list with every new edition. Smith and Whyte remained on good terms throughout. The public at the time were not aware of these differences, but there was much speculation and discussion regarding which was the better seller.⁵¹⁷

As publisher, John Smith took an interest in the subjects Chalmers raised, but was also interested in what others thought of Chalmers and collected critical reviews and discussions of the *Discourses*, binding them together and donating them to Glasgow University Library. This included such works as: *Remarks on Discourses by Thomas Chalmers* (Glasgow: Printed by J. Niven, for Walter Duncan at the Bible Warehouse, 1817); *A Free Critique on Dr Chalmers' "Discourses on Astronomy" or an English*

⁵¹⁴ Sharon Ragaz, Jacqueline Belanger, Peter Garside, and Anthony Mandal, "British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production and Reception: Phase II Report: Walter Scott, *Tales of My Landlord* (1816): A Publishing Record," *Romantic Textualities, Literature and Print Culture, 1780-1840* December, no. 9 (2002), <http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/dbf6/>. Details of the 5th edition print run not given.

⁵¹⁵ Third edition not seen. William Whyte in Edinburgh initiated the Edinburgh printings, and Smith the Glasgow, preventing any edition from being sold out in either city.

⁵¹⁶ Scott remained anonymous as he directed his correspondence through his printer James Ballantyne: Ragaz, <http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/dbf6/>.

⁵¹⁷ Robert Alison, *The Anecdote of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1892), 233.

Attempt to “grapple it” with Scotch Sublimity (London: Printed for the author by J. Whiting; published by R. Hunter and J. Hatchard, 1817); or the collection of pieces entitled, *Reviews of Dr Chalmers’ “Astronomical discourses” from Various Periodicals*, (1817).⁵¹⁸

The *Discourses* were still causing quite a stir around Glasgow with many visitors wishing to experience Chalmers’s preaching, but even though Sir Walter Scott was in Glasgow in the summer of 1817, the two men do not appear to have met. Scott had directed his correspondence to Smith and when they finally met, Smith escorted Scott around the city.⁵¹⁹ Several recollections of the visit materialised in Scott’s novel *Rob Roy*, which he was working on at the time. In a walk up the High Street, Scott imagined, in the novel, a crowd of worshippers heading up the hill towards the Cathedral: ‘the crowd, which forced its way up a steep and rough paved street, to hear the most popular preacher in the west of Scotland, would of itself have swept me along with it’; the scene instantly recognisable to the people of Glasgow with that of their rush to hear Chalmers preach at the Tron Church.⁵²⁰ Scott and Chalmers eventually met briefly in the summer of 1824 during a meeting at the Edinburgh School of Art in which Scott had seconded a motion brought forward by Chalmers.⁵²¹

In the autumn of 1817 the artist David Wilkie (1785-1841) visited Glasgow. As a long-time friend of Chalmers, from the preacher’s Kilmany days, Wilkie was introduced to John Smith. In turn, Smith introduced Wilkie to Captain Archibald Campbell as Wilkie thanked Smith for the letters of introduction, which ‘were all of great use to me’.⁵²² Campbell was author of *A Voyage Round the World 1806-1812* (1816 [JSID103]), which Smith had published the previous year. Possibly Smith also introduced Wilkie to Kirkman Finlay, friend and author of Smith’s, as Wilkie was invited by Finlay to visit him. Wilkie, writing from Inveraray, offered Smith the possibility of using a sketch of Chalmers in a future volume.⁵²³

⁵¹⁸ A total six publications bound into volume BG33-g.4, Smith Collection. The volume is not catalogued.

⁵¹⁹ J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1837), 4:80-81.

⁵²⁰ Walter Scott, *Rob Roy* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1863), 136.

⁵²¹ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 3:26.

⁵²² Wilkie to Smith, 29 September 1817. Papers of Sir David Wilkie, NLS, MS 10995. [hereafter cited as Wilkie Papers].

⁵²³ Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower, *Sir David Wilkie* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), 49. Gower briefly mentions Wilkie’s visit to Inveraray in the summer of 1817. Allan Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie* (London: John Murray, 1843), 464.

I hope you are getting something more of the D^{rs}. ready for the public. [...] I do not know whether you have any thoughts of adding to the volume that is coming out any kind of head as a likeness of the D^f. or indeed whether a head be desirable, but if the slight sketch I entered from him can be of any use in this way it is perfectly at your service.⁵²⁴

Wilkie was referring to a sketch he had made of Chalmers when the Doctor had accompanied Wilkie on his journey to Hamilton Palace.⁵²⁵

The portrait of Chalmers very much interested Smith, as he wrote to Wilkie in Edinburgh, before the artist journeyed to see Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford. The response was favourable: 'It will give me great pleasure to send you a copy of the Sketch I made of the D^f. when I get quiet in London again. I hope I may make it tolerably like the one I made forms one of the Lions of my profile'.⁵²⁶ By this time the *Discourses* were probably in their seventh or eighth edition, no doubt Smith was considering how to build on the success of this volume, and a sketch as a frontispiece would be ideal embellishment for the promotion of a new volume.

By March 1818, the *Discourses* had already achieved its ninth edition and with the market now saturated, Smith was again thinking of a companion volume to follow on the success of the *Discourses*. Again he wrote to Wilkie who was now at home in London, to which Wilkie replied:

The most interesting literary news now a days to the people here is that which comes from Scotland. We are therefore all alive to what you can tell us about what you are publishing and particularly to such works as the Sermons of our worthy friend Dr Chalmers.

His sermon upon the funeral of the Princess [...] was of great a character as to do away entirely the impossible impression which rumour had first assuaged to us of its political tendency. The D^f. indeed may do better than join any party in politics a fact that is to me sufficiently proved by the coincidence ^apparently not accidental^ between his sermon and the last paragraphs of the Prince regents speech at the opening of Parliament. This I should think must have struck the D^f. himself. The Sermon in favour of the Hibernian Society I have also seen. This I think the most perfect of any D^f. has published and far before

⁵²⁴ Wilkie to Smith, 29 September 1817. Wilkie Papers.

⁵²⁵ Gower, *Sir David Wilkie*, 49.

⁵²⁶ Wilkie to Smith, 7 October 1817. Wilkie Papers.

any thing I have seen upon the question of Catholic emancipation. The volume you are now preparing will be most eagerly sought after.⁵²⁷

The pamphlet mentioned was Chalmers's *A Sermon Delivered in the Tron Church on Wednesday, Nov. 19th, 1817, the Day of the Funeral of Her Royal Highness The Princess Charlotte of Wales*, which went through three editions, two in 1817 [JSID132 and JSID133] and one in 1818 [JSID133]. Again Smith chose to have different printers, with the first and third editions printed by James Hedderwick in Glasgow, and the second edition printed by Walker & Greig of Edinburgh. Princess Charlotte Augusta's (1796–1817) (Princess of Wales) death, following that of her child, was a severe shock for the nation, both for the people who admired her greatly and for creating a constitutional crisis. The intensity of mourning throughout the country can be seen in the number of sermons issued for that day. Chalmers's sermon was one of four issued involving Smith regarding the Princess's death, though only Chalmers's sermon reached three editions: sermons from the Rev. William Taylor, junior, of St Enoch's Parish, who was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1806; Rev. Greville Ewing (1767–1841), minister of the Congregational Union of Scotland; Rev. John Campbell in Edinburgh, who was secretary of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge; and the Rev. David Dickson (1780–1842) of Edinburgh, contributor to the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*.⁵²⁸ The other pamphlet mentioned in Wilkie's letter was *The Doctrine of Christian Charity Applied to the Case of Religious Differences: A Sermon Preached Before the Auxiliary Society, Glasgow, to the Hibernian Society, for Establishing Schools, and Circulating the Holy Scriptures in Ireland*, was not one of Smith's but was issued by Andrew & James Duncan of Glasgow. The Duncans were friends of Chalmers, but more because they had the authority to print the Society's pamphlets.⁵²⁹

Wilkie goes on, 'the small sketch I made [...] I am not satisfied that it is either finished enough or like enough to do one credit', and that he has not made a copy.⁵³⁰ Smith not satisfied with Wilkie's answer, was more insistent and put forward a suggestion, to which Wilkie replied:

⁵²⁷ Wilkie to Smith, 4 March 1818. Wilkie Papers.

⁵²⁸ Sermons on the death of Princess Charlotte: Rev. William Taylor, [JSID472]; Rev. Greville Ewing [JSID221]; Rev. John Campbell [JSID586]; and Rev. David Dickson [JSID205].

⁵²⁹ The Duncan's also printed Taylor's sermon on the death of Princess Charlotte [JSID472].

⁵³⁰ Wilkie to Smith, 4 March 1818. Wilkie Papers.

Your proposition regarding the portrait of our good friend Dr Chalmers I have considered but I assure you the sketch I made is neither finished enough nor like enough to be published as a portrait of the Doctor. You shall however judge for yourselves the drawing I shall pack up & send you without delay.

A good portrait of D^r Chalmers is certainly much wanted but that certainly cannot be obtained without our friend can make up his mind to have it done in a regular & business like way. What so many people are proud to do he can surely have no resonable [sic] objection to he must therefore be prevailed upon to sit to some professional man of whom there are so many now that would be glad to do it. [...] My sketch would only admit of being engraved in the slight way of the heads in Cadell[1] and Davis's work, but a finished picture in oil would be necessary to make such a Print as that you mention of D^r Balfour. This it would now be impossible for me to make from the sketch and it may be year before another opportunity might occur of attempting a picture from the D^r himself.⁵³¹

Wilkie further suggests that his friend Andrew Geddes in Edinburgh could paint Chalmers's portrait as he has 'great practice in his line', noting that he has already painted a portrait of Principal Bain. He notes further that he has a similar dilemma of a sketch he did of Sir Walter Scott, it also requiring much work.⁵³² Ultimately the sketch was never used, and now appears to be missing.⁵³³ Geddes, however, did a painting in oils of Chalmers sometime before 1822.⁵³⁴

5.4.2 Sermons, Preached in the Tron Church, Glasgow

It was early in May of 1818 when Chalmers formally intimated to Smith that he was preparing a new volume of his sermons. Naturally, with the success of the *Discourses*, Smith would have seen this as another profitable venture for both his author and himself. Smith, once again included William Whyte in the partnership, with London distribution through Longman as before. Chalmers wanted his new book to be longer than *Discourses*, but still to sell at 12 shillings. Smith realised that it would require a print run of 7000, and with Chalmers receiving a thousand guineas for the authorship, it was going to be a very risky financial venture. Smith and Whyte began the process of finalising the contract

⁵³¹ Wilkie to Smith, 16 March 1818. Wilkie Papers.

⁵³² Wilkie to Smith, 16 March 1818. Wilkie Papers.

⁵³³ Smith still had the sketch in 1820 as it is referenced in a letter from solicitors Nisbet & Peebles on 23 December 1820. Chalmers, cha 5-5-65.

⁵³⁴ Chalmers's portrait by Andrew Geddes was reproduced by the engraver William Ward (1766-1826) in 1822 as a mezzotint on paper. Original painting not located, print: [https://art.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/26249/rev-thomas-chalmers-1780-1847-preacher-and-social-reformer?artists\[25739\]=25739&search_set_offset=2](https://art.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/26249/rev-thomas-chalmers-1780-1847-preacher-and-social-reformer?artists[25739]=25739&search_set_offset=2).

between themselves and Chalmers only for Smith to receive a letter from Longman in London. Their correspondence was concerning to the Scottish publishers. Longman indicated that Chalmers had offered his new volume of sermons to them, and would Smith and Whyte become joint partners with them in its publication. Longman had enclosed their reply to Chalmers, which said:

We are duly favoured with your kind Letter, and we shall have great pleasure in taking the share you propose with Mess^{rs} Smith & Whyte in your volume of Sermons, and give every assistance in our power to promote the sale of the Book. We would beg to propose the same terms as we understand were allowed to you for the volume of Discourses on Astronomy, one half the profits to be paid by Bills on the publication of each edition, from a rough estimate of a volume of 500 pages retail at 12/- we believe you would have to receive on a first edition of 6000, about £800. –

We have not the least objection to Mess^{rs} Duncan & Mess^{rs} Cowan as the Printers and Papermakers they are both well known to us we having had considerable dealings with them. We think it would be prudent to print 6000 in the first instance to prevent the books being out of print during the first demand.⁵³⁵

Smith and Whyte were unaware that Chalmers had previously attempted to have his writing published through Longman as early as 1808, but had been rejected at the time due to being an unknown author.⁵³⁶ Now with his fame assured with *Astronomical Discourses*, and the glowing reviews he received while in London, he was in a better position to have Longman accept him as an author.

Smith wrote to Whyte, the tone of the letter hinting at his frustration and annoyance that Chalmers had not consulted them as ‘we might have expected to have been enquired at how far we could approve or recommend, as his friends’. Though he surmises that had Chalmers mentioned involving a third partner both he and Whyte would have been ‘unfavourable to the introduction of a London partner’. He goes on to weigh the benefits of their connections with the booksellers and wholesale booksellers throughout the country that they would, and probably do, sell more of his books through those outlets than being attached to a London partner.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁵ Longman & Co. to Chalmers 27 May 1818. Chalmers, cha 5-3-270.

⁵³⁶ Wilkie had approached Longman on behalf of Chalmers in 1808, see above.

⁵³⁷ Smith to Whyte, 30 May 1818. Chalmers, cha 5-3-272. There was an earlier letter covering these points to Whyte, but only scribbled notes remain.

Further, Smith mused, ‘We are confident D^r Chalmers greatly overrated the importance of a London House having a personal interest in his work. Mess^{rs} Constable & C^o. will tell him how perfectly they condemn the idea of any such advantages so much so as now to publish their own Books without any London firm whatever as is also the case with the New Tales of my Landlord [...]. We should be sorry for our own character to think that any Author had been more largely remunerated by his Publishers than D^r Chalmers has been by us’. Smith concluded on an optimistic note, ‘It is certainly gratifying to us to think that both in the Numbers proposed to be printed and also in the remuneration offered we exceeded the proposal that has been made to him by Mess^{rs} Longman’.⁵³⁸

Chalmers, when challenged about the involvement of Longman, wrote to Smith in early June:

I wrote Longmans [sic] people on my proposed Volume and got such an answer as either I do not understand or as shows that they did not altogether understand me. I should like to be perspicacious in these matters, and have only to say that I consider a Fourth of the Retail price as a most liberal and sufficient offer for my last work, under all the risk and uncertainty which attended it at the outset and I look on the whole of our providing a [...] work with entire satisfaction. [...] There can be no great uncertainty as to the sale of at least as large edition of my proposed Volume, and I have just to refer to you and M^r Whyte the sum you would be willing to allow for a given number of copies at a given price.⁵³⁹

How Chalmers could fail to understand Longman’s letter is certainly difficult to comprehend. Chalmers was already an established author, having dealt with Glasgow and Edinburgh booksellers/publishers before his association with Smith, and in fact had had a long relationship with William Whyte. From Longman’s point of view, Chalmers may be a popular author, but they needed the assistance of Smith and Whyte and their knowledge of the Scottish market to make Chalmers’s new volume succeed. Writing to Smith and Whyte prevented them from being accused of ungentlemanly conduct. Chalmers concluded his letter by stating, contrary to how Longman presented themselves, that, ‘I should like to invite Longman to a third of the Shares on such terms as might satisfy all parties’ and that, ‘M^r Cowan my relative should furnish the Paper, and that my acquaintance M^r Duncan should be the printer of the work.’ A possible reason why Smith and Whyte did not decline the partnership with Longman was certainly due to Chalmers being a personal friend of

⁵³⁸ Smith to Whyte, 30 May 1818. Chalmers, cha 5-3-272.

⁵³⁹ Chalmers to Smith, 4 June 1818. Chalmers, cha 5-3-276.

both, plus the business anticipation of success of another work by Chalmers. Further, maybe they considered it as a genuine error and felt it would be inappropriate to end a friendship and business partnership over one mistake.

The final letter of contract between Smith, Whyte and Chalmers written on 2 October 1818, included Longman as the third partner, and Chalmers's nomination of Duncan and Cowan. The choice of printers and paper suppliers was usually left to the bookseller or publisher, being part of their remit to ensure control over outlays. Smith was open to suggestions though, such as when John Wilson first approached him to publish his *Isle of Palms*. Wilson wanted his poems to 'resemble the octavo Edition of the *Lady of the Lake*', and so Smith approached John Ballantyne of Edinburgh who had been the printers of that work.⁵⁴⁰

The Glasgow printers, Andrew and James Duncan, were not unknown to Smith, having printed the fifth edition of the *Discourses* for him in 1817; and later that year they printed the Rev. William Taylor's sermon on the death of Princess Charlotte. Smith's first association with the Duncan's was a two-volume work, the *Pocket Encyclopedia of Scottish, English, and Irish Songs*, in 1816 [JSID753].⁵⁴¹ All in all, 16 publications from the Duncan printing house had Smith associated with them, some in part because Andrew Duncan was the University printer (since 1811). Several of these publications had direct associations with the University, such as the inaugural addresses of the rectors Daniel Sandford and Henry Brougham, and the textbook *Elements of Latin Prosody* by John Rueben Bryce as noted in Chapter 3.⁵⁴² Andrew Duncan resigned as University printer in 1827 due to financial losses incurred with his associations with several London firms during the financial crises of 1825-1827.⁵⁴³ The Duncan family remained linked with Smith through the Maitland Club, with Richard and William John Duncan both being members, and their publication, *Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow During the Greater Part of Last Century*, presented to the Club in 1831 by Richard Duncan was printed by William John Duncan. Alexander Cowan (1775-1859), of Cowan & Sons, had several paper mills around the Edinburgh area, but primarily the

⁵⁴⁰ Wilson to Smith, 13 December 1810. John Wilson Papers, OSB MSS 45, Yale University Library.

⁵⁴¹ *The Pocket Encyclopedia of Scottish, English, and Irish Songs, Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Poets* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1816 [JSID753]). See Todd & Bowden 377E.

⁵⁴² Daniel Keyte Sandford, *Inaugural Lecture*, 1822 [JSID442]; Henry Brougham, *Inaugural Discourse*, 1825 [JSID087].

⁵⁴³ Scottish Printing Archival Trust, *A Reputation for Excellence: A History of the Glasgow Printing Industry* (Edinburgh: Merchiston Publishing, 1994), 8.

Valleyfield Mill in Penicuik. He supplied much of the paper used by Archibald Constable's publications.⁵⁴⁴

In the summer of 1818, booksellers were now indicating that sales of the *Discourses* and other works by Chalmers were in decline and were urgently in need of a new work from the Doctor, as William Whyte wrote to Smith, 'I wish the volume was ready to quicken to the Sales - I am sure it would greatly serve them'.⁵⁴⁵ A month later Whyte quoted a statement from Longman, noting that sales of 'the D^{rs} works seem quite at stand'.⁵⁴⁶ Both Smith and Whyte felt it was imperative that the new volume should be issued as quickly as possible to counter the slow sales of Chalmers's other works. But it was not to be. Duncan, on the day after the agreement to print the book, wrote to Smith,

The former estimate we rendered of Dr Chalmers sermons was for work executed in the finest manner, with best Ink; but if you are desirous that we only use the usual common Ink, and press twenty to thirty sheets betwixt each pressing board, then the price will be seven pounds fifteen shillings per sheet, to be charged at the regular trade price when the work is finished.

The above will make a very decent volume, but were a fourth of fine Ink mixed with the common, it would prevent it even after several years from having a brown tinge, which common Ink used by itself would run the risk of; but this would increase the price five shillings per sheet.⁵⁴⁷

After some negotiation, Smith and Duncan agreed on the price of £8 per sheet for the better ink.⁵⁴⁸

The cost of production had not only increased, but also Duncan's print works had issues with illness amongst the pressmen, plus one of the presses broke down.⁵⁴⁹ Chalmers, writing in his journal in November noted with exasperation,

My volume labours very much during the process of its delivery. It is a very large impression that they are throwing off, and it may be pretty far on in

⁵⁴⁴ Thomas Constable, *Archibald Constable and His Literary Correspondents: A Memorial* (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1873), 2: 503.

⁵⁴⁵ Whyte to Smith, 25 June 1818. Chalmers, cha 5-3-289. Ogles & Co., booksellers, London. Whyte reiterated the need for the new volume again in a letter to Smith on 29 June, Chalmers, cha 5-3-293.

⁵⁴⁶ Whyte to Smith, 21 July 1818. Chalmers, cha 5-4-8.

⁵⁴⁷ Duncan to Smith, 3 October 1818. Chalmers, cha 5-4-46. Underlining in the original.

⁵⁴⁸ Note dated 6 October 1818 at foot of letter from Duncan to Smith, 3 October 1818. Chalmers, cha 5-4-46.

⁵⁴⁹ Letter from James Duncan to John Smith, 1 December 1818. Chalmers, cha 5-4-71.

January ere the publication is completed. I am sure that it will bring another nest of hornets about me, in the shape of angry critics and reviewers. It has been singularly the fate of my publications to be torn to pieces in the journals, but at the same time to be extensively bought and read, and surely one would suppose from this with some kind of gratification by the public at large.⁵⁵⁰

On the 22 of February 1819 Duncan wrote to Smith to say the work was ready. Smith in turn wrote to Whyte indicating that 2,300 copies would be immediately sent by waggon, with a further 2,300 sent to Longman. But Smith also informed Whyte that Duncan had miscalculated and had not acquired enough paper to fulfill the 7000 copies as per the agreement.

Now that the work is finished they tell us only 14 Reams, 14 Quires have been used for each sheet which barely make 7000 copies – a few more may be got out of soiled sheets – We have informed them that for a first edition we would have required almost 400 over copies – that is the purchase of 7000 from D^r C. we consider ourselves entitled to overplus of 4 to each 100 usually granted to W.S. [wholesale] dealers.⁵⁵¹

Smith further remarked that these over copies would have been used as complimentary copies by Chalmers, if he so needed them, and for review copies. Additionally, Duncan should have known to keep additional copies in case of damages or faults. Even with this setback Smith was pleased with the final printed result, saying, ‘[t]he volume is excellent and we may soon again go back to Press.’ Looking at the problem from a financial perspective he went on to note ‘it would be absurd for us to pay D^r C. for what we do not receive’, and proposed

to complete our bargain at present to him, that is to say to grant Bills of £350 each, from which their [sic] shall be no deduction if another edition is required but if not, such fair allowance should be made by him, as we can exhibit for copies broken to complete imperfect copies (as we do not suppose it possible to keep perfect nearly 7000 when exactly that No is delivered) for such as he gives away for the Stationers Hall and the Review copies, all of which if only 7000 is given to us we shall have paid to him authorship of –⁵⁵²

⁵⁵⁰ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:206.

⁵⁵¹ Smith to Whyte, Youngest, 22 February 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-120.

⁵⁵² Smith to Whyte, 22 February 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-120.

‘This’, he added wryly, ‘comes of his fettering us to a printer’. Chalmers received his first payment of £350 on 2 April 1819.⁵⁵³

The issues with Duncan were further compounded when Smith was informed by one of Duncan’s staff that terms previously agreed to with Whyte were more than what Smith had indicated; and rather than keeping it as an arrangement between themselves and Whyte, had informed others in the book trade. He was further annoyed that they were withholding 100 copies of Whyte’s order, insisting it was the publisher’s property. Smith had suggested that up to 50 copies would be nine shillings, these terms being purposely to prevent underselling, but Duncan was looking for 8/6 for the first 25. In a compromise Smith suggested that 25 to 100 copies would be 8/6. He further added, ‘That altho’ you might have sold to them you were not obliged to any day of delivery, and that we insisted a month should elapse before any of the Edin’ copies came here’.⁵⁵⁴

Whyte wrote to say the subscription of Chalmers’s work was going well, though he had to do a great deal of persuading with the local trade, and wished that ‘the terms for large numbers been more liberal.’ Whyte also noted he had identified an error in the terms in Smith and Whyte’s initial calculations and had adjusted them accordingly. Whyte explained:

It was in regard to the terms for twelve copies which we observe by our Letter book was made by us – 12 copies should be 8/6 each which is the London Subscription price of a 12/- volume – We therefore has to alter the terms thus

260 as 250 copies at 8/- Bill at 9/m[onths]

100 copies at 8/- Bill at 6/m

50 copies at 8/3 at 6/m

12 copies at 8/6 each y[ea]r

and even with this alteration all the grumbling, as we have already stated, took place – We hope the error was discovered by you and attended accordingly.⁵⁵⁵

This was not what Smith intended as he was pushing for booksellers to take more copies per order and so enticing them with higher discounts. Smith reiterates their position regarding terms, ‘We are so confident however of the excellence of the Volume that we cannot consent to any further reduction of price,’ adding that the estimated costs of

⁵⁵³ Whyte to Smith, 2 April 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-169.

⁵⁵⁴ Smith to Whyte, 23 February 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-122.

⁵⁵⁵ Whyte to Smith, 23 February 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-124.

authorship, printing, paper, and advertising will be 6/6 per copy. ‘The additional Discounts off Sale & odd copies per purchase, would sell them for 7/ or 7/2^d. leaving scarcely 5 per Cent to yourself – If the Book has not merit to secure to its publishers a fair mercantile remuneration for their trouble & Risks we could not be much more off were the remainder sold by auction.’ As to the terms arranged between Whyte and Duncan, Smith insisted they honour that arrangement, and would supply from their own stock and ‘to draw the bill in your name which can be endorsed to us.’⁵⁵⁶

The copies that Smith had intimated to Whyte on the 22 February eventually were sent on the 25th, the delay being ‘chiefly by the obstinacy of Mess^{rs}. D. in not allowing the departure of the parcels – The Waggon was off before the porters could get the parcels away.’⁵⁵⁷ The order was also incomplete, with a shortage of 115 copies, ‘which we understood are some how or other to be made up from the waste or reprinting some sheets – It is exceedingly bad [...]’.

Contrary to Whyte’s earlier statement, subscription sales for Chalmers’s new work were slow. Smith reported that compared with the *Discourses*, the subscriptions had ‘not been one half of the number taken at first of the *Discourses*’.⁵⁵⁸ Longman were also concerned stating, ‘As yet there does not seem much demand for the book; but as soon as the copies arrive in I shall advertise strongly’.⁵⁵⁹ These were the first instances that the volume was proving to be not as popular as his *Discourses*.

By the 8th of March Duncan wrote to Smith to say they had now completed the printing finally delivering the 115 outstanding copies and hoped to be included in the second edition of the work. In response to Duncan’s bill for the printing, Whyte concluded that their bill was ‘most extortionate’ being ‘the highest charge which a Printer here could make in the same still could only be Five Pounds & Sixteen shillings’ suggesting that they should not be employed for a second edition and would consider Andrew Balfour or Walker & Greig as more suitable. ‘With regard to the price of the Volume to Wholesale Booksellers here we shall not say another word on that subject – We shall certainly most strictly adhere to the original agreements and allow the merit of the Volume to work its own way into the world. [...] As the Wholesale Booksellers in Edinb^r decline taking new

⁵⁵⁶ Smith to Whyte, 25 February 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-132.

⁵⁵⁷ Smith to Whyte, 25 February 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-132.

⁵⁵⁸ Smith to Whyte, 25 February 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-132.

⁵⁵⁹ Longman to Smith, 5 March 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-138.

copies from us at the price offered'.⁵⁶⁰ Further exasperating the issues with Duncan, Smith and Whyte began receiving 'bad' and 'spoiled' print copies, and others with sheets bound incorrectly. Rather than reprinting, the copies were broken up and re-bound for re-selling.

Following his experience with the *Discourses*, Chalmers assumed that his *Tron Sermons* had sold quickly, and enquired of Smith, Senior, whether a second edition of 1500 should be prepared. Smith, Senior, of course, was reluctant given all the problems that were surrounding the current edition. Stocks of the *Sermons* were low in his shop but he could not answer for Whyte or Longman. By March 1819, Whyte still had a large quantity and Longman reported they still had 1439 of their original order of 2300, Whyte concluded that it would not be 'prudent to put a 2^d edition to the Press till Mess^{rs} Longmans number was considerably lessen'd'.⁵⁶¹

Though by May 1819 stock in Smith and Whyte's shops was now low they felt it was of sufficient quantity to satisfy requirements. Chalmers, though, demanded that a further 1500 copies be printed. Both Whyte and Longman were not keen but were going to anyway, and Smith reluctantly accepted the advice of the two more experienced booksellers. A couple of weeks later Longman was writing to Whyte to say they still had 1439 copies of the original order, and that, echoing Whyte's letter in March, saying 'it would not be prudent to put the work to the press until the number is greatly reduced'.⁵⁶²

On 12 June 1819, Whyte related a meeting he had with Chalmers, which was not as friendly as previous meetings; in fact Whyte was now witnessing a side of Chalmers he probably did not expect from a Divine. Chalmers had been informed through his sources that the terms the publishers had given to the Trade were causing a great deal of dissatisfaction within the Glasgow and Edinburgh Trades in that no difference of price was offered between different quantities, and that the usual terms of 25 per cent on small quantities, and 33 on larger, had not offered. Whyte indicated that he had not expected to be interrogated on their working practices and did not have to hand the actual terms offered to booksellers, but would have if Chalmers would call at his shop. When the occasion arose, Whyte explained the differences between costs and quantities, explaining 'that to

⁵⁶⁰ Whyte to Smith, 10 March 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-151.

⁵⁶¹ Memorandum from John Smith, Senior, 21 May 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-179. Letter from Longman to Whyte, 8 June 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-180.

⁵⁶² Longman to Whyte, 8 June 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-180.

have offered large quantities below the sale price would have been sacrificing his character as an author; or in other words would have been saying accept the Book on any terms.⁵⁶³

Smith's reply is not extant, however as, on the 26 June, Chalmers in a rage of writing wrote to John Smith & Son, William Whyte & Co. and Longman & Co. His address to Smith & Son clearly began by addressing the firm, but it soon turned to accusing John Smith, Youngest with vehement rhetoric more akin to one of his pulpit sermons:

Mess^{rs}. John Smith & C^o. Glasgow [sic]

Gentlemen

I have very recently learned your proceedings with the Trade of Glasgow respecting my last volume, and have attained the most satisfactory assurances that by deviating from the usual terms you have stirred up a just and proper resistance on the part of many respectable Booksellers and have done what was highly fitted to alienate them from the course of its circulation.

My belief is the proposal for exacting a higher price than is customary from the Trade originated with you, and was only concurred in by the other Publishers. I mean also to write them on the subject, and if I am wrong in the supposition, I am subject to your correction, and to theirs. But in the meantime I do not hesitate to say, that I can have no Comfort in having any further correspondence with you in the business of Authorship.

Chalmers's fear and paranoia of publishers taking his works and undermining them, when they did not suit the publisher's views was his next accusation, as he continues,

I have all along conceived the one cause for the more languid sale of this work was the want of a Popular interest in its subject, and the real decline of my writing in public estimation. I now find that another cause has been proceeding on your part, which I shall not attempt to characterise, with which you have chosen to return the confidence that I placed in you, when I committed that work to your care, and by which it is in the power of any Publisher to inflict a blow on the circulation of the best work, and utterly crush and annihilate the sale of ordinary ones.

I am now happy to dismiss from my bosom all suspicion of a third cause by which in fact I might have done injustice to a Publisher, whom I now believe to be innocent of the mischief, that might else have been imputed to him. I allude to Longman & Co, the admission of him into the concern is the chief circumstance of variation, between the business of my last, and of my present volume, and had I ascribed to this circumstance the difference that has taken place, in their sale, I fear that you would have been at no great pains, to have

⁵⁶³ Whyte to Smith, 12 June 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-182.

corrected my error. I will not however concern myself with the motive of your proceedings certain it is your measures were calculated to fasten on the House in London, appearance of its being a hindrance to the property of my present work, and I am now pleased that by a timely discovery of the truth, I am able to apportion my estimation of each Publisher according to the zeal each has been in the transaction [...].

Chalmers then personally accuses Smith of creating a friendship to exploit his popularity for selfish monetary gains, the tone becoming more sermon like:

I will not disguise it that reviewing my past intercourse with you, and your family since I first fell into your hands, [...] there was one period of that intercourse, in which I fondly thought that I had found the bosom of an affectionate friendship some compensation for the intimacy of the Country Parish I had abandoned. The enchantment has now fled, but when I think of the changes that are past, and those that are soon to follow, I trust by the spirit of God I shall be calm'd by solemn contemplation, both into charity and into peace – The Judge is at the door and the day soon cometh, when all the desires, and all the contests of selfishness, will be brought to a higher Tribunal then it will be found that much of the pityfull [sic] calculations of this World is indeed a most wretched calculation, and it was well for us, all that the spell which so binds us to its perishable interests, be at length and conclusively loosen asunder.⁵⁶⁴

The letter being addressed to the firm (the incorrect use of the firm's name may or may not have been on purpose) and in absence of Smith, Youngest, who was on a European tour through Germany and Italy, was read by Smith, Senior. The vitriolic tone of the letter must have severely shaken him. Here was a man who had been greatly impressed by Chalmers's eloquence, his passion, and his ideals, who had done so much to bring Chalmers to Glasgow, and knowing of the close friendship that his son Thomas had had with the Divine, and was now all thrown back at him. It took him a couple of days to compose himself and return a curt response stating that his son was away in Europe and would respond in due course.⁵⁶⁵

William Whyte also received an accusing letter, but not as vitriolic as the one received by Smith:

I have made very minute enquiries about the business of my Volume since I came to Glasgow, and have obtained still ampler evidence than I had done in

⁵⁶⁴ Chalmers to Smith, 26 June 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-194. Underlining in the original.

⁵⁶⁵ Smith, Senior to Chalmers, 28 June 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-196.

Edinburgh of the mischief which has been inflicted upon me. I have written to M^r. Smith on the subject, as the person who suggested this unworthy experiment on my conceived popularity as an Author, and I trust that with him I shall have no further correspondence on the business of Authorship, You did not originate this measure but I hold it wrong in you to have concurred in it. It was both an abuse of the confidence I placed in you, and a most unmerited return for it. It is true I could have provided against it, by a clause in our agreement, but I certainly committed myself to you and to the other Publishers on the Bona fide understanding that you were to lay no one obstruction in the circulation of my Work, nor did I think it possible that after all the transactions we have had together you could [unclear] any combination for laying upon any Volume the burden of so heavy disadvantage. What I aver is that in furnishing the Trade the given allowance both as to discount, Credit and overplus copies was not made to them, as had been customary for sometime, and as had been ever made by yourselves upon former occasions. I should certainly have felt more pleasantly had you in our late conversation expressed yourself in the tone of regret rather than in the tone of indignation, though the circumstance of your not having originated the proposal of which I complain, but of having concurred in it, after you had remonstrated with M^r. Smith about it, does give me a very different feeling towards you. I resolved to close correspondence, I perhaps might have spared my reproofs. But as I have not resolved this, I make free to advise you that a liberal and magnanimous policy is the line most conducive to your interests as a man in Trade, and certainly by far the most suitable to your profession as a Christian.

I should like to know by you from time to time the progress of this Work as I have now ceased to hold any correspondence with M^r. Smith upon the subject, and there is a question to which I request an answer, Was the volume of Astronomical Discourses furnished the Trade in London, on the terms which are usual with London Publishers.⁵⁶⁶

The letter to Longman was more apologetic, making them to have been duped into being part of the scam. It does seem though that Chalmers was trying to court favour with them, being the largest of the publishers with countrywide connections, far better known in the trade in terms of their respectability and integrity than the small publishers of Glasgow and Edinburgh:

I have lately learned with feelings of painful surprise that the terms upon which my last volume has been offered to the Trade both of Glasgow and of Edinburgh are so greatly inferior to the usual terms in point of advantage both to the wholesale and Retail dealers as to have alienated them all from the course of its circulation and it has added to my painful feelings, that you have concurred in this proceeding with my Scottish publishers.

⁵⁶⁶ Chalmers to Whyte, 26 June 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-186. Underlining in the original.

My belief is that the proposal of such terms originated with M^r Smith. What his motions were it is unnecessary for me to enquire and what were his statements upon which he obtained your concurrence in a measure so prejudicial to my interests, I am utterly at a loss to conjecture. Suffice it to say that it was altogether without my knowledge and without my concurrence – that I never thought of him assuming a superintendence over the other publishers in whom I conceived that I had vested an independent management over their respective shares and when I [space] the edition amongst you, it certainly never occurred to me, that such measures would be devised or agreed upon, as were calculated to obstruct any of the facilities to its circulation. I expected no more justice from your hands than is usually experienced by other Authors - but I never once dreamed of recovering loss.

When I determined to admit you into a share of the business of my works, I did so in the face of much resistance. It was altogether my own wish and my own seeking and I now remember when I made you the first proposition on the subjects, you were pleased to say, that you felt it very kind in me to have done so. And the question I have now to refer ^Gentlemen^ to your own hearts and your own honourable feelings is whither you have made me victim of kindness by joining with my other publishers to being the volume I entrusted to your care under the burden of so heavy a disadvantage.

I am aware of the respectability of the house I am now addressing, and am quite confident that some how or other, you must have been misled into an arrangement so singularly hurtful to my interests. And perhaps the most effectual conveyance I can give you of my precise feelings upon this subject may be gathered from the following passage of a letter which I have just now written to M^r Smith.

[...] [Chalmers quotes two paragraphs of his accusations to Smith]

You will oblige me by letting me know the present state of the work and in general, if you have information to send me on any subject connected with Authorship. I should like you to do it by a direct communication with myself and not through the medium of my publishers in Scotland.⁵⁶⁷

Owen Rees, of Longman & Co., clearly saw through Chalmers's letter as a means to foster favour with them and was not being drawn into any form of confrontation. He quickly replied, and though agreeing that the terms had originated with Smith & Son, they were in actual fact 'more favourable' than those they normally offered of their own publications. Stating that other publishers had also offered similar terms for similar books, such as the

⁵⁶⁷ Chalmers to Longman, 26 June 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-190. Underlining in the original.

popular Alison's *Sermons*.⁵⁶⁸ Rees also wrote to John Smith & Son to reassure them, adding:

This letter we hope will satisfy him that there has been no blame due either to you or to ourselves. We suspect that some person has been tampering with him.⁵⁶⁹

On his return from his European excursion on the 9 of July, Smith replied to Chalmers's accusations, noting he had read Longman's and Whyte's replies and hoped that he had now 'satisfied you as to the liberality of the terms to the trade'. Smith continued with controlled anger, and clearly upset, that his integrity should be challenged in such a way, and that Chalmers's remarks were unbecoming of him as a gentleman and as a Christian:

The charge you have made is that there has been a connivance to defraud you of reputation and profit – Before admitting such a suspicion, charity might have suggested, that even had the allegation been true of a deviation from the customary allowance to the trade that there might have been sufficient cause for it known only to those who had acted so or that considering their situation and character in life it must be the result of an unwitting error altogether unconnected with the business you alledge [sic]. The momentary dissatisfaction of the Booksellers in Edinburgh or Glasgow never affected the sale of a copy and we maintain that the terms offered were more liberal than we ^of perhaps equal credit to any of them^ obtain from wholesale houses – The charge your letter proffers, also includes an accusation of selfishness – We make no pretension to any very singular disinterestedness of character, we claim a fair reward for our labour – In justice however to ourselves we state that sentiments towards you, which may now be nameless, did prompt us originally to take our works on unusual terms for authorship, and also to take labour for them never expected from publishers – As you imagine them to have been so great an object of profit to us we may now without any restraint of delicacy assert our belief, and we believe W. Whyte will coincide in it, that no edition of your Discourses realized to us 12½ per Cent on our outlay or an eight of the retail price – On one edition we lost the whole remuneration for 250 copies of it we received £19 in all – As to the present Volume our share of it may now be considered as sold; about 150 copies only remain – The expenses of it have been so great, that even in that favourable state of Sales, did any person offer instantly to return our outlay for it, and to take the risk of the debts due to us on its account, we should gladly accept of 5 per Cent, in full of all the personal labour and agony of mind it has subjected us to –

⁵⁶⁸ Possibly Archibald Alison, *Sermons on the Seasons* (Edinburgh, Constable & Co., London, Longman & Co., 1819).

⁵⁶⁹ Rees to Smith, 2 July 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-202. Rees also indicated that they had spent £45 on advertising and still had 1364 copies in stock.

For its sale the publishers have made every possible effort. The account for advertizing [sic] is almost in amount as large as any work ever occasion'd – The Booksellers in England, whom any transactions in Scotland could not possibly affect, complain equally of its sale – It may not have been mentioned to you, that we sent copies on Sale with the full allowance to the most eminent Booksellers in the north of Scotland, and that we have had the mortification of having them returned to us – Although we have been necessitated to make a statement of the amount off what we believe to have been the profit of the publishers of your works, we beg it may be perfectly understood that we are entirely satisfied with the remuneration our engagements have yielded and that no transactions of ours whatever may have been the fate of them, ever has occasioned any expression of disappointment.

He was going to add, but thought otherwise as he scored it out in the draft letter:

We have only to add that unless, a liberal, [...] and indeed implicit confidence subsists between an author and his publishers and that the latter are left at perfect freedom to act in all matters of their own department it is quite impossible a satisfactory intercourse can be [...] [text stops mid sentence]⁵⁷⁰

Though Chalmers had stated he was no longer corresponding with Smith, there were still letters exchanged between the two men regarding the discounts to booksellers. In one such response where Chalmers suggested his own scheme of discount was better, Smith wrote a lengthy reply detailing the intricacies of discounting to the trade; there was a fine line between achieving the best subscription rates against the possibility of the book being undersold if the terms offered were too good. Smith, Youngest, was evidently not going to get an apology for the letter Chalmers wrote to his father: 'I request most unequivocally to disavow, on the part of my father and myself, our entertaining any expectation of your acknowledging a ground of gratitude to us, on the matters of business we have had with you [...]'⁵⁷¹

On the 16 of October, John Smith, Senior, again wrote to Chalmers:

I had hoped that during my stay in the country from which I have just returned, that the difference that had arisen between us would all have been adjusted. I am sorry that it has not, as all delays in such cases generally aggravate supposed offences. I have seen your letter to my Son, in which you say, you considered him chiefly responsible for the Publication of your Works. It is true I am not so active in business as he is, but I know and approve of every

⁵⁷⁰ Smith to Chalmers, 9 July 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-206.

⁵⁷¹ Smith to Chalmers, 6 August 1819. Chalmers, cha 5-4-224.

transaction and consider myself accountable for them, and as your letter of complaint came at a time when I had sole management of the business, it was impossible for me not to consider myself even by you implicated and interested in it. Passing aside the language of the complaint, which I am sincerely desirous to forget, I think you will acknowledge that it was undeserved to regard of any intentional injury on our part towards you, or that we had any unfair desire of advantage for ourselves. The matter is very simple. In the first instance Feb^{ry} 11 We proposed the unusual terms but on the suggestion of M^r. Whyte his were adopted as promising to be more beneficial to the sale of the work and I really think did no injury to the sale.⁵⁷²

With this letter Smith, Senior, enclosed the details of the subscription list from the Glasgow booksellers indicating that the number of copies subscribed was far greater than any work with the same price. He goes on to say that subscribers in Glasgow were not entitled for additional discount, and that any further discounts given by Whyte were of his own choosing and his to bear. He continues, but clearly resigning himself to the situation:

I write this to have my mind satisfied on what I consider a part of your complaint as affecting my character and which unless I was confident that it did not exist in your mind, I could have no comfort any more than I am sure you would in the connexion that subsists between us, on reference to S^t. Johns Parish.⁵⁷³

Chalmers, however, was not interested as he was already making arrangements for the publication of the pamphlet concerning his St John's experiment: 'I want my brother and Mr. Collins to be the sole publishers. It will form part of a series of papers which, if God spare me, I mean to publish from time to time, on the Civic and Christian Economy of our Large Towns'.⁵⁷⁴ Knowing that his brother, Charles, who had been assisted by Smith in securing a place of work with Whyte, had become familiar with the book trade. Using Charles's gained experience together with his trusted disciple William Collins he would create a new publishing house of Chalmers & Collins. It would be a publisher in which he could guarantee that his works would not be tampered with; as who was not more trusting than one's own kin. Collins may have felt a little apprehensive. He was already running a school in the Glasgow's east end and by all accounts making a substantial income in excess of 1000 pounds a year.⁵⁷⁵ Without the knowledge from Charles Chalmers, who in

⁵⁷² Smith, Senior to Chalmers, 16 October 1819. Chalmers, cha-5-4-231.

⁵⁷³ Smith, Senior to Chalmers, 16 October 1819. Chalmers, cha-5-4-231.

⁵⁷⁴ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:223.

⁵⁷⁵ Keir, *The House of Collins*, 37.

turn had been given work by Whyte on the recommendation of Smith, Collins would not have turned to publishing. John Smith was indirectly responsible for the beginning of the global publishing house of Collins.⁵⁷⁶

The first publication under the new Chalmers & Collins imprint was *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* (1821), which was the first of three pamphlets that would be published between 1821 and 1826.⁵⁷⁷ Smith had bound the pamphlet with others that were related to the effects of economy on the people. These included publications on the Corn Laws, price of grain, protecting duty on metals, and included three with Smith's own imprint, *Observations on the Principles Which Enter into the Commerce in Grain* (1816 [JSID060]), by Dugald Bannatyne; *An Address Delivered to the Inhabitants of New Lanark*, second edition (1816 [JSID389]), by Robert Owen; and a *Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Ashley, on the Cotton Factory System, and the Ten Hours' Factory Bill* (1833 [JSID225]), by Kirkman Finlay. Dugald Bannatyne (1755-1842) was the Secretary of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce between 1809 and 1830 and would have known Smith when Smith was a councillor and Merchant Bailie between 1828 and 1832. Bannatyne was an early supporter of Free Trade and the abolition of the Corn Laws, hence his pamphlet. Robert Owen (1771-1858) was a Welsh social reformer and founder of a cooperative movement. His pamphlets on social and educational reform were based on New Lanark. Smith supported the four editions of the *Address* between 1816 and 1819, plus two other pamphlets that Owen wrote. Kirkman Finlay (1773-1842) of James Finlay & Company manufacturers and East India merchants, had links to the Smiths of Jordanhill as Archibald Smith of Jordanhill was a sleeping partner in the firm. Finlay was a close friend of John Smith and member of the Maitland Club. He took on the role of manager of John Smith & Son's Select Reading Club between 1837 and 1838.

The finances for starting the publishing business came from both Chalmers and Collins families, but as the titles still remained Chalmers's copyright, he could authorise Collins to issue new editions. John Smith was well aware that this would be the next step with the breakdown of relations with Chalmers and that the remaining stock would become worthless when Chalmers & Collins began issuing new editions. In anticipation Smith met with William Collins and Charles Chalmers on 21 October 1819 to which he committed to paper the terms of the agreement:

⁵⁷⁶ See Chalmers, cha 5.2.112-164. My analysis is contrary to Keir's view, *The House of Collins*, 37.

⁵⁷⁷ Chalmers, Thomas, *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* (Glasgow: Printed by J. Starke for Chalmers & Collins, 1821). Copy in Smith's library at BG34-h.9.

Communicated verbally to Mess^{rs}. Collins & Chalmers
Gentl^m.

We have considered the communication made by M^r. Collins of your intention to publish new edition of D^r. Chalmers Sermon on Peace. We should be extremely sorry ^unnecessarily^ to interfere with any intention that you thought likely to be beneficial for D^r. Chalmers or yourself, but as there is considerable stock of several of D^r. Chalmers works past us, it may be as well to put the Sermon in question on the footing of the others our property, and therefore we have to inform you that till the whole editions of them are purchased from us that we shall not consent to the republication of any of them. You may have all the remainder and print new Titles.⁵⁷⁸

The only title Smith was not prepared to concede was that of *Scripture References* for which they felt had the full copyright. Collins & Chalmers's response to the above conversation was not committed to paper.

5.5 The Chalmers-Smith Affair

When the fifth edition of the *Scripture References* was published in the summer of 1820, William Collins approached Smith to negotiate the selling of the copyright to Chalmers & Collins. Smith agreed, and on the 21 October wrote to them detailing the specifics of the agreement, in that they should pay 'prime cost; also to pay you one half penny for each copy of our share of each Edition already disposed of by us', William Whyte was also to return unsold copies for 'prime cost'. Smith also agreed to 'settle with Mess^{rs}. Whyte & C^o. and Mess^{rs}. Waugh & Innes for the shares we formerly sold of the References to them; and that the whole right of Publishing the References shall be vested in you from this date as Dr. Chalmers Assignees'.⁵⁷⁹

As it turned out Chalmers was not happy with the agreement and a letter arrived on the 6 December 1820 from solicitors Nisbet & Peebles apologising 'that a matter of so very serious and unpleasant a nature should have occurred to render professional interference necessary':

We are instructed to institute the requisite measures grounded on the Copy Right Act for recovering from you all that D^r. Chalmers or his Assignees may be thereby entitled to exact in consequence of your having not only published several Editions of his pamphlet entitled "Scripture references" without any

⁵⁷⁸ Note of communication, Smith to Collins & Chalmers, 16 October 1819. Chalmers, cha-5-4-235.

⁵⁷⁹ Chalmers, cha 5.5.13.

authority; but also in consequence of your having by misrepresentation induced Mr Lesslie the publisher of this pamphlet to believe that the right of publishing had been by the author transferred to you, from which circumstances considerable less has been sustained.

[...]

It is also required that shall at the same time subscribe a letter addressed to Dr. Chalmers acknowledging with that Gentlemen you found him to be most fair and most honourable, and that if you ever said or insinuated the reverse, you were guilty of gross falsehood and defamation.⁵⁸⁰

Smith, Senior, quickly replied requesting time to gather the necessary evidence to support their case as they had written to Lesslie. Smith reiterated that the allegation had possible legal ramifications and costs if Lesslie did not have the legal entitlement of the copyright.⁵⁸¹ Nisbet & Peebles agreed to wait for Lesslie's reply. In the meantime, on 13 December, Smith, Youngest, had approached Graham & Mitchell for legal advice and to represent him in the matter, who immediately contacted Nisbet & Peebles:⁵⁸²

Messrs. John Smith & Son have laid before me your letters of the 6th & 9th curr^t to them respecting their having published the pamphlet entitled *Scripture References* – They enter entirely into the feeling expressed in the conclusion of the last of these letters and in conformity therewith I have their authority for saying that they will be ready to refer the question to the Decision of any mutual friend or two friends mutually chosen – In this measure a “disagreeable business” of no great necessary importance will be settled more speedily and with less trouble than in any other way and notwithstanding what you mention in your letter of the 6th Messrs. J S & Son feel perfectly confident that they will be able to show when they have an opportunity that they have acted throughout this business correctly and honourably – Should the proposal be agreeable to Dr. Chalmers, Messrs. J S & Son are ready to nominate or concur in the nomination of an arbiter.⁵⁸³

Nisbet & Peebles replied indicating that their client was not willing to put the matter into the hands of a referee and that if the property and letter of apology were not handed over immediately legal proceedings would ensue. On the 15 December Smith wrote to Graham & Mitchell outlining the events leading to how they acquired the *Scripture References*, with supporting evidence of the letters to and from Lesslie at the time, and from

⁵⁸⁰ Nisbet & Peebles to Smith, 6 December 1820. Chalmers, cha-5-5-16.

⁵⁸¹ Smith to Nisbet & Peebles, 8 December 1820. Chalmers, cha 5-5-20.

⁵⁸² Graham & Mitchell were solicitors for the West India merchants Leitch & Smith.

⁵⁸³ Graham & Mitchell to Nisbet & Peebles, 13 December 1820. Chalmers, cha 5-5-26.

booksellers Francis Orr and Maurice Ogle, all this evidence indicating that the copyright resided with Lesslie and not Chalmers. Smith goes on to quote the Copyright Act of 1814:

The last clause of the copyright act is as follows “Provided nevertheless and be it further enacted that all actions suits bills indictments or informations for any offence that shall be committed against this Act shall be brought sued and [commenced] within twelve months next after such offence committed or else the same shall be void and of make [no] effect.”⁵⁸⁴

Smith goes on to note that even if they did not have the right to the work, there has been no claim of right brought forth by any party, including the author, since they began publishing the work in 1817. He adds, ‘Had we had any doubt that we were in every point of view entitled to the property, we would have instantly abandoned our claim and have raised an action against Mr. Lesslie for deceiving us’ and would claim ‘for all the expenses and loss of time we have been subjected to’. Smith is in no doubt that it was an ‘honourable requirement of a property then almost valueless and still of no great import.’⁵⁸⁵

Over the next couple of days there was a flurry of meetings and letter writing and a meeting was arranged on the 21st to bring all parties together to resolve the issue. Mitchell drafted ‘mutual letters’ to be passed to both Smith and Chalmers for them to sign:

[in pencil] From Mr. Whyte & Co. or John Smith & Son

I hereby declare that you always conducted yourself honourably and with the utmost fairness in the whole transactions with John Smith & Son and me. I have never ceased to regret the unfortunate misunderstanding which took place betwixt you and myself and the Company respecting the publication of a volume of Sermons preached in the Tron Church Glasgow. I do assure you with the utmost sincerity that any variation which was proposed respecting this publication was intended to forward not to impede the circulation of the work. If there was an error it was purely an Error of Judgement; and the more usual plan was recurred to the moment we were informed that the alteration was not agreeable to some of the trade. I am perfectly ready to admit however that

⁵⁸⁴ Section X of “Chapter CLVI: An Act to Amend the Several Acts for the Encouragement of Learning, by Securing the Copies and Copyright of Printed Books to the Authors of Such Books or Their Assigns,” in *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland 54 George III. 1814* (London: Printed by His Majesty’s Statute and Law Printers, 1814), 822. Missing words from quote added within square brackets.

⁵⁸⁵ Smith to Graham & Mitchell, 16 December 1820. Chalmers, cha 5-5-41.

according to the view you take of the case you acted throughout the Correspondence with the utmost fairness and integrity.⁵⁸⁶

[in pencil] From Dr. Chalmers:

I have received your letter of this date with which I am satisfied so far as relates to the vindication of my character – From what you state I am ^{^also^} satisfied that the error (which I still think was an error) was yet one of judgment not of intention. As to the right to the Scripture References I never gave it up to Mr Leslie [sic] except for benevolent purposes and until he was indemnified for the expense of a first publication. And although he did not state this to you in the Correspondence between you, yet in a letter to me ^{^of} our last to Messrs. C. & C. [^] he states not only this but that he gave it up to you under the impression that you made the application for it as being at the time the publisher of my other works. – I therefore require you to give up the publication in future and what Copies of it you have on hand to my assignees Messrs. Chalmers & Collins who will settle for them at printers' prices. Regarding this business also, from your assurances, and the Letter from Leslie & other documents you have produced I am satisfied that you transacted with Leslie upon a supposition of his having the Copyright altho' I would have been better pleased had you communicated directly with myself.⁵⁸⁷

Smith noted what transpired at the meeting of the 21 December:

At the meeting with Dr. Chalmers this day, I stated that in consequence of the conversation yesterday and in farther consideration, I was sensible I had made intemperate assertions respecting him, and that if they had occasioned him injury, I was willing to give any acknowledgement, that I could do conscientiously, that might have the effect of lessening it. – The scroll of a certificate I had prepared, was produced, but objected to by Dr. Chalmers as not sufficient, in omitting that his conduct had been handsome – I stated that while I could acknowledge, that he had acted uprightly and honourably in his transactions with us, that I would not acknowledge his conduct to have been handsome, chiefly in consequence of a letter addressed by him to our house, during my absence last year on the Continent, which had occasioned great distress at the time to my father and sister and that I would not insert the word in the certificate – After some farther conversation Dr. Chalmers retired with his agent and Mr. Collins, and on their return Dr. Chalmers said, that he would accept of the certificate as proposed if I would allow the question of whether or not he was entitled to insist on our inserting the word handsome to be decided by Referees; if they decided in the affirmative the word to be inserted – That he did insist he had behaved handsomely and that he was willing to permit the

⁵⁸⁶ Draft letter for Smith or Whyte to sign. Chalmers, cha 5-5-63.

⁵⁸⁷ Draft letter for Chalmers to sign. Chalmers, cha 5-5-64.

decision on the irregular prices at which the numbers of 100 and 250, without reference to smaller numbers, of his last volume published by us, had been sold to the Trade, and this on the production alone of the correspondence we had had with Mr. Whyte – I assented to the proposal on these terms, intimating at the same time that it could not be immediately provided with, as I had copies of few of the letters, most of which had been wrote on the urgency of the bustle of publication and which I had never since seen, consequently I must procure the originals from Mr. Whyte – Dr. Chalmers nominated his Walter Wood as his referee, who he had no doubt would accept – I intimated that I was not prepared at the moment to nominate one – It was understood that if the Referees did not coincide in opinion that they might call an umpire –⁵⁸⁸

Smith, Youngest, approached William Brown regarding the apology and the course of action he should take. William Brown (1792-1884), of Kilmardinny, was the second son of James Brown, merchant and artist, and Jane Euing, daughter of William Euing. William Brown was a chemical merchant, whose brother, Francis Brown, had married Smith's sister Elizabeth.⁵⁸⁹ Brown gave his analysis of the situation and avenues to pursue, a mix of business advice with how one's actions define his character:

I have given the business you talked of to me all the consideration I could, and [...] that it is one of the hardest and most difficult cases possible, but whatever course you take, as our relative conducts is upright on otherwise chiefly from the motives that guide us, look well that yours be what you can reflect upon I approve after the agitation of this business is past. There is nothing can happen by chance, and we cannot guard against every contingency.

However, if you agree to Sign an apology, I think you should obtain some valid acknowledgement of it, such as would set the matter completely at rest, and prevent any future ground of action or complaint up to the date of it – Also that as far as they know, you have come into bonafide & honourable possession of the Copy right [sic] of the references.

By you giving up this Copy right [sic], you deprive yourself of recourse upon Lesslie. They therefore receive it as a douceur to stop an action of damages & as this you must give it, but knowing your motive for preventing this Action, I would much rather stand in your place than theirs.

Would the expression /unhandsome/ be allowed to be explained as confined to the matter of business? If not, it appears to me a direct violation of truth. Such

⁵⁸⁸ Note by Smith, 21 December 1820. Chalmers, cha 5-5-59. Underlining in the original.

⁵⁸⁹ William Brown's brothers Francis and Robert (1789-1873), of Fairlie, were West India merchants. William Brown married Jane Wilsone, daughter of surgeon Dr Charles Wilsone. They had two sons and a daughter; the eldest son James married Agnes Ranken whose father had married Hanna Smith daughter of John Smith of Craigend. William Brown's grandfather on his mother's side was Willaim Euing whose daughter married Archibald Smith of Jordanhill.

as I doubt at present see how I could settle with my conscious – We must not do evil that good may come*

The injustice of the attempt to take the references from you, after their exact knowledge, and then acknowledgment of the equity of your right to them ^would^ weigh with a jury in considering the other branch of the case.

Their pressing so hard for an immediate determination perhaps proceeds from a fear of your going to Edinburgh to consult, arising from your activity with regards to Lesslie –

Would your signing this apology, and the consequent publicity you expect to the transaction not be hurtful to the D^{rs} usefulness, and will it not give rise to such statement and reports as may cause you again to be handled in the same way? You cannot hold your peace regarding the clearance of your own character, You cannot well clear it while you acknowledge he has treated you handsomely, a general apology, soundly expressed could not be objected to, but it is hard to see where the matter would end were you to submit to their present terms, unless you consult altogether to link the consideration of yourself from regard to him, and this is more than is required of us.

*Against that we have. Why do you not rather suffer wrong? & see if ye suffer for will – doing & take it particularly &c. – I don't know what to think –⁵⁹⁰

As he was deliberating on the outcome, Smith decided to relinquish his claim on the copyright of the *Scripture References*. As there was very little financial worth in the *References*, as he had admitted himself, and others in the trade, the legal costs of pursuing the claim would probably greatly outweigh the pamphlet's net worth. Additionally, the main purchaser of the *References* was the Sabbath Schools and the sale would be slow. There had already been a two-year gap between the fourth and fifth editions and with the level of animosity of Chalmers against Smith; future sales may be decidedly difficult. In fact the recent printing of the fifth edition of over 4000 copies was already quite slow, as only 580 copies sold in three months.⁵⁹¹ Smith wrote to Whyte to have him return his allocation of the edition to Chalmers & Collins. It was a year later that Chalmers & Collins published a new edition of the *Scripture References* but without an edition statement, and with a vastly increased page count of 360 pages from the previous 24.⁵⁹²

⁵⁹⁰ Brown to Smith, 21 December 1820. Chalmers, cha 5-5-52.

⁵⁹¹ 4168 copies were printed by James Hedderwick of Glasgow; 2084 copies sent to Whyte & Waugh in Edinburgh; 1504 sent to Chalmers & Collins; the remainder held with Smith & Son. Statement of copies of fifth edition of *Scripture Reference* sent from John Smith & Son to Chalmers & Collins, 23 December 1820. Chalmers, cha 5-5-67.

⁵⁹² Thomas Chalmers, *Scripture References, Designed for the Use of Parents, Teachers and Private Christians* (Glasgow: Printed by J. Starke for Chalmers & Collins, 1821).

5.5.1 The Tron Sermons Dispute

With the business of the *Scripture References* out of the way, there was now the more serious matter concerning the *Tron Sermons* and the insistence by Chalmers that Smith had purposely damaged the sales of the work by his method of discounting and so bringing the Doctor's name into disrepute; and further that during the whole affair Chalmers had behaved 'handsomely'. A letter from Charles Peebles to Smith was now asking for the nominee of his referee, plus reminding him that all the copies of *Scripture References* should be surrendered to Chalmers & Collins and Wilkie's sketch.⁵⁹³ Smith acknowledged indicating that William Brown would be his nominee and that he should meet with Chalmers's nominee Walter Wood and time should be given to contact relevant people to gather supporting evidence for their consideration.

By the end of January 1821 Smith intimated to his solicitors and to William Brown that he had amassed sufficient evidence to prove his case. To Brown he suggested how he should proceed with the letters:

M^f. Wood and your good self should prepare a missive illucidative [sic] of the print on which you were deputed to decide, and in furtherance of that object that the simplest and most direct conveyance of my feeling of it, would be to transmit to you the notes I made at the suggestion & for the satisfaction of my father on the evening of the day on which the Reference was agreed to – They are enclosed & I shall willingly sign on his behalf & my own any missive of submission that you may approve founded on them – [My?] honest desire is that you should look at the question without preference for one party or the other & I trust M^f. Wood will also entertain it, as much as possible, in the same unbiased spirit – You know that till the removal of the question lately by D^f. Chalmers that I sacrificed all the comforts of the experienced wisdom of my own friends in this case, rather preferring my own condemnation that the accusation of another, and I should be sorry indeed if any bitterness, of mine expressive of the latter transactions, should lift me from that assured posture in which I have had so much consolation, under all the distress, the varied circumstances of the toil, has subjected me to.⁵⁹⁴

A month later the arbiters formally accepted the submissions from both parties. By April it seemed the arbiters were close to a decision, but ultimately they called for more evidence. Even with this further evidence a decision was not forthcoming and so the arbiters requested Chalmers to outline his complaints. On the 3 May Chalmers produced a 32-page

⁵⁹³ Peebles to Smith, 23 December 1820. Chalmers, cha 5-5-65.

⁵⁹⁴ Draft letter from Smith to Brown, no date, but circa early February. Chalmers, cha 5-5-216.

document detailing his grievances, with Smith's response being a 44-page document on the 18 July.⁵⁹⁵

Chalmers begins by stating his assumption that all the publishers involved in promoting one work would give the same terms to trade. What he found, though, was various proposals to different booksellers and wholesalers, and, moreover, Smith and Whyte disagreed regarding those terms. Furthermore, though Whyte had tried to persuade Smith to modify their terms Smith had refused not wanting to undermine the integrity of the work by making it too cheap and so encouraging underselling. Chalmers was annoyed that none of the publishers had contacted him regarding these differences and felt that Whyte's terms were more agreeable than Smith's: 'Not one attempt at consultation with the Author as to the safety of his (Mr. Smith's) proposals by which the circulation of the work was obviously put the greater hazard than if the suggestion of his Edinburgh Correspondent [Whyte] had been adopted'.⁵⁹⁶ Chalmers then goes on in detail over the next 22 pages of the correspondence between Smith and Whyte in trying to get the trade to buy the volume, the trying out of different trade terms by Smith, and concluding that Smith was purposely being difficult in adopting those of Whyte because of being forced to have Longman as a co-publisher and having to deal with Duncan.⁵⁹⁷ Chalmers offers up an incident pointing to the untrustworthiness of his publishers occurring in 1816 regarding his sermon *Thoughts on Universal Peace* (1816 [JSID140], 2nd ed., 1816 [JSID141]) in which the calculation of monies due to the author were incorrect and instead of the £20 offered he should have received £45, which Chalmers concluded was because they were trying to maximise their profits to the detriment of the author.⁵⁹⁸ He sums up by saying:

That there are many things not wrong in respect of law and yet wrong in respect of friendship and good faith and he does affirm that the contrast between the apparent cordiality [sic] of M^r. Smith towards the Author's person as evidenced by constant intercourse with him during the Months Feb^y and March 1819 and his real unconcern about the Author's interest as evinced in a correspondence about which he kept D^r. Chalmers all the while in the profoundest secrecy so as in every way so disgusting as could not fail when it at length transpired to revolt his mind from the idea of any further connection with him and rendered the continuance of the old fellowship as much a matter

⁵⁹⁵ Chalmers's complaint is manuscript Chalmers, cha 5-5-156-172; Smith's response is in manuscript Chalmers, 5-5-175-197.

⁵⁹⁶ Chalmers, cha 5-5-156.

⁵⁹⁷ Chalmers, cha 5-5-161.

⁵⁹⁸ Chalmers, cha 5-5-163.

of moral discomfort as it would have been of imprudence and culpable disregard to his own interest.⁵⁹⁹

Chalmers then laid out his grievances:

[W]as it handsome in M^r. Smith to aggravate the disadvantage which the Author submitted to for the publishers good by raising up other impediments to the sale of an edition already made so heavy by its own magnitude.”

Was it handsome in him to turn his calculation on the popularity of the Author all to the direction of his own profit and at the expense of that very Author on whose popularity he was enriching [himself?] Was it handsome in him to turn the fancied excellence of the volume committed to his care into an instrument of hostility against him who produced it and thus to punish his employer for the very worth of the Article that he had put into his hands.

The Arbiters will not fail to perceive where the quarter is from which M^r. Smith derives all his comfort for the langour that his own misconduct had inflicted on the currency of the work [...]

Does it not look plain to the Arbiters that in all this there is the raven appetite of one who looks only to himself and to whom the profit and reputation of his employer is of no consequence whatever who would turn the very merit of our author with an instrument of oppression against him, and who would intercept all the advantage that he might otherwise have gotton [sic] had not this man stood between him and his other publisher at a distance.⁶⁰⁰

Chalmers accused Smith of calling him a rascal and villain and acting ‘dishonest and dishonourable’ and that Smith should acknowledge that in all his dealings that Chalmers acted handsomely towards him.⁶⁰¹

In concluding his complaint Chalmers sends a message to the arbiters praising his own nominee, but hinting that Smith’s nominee may not be as impartial as his own. Further, Chalmers states that in dealings with his own nominee ‘there has been a most delicate and entire reserve between them in all the matters connected with this controversy and even though he had been so pusilanimous [sic] as to concern the wish of prejudicing his Arbitrer in his favour [...] his upright and inflexible character would not have dared an experiment which he is sure would have been most disdainfully repelled’, adding ‘[h]e will not permit himself to think any thing else of the Arbitrer chosen by the opposite party [...] calling

⁵⁹⁹ Chalmers, cha 5-5-166.

⁶⁰⁰ Chalmers, cha 5-5-167.

⁶⁰¹ Chalmers, cha 5-5-168.

upon both beware lest they should diverted by any tiresome or frivolous incivilities from the great essentials of the question'.⁶⁰²

Chalmers then again returns to the topic of Smith's integrity:

M^r. Smith whose undoubted policy it assuredly was to be silent has not it would appear so conducted himself. – That irrepressible tongue which over works and never wearies has D^r. Chalmers understands again been busily employed and there is reason to fear that its foul articulations have fallen with a withering influence on the hearts of men whom D^r. Chalmers once conceived to be his friends but who may perhaps think better of it when they shall come to perceive that they have been listening all along to ex parte statements which may who require the apology of delirium to account for them.⁶⁰³

Finally, Chalmers insists that all of Smith's correspondence from 28 September 1818 to the 4 February 1819 should be submitted to the arbiters for scrutiny, but, conveniently, indicates that the arbiters should not trouble themselves 'about the Copies of Mr. Smiths letters to him' as 'the original letters in his possession [have] fallen aside and he cannot lay hands upon them'.⁶⁰⁴

Brown urged Smith against 'entering at once into the defence of his character, which the statement of the Rev^d Gentleman renders peculiarly imperative upon him, to free himself from the aspersions therein contained and vindicate to the Arbiters his own share of the transactions betwixt the parties'. Smith begins by referring to the Certificate that he had composed, a 'declaration that he never had just cause to say or to insinuate that Dr Chalmers had conducted himself otherwise than uprightly and honorably [sic] respecting the publication of the "Tron Church Sermons" or in any of his other transactions with him or with Messrs John Smith & Son'. But he goes on to say that he never 'spoke of him as a villain or some equally harsh expression, when talking of his conduct', though 'admitted that he might have used intemperate language when mentioning the conduct of Dr Chalmers, and that if he had so spoken, he was sincerely desirous to give Dr Chalmers any certificate he could give conscientiously, that might obviate the injury'.⁶⁰⁵ To say that Chalmers acted 'handsomely' he could not agree, and brings to the attention of the arbiters the correspondence Chalmers had with Longman when Smith and Whyte were proposing a

⁶⁰² Chalmers, cha 5-5-169.

⁶⁰³ Chalmers, cha 5-5-170.

⁶⁰⁴ Chalmers, cha 5-5-171.

⁶⁰⁵ Chalmers, cha 5-5-175.

volume of the *Tron sermons*, the bullying with regards the *Scripture References* and finally the letter that his father received when Smith was on a European tour. He further states:

Most men in Dr Chalmers situation imagining that they had discovered in the conduct of those, who had not merely been the publishers of many of his works but whom he had associated himself with in the most intimate terms of friendship, would have gone personally and have afforded opportunity [sic] of explanation, would have struggled against suspicion and not till such time as after hearing all that his friends could have said in their justification, would have ventured upon the experiment of such a letter, but Mr Chalmers was ~~such a stickler~~ ^not thus scrupulous^, he listened to whoever thought it worth their while to poison his ears, with reports of which Mr Smith will proceed to show the falsehood and the injustice. He neither paused nor hesitated, he never spoke to Mr Smith [...] who was on the spot or gave him the least hint of purpose, his own mind was made up from the slanders of others against more ^towards^ whom previous to this he is not sparing of expressions of the warmest friendship and regard. Yet he gave no opportunity to those friends of defence. He heard their accusation and in his own mind their fate was instantly ^and^ unhesitatingly [sic] decided. He writes to them renouncing all correspondence of business of Authorship. Now himself becoming their accuser he stigmatises them from the most sordid motives of having injured him and closes the most extraordinary letter with his own bitter regret at having ^been^ so deceived in them he thought friends.⁶⁰⁶

Smith continues indicating that Chalmers's letter to Longman accusing Smith & Son had a profound effect on their integrity and standing as booksellers, referring to a letter from Rees of Longman, who stated that 'while their house had no doubt of Messrs Smith & Son, having intended for the best, yet from D^r Chalmers representations they believed that their conduct had been such as to prevent any of the Booksellers of Glasgow purchasing copies'. Smith reported, though, that Longman had vindicated their standing as businessmen and booksellers.

Smith next addressed Chalmers's accusations against the publishers' business practices. He first brings to the attention of the arbiters and clarifying the current business practice that the 'publishers after having agreed with D^r Chalmers for the publication of the work became neither more nor less, than proprietors of it to the exclusion of the author and all others, till the edition of 7000 which they had purchased was entirely sold', and that '[t]hey had an absolute right to make the most of what he had sold, in their own way'.⁶⁰⁷ Smith

⁶⁰⁶ Chalmers, cha 5-5-178. Deletion and addition to the text in original manuscript.

⁶⁰⁷ Chalmers, cha 5-5-179.

goes on to say that ‘[i]f D^r Chalmers had charged his publishers with giving him unfavourable terms and of making a hard bargain with him by taking advantage of his ignorance, he might then have had feasible pretence for his conduct to [him]’. Smith continued that Chalmers had approached Longman without considering his friendship with either Smith or Whyte, which ultimately concluded the sale of the volume to his former publishers ‘with the addition of Mess^{rs} Longman and with specialties cramping their operation for producing it, by securing the patronage of the printing to his friends M^r Duncan and of the paper to his relative M^r Cowan’.⁶⁰⁸ Smith points out that ‘Chalmers had thus obtained for himself a most favourable sale of the first Edition of his work. – While the money was secured to him and he had no risk of Sales the publishers had to work their way, as well as they could out of the bargain they had made [...] that D^r Chalmers had no right even to enquire into the manner in which they chose to dispose of it’. That they needed to recoup their large investment to Chalmers, and would do all that they could to secure sales, including the hope that it would lead to a second edition.

For the next twenty pages Smith breaks down the intricacies and processes behind the selling of the volume; the range of discounts offered in comparison to those of *Discourses*, stating that the *Tron Sermons* were more favourable, and produced evidence to back his claim; and covered the difficulties of providing the wholesale trade at terms that would not allow them to undersell the work to unscrupulous booksellers.

As to the word ‘handsomely’ being inserted in the certificate. Smith felt he had given sufficient reasons as why Chalmers was not entitled to it. He further directs the arbiters to the ‘abusive letters to Mess^{rs} Smith & Son and the other publishers, and the insinuations they contain, were unhandsome from D^r Chalmers, because they were totally unwarranted by every circumstances in M^r Smiths conduct, especially as Chalmers had received a larger payment for the authorship than he had done with before’.⁶⁰⁹ Smith continued, ‘In light of letters that have now become available he was even less inclined to add the word and more so, may not have even written the certificate, but it was the decision of the arbiters if the word should be added’. He goes on to point out that he ‘does not wish to follow the examples of Dr. Chalmers in praising the Arbiters of his own appointment as he conceives this to be at least unusual’. In summing up Smith asserts:

⁶⁰⁸ Chalmers, cha 5-5-179.

⁶⁰⁹ Chalmers, cha 5-5-180.

He has been obliged in his own defence to assert his opinions of D^r. Chalmers freely, but he has endeavoured [sic] to preserve his paper free of any abusive language, altho it was not necessary for D^r. Chalmers argument to do so, he has not spared M^r. Smith in uncourtly phrases. This M^r. Smith is peculiarly surprised at as D^r. Chalmers in the present reference is seeking redress for language which he attributes to M^r. Smith, and yet himself in his application for justice, sullyng his own paper (and this too is the more remarkable as it bears corrections of revisal [sic] in the penmanship of his Law agent) D^r. Chalmers alledges [sic] that M^r. Smith called him a Villain and in return D^r. Chalmers in the statement applies to M^r. Smith some of the most characteristics of villany [sic], when he speaks of “the ravenous appetite”, of “one who looks only for his own interests”, “of his tampering ^with property^ committed to him”, of Mr. Smiths “purpose of mischief”, of “his active and unquenchable spirit of malignity”, “of the foul articulations of his tongue”, “of his withering influence”. These M^r. Smith conceives would pretty well balance the account, if the expressions attributed to M^r. Smith were as clearly proved as ^those^ of D^r. Chalmers said before the Arbiters.⁶¹⁰

In his final paragraph Smith indicates that his father also has an interest in the arbiter’s verdict, and refers them to Chalmers’s letter of the 26 June 1819, where Chalmers selfishly attacks

each individual of the House of M^r. Smith thinks that D^r. Chalmers ought to have had more regard for M^r. Smith Sen^r. than thus inculcate him. M^r. Smith Sen^r. had laboured to promote the personal interests of D^r. Chalmers before he had seen him – In M^r. Smith Sen^{rs}. house D^r. Chalmers partook frequently of that sate of hospitality to which D^r. Chalmers alludes in an other view and with him he associated in every character of friends strife and duty, and whenever his objections to M^r. Smith Jun^r. [Youngest] were, he might have spared the character of the house that contained his father.⁶¹¹

To round off, Smith quotes from a letter from the Rev. Doctor Ralph Wardlaw (1779-1853) as a testimony to his integrity and honesty: ‘Your conduct towards me in any little business transactions I have hitherto had with you, has been distinguished by the most business like promptitude, and the most honourable and gentlemanly liberality; of which I shall always I trust return a strong and grateful impression’.⁶¹²

⁶¹⁰ Chalmers, cha 5-5-195. Underlining and additions in the original manuscript.

⁶¹¹ Chalmers, cha 5-5-196.

⁶¹² Chalmers, cha 5-5-196. Original letter Wardlaw to Smith 22 April 1820, Chalmers, cha 5-5-7. Wardlaw had four pamphlets published through John Smith between 1818 and 1819, see below.

Did Chalmers write a response to Smith's rebuttal? Did the arbiters make a final decision on the case? Unfortunately no such evidence can be found in the Chalmers Papers. The whole affair is not mentioned in Hanna's biography of Chalmers, but is referenced by Stewart J. Brown in his *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth*, who makes the observation that 'Chalmers's ill-treatment of Smith was unjust. The pressures of mounting opposition to his Calvinist orthodoxy and social reform ideal had revived the insecurities of his youth, and he reacted with childish malice'.⁶¹³ Brown states that Chalmers was distrustful of publishers, as he felt they could alter or inhibit his works if they disagreed with them. This distrust stemmed from how his first work, *Enquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources*, in 1808 was rejected curtly by Longman when he approached them, and found that no publisher either in London or Edinburgh would commit to a contract to publish.⁶¹⁴ In his frustration, at the time, Chalmers had lashed out at his friend and artist Wilkie whom he accused of incompetence in handling the negotiations with London publishers.⁶¹⁵ Hanna ignores this whole incident in his biography not wishing to stain the reputation of his father-in-law, and this may be the reason why evidence of the conclusion was also ignored or even removed by Hanna. There does not appear to be any official records of the proceedings. Archives of the solicitors Graham & Mitchell and Nisbet & Peebles do not appear to have survived, nor is the case noted in other official bodies such as the Glasgow Sheriff Court Register of Deeds and Probative Deeds for the period. It is curious that the entry in Chalmers's diary for that period is also missing, which may suggest that the verdict was not in his favour and has been excised by Hanna at a later date.⁶¹⁶ The evidence found in the letters that Chalmers wrote, particularly the one received by John Smith's father, his writing to Longman's without consultation of his Glasgow publishers forcing them to make decisions detrimental to their usual practices, would certainly question his behaving in any way 'handsomely'. It could be concluded that Smith was vindicated of his actions in the whole business.

One of Chalmers's reasons for his resignation to preach in Glasgow in 1822, to take up the appointment of Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews, was a

⁶¹³ Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 145.

⁶¹⁴ Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth*, 35, 144.

⁶¹⁵ In letters to his brother James Chalmers who was assisting Wilkie. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland*, 40.

⁶¹⁶ There are no Journals of Chalmers after 1816 until 1822. The journal labelled "No. 6" begins 1 Jan 1822 - 31 Dec 1826 (Thomas Chalmers Papers, cha 6-19) has "March 17 - 1821" in ink on inside cover, with an annotation in pencil, 'many pages excised'.

‘want of health’, or, was he removing himself completely from the vicinity of Glasgow and the chance meeting of Smith? The criticism against Chalmers’s move resulted in an anonymous tract the *Defence of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers* (1823 [JSID867]; 2nd ed., 1823 [JSID023]) being published with both Smith and Chalmers & Collins appearing on the imprint list.⁶¹⁷ The tract was written to counter the criticisms to the reasons that Chalmers’s had given for taking up the post at St. Andrews, but Hanna appears to be sceptical: ‘the cloak of many flattering words, imputations unjust and ungenerous were cast upon Dr. Chalmers’.⁶¹⁸ The tract was popular enough to require a second edition before the year was out, followed by a printed report by the end of the year.⁶¹⁹ The imprints of John Smith and Chalmers & Collins would occur together on eight titles before the amicable break up of the Chalmers and Collins partnership in 1826 followed by a further nine with Collins.

The *Tron Sermons* were definitely not popular, the title ‘Sermons’ and its theme of the ‘depravity of human nature’, the very Calvinistic orthodoxy that Chalmers was promoting, of salvation by grace alone, was not what the public wanted to read about. The themed basis of his *Astronomical Discourses* captured the imagination of his audience, in a way they could not relate to with the *Tron Sermons*. Time did not change the public’s opinion, as when Chalmers & Collins published second edition in 1821, they also suffered the same problem of lack of sales.⁶²⁰

As the 1820s progressed it became clear that with the increasing population and the rise in numbers of poor and destitute, Chalmers’s civil economy was not providing the support he had predicted. Each parish was supposed to support the poor from contributions from those who could afford it and in doing so supported the poor in their parish; but it was found that those parishes that had large numbers of poor did not correspondingly have a large number of wealthy church supporters and though wealthier parishes could support the poorer ones, they could opt out from doing so. This issue was brought to print by Andrew Ranken, a much outspoken critic of Chalmers’s civic economy and published by Smith in 1830 as *A Letter Addressed to the Rev. Dr. Chalmers* (1830 [JSID424]). Ranken (1785-1851) was the son of the Reverend Doctor Alexander Ranken of Ramshorn Church and Euphemia Thomson; and married to Hanna (d. 1866) daughter of John Smith of Craighend in

⁶¹⁷ The second edition had an increased imprint list to the first.

⁶¹⁸ Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 2:387.

⁶¹⁹ *Report of the proceedings which took place in Glasgow, on the occasion of Dr. Chalmers’s leaving St. John’s Parish for the Moral Philosophy Chair of the University of St. Andrews Glasgow, 12th November 1823*. Ephemera, Eph J/215.

⁶²⁰ Keir, *The House of Collins*, 86.

Strathblane. Ranken also owned the Estates of Heywood in Jamaica and was Captain of the Glasgow Sharpshooters in 1823.⁶²¹ His daughter, Agnes, would marry James Brown (d. 1844) son of William Brown, Smith's nominee in the *Tron Sermon's* case. Smith though was not finished publishing works linked with Chalmers. Smith issued *Sermons, by the late Rev. John Russel, Minister of Muthil* in 1826 [JSID137], with a 'Prefatory Address and Biographical Sketch' by Thomas Chalmers; this preface was undated.⁶²² John Russel (Russell) was immortalised in Burns's poem 'The Twa Herds or The Holy Tulzie'.⁶²³

Though the two men were estranged their wider circle of acquaintances sometimes brought them together, such as for the public approbation for James Cleland, the Glasgow statistician. Cleland (1770-1840) was a long-time friend of both Chalmers and Smith, and a requisition to the citizens of Glasgow was made to mark the retirement of Cleland from the office of Superintendent of Public Works in 1834. Cleland, though originally a cabinet-maker, became a meticulous statistician and historian of Glasgow and published several books between 1816 and 1840, mainly through John Smith & Son, on behalf of the city authorities. The British Government adopted many of his innovative recording techniques. He was also responsible for standardising the weights, measures, and prices of goods in Glasgow, the building of new markets, churches, bridges and roads in response to the growing population. The requisition to Glasgow produced the Testimonial on behalf of James Cleland in August 1834, which was supported by a committee of five men, one of whom was John Smith, who was elected as Treasurer. The Testimonial was a building erected in 1836 on the corner of Buchanan and Sauchiehall Streets designed by David Hamilton (1768-1843), in which Cleland lived until the end of his life.⁶²⁴ Smith published twelve of Cleland's works between 1820 and 1840, including the description of the banquet in honour of Sir Robert Peel (1837) (see below).⁶²⁵

The two men did not meet at the meeting of the Testimonial subscribers as Chalmers had declined to appear. There is no evidence of the two men ever meeting again after their

⁶²¹ Ranken's granddaughter married Charles Gairdner of the Union Bank, see Robert S. Rait, *The History of the Union Bank of Scotland* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1930 [JSID420]).

⁶²² Not mentioned by Hanna.

⁶²³ A description of the preaching of Russel and his son can be found in George Gilfillan's *Life and Works of Robert Burns* (1886), http://www.electricscotland.com/burns/burns_mossgiel.htm.

⁶²⁴ *Testimonial to Dr. Cleland* ([Glasgow]: Printed by E. Khull, 1834); Stana Nenadic, "Cleland, James (1770–1840)," *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5594>; see also http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=203484. Hamilton was one of the original subscribers and his brother John George was a member of the Testimonial Committee.

⁶²⁵ Cleland's statistical works were criticised by Agnes Baird who pointed out many errors. Two of her pamphlets were in Smith's library, BG33-g.7.

confrontation over the *Tron Sermons*. Smith also declined to side with Chalmers regarding the subject of patronage, though his position may have been informed by his experience of legal processes having been a baillie. Part II investigates Smith's contribution to the Disruption literature.

PART II

5.6 Introduction

There was one event that occurred during the nineteenth-century that had serious consequences to the Church of Scotland, the Disruption. This was probably one of the few times that it stirred many people, ministers, solicitors and land owners to commit themselves to print about their beliefs and views. It was a situation that created divides between congregations and their ministers. Though there was a vast number of pamphlets and other printed matter issued regarding the arguments of the Disruption, only a very small portion of it was linked to John Smith. It is clear from pamphlets that many of the arguments were no more than veiled threats, bullying and confused theology. It is not my intention to discuss the various arguments but to show how Smith was involved either indirectly or directly due to knowing the authors. It can be seen that Smith sided with the Established Church, as did his cousin James Smith of Jordanhill, who wrote *Letters to an English Peer on the Present State of the Church of Scotland* (1843).⁶²⁶ There are two variants of this title: one with John Smith & Son as the primary publisher [JSID935], the other with James Nisbet & Co. of London as the primary publisher [JSID563], with both variants having Blackwood as a secondary publisher. The different places of publication identify the primary intended audience and the respective markets; the Glasgow imprint appealing to the Scottish reader, and the London to the English. Nisbet was one of many Scots who founded publishing firms in London. Born in Kelso in 1785 (d. 1854), he moved to London in 1803 and started his business in 1809 or 1810. He published mainly theological works, and ran a theological circulating library and reading room. He was a highly respected member of the church community and contributed to the building of

⁶²⁶ Four of James Smith's essays were collected together, including the two *Letters* (1841 and 1843) in a volume labelled "Mr Smith of Jordanhill's Essays" (JSAuc801) acquired by William Euing (1788-1874) from Smith's auction, which was bequeathed to the University of Glasgow on Euing's death and now part of the Euing Collection (Sp Coll BD3-e.13). Euing's daughter Isobel married Archibald Smith of Jordanhill.

churches in London and Scotland.⁶²⁷ Twenty-five titles published between 1820 and 1843 contain both the Smith and Nisbet imprints, 17 of those written by William Cuninghame of Lainshaw, writer on prophecy. Cuninghame would unwittingly spark the move towards the Disruption through the Stewarton Case.

5.7 Patronage and Disruption

During the Reformation and the redistribution of the patrimony the abolishment of patronage was set out in the *First Book of Discipline* (1560) and the *Second Book of Discipline* (1578), which called for ministers to be elected by the people. The defence of patronage by those with vested interests prevented the patronage parts from being ratified by Civil Law.⁶²⁸ In the eighteenth-century *The Church Patronage (Scotland) Act 1711* or *Patronage Act* was an Act of Parliament that returned the role of the choice of parish ministers to the landed gentry and other patrons and to present suitable candidates for office. Additionally, patrons had to swear allegiance to the House of Hanover, which excluded those not adhering to Presbyterian views. The Church of Scotland reluctantly agreed to the restoration of patronage though it submitted frequent protests that it was contrary to the Treaty of Union and asking for its repeal.⁶²⁹ Patrons, during the eighteenth-century, insisted on their rights to present ministers, which in several cases caused resistance from their congregations. Further tensions arose leading to Secession in 1733 led by Ebenezer Erskine. As the Moderates pushed their doctrine of subordination of judicatories, it caused a further Secession leading to the formation of the Relief Church in 1761 by Thomas Gillespie.

Others who had remained in the Established Church began to coalesce into an opposing group, or school, known as the Popular Party, named after its view of electing ministers by popular vote. John MacIntosh in his book on the Popular Party in the eighteenth-century identifies issues that dominated the publications of Popular Party ministers. Topics such as ‘doctrine, spiritual experience and devotion, biblical exposition, ecclesiastical issues, political life, the Christian life, civil and religious liberty, the relationship between the

⁶²⁷ J. A. Wallace, *Lessons from the Life of the Late James Nisbet, Publisher, London* (Edinburgh: Johnstone, Hunter & Co.; et al., 1867), 59; Frank Arthur Mumby, *Publishing and Bookselling* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 311.

⁶²⁸ Church of Scotland, *The Books of Discipline, and of Common Order* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing & Publishing Company; Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1836 [JSID683]), 123.

⁶²⁹ *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 649.

individual Christian and the State, and those volumes published as “sermons”.⁶³⁰ By far the greatest number of publications dealt with ‘ecclesiastical issues’, which included not only patronage, but those dealing with missionary work, ‘Popery’, religious education, and public worship; but by far the most common were those dealing with patronage. On the other hand, publications supporting the Moderates, tended to be more towards literary and agricultural works, publishing little in the area of ‘ecclesiastical issues’.⁶³¹ But divisions were not clear cut: the Moderate Thomas Somerville (1741-1830) of Jedburgh, would side with the Popular Party at the General Assembly when voting on patronage issues.⁶³²

Macintosh shows that, geographically, the Popular Party was widely distributed throughout Scotland; the Moderates tended to coalesce towards the east and dominated the General Assembly, and because of this much of the Church history debates focused on discussion raised in the Assembly.⁶³³ This is further complicated by the rise of Evangelicalism in the 1790s, which, as MacIntosh has pointed out, has become synonymous with the Popular viewpoint in later histories of the Church of Scotland. The rise of Evangelicalism was part of a wider movement in the later part of the eighteenth-century affecting not only England but also North America. Though many Evangelical ministers were associated with the Popular Party, not every minister was Evangelical. The new clergymen entering the Church in this period had been influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment ideas that had permeated the university system plus that of the English Evangelical awakening.⁶³⁴

When the Popular party became the dominating presence at the General Assembly of 1834, the subject of patronage became the major issue. The introduction of the *Veto Act*, by Lord Aberdeen, addressed this by allowing the congregation and the heads of the households to object to the presentation of a candidate by a patron; this was called the ‘non-intrusion principle’. It caused further issues when it tried to be enforced. The patron whose candidate was rejected took the case to the House of Lords who ruled that the *Veto Act* was *ultra vires*, that the General Assembly had overstepped its remit, but they remained committed to supporting it.

⁶³⁰ John R. McIntosh, “The Popular Party in the Church of Scotland, 1740-1800” (PhD Thesis, The University of Glasgow, 1989), 24.

⁶³¹ McIntosh, “The Popular Party in the Church of Scotland”, 25.

⁶³² McIntosh, “The Popular Party in the Church of Scotland”, 180; yet Somerville’s appointment to Jedburgh was opposed by the congregation: *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 787.

⁶³³ McIntosh, “The Popular Party in the Church of Scotland”, 25 and 238.

⁶³⁴ Stewart J. Brown, “Religion in Scotland”, in *A Companion to Eighteenth Century Britain*, ed. G. M. Dickinson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 267.

Though many cases were brought to the Assembly, three remain as the most notable during the 1830s. The first challenge, known as the Auchterarder case, was brought to the court in 1834. The parishioners of Auchterarder rejected the proposed Rev. Robert Young as their minister. Young took his case to the High Court, which ruled against the *Veto Act*, which effectively created a link between the Church and the State. The second was the Stewarton case. In 1839 the ‘Auld Licht’ Burghers had been welcomed back to the Church and one of their new charges was established in Stewarton, a small town in Ayrshire. The Presbytery of Irvine accepted the new body, building a new church and elected the their minister, James Cleland, a seat and the right to vote in the court, exercising the *Chapels Act*. Using his rights as patron of the parish, William Cuninghame (1775-1849) of Lainshaw, and other heritors, challenged the right of the Presbytery to build a new church and further to appoint a minister, claiming that new parishes could only be created by the Court of Teinds (Court of Session). Cuninghame took the action through the courts and was successful. The Presbytery contested the decision. The matter was considered of such grave importance, as it invoked both the *Veto* and *Chapel Acts*, that it was presented to the whole Court of Session. The resulting ruling, in January 1843, in favour of Cuninghame of eight votes to five, effectively declared that the *Chapels Act* was illegal, and that the Church had no right to create parishes or admit ministers to its courts without first seeking approval through the civil courts. The judgment was ‘seen as the last milestone on the road to the Disruption’.⁶³⁵

Eventually the whole matter came to a head with the Presbytery of Strathbogie who were ordered not to challenge the trial of a candidate that had been vetoed. Though the Presbytery followed the instructions of the Assembly, the Court of Session declared that it was illegal. When it went to the vote, the Presbytery admitted the candidate with a majority of seven; the Assembly subsequently removed from power those seven. A minority in the Assembly considered the deposition void. Parliament insisted that the fitness of the presentees was the final judge of the Church of Scotland, but the non-intrusionists disagreed. The following decade became known as the ‘Ten Years’ Conflict’ where the legal debates and political squabbling continued about the role of the Church and the State. The details of the case were, as James Smith stated, ‘difficult of a Scotsman, and almost impossible for an Englishman to comprehend’.⁶³⁶ The whole affair eventually concluded with the defeat of the non-intrusionists in 1839 by the House of Lords, which declared the actions illegal.

⁶³⁵ *Dictionary of Scottish Church History*, 796. No material related to the *Acts* can be found in Smith’s library.

⁶³⁶ Smith, *Letters to an English Peer*, 5.

In 1842 Evangelicals presented to the General Assembly the Claim of Right: *Claim, Declaration, and Protest, Anent the Encroachments of the Court of Session, General Assembly 1842 – Act XIX*, which demanded the acknowledgement from the Government of the spiritual independence of the Church from the State. In response *Claim, Declaration, and Protest, of the General Assembly of 1842* was published refuting the claim stating it was a ‘misrepresentation of the mutual bearing’ of the Church and the State.⁶³⁷ The Peel Government, however, considered the whole process of non-intrusion insignificant and rejected the Claim. This, in turn, had deeper political ramifications, particularly in Glasgow. The Government’s support for the Church of Scotland’s church expansion, as detailed in the *Veto and Chapel Acts* of 1834, helped turn many evangelicals to the Conservatives from their support of the Whigs; the Whigs generally being the favoured party of the radicals and seceders. The Conservative rejection of the Claim saw them having to endure the intense animosity of the Free Church until the 1890s.⁶³⁸

The Middle Party of Evangelical ministers that emerged in 1842 were determined to find a way to prevent the church from splitting. This Party itself was small and had little influence on the majority of the Popular party, which had already begun preparations for the Disruption by late 1842.

What was known as the Ten Year Conflict ended on the 18 May 1843 when Dr David Welsh walked out the General Assembly with 121 ministers and 73 elders to set up a new Assembly presided over by Thomas Chalmers as the first Moderator. Over forty percent of the Church of Scotland ministers had left the Established Church of Scotland to form the Free Church of Scotland. The spiritual crisis caused by the Disruption had damaging consequences for both the Church and for Scotland, but also for the populace that were constantly bombarded with propaganda pamphlets from both sides of the cause. It is evident in the pamphlet war that both sides were accusing the other of intimidation, falsifying spiritual meanings, and threats. John Smith took part, albeit a very small part, in supporting the Established Church side of the wrangling.

5.8 John Smith’s Disruption Publications

How did Smith view the Disruption? Unfortunately we are unable to know, as there are no personal accounts by Smith of his views. Within his library he collected material related to

⁶³⁷ *Claim, Declaration, and Protest* (Edinburgh: Myles MacPhail, 1846 [IDJS910]), 3.

⁶³⁸ John F. McCaffrey, “Political Issues and Developments,” in Glasgow, Volume 2: 1830 to 1912, vol. 2, ed. W. Hamish Fraser, and Maver, Irene (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 195.

the issues of patronage and the Disruption. Smith's Auction Catalogue contained *A Collection of the Acts of Parliament relating to Patronage* (Glasgow, 1772), the purpose of which was to 'assist the members of the Church of Scotland in forming a just Opinion of that liberty they enjoy'.⁶³⁹ From other pamphlets in the Smith Collection it can be seen that he attached his imprint to those in favour of the Established Church. One particular volume of pamphlets known as 'Disruption Pamphlets' was catalogued as BG33-g.11 is now missing from the Smith Collection. The missing pamphlets are listed in Table 5.2.⁶⁴⁰

Table 5.2: List of pamphlets from the missing Smith Collection volume BG33-g.11.

Author	Title
	<i>The speeches delivered at the public meeting held in Edinburgh on 2nd June 1841 to express sympathy with the Ministers of Strathbogie, taken in shorthand by Mr. Simon Macgregor.</i> 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Printed by Peter Brown, 1841). 28pp.
	<i>Statement for the Presbytery of Strathbogie and for the Minority of the late General Assembly.</i> (Edinburgh: Printed by Peter Brown, 1841). 16pp.
Morren, N.	<i>My Church Politics: in letters to my people with special reference to the present position of the Church of Scotland in its relation to the State.</i> (Greenock: Published by A. M'Iver, 1842). 64pp.
Ranken, Andrew	<i>Outline of the Scriptural Argument for Civil Supremacy even in things Spiritual showing the anti-scriptural position of the present majority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.</i> (Glasgow: Printed by James Hedderwick & Son. 1841). 12pp.
	<i>Pastoral letter from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the people under their charge in the present circumstances of the Church.</i> (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1843). 8pp.
[Lockhart, Laurence]	<i>Fact, not Falsehoods or a plain defence of the Church of Scotland suited to the times by a Parish Minister.</i> (Edinburgh: Myles MacPhail; London: John Murray; Glasgow: Smith & Son, and J. McLeod, 1845). 52pp. [JSID027]
	<i>The Spirit of the Secession illustrated by the speeches of Seceders by a member of the Established Church,</i> ([Edinburgh]: n.p., 1843). 8pp.
	<i>Dr Cunningham and Dr Bryce on the "Sirca Sacra" power of the Civil Magistrate,</i> [n.p., 1843]. 14pp.
	<i>Property in the Free Church</i> [from the Glasgow Courier] [c1843]. 7 leaves.

⁶³⁹ *Collection of the Acts of Parliament Relating to Patronage, and the Settlement of Vacant Parishes* (Glasgow: Printed by Daniel Reid, 1772), 2. [JSAuc026].

⁶⁴⁰ The list of pamphlets was established from the Sheaf folders of the Smith Collection, Special Collections, GUL.

	[Correspondence: Church of Scotland] [letter pasted onto pages. n.d. 3 leaves.
Lockhart, Laurence	<i>Address to the people of Inchinnan on the present troubles of the Church, delivered in the parish school-house, on Thursday, the 4th of May, 1843.</i> (Paisley & Greenock: Murray & Stewart; Glasgow: J. Smith & Son; Edinburgh & London: W. Blackwood & Son, 1843). 16pp. [JSID312]
Lockhart, Laurence	<i>Address to the people of Inchinnan on the present troubles of the Church, delivered in the parish school-house, on Thursday, the 4th of May, 1843.</i> 5th ed. (Paisley & Greenock: Murray & Stewart; Glasgow: J. Smith & Son; Edinburgh & London: W. Blackwood & Son, 1843). 16pp. [JSID314]
Sym, Andrew	<i>Uzziah and Hezekiah: A discourse on the power of civil magistrates in matters of religion.</i> 2nd ed. (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; Edinburgh & London: W. Blackwood & Son. 1843). 32pp. [JSID578]
	<i>An address to the Christian people of Scotland, issued by appointment of the Convocation of Ministers held at Edinburgh, Nov. 1842</i> ([Glasgow]: n.p., 1842). 16pp.
	<i>Declaration by the Committee of the Constitutional Party in the Church of Scotland, in reference to the present state of ecclesiastical controversy in the Church and its relations to the Government and Constitution of the country.</i> (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Goldie & Co., 1843). 18pp.
	<i>The kernel of the controversy, or the Church Question brought to a point by X.Y.Z.</i> (Edinburgh: Myles MacPhail, 1843). 16pp.
	<i>Hints to Strolling Parsons and a word or two respectfully addressed to the people of New Kilpatrick by one of themselves.</i> 2nd ed. (Glasgow: Robert Stuart, 1843). 16pp.
	<i>Memorial submitted to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Baronet, and other members of Her Majesty's Government adopted by a meeting of ministers of the Church of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh: J. Johnstone, 1842). 16pp.
Aitchison, David	<i>The truth with boldness: Being strictures on two lectures on prelacy by the Rev. Robert Burns.</i> (Glasgow: Thomas Murray; Paisley: Murray & Stewart, 1841). 48pp.
	<i>Commentary to the First, Second and Third Reports for sites (Scotland).</i> [Reprinted from MacPhail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal]. n.d. 44pp.
Champneys, Charles John	<i>A few letters of invitation to a reunion with the Church, addressed to an influential member of St. Jude's Congregation, Glasgow.</i> (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; Edinburgh: R. Grant & Son, 1848). 16pp. [JSID147]
	<i>Letter I: To the Members of the Free Church of Scotland.</i> [1843]. 8pp.

Several of the pamphlets can be found in other collections and those with the Smith imprint in the table have been identified. The two pieces in the missing volume relating to the Free Church are in fact arguments against the Free Church.

Publishers and booksellers who supported the Established or the Free Church can be readily identified, such as William Collins of Glasgow and John Johnstone of Edinburgh, supporting the Free Church, and published accordingly; and those for the Established Church published by John Smith and others. One such firm supporting the Established Church was the Edinburgh bookseller/publisher Myles MacPhail. The Smith imprint occurs on 17 of MacPhail's Disruption pamphlets, 13 of which were published in 1844 during the pamphlet debate. The business relationship between the two men is unknown as there is no existing archive, but the publishing agreement did not cover every work related to the Disruption MacPhail issued at this time, such as *A Full and Impact Report of the Important Debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Fox Maule's Motion Regarding the Church of Scotland* (1843), where John M'Leod was the Glasgow imprint; similarly with the debate report from the House of Lords. It may indicate that Smith could opt out of publications when he felt it was necessary. MacPhail was a prolific publisher producing a vast number of very small pamphlets around this time, but also *MacPhail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal and Literary Review* from 1845.⁶⁴¹ Smith's business arrangements with MacPhail also included the Edinburgh Printing Company.

The Edinburgh Printing Company saw the need for those in the debate to have suitable reference material and issued some of the founding texts of the Church of Scotland. The *Books of Discipline, and of Common Order; The Directory of Family Worship; The Form of Process; And the Order of Election of Superintendents, Ministers, Elders, and Deacons*, was published in 1836 [JSID683], followed by *A Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, issued in two volumes between 1837 and 1840 [JSID149], gave people the necessary legal references. The Edinburgh Printing Company issued them under the Edinburgh Printing & Publishing Company imprint, co-published with John Smith & Son and Maurice Ogle in Glasgow and West of Scotland.

The Edinburgh Printing & Publishing Company began about 1834, but their first connection with Smith was through the pamphlet *The Speech of Sir Robert Peel, Bart. in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, July 21, 1835, in Support of His Amendment on the Irish Church Bill in 1835* [JSID395]. This was jointly issued with William Blackwood of Edinburgh. Subsequently, 39 titles were linked with John Smith & Son, 23 of those covered areas of religious biographies, church law, church history and others related to the

⁶⁴¹ The Journal is not present in the Smith Collection, but there was a *Commentary to the First, Second and Third Reports for Sites (Scotland)*, which was reprinted from the Journal in the missing volume BG33-g.11.

patronage debate. The manager of the Edinburgh Printing & Publishing Company between 1844 and 1847 was John MacPhail and for part of this time the Company operated from 12 South St David Street. Next door, at Number 11, was Myles (Miles) MacPhail bookseller who began around 1843. At this time Myles MacPhail took an active part in selling pamphlets related to patronage, either with or without co-publishers. At some point Robert Pitcairn (1793-1855), Writer to the Signet and long time member of the Maitland Club was head of the firm, and this may be the reason for the Edinburgh Printing Company being the Maitland Club printers.⁶⁴² From 1843, John Smith & Son was a regular co-publisher. The terms of the agreement are not known, but from the advertising pages at the rear of many pamphlets, many are found linked with Smith. Where Smith's imprint was not shown on the title page, the titles appear together with others that share the imprint; so one can assume that Smith was also involved in those. William MacPhail, working from 2 Greenside Place in Edinburgh, printed MacPhail's pamphlets. The pamphlets were written in response to many of those issued by the Free Church, some arguing specific points. Certainly there was concern that the misinformation and propaganda were affecting people that had still to make a decision regarding which church to follow.

Such a situation occurred with Norman MacLeod, minister of Loudoun in Ayrshire, where a delegation of Free Ministers visited and tried to persuade his congregation to leave. MacLeod, at the request of Thomas Chalmers had been ordained in 1838, and MacLeod, though a supporter of Chalmers, felt that breaking away from the Established Church was detrimental to the stability of the Church. The connection with John Smith was possibly through the Peel Club in which MacLeod was president, and possibly through his first public appearance at the Peel Banquet, an occasion to celebrate Sir Robert Peel becoming the Lord Rector of the University in 1836, thus breaking the Whig domination. At the banquet Norman MacLeod gave his first public address, where he also indicated that he was forming a 'Peel Club'.⁶⁴³ Smith would publish the Club's Proceedings for the Session 1836-1837 (1837 [JSID396]).⁶⁴⁴ At the Banquet, John Smith, Youngest, was a Steward, his cousin James Smith of Jordanhill was on the Committee; another cousin William Smith of Carbeth Guthrie, a former Lord Provost of Glasgow, was a Croupier; and Archibald Smith of Jordanhill was also present. MacLeod at this time was a divinity student.

⁶⁴² <http://www.electricscotland.com/history/nation/pitcairn.htm>. It has proved elusive to find exactly when he was head of the firm. Edinburgh Printing Company to John Smith, 4 January 1843 Letter 2, Maitland Club Correspondence, MSGen308.

⁶⁴³ James Cleland, *Description of the Banquet Given* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1837 [JSID162]), 102.

⁶⁴⁴ The Club is now the Glasgow University Conservative & Unionist Association.

MacLeod successfully argued the points in favour of the Established Church and his congregation remained with the Established Church. This inspired him to print his arguments in a form suitable for the ‘common man’. This was a short 16-page pamphlet, or ‘brochure’, as he termed it, in the form of a dialogue in colloquial Scots, entitled a *Crack About the Kirk for Kintra Times*. This proved to be a very successful move. The first *Crack* went through eight editions, the second *Crack* went through four editions, and the third reached five editions, each edition being a thousand copies.⁶⁴⁵ The second *Crack* lessened the use of colloquial Scots, for instance, the word ‘Aboot’ was now ‘About’. The third *Crack* expanded the title to *A Third Crack About the Kirk for Kintra Times: or Questions for the Times, answered by Modern Reformers*. These changes represented that the dialogue was now between ministers and educated individuals; and this ultimately led to lower sales and fewer editions being produced than the first. The price remained at three pence each or 18 shillings for 100 for all versions, and was published through John Smith & Son in Glasgow and William Blackwood in Edinburgh. Additionally, Blackwood’s London office distributed the pamphlet south of the border. It was issued with a drop title, the imprints appearing on the final page. The *Third Crack* noted that ‘complete copies of the three Cracks, which may be had stitched together, price Ninepence’, but no copies in this state have been located.

MacLeod expressed his particular method in which he argued against those of the Disruption, described in a letter in 1845, when he was part of deputation sent by the Church of Scotland to counter that of the Free Church in Canada. He explained, ‘I avoid all personalities, all attacks, and give full credit to my opponents; and I think I have not said a word which I would not say if these opponents were my best friends, and were sitting beside me’.⁶⁴⁶ This is how MacLeod wrote the *Cracks*. The first *Crack* presented the arguments from the point of view of the common man. The second argued about the Head of the Church from an informed position of a minister of the Established Church. The *Third Crack* covered the accusation that the Established Church supported Erastianism, that civil law is the basis of church matters, to which MacLeod argued that nothing had changed constitutionally. Only one work in Smith’s library refers specifically to Erastianism, that is, the anonymous tract *Scotland’s Glory and Her Shame*.⁶⁴⁷ This was an

⁶⁴⁵ Donald MacLeod, *Memoir of Norman Macleod* (London: Daldy, Isbister & Co., 1876), 1:205.

⁶⁴⁶ MacLeod, *Memoir of Norman Macleod*, 1:249.

⁶⁴⁷ *Scotland’s Glory and Her Shame; Being a Brief Historical Account of Her Glory, by Presbytery So Early Brought into Our Land; and Her Deep Revolt, First, to Prelacy, and Then Landed in Dark Popery; as Also, Her Recovery Again at Our Reformation: And Likewise, Some of Her Ups and Downs until the Revolution, at Which Time She Fell into the Foul Quagmire of Erastianism Where She Lies All*

anti-Jacobite tract but was also anti-unionist, first published in Edinburgh in 1745 and went through several editions; the version in Smith's library was in verse.⁶⁴⁸ MacLeod presented the argument through a questioner called 'Querist', with responses through established figures from both sides of the debate, including Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Robert Buchanan, Dr. Candlish, Dr. Brown, Dr. Paterson and others. As the reader progresses through the tracts MacLeod aimed to provide a greater understanding of the complex arguments, accusations and confusion created by the pamphlet war. MacLeod ultimately concluded the *Third Crack*: 'We have only to express the hope, that in our humble 'Cracks' upon this important subject, we have not allowed what was intended for good humour, to degenerate at any time into any thing like unbecoming levity – and that in shooting an arrow against an opinion, we have not by mistake wounded a brother'.⁶⁴⁹

Another author supported was Laurence Lockhart (1796-1876) who was known to John Smith through Lockhart's half-brother John Gibson Lockhart. Gibson Lockhart was an old friend of Smith, and it was through him that both Gibson Lockhart and Sir Walter Scott had been presented for membership of the Maitland Club (see Chapter 4). Smith assisted in the publication of his *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk* in 1819, and Lockhart referred to Smith and himself riding with Chalmers in Lanark:

This excursion was made in company with a most agreeable and intelligent young gentleman, Mr J__ S__, one of the chief booksellers of this town, who is the publisher, and indeed the friend of Dr C__.⁶⁵⁰

Laurence Lockhart was the minister of Inchinnan, and he wrote several pamphlets concerning what he saw as misinformation perpetuated by the supporters of the Free Church. His work *Facts for the Times*, published by Murray & Stewart of Paisley and John Smith in August of 1843, specifically referred to the panic that was being vocalised by the Free Church regarding the forcing of a presentee on a congregation:

Some of the Seceders, annoyed, it would seem, by the popularity of recent settlements, are at pains to describe the *call* as a mere *farce*, and that the

Besmear'd to This Very Day, By a Well-wisher of the Good Old Cause (Glasgow: Printed by D. MacKenzie, 1816) [JSAuc006].

⁶⁴⁸ Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland* (London: Routledge, 1991), 65.

⁶⁴⁹ Norman MacLeod, *A Third Crack About the Kirk* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, [1843] [JSID556]), 15.

⁶⁵⁰ J. G. Lockhart, *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk*, 2nd ed. [i.e. first] (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; [...] Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1819 [JSID609]), 3:287. The 'third edition', published the same year did not have Smith's imprint, and replaced the dashes with the names.

Church, now that the darling Veto is at an end, has no alternative, when a parish reclaims, but to force the presentee upon it. To this the answer is easily given. When a parish reclaims, the reasons *why* may surely be specified. In deliberating upon the same, and in reviewing the whole circumstances of the parish, so as to arrive at a judgment tending to edification and peace, it is not only competent for the Church Courts, but their bounden duty, to attach weight and importance to the number of names appended to the call. This is competent under the constitution of the Church, as revived and explained by the measure of that maligned, but pious and patriotic Presbyterian peer, the Earl of Aberdeen.⁶⁵¹

This sermon was on the ‘deceitfulness of the heart’, and though it was not about the current events in the Church, it would have been easily assumed by the congregation that it was. His other work, *Facts not Falsehoods*, was issued anonymously in 1845 in two instances, one of 52 pages, the other with 56 with a different imprint list, but both containing the John Smith & Son imprint. This was Lockhart’s attempt to counter the

efforts of those who make no secret of aiming at the destruction of the Church by means of the Press and otherwise, are most wearied, and that sometimes the minds of the worthy adherents of the Establishment have been perplexed, by astounding statements, to which the answer is not always to hand.⁶⁵²

Lockhart’s *Address to the People of Inchinnan* in 1843 [JSID312] was very popular, reaching five editions in the same year. Another multi-edition work was his *An Answer to the Protest of the Free Church* printed by William MacPhail in 1846 [JSID911]. In the fourth edition of 1853 [JSID549] MacPhail had been replaced by William Blackwood.⁶⁵³ The pamphlet was originally written to refute the assertion that the majority of the members of the General Assembly had signed the *Protest by the Commissioners to the General Assembly Appointed to Meet on 18th May 1843* and of the various points raised in the dispute.⁶⁵⁴ The new edition of the *Answer* was to reiterate Lockhart’s points now that much of the ‘agitation and prejudices’ had given way to meaningful discussion, and that

⁶⁵¹ Laurence Lockhart, *Facts for the Times* (Paisley & Greenock: Murray & Stewart; Glasgow: John Smith & Son; et al., 1843 [JSID550]), 2.

⁶⁵² [Laurence Lockhart], *Facts, Not Falsehoods* (Edinburgh: Myles MacPhail; Glasgow: Smith & Son; et al., 1845 [JSID027]), v. The copy, in author’s collection, is to his brother William Lockhart, MP for Lanark.

⁶⁵³ Curiously a search through WordCat has no library with copies identified as second or third editions. It could be the term ‘edition’ here refers to the number of copies printed in each run as the term ‘Second Thousand’ in the top right corner of the title page is replaced with ‘Fourth Edition’ in the 1853 copy.

⁶⁵⁴ *The Subordinate Standards and Other Authoritative Documents of the Free Church of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1851), 443.

various decisions by the Church Courts and House of Lords resolved some issues.⁶⁵⁵ The proceeds of any profits (if any) were to be given to the ‘Endowment Scheme’.⁶⁵⁶

In the last decade of Smith’s life, 63 religious titles out of 126 in total were published, with the majority dealing with the Disruption. Following the decade after Smith’s death, John Smith & Son only issued 38 titles, five of which were religious. One curious publication linked the later John Smith & Son with the printing clubs: *The Origines Parochiales Scotiae: The Antiquities Ecclesiastical and Territorial of the Parishes of Scotland* [JSID994] edited by Cosmo Innes (1798-1874). It was issued in three volumes between 1851 and 1855 for the Bannatyne Club but due to spiraling costs of production, and difficulty in obtaining subscriptions from the Bannatyne members, only 130 copies were published.⁶⁵⁷ In the latter half of the nineteenth-century John Knox assumed responsibility for John Smith & Son, but his interests were in science, technology and law and the firm’s publications reflected this.

⁶⁵⁵ Laurence Lockhart, *An Answer to the Protest of the Free Church*, 4th ed. (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1853 [JSID549]), i-iii.

⁶⁵⁶ The Endowment Scheme, through the work of convener James Robertson (1803-1860), raised £500,000 for the building of Chapels of Ease. Lionel Alexander Ritchie, “Robertson, James (1803–1860),” *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23799>.

⁶⁵⁷ Richard Marsden, *Cosmo Innes and the Defence of Scotland's Past c.1825-1875* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 299. Club membership was 89 plus 10 institutional libraries.

Chapter 6 Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis, a response to Darnton's challenge that 'more work needs to be done on the bookseller as a cultural agent', offers as a case study the career of the early nineteenth-century Glasgow bookseller John Smith, Youngest, and his company John Smith & Son.⁶⁵⁸ The research demonstrates the important influence John Smith exercised on contemporary Scottish culture as a middleman between the supply and conveyer of print to the readers of Glasgow and further afield; the thesis also demonstrates that Smith's life and work was underpinned by his Presbyterian religious faith.

Smith's family life was dominated by his faith; it was ever-present in his home, when he went to school, and then university. It was the evangelical Presbyterianism of the Popular party that influenced him, as opposed to that of the Moderates. Under the influence of his family and teachers there was an emphasis on spiritual experience, on devotion, and on the reading of sermons, with the Church of Scotland as the true vehicle of Christian faith. Institutional concerns were to do with current issues of church patronage, and a fear of Catholicism. Interwoven with this central concern were the commercial and mercantile interests of the extended Smith family, which in social terms linked the elite merchant class with the landed gentry of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Glasgow.

In several respects Smith, Youngest's position was very unusual. He was a merchant when booksellers were generally considered tradesmen; he had personal wealth giving him time to pursue gentlemanly research; and he had the time to devote to supporting many causes. His position gave him the influential contacts that would comfortably lead him into important roles as councillor and merchant baillie, and his positions on various welfare, social, and educational bodies.

The influence of Smith's faith is not only found in his business practices, but also in his personal interests. His pursuit of ecclesiastical history, and of the study of antiquarian documents, heraldry and relics, was the typical activity at the time for a man of means and standing. Smith's position as secretary to the Maitland Club exemplified his abilities as a communicator and organiser, guiding the Club members to publish over 60 titles during his tenure. His religious and antiquarian interests additionally connected him to several other similar clubs and societies in Scotland, England and Ireland. As recognition of his business

⁶⁵⁸ Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?," *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 78.

and personal pursuits, and his support of the many charities in the city, it was fitting that the University of Glasgow should confer on him a Doctor of Laws in 1840. In return, Smith bequeathed part of his large library of pamphlets, tracts and ephemera to the University, plus rare and limited works from the many historic printing clubs of which he was a member.

On his death the obituaries commented on his judiciousness, his charity, and enterprising character. He was clearly considered by his fellows to be outstandingly trustworthy. He was acknowledged in his publishing of Thomas Chalmers's *Astronomical Discourses*, his correspondence with Sir Walter Scott, the poet Thomas Campbell, and many other notable literary figures. Not only that, his business partner, David Watson (1808-1882), named his first-born son John Smith (1835-1888) in the expectation of the latter entering the business. All such responses indicate that the respect for John Smith, Youngest, was not just polite rhetoric, but a genuine emotion. It is thus a matter for regret that comparatively little is known of him or of his influence today, even though his name still lives on in the booksellers John Smith's, now the oldest continuously trading independent bookshop in the world, with a history of over 260 years.

The research questions to be addressed in this thesis were as follows: Firstly, what role and influence did John Smith, Youngest, play as a cultural agent, in Darnton's (1982) terms, in contributing to, and development of, the religious book trade of the period? Secondly, how much did John Smith's religious faith reflect the social milieu of his period? And thirdly, how did John Smith's religious faith inform his engagement with the Scottish book trade? The simple answers to these questions, demonstrated by this thesis, are: very much, and deeply.

The databases created allow for quantifiable analysis of the type of books with which Smith primarily published and show the dominance of works of religion, sermons and such like. Similarly, the databases highlighted the importance of Presbyterian topics and ecclesiastical history in Smith's personal library. In Smith's library over 125 institutions and organisations can be identified that Smith took an interest or active part in; 42 of these were religious in operation. These databases and the existing archives provide support and evidence for the first research question, what role and influence did John Smith, Youngest, play as a cultural agent, in Darnton's (1982) terms, in contributing to, and development of, the religious book trade of the period?

The family influences described in Chapter 3 demonstrate the religious focus of the firm's publishing from the outset of his bookselling business in 1751, when he issued a pamphlet of sermons by George Whitefield (1714-1770) Methodist preacher and evangelist. Several other sermons were published, including one in response to the Catholic emancipation riots of 1778, *The Doctrine of Toleration Applied to the Present Times* by William Porteous calling for tolerance and understanding; a year later, somewhat paradoxically it might be thought, Smith Senior published an emblematical print featuring 'The Whore, Beast, Pope, Devil, &c'. Some of this chapter, therefore, by addressing the religious tradition within which Smith was brought up, goes towards answering the research question: how much did John Smith's religious faith reflect the social milieu of his period?

Chapter 4 builds on the previous chapter with a view to giving a further account of John Smith, Youngest's cultural formation. His schooling was based around the Latin Classics, with a view to providing sound morals and enlightenment of Biblical passages; the Bible, together with George Buchanan's *Psalms*, formed the mainstay of religious instruction. His membership of the Maitland Club was of a piece; it arose at the beginning of the era of the literary and antiquarian printing clubs, and Smith became a member of those that either had a distinct ecclesiastical agenda, such as the Wodrow Society or were formed in honour of a divine, such as the Percy Society. The publications of these societies and clubs greatly enhanced his personal library, if not his social connections, and publishing, as several of the privately printed works were eventually issued for the public. Some of these historic works informed public debate during the years leading to the Disruption.

Chapter 5 engages with the research question: How did John Smith's religious faith inform his engagement with the Scottish book trade? The chapter deals with two issues: the family relationship with the Tron Church, and the role of Smith's firm with regard to the Disruption of 1843. As was there discussed, John Smith, Senior, was an elder of the Tron Church, and had close relationships with the presiding ministers, first with Stevenson Macgill and later Thomas Chalmers. It was on Macgill's recommendation that William Collins was accepted as the youngest elder of the Tron Church and he and John Smith, Youngest, taught scripture at the Sunday school. John Smith, Senior, along with others, encouraged Chalmers to present himself as their minister for the Tron Church. The bond between Chalmers and the Smith family became close, particularly the relationship with the young Thomas Smith. When Thomas died from consumption it deeply affected Chalmers, and the Smith family presented Chalmers with a lock of Thomas's hair as a memorial. As was shown, Smith published Chalmers's sensationally successful

Astronomical Discourses; the comparative failure of Chalmers's follow-up volume, *Tron Sermons*, led to the breakdown of the relationship.

John Smith's role in the Disruption of 1843 was considerable, as witnessed by the publications and authors – and other publishers – he supported, in the vain hope that schism in the Established Church could be avoided. During this period Smith's religious publishing increased, including pamphlets from the anti-schismatical side by (among others) Norman MacLeod and Lawrence Lockhart.

The evidence presented in this thesis suggests, therefore, that the faith which John Smith grew up in did indeed guide his interactions and behaviour of his business and personal life; and that same faith, through his book-trade connections, determined the type of cultural agent he was. One could say that Smith was a man of his time; he had religious conviction, he was a gentleman, and he conducted his personal and business affairs with professionalism. These three characteristics gained him the respect of his peers and indeed the majority of those who came into contact with him.

Although Smith primarily published in collaboration – single-imprint volumes total only 34 out of several hundred that bear his name along with others – his role as a major cultural agent is clear. He was influential in bringing John Wilson (Christopher North) to the notice of the public. The works of Chalmers may not have been as popular as they were without the input of the Smith firm. William Collins, later to become one of the dominant publishers of his day and whose name, within HarperCollins, remains to this day in existence as part of the empire of Rupert Murdoch, may never had entered the world of publishing without the indirect help of John Smith to secure a position for Chalmers's brother Charles with William Whyte. Smith's more general contribution to social 'improvement' in Glasgow has not been discussed at length in the thesis, but can be inferred from by the number of educational, welfare, and religious organisations that he contributed to or was part of in his lifetime. Without Smith's involvement with the Maitland Club it probably would not have existed for the length of time that it did, and it would not have published the numbers of books that it did.

In sum, John Smith, Youngest, a comparatively neglected figure, has been shown to be a key figure in the cultural life of nineteenth-century Scotland, especially Glasgow.

Such a rich life means that further research could be pursued in the future. Further cultural mapping could be carried out, to identify the links and show the inter-connections of Glasgow society at this time; it is evident that several of Smith's publications were due to this wider interconnectivity. A good example of such a publication is John Cross-Buchanan's verse-collection *Edith: A Tale of the Azores and Other Poems*.⁶⁵⁹ John Cross-Buchanan of Auchintoshan (1803-1839) was a West India merchant, and though owner of his own company must have had more than just a business relationship with the Smiths.

More generally, a preliminary investigation, part of the scoping for this thesis but not developed above, was made using the National Library of Scotland's digitising of the trade and Post Office Directories to map the trades of the city, particularly the location of booksellers to one another. For example, on Glasgow's Hutcheson Street were sited three booksellers, including Smith – so how did the book trade compete and function with bookshops being so close to each other? James Raven's *Bookscape* looked at the geography of book culture in London prior to 1800, and a similar study could be done with the book centres in Scotland.⁶⁶⁰ And more work could be done on the modes of operation of the various book trade associations that arose to counter the act of underselling books in the market place. Several such associations appeared within the same period, some following the concepts put forward by the Glasgow Booksellers Protection Association.

Further study could complement Mark Towsey's *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, which compared the contents of various eighteenth-century libraries.⁶⁶¹ A similar comparison could be made of libraries from the beginning of the nineteenth century, as many catalogues (mainly auction) exist from the libraries of people of Glasgow from this period, such as those of William Motherwell or John Dillon. Another preliminary investigation, also part of the scoping for this thesis but not developed above, was made using the extensive archive of the Maitland Club. Further study of membership relationships, voting patterns, and processes leading to club publications, can be viewed as a representative of the many printing clubs that existed during this time.

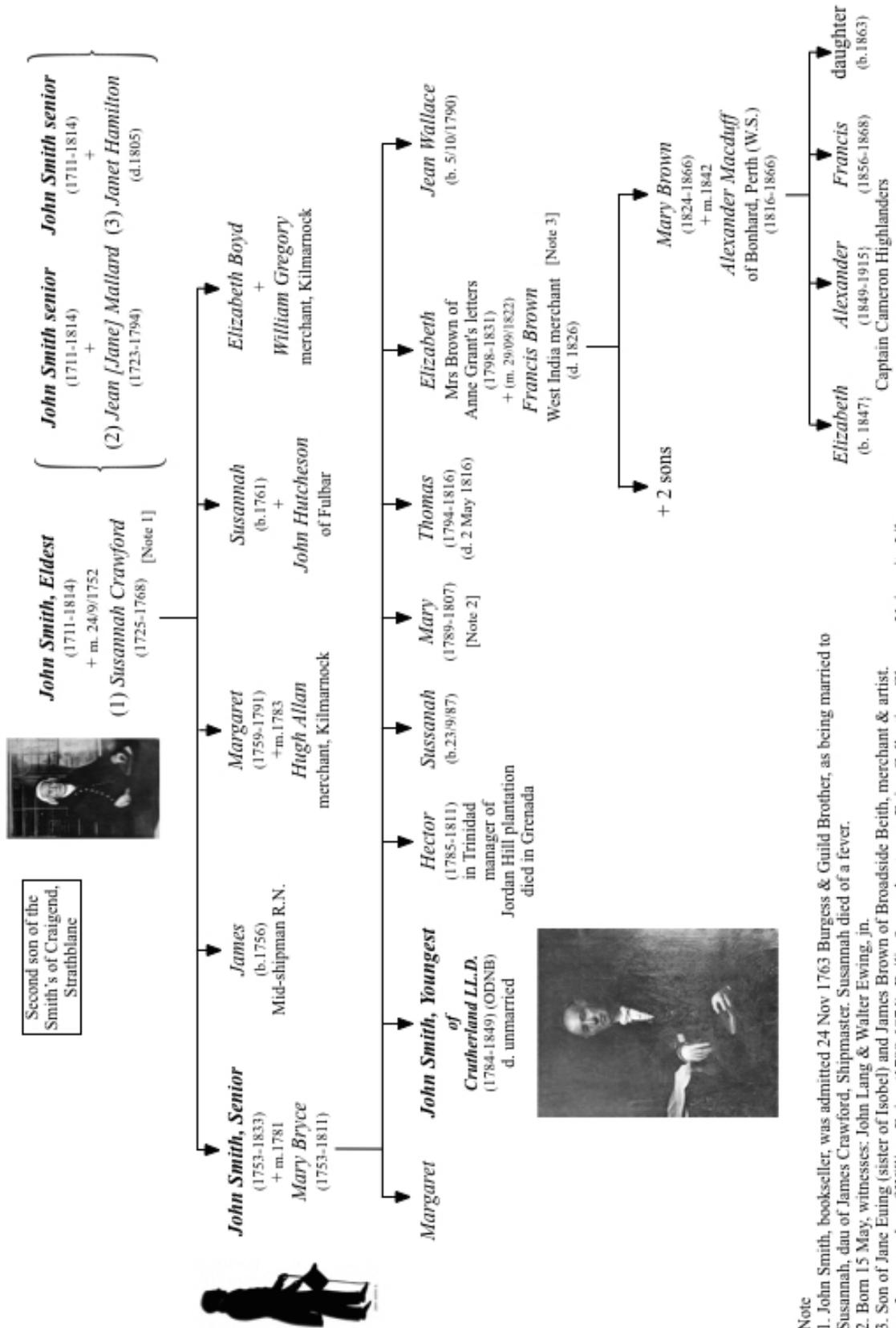
⁶⁵⁹ John Cross-Buchanan, *Edith: A Tale of the Azores and Other Poems* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, et al., 1838) [JSID189].

⁶⁶⁰ James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: British Library, 2014).

⁶⁶¹ Mark R. M. Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and Their Readers in Provincial Scotland 1750-1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

Nevertheless, however future research might develop, it is hoped that the current thesis has demonstrated the importance of Smith, as a response to the challenge from Robert Darnton with which this chapter began, as a ‘cultural agent’, a middleman who met and fed the demands of consumers at various key points in the cultural formation of his country and city. We now know more – much more – about the social and intellectual world that encompasses the Glasgow book trade at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Appendix: The Smith Bookselling Family



Note
 1. John Smith, bookseller, was admitted 24 Nov 1763 Burgess & Guild Brother, as being married to Susannah, dau of James Crawford, Shipmaster. Susannah died of a fever.
 2. Born 15 May, witnesses: John Lang & Walter Ewing, jr.
 3. Son of Jane Euing (sister of Isobel) and James Brown of Broadside Beith, merchant & artist. Jane was dau of William Euing (1788-1874), Bailie & merchant - see Euing Collection, Glasgow University Library

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