Scotland's regional print economy in the nineteenth century

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Abstract

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Printing has been one of Scotland's most significant industries since it was introduced over 500 years ago but remained for much of the period, a local industry. The Scottish publishing and printing industries in the nineteenth century left many documentary traces, but most research has concentrated on large urban centres such as Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, with regional centres of print production all but ignored. In the nineteenth century, these local print economies served the business, administrative, political and leisure needs of an increasingly urbanised Scotland.

My research is focused on the operation of the support structures and networks which developed among operative printers in Scotland's regional print centres from around 1830 to the end of the nineteenth century. As a case study I have selected the Royal Burgh of Dumfries, the most important market town in south-west Scotland, which was also a stop on the route between central Scotland and the industrial centres of Lancashire, and further south to London. A local printing industry developed during the eighteenth century, and by 1830 Dumfries was the home of a range of businesses in the printing and allied trades. The examination of the local print economy investigates the businesses and organisations engaged in print production and distribution in the local area, the technologies which were in use, and the material record of the town. The individual 'print trade lives' are considered in some detail, looking at the range and variety of career patterns in the industry. The options for a larger study of print networks based on trade records are also considered.

Sources for the study include local and regional trade society records, business records, trade journals and other publications, and contemporary (mainly local) newspapers. It also draws on technological manuals and other secondary material in Edinburgh Napier University's Edward Clark Collection.

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Note on conventions

Where details of births, marriages and deaths are given, these are derived from parochial records or statutory certificates unless otherwise stated.

In the text, sums of money are spelled out in words except for those involving both shillings and pennies, which are expressed in the form 2s 6d (two shillings and six pence), or pounds, shillings and pennies, which are expressed in the form £1 2s 6d. Within quotations from contemporary archive sources, the form used has been transcribed directly so inconsistencies are reproduced. The sum of four shillings, for example, can be found in the archival sources in all the following forms: 4s; 4/0; 4/-; 4/.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Printing has been one of Scotland's most significant industries for over 500 years, introduced to Scotland from France 1507-1508, under a licence granted to Walter Chepman and Androw Myllar by James IV. Despite the union of the crowns at James VI of Scotland's accession to the English throne as James I, the overall development of the trade remained distinct from that of England and Wales: the Stationers' Company in London controlled the trade in England, but had no influence in Scotland. However, the spread of print production was similarly influenced by state controls over who could operate a printing press and over what could be printed. The techniques and technology of print therefore spread slowly through Scotland over the 250 years following its first introduction to Edinburgh, and only fifteen Scottish 'printing towns' have been identified previous to 1750, including regional centres such as Dumfries, Perth and Stirling. The scale of the industry grew rapidly thereafter, and the number of printing locations had more than doubled in the following fifty years up to 1800. By 1900 more than 200 towns were, or had been, home to at least one printing business (National Library of Scotland 2017).

During the eighteenth century, in addition to a general expansion in the print trade, the size of individual workshops also increased although advances in printing technologies were few. This changed in the early years of the nineteenth century as iron hand presses were invented. With subsequent improvements and developments and the addition of steam and other forms of motive power, by 1900 large-scale high-speed printing machines could be found throughout the United Kingdom. There were fewer changes to the work practices of the typesetters and hand composition remained the norm for another century especially outside the main print centres, despite the many attempts to mechanise this process. By the middle of the nineteenth century the printing and allied trades formed an important sector of the Scottish economy, exporting finished books, printed sheets, type and production equipment throughout the world, particularly from major centres of the book and periodical trade such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen. However, the most frequently encountered and pervasive forms of print production were more ephemeral: posters, tickets, labels, pamphlets, menus, invitations,

letterheads, invoices and other items for business and personal use. This form of print production, usually referred to as ‘jobbing’, contributed to keeping the presses busy even in the large printing works dedicated to book production, and provided the mainstay of the trade in smaller print shops and regional centres. The nineteenth century also saw the development of specialised sectors of the print trade such as bank-note printing and, following Rowland Hill’s postal reforms in 1840, philatelic printing. Newer processes especially for the production of illustrations also came into general commercial use, and businesses specialising in lithography and wood-engraving sprang up even in some smaller centres as the century progressed. Allied trades such as dedicated bookbinding firms, wholesale stationery producers, typefoundries, printers engineers, and other supply industries, notably papermaking, expanded and employed thousands more workers. Alloway (2007a, pp.476-8) highlights the difficulties of obtaining a clear picture of the statistics for employment in the printing and allied trades from the available census data. However, he notes the overall trend of growth in employment in the sector including in the employment of women who were mainly restricted to ‘unskilled’ roles in the printing trade itself and are often missing from trade sources. Women were employed on a larger scale in the related industries of bookbinding and papermaking.

Alongside large-scale industrialised production, the majority of print workshops remained small-scale, retaining the character of local businesses serving local needs. In the nineteenth century these small print shops, some of which had a very short-term existence, were common even in the largest urban centres. The course of a print operative’s career might well include a short period as a ‘master’ in one of these shops, as well as the more extensive experience as a journeyman at either press or case. Many small workshops consisted of a lone time-served journeyman (the ‘master’) and a number of boys (or sometimes girls) who may or may not have been formally apprenticed in the trade. Whereas trade hierarchies tended to be entrenched in the larger businesses, these smaller ones which ignored the accepted norms in terms of the ratio of journeymen to apprentices were a source of conflict within the trade organisations, not least because a master in such a shop might wish to re-join the trade union, or local benefit society, if his business failed – as many did.

Scope of the study

The large workshops that formed the most prominent sector of Scotland's printing industry in the nineteenth century have been extensively studied. These offices produced books, part-works on subscription, periodicals and newspapers for a readership that in some cases reached far beyond Scotland throughout the United Kingdom and around the world. Company histories or scholarly monographs have described the growth and development of, for example, the large printer-publishers of Edinburgh including Thomas Nelson & Son (Holmes and Finkelstein 2001); W & R Chambers (Fyfe 2012); and T & A Constable (Constable 1937). Examples of Glasgow companies include Blackie (Blackie 1959) and the firms that operated as 'Printer to the University' (Maclehose 1931), and further north, Aberdeen University Press (Keith 1963) has been studied. Some of the larger firms in other sectors, such as the stationery manufacturers George Waterstons in Edinburgh (Watson 2002), and Harley & Cox in Dundee (Harley & Cox 1968), the Glasgow lithographic printers J & J Murdoch (Milne 1944), and Allen of Kirkcaldy (Allen 1998), also lithographic printers, have published company histories. However, a significant sector of the trade remains to be studied: the small-scale local print shops which were common in the larger towns and cities, as well as the norm in regional print centres. These businesses served the needs of other enterprises in their localities and the print requirements of the community in regional centres.

This study is an attempt to redress this imbalance. It will consider print production and the operative printers employed in the smaller centres, set within the context of the industrial and social changes in the Scottish regions in the nineteenth century. At its core is the 'trade society' formed by the operative printers, but the businesses which employed them, although they have left fewer records, will also be examined. The regional and national print networks will be considered in an effort to illuminate how the print economy 'nodes' functioned within those networks. These networks both operated corporately through the relations between the various trade bodies, and individually as print trade operatives moved between employers and centres, and were able to comment on employment conditions and practices elsewhere, on the character of their fellows and on the progress of disputes in other centres. In addition the trade press, which appeared around 1840, not only linked the societies and provided news of individuals, but also discussed technological developments and their implications for

the employment prospects in the trade. The links which trade societies and trade journals established between centres facilitated mobility in the trade, and the records of individual movements across regions, throughout the United Kingdom and internationally will be examined. Support for emigration schemes provide some insight into the emigration decisions of skilled workers. Although the basis of this study is regional Scotland, the insights it provides illuminate the operation of the print trade elsewhere in the United Kingdom, and in the Anglophone world, where similar trade rules were in place. The position of women in the trade will also be considered, despite the lack of clear information on the scale and nature of their employment in regional centres.

The initial impetus for this study lies in a survey of sources relating to print trade operatives in the nineteenth century, undertaken for the *Printers on the Move* project (Finkelstein 2010). In the course of this survey it emerged that alongside the archival and printed material relating to the major centres in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, where there had been large-scale involvement in book- and newspaper-printing sectors of the industry, archival material relating to smaller centres had survived, mainly in local repositories. Of these, the records of the Dumfries Typographical Union, which ultimately became the Dumfries Branch of the Scottish Typographical Association (STA), and the records of the Perth Branch of the STA appeared to offer the prospect of comparative data for a study of the regional print trade, and of local print economies.

The county towns of Perth and Dumfries have clear points of comparison. Both held the status of Royal Burghs from medieval times, which allowed them a greater measure of control over their own affairs; both towns are sited at important crossing points, Dumfries on the border with England and Perth on the River Tay between Scotland's central belt, and the north-eastern and highland regions. Both towns had functioning port facilities and acted as commercial and administrative centres for their region. Both had evidence of printing businesses from the early eighteenth century. However, while the records of the Dumfries organisation date from December 1831, and include the minutes of branch meetings, dated membership lists from a range of dates throughout the century, and accounts from the earliest years of its existence, the Perth records are far more limited. They consist only of the minutes of branch meetings from April 1868. A direct comparison was therefore less feasible than would appear at first sight. The

Dumfries records are, in fact, unusually detailed, particularly for the period up to the formation of the STA in 1853. These records have not, apparently, been studied in detail before. In discussing the formation of the General Typographical Association of Scotland in the mid 1830s, for example, Gillespie (1953, p.27) comments that 'Nothing is known of the events leading up to the formation of the Association or of its instigators'. However, the minutes of the Dumfries Typographical Union shed considerable light on the process, and include details of the inaugural meeting in 1836 and the rules established on that occasion. The Dumfries records also provide insights into the efforts of the local trade societies to work together and to form wider federal structures for their mutual benefit in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, as well as offering a continuing commentary on local trade matters throughout the period under consideration.

Structure of the thesis

This chapter will examine the available literature relating to the structure and operations of the printing industry in the nineteenth century. It will also explore the concepts of a 'print economy' and of 'print networks', considering the various theoretical models which have been developed in the discipline of book history. The next chapter will describe in detail the scope and nature of the sources available for this study, before examining the issues and challenges they raise, as well as the ways in which they can be combined to provide a coherent picture of the operation of a print economy. The ways in which such sources can be combined to build a comprehensive picture of the lives and careers of individuals active in the printing and allied trades will also be considered.

Chapter three will examine the socio-economic context in which the print trade operated in nineteenth century Scotland. Particular issues which influenced the industry were changes in the organisation of labour, educational and other reforms and periods of political agitation, all of which had an impact on the demand for print. The technological advances in the printing industry itself will also be explored. Chapter four is focused on the structures within the print trade, established by the operatives themselves, to provide themselves both with financial support and a mechanism for the exchange of information about trade matters in general. This includes an examination of the origins of the typographical societies and the co-operative structures they developed. The establishment and collapse of the various early federal organisations, followed by

the formation of unions for ‘skilled’ workers in the letterpress sector from the 1850s, and the relationship of the local branch to the central organisation of the union will also be covered.

Chapter five is an examination of the print economy in the south-west region of Scotland in the nineteenth century. The main regional print centre (Dumfries), the related businesses within it, and the nature of print production in the town are considered together with connections to the printing and kindred trades outside the region. Chapter six will look at the lives of print trade operatives, and explore the range and variety of individual experiences. Chapter seven will summarise the findings of this study in relation to the regional print economy of south-west Scotland, and consider the wider implications of this research for other similar sized centres. In addition, it will consider the best methods of capturing and managing data for a larger-scale comparative study of the print trade, and of the scale and patterns of mobility within it together with details of individual careers, and whether the data sources and the data harvesting and management techniques explored in the course of the study could be used in a larger-scale research project.

Scotland: industries and technologies

There is a considerable and growing body of literature on all aspects of life and work in nineteenth century Scotland, but despite the growing demand for print throughout the century and the overall significance of the print trade within the economy, it has been the object of surprisingly little comment in general histories of the period. There is, however, much discussion of the intellectual life of the time as it appears in the printed record, and on the social changes that increased demand for print, as well as on the consumption of print in the form of books, journals and newspaper. These were produced on an ever larger scale and at increasing speed throughout the century, but there are few comments on the changing patterns of production and employment in the sector that underpinned them. New and updated print production technologies affected employment practices and opportunities within the trade. Checkland and Checkland (1989), for example, do not mention print production as a significant part of Scotland’s industrial and commercial landscape at all. Smout’s (1997, 1998) histories of the Scottish people in the nineteenth century briefly mention printers in the context of the wage differentials between Scotland and England, but neither volume makes any

mention of the changes in the demand for print and the changes in print production methods over the period. *Scotland, 1800 to 1900*, the collection of essays on 'everyday life' edited by Griffiths and Morton (2010, pp.5-6) refers to the importance of print culture but none of the contributions explore this theme in any detail. The increased production and consumption of books and periodicals is commonly used as a measure of the growth and spread of 'print culture', but 'everyday print' also became more pervasive as the century progressed in the form of handbills, posters, printed shop stationery, advertising matter, forms, memos and many others. Although surviving examples are frequently used as illustrative material for histories of the period, the role of such print ephemera in shaping the more general 'print culture' is generally overlooked.

In fact, although print production was passing through a process of industrialisation in the nineteenth century, it is rarely included in any general discussion of the industrial growth and increasing mechanisation that was characteristic of the period, or in relation to the greater prevalence of large-scale workshops. The dedicated book printing firms, and the daily newspaper offices might employ hundreds of men, and some women, but the numbers employed in small and medium-sized workshops which served as a general printer to a local area also increased. Morton's (2012) examination of social life and change in Scotland in the nineteenth century, though it makes frequent reference to the press and newspapers, and their content and influence, has little to say about the print trade as an industry. Although Campbell (1980, pp.190-203) provides tables on relative wages in Scotland as compared with the rest of the United Kingdom in 1886, broken down by trade, he has very little to say specifically concerning the industrialisation of print production in his study of the growth of Scottish industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, these figures do provide some indication of the differential between the wages rates paid to male and female operatives in the trade. Devine (2006, pp.534-6) limits his mentions of the printing industry to the discussion of the exclusion of women from the 'craft' roles within the printing industry and, in common with many commentators, discusses the reception of print, mainly newspapers, but not the changes in the industry that influenced and enabled the increases in production. The most useful overview of the industrialisation of the print trade in Scotland remains Bremner's (1969) study of Scottish industry, which includes detailed descriptions of the larger workshops in the printing and allied trades, including

typefounding, paper-making, the operation of Glasgow and Edinburgh daily newspapers and the major book printers. Bremner (1969, pp.492-511) provides an insight into the scale of operation and the nature (and in some cases the makers) of the machinery used in these businesses, but does not venture into the Scottish regions, nor does he include the operations of the smaller 'masters' in the trade.

Accounts of the printing industry and its technologies often concentrate on the early workshops and their innovations in type design, giving less attention to the many innovations and technological advances of the nineteenth century. Where such technological advances are discussed, the focus is often on the innovations for larger-scale enterprises, rather than the improvements to smaller machines. Steinberg's (1974) survey of *Five Hundred Years of Printing* has only a few pages devoted to the effect of the numerous technical innovations on the British printing and the kindred trades during the nineteenth century. Clair's (1965) classic text on Great Britain's printing history is focused on developments in the metropolitan newspaper trade in its coverage of this period, though Scottish innovation and its importance for print production is acknowledged. There are overviews of nineteenth-century technological advances in Twyman (1970, 1998) which are particularly helpful on the often neglected area of the reproduction of illustrations. However, in common with other sources, he focuses on the techniques and print trade in large enterprises, ignoring the smaller scale operations which make up regional print economies. Moran's (1978) study of printing presses is very detailed, but its primary focus is on the United States, and the smaller United Kingdom suppliers and innovations are outside its scope, and even one of Scotland's largest printing machine manufacturers, Greig of Edinburgh, is only mentioned briefly. Fyfe's (2012) study of the Edinburgh business of William and Robert Chambers examines in detail the application of steam power to the production of large-circulation monthly periodicals and other publications, and the associated technologies, as well as the market the Chambers' brothers aimed to serve. Although focused on a large enterprise in a major print centre, Fyfe (2012) does provide some welcome insight into the demand for print in the central and border regions of Scotland.

Overall, the most useful sources for the machinery and processes of smaller print shops in the nineteenth century are the guides and manuals written by and for operative printers such as Hansard's *Typographia* (1825), and Charles Timperley's *Printer's*

Manual, Containing Instructions to Learners … etc (1838), and the histories and guides written later in the century, such as those of Southward ([1890], 1897, 1911).These manuals not only provide detailed information on the operation of the machines in use when they were written, but also shed light on the opinions of operative printers as to their relative merits. In a similar vein, George Isaacs' (1931) *Story of the Newspaper Printing Press* covers the development and operation of machines used in newspaper production from the earliest days, from his perspective the General Secretary of the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants (NATSOPA). Whetton's (1946) text book for printing apprentices is subtitled 'a complete guide to the latest developments in all branches of the printer's craft'. Despite being a twentieth century publication, it remains relevant as many of the technologies developed in the mid- to late-nineteenth century were still in use. The financial aspects of equipping and staffing a printing office in the nineteenth century are not well understood, and many of the extant records relate to the larger book and newspaper houses. However, advertising in contemporary trade directories such as *Kelly's* and trade catalogues such as those of the type founders Miller & Richard (1869), and printing machine and associated equipment makers John Greig & Sons (1889), both in Edinburgh, provide illustrations and cost information. Editorial matter in local newspapers and other periodicals, proudly announcing the installation of new machines, can also be illuminating.

Print trade history

Studies specifically focused on the printing and allied trades generally concentrate on distributing print through the book trade and other outlets, on the availability (for example in libraries and reading rooms), or on the reception of print, rather than on the printing industry itself, or 'the trade', as operative printers liked to describe it. The wider context of print production, particularly the publication of books and newspapers, has been covered in a number of studies. Specific issues such as the paper and stamp taxes which affected the price of the finished product have also been investigated. The collections of essays in the 'Print Networks' series, such as *Printing Places* (Hinks and Armstrong 2005) and the earlier titles, such as *The Reach of Print* (Isaac and McKay 1998), focus on the British provinces and provide insights into aspects of the operation of the non-metropolitan print trade in smaller urban centres, for example Bell's (1998) essay on Oliver & Boyd's commercial travellers, and Hancher's (2004) contribution on Blackie's number trade. Overviews of publishing, for example Feather's (1996) history,

are in any case only concerned with the printing industry in its relation to the publishing of books and periodicals and look at the relationship of the Scots to the English mainly in the context of a discussion of reprints and the development of copyright laws to cover the whole of the United Kingdom in the eighteenth century. None of these studies examine the economic basis of smaller printing office operations.

The focus of most studies of the nineteenth century printing industry is on the owners and other management figures, or on the authorial relationship, or on editorial and publication processes. The lives and work practices of print trade operatives, their support structures and adaptation to evolving technologies have received much less attention. Volumes three and four of the *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (Bell 2007; Finkelstein and McCleery 2007) offer insights into Scottish print trade as part of the wider cultural and intellectual development of Scotland, and discuss aspects of the technological advances of the period, but other aspects of trade organisation, and the social networks within it do not form part of the study. The first chapter of the third volume in the series (Bell 2007, pp.17-75), subtitled *Ambition and Industry 1800-1880*, covers the 'organisation of the trade', but naturally focuses on those practices and innovations in the printing and allied trades which were particularly significant for large-scale book production. The most useful section of this volume for current purposes, describes the diverse ways in which print was made available in this period, and includes a contribution from Gen Harrison (2007) on 'Printing for everyday life' (pp.333–8). This is one of the few texts to offer insights into the operations of a small local printing office in the second half of the nineteenth century, being based on the Robert Smail's general printing and stationery business in the small town of Innerleithen. However, the earlier history of the medium-sized regional centres which might support two or three weekly newspapers but in which few, if any, books were produced, are not covered. As previously mentioned, Ross Alloway's (2007a) analysis of 'Personnel in the print and allied trades' offers an overview of employment patterns throughout Scotland, including the scale of female involvement. He also provides data on wage levels, differentiated by county. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century technological and organisational developments are covered in the fourth volume, *Professionalism and Diversity 1880-2000* (Finkelstein and McCleery 2007) although the focus is again the industrialised production of books, with an emphasis on the processes of publication rather than those of production. The nineteenth century was the period

during which the printing and publishing sectors became separated, in some cases by long distances, as publishing offices such as those of John Murray and the Macmillan brothers relocated further south. Weedon's (2003) study of Victorian publishing, for example, concentrates on mass market production and although some of her examples are drawn from Scotland, these are all major book production houses based in Edinburgh. Her analysis of book production costs (pp.70-88), however, provides some data for an overlooked aspect of the industry, though it applies to specialised book houses, rather than the small general printing offices more often found in the regions.

In the case of the periodical press, there are a number of studies related to the press in Britain, but the coverage of Scotland and in particular its regional press is patchy. Williams' (2010) history of the British newspaper has very little to say about Scotland, and all the titles mentioned in the course of his discussion of nineteenth century regional newspapers are English. Cranfield's (1978) older survey of the periodical press in Britain from its beginnings to the early twentieth century has little to say about specifically Scottish developments, particularly for the earlier period when the trade structure in England and Wales was centred on the Stationers' Company in London, and Scotland's jurisdiction was entirely separate. Once more, nearly all the examples which he provides of provincial periodicals are English. The majority of the collection of essays edited by Boyce, Curran and Wingate (1978) relate to titles that circulated on a national basis and which were, in the main, edited and produced in London. However, the section on 'The structure, ownership and control of the press' (Boyce, Curran and Wingate 1978, pp.117-29) includes a survey of the factors, including the legal and technological changes, which facilitated the increase in numbers and geographical spread of the periodical press, in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, it lacks any detail on the proliferation of local weekly newspapers in smaller regional centres, and again ignores the position in Scotland. These gaps are to some extent balanced by Cowan's (1946) even older survey of the expansion of periodical publishing throughout Scotland between 1815 and 1860, covering not only the daily titles published in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, but also the development of the regional weekly press. His focus is, however, on the content and the controversies on matters of church and state found within their pages, rather than technological change or the business side of print production, but he provides lists of titles, and circulation figures (Cowan 1946, pp.168-70, 416-20). Donaldson's (1986, pp.1-34) chapter on the

Scottish press in the second half of the nineteenth century does include insights into the personalities who dominated the regional weekly papers, with a particular focus on Dundee, and into the commercial context of their existence. Blair (2016) on the *People's Journal* in the same town also has a literary rather than a business focus.

Two significant histories of Scottish print trade structures, Sarah Gillespie's (1953) study of the Scottish Typographical Association and John Gennard's (2010) history of the Scottish Print Employers Federation, focus on the key centres of printing excellence in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Regional centres of print production are not covered in detail, and coverage is particularly sparse for the earlier half of the nineteenth century, when both technologies and trade structures were evolving. The Scottish Printing Archival Trust's (1990-2000) *Reputation for Excellence* series of books on the local industry in Scotland include short guides to book and newspaper printing in Perth, Dundee and a number of towns in Scotland's north-east, but does not extend to the south-west or borders regions. Other studies on the industry in Perth, for example Carnie (1958 and 1960a), and in Dumfries, such as Couper (1918), Shirley (1907, 1914) and Stewart (1906), exist but these are limited by both period and their focus on particular individuals or sectors.

There has been very little study of the print trade in the south-west region of Scotland in general, other than these studies of individual businesses. However, both contemporary commentators, and the primary sources consulted in the course of this project, show that the trade was well established in the area by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The main reference works covering the early development of the Scottish printing and book trades by Plomer (1922) and Carnie (1961-2) describe the origins of print production in the region, but concentrate on book printers. Maxwell's (1896) history of Dumfries does not reach the nineteenth century, but contains a list of books known to have been published in the town up to 1800. The substantial mid-nineteenth century *History of Dumfries*, written by the editor of one of the local papers, William McDowall (1986) includes much information on the 'literature of the Burgh' scattered through its more than 700 pages while its sixty-first chapter covers the early history of the newspapers in town, but has no information about the organisation of production. The ownership and editorships of the Dumfries newspapers is detailed in the index volumes compiled under the editorship of James Urquhart (1980-84), which supplements the

limited information given in Ferguson's (1984) directory. More recent histories of the area, such as *Dumfries Story* by David Lockwood (1988), are based on the works of these earlier historians and have little additional material on the printing and allied trades. Insights into local print trade lives can be found in house histories, but this is scattered and limited in scope. Finding these references can be as much a matter of serendipity, and may require some prior knowledge to track down. An example is James Pagan, listed as a founder member of the Dumfries Typographical Union in December 1831.[1] His later career as editor of the *Glasgow Herald* for sixteen years is described in Phillips (1982, pp.55-77). Newspaper obituaries of significant individuals in the trade, and their reprints in pamphlet form, such as that of the proprietor and editor of the *Dumfries Courier*, John McDiarmid (McDiarmid 1852) provide some additional insights.

The guides and indexes to specific sectors of the print trade in Scotland, for example, David Schenk's (1999) *Directory of the Lithographic Printers of Scotland 1820-1870*, and Keith Manley's (2012) 'survey and listing' of Scottish libraries before 1825, can be helpful in placing individuals but are not concerned with the actual production of print. Other guides and directories which provide information for a study such as this are most useful at the level of business ownership and location, as they usually provide no information on scale of operation or number of employees. Their use for this study will be explored in more details in chapter two. A comprehensive history of the trades allied to printing and that of the supply trades, especially ink-making and machine-making in the United Kingdom remains to be written. By the end of the nineteenth century, these businesses supplied equipment, from type, chases and galleys through small hand-operated presses through to large scale printing and paper-making machinery to the Scottish print trade, and to businesses throughout the United Kingdom as well as exporting their products throughout the world. Thomson (1974) has written a comprehensive guide to the paper-making industry in Scotland, covering the technological advances of the early nineteenth century, and listing paper-mills in business throughout Scotland, but his study stops at 1860.

Modelling a print economy

Studies of print culture often focus on book or newspaper production, distribution and

1 See list 1, in Appendix 1.

reception, but these form just one part of the overall print economy of any locality. A full definition of this concept will be explored in chapter two. Scholars of print culture and book history have mainly focused on the distribution and reception of printed texts. Howsam (2006) enumerates the theoretical approaches underpinning the discipline, beginning with the 'communications circuit' as proposed by Robert Darnton (1982), and challenged and elaborated since, for example by Adams and Barker (1993). This model links readers and authors (who are also readers), via intermediaries such as editors, print production workers, book retail and distribution networks in a circuit which is itself acted on, along with the individuals participating in the trade, by external socio-economic and cultural factors. Studies of 'print culture' and 'print networks' have largely focused on those elements of the circuit responsible for content (authors, publishers), intermediaries such as booksellers, or on the content of print itself and its reception. Examples include the essays in the volume entitled *Printing Places* edited by Hinks and Armstrong (2005). James Raven's (2007) study of *The Business of Books* is focused on the London book trade in the eighteenth century, and only devotes one chapter to the nineteenth, although he does consider the relationship of the London trade to regional printers and publishers, including those in Scotland and Ireland. Contributions to the journal of the Printing Historical Society are concerned with practical aspects of production technologies and with typographical design, and there are only scattered studies of print trade operatives and their associations such as Bateman (1995) on Bristol printers' chapels, and Cannon (1968) on journeymen's organisations.

Although the terms 'book history' and 'book historian' are commonly used to describe engagement with the history of print, this privileges a particular form of print, when book production is, in fact only one element in the work of a printing office. In his discussion of the study of bibliography McKenzie (1986, p.6) pointed out that there was a 'full range of social realities which the medium of print had to serve', although he remains focused on the codex. The more appropriate term in this context, 'print culture', is often used interchangeably with 'book history'. In discussing the 'seemingly intractable problem' of defining the former term, McElligot and Patten (2014, p.3) suggest that it is commonly used merely to register the presence of printed books in a social group. This is clearly very little different from 'book history', and for the purposes of the current study a definition that encompasses all forms of print from the

durable (books), via the disposable (newspapers) to the ephemeral (posters, tickets, invoices, sale catalogues and the like) is necessary. According to McElligot and Patten (2014, pp.6-7), a print culture exists:

> when men and women from a range of backgrounds are used to seeing, reading, buying and borrowing print in a variety of social contexts. It exists when print is both commonplace and unexceptional, and when print is traded as a commodity within a market economy.

While this description clearly fits large urban print centres, home to significant print buying and consuming publics, it can also be applied to smaller regional towns. These towns function as centres of marketing and leisure activities for a population drawn from a wider region, which taken together form a sufficient market to support book trade structures and local print shops, producing mainly ephemeral material ('jobbing') for local business. Such print shops may also produce a limited number of pamphlets and books, and a local weekly newspaper. This is supported by Hinks (2003, p.15) who demonstrates in his overview of 'Local and regional studies of printing history' that all aspects of the nineteenth century book trade were closely intertwined in many localities, and comments that the study of the print:

> needs to remain earthed in the actuality of how books were designed, printed and distributed, as well as reflecting on the part that they played in the way people lived – working, learning, socialising, worshipping and passing their leisure hours.

Arnt (2014, p.92) notes the tension between large-scale investigations or studies at a national level and 'microhistories' of local print production, but notes that the study of 'print culture' and the theoretical models underpinning it benefit overall from the insights from the study of the operations of the print trade on a smaller scale regional or local basis. The term 'print culture', however, does not address the day-to-day issues of running a print production business, or earning one's living as an operative printer. An alternative description of the context in which the printing and allied trades (such as bookselling, stationery manufacture, etc) operated in smaller regional centres, where the various trades remained intertwined for much longer, is a local 'self-sufficient market town print economy' (Finkelstein, McCleery 2007, p.93).

Levy and Mole (2017) consider 'print economies' within their discussion chapter on 'Printing and reading', but concentrate on the production and distribution of books, and on publishing operations rather than the economics of a print production business. Although the separate processes of printing and publishing remained closely associated

in the nineteenth century, especially at its start, there were many print production businesses which did not publish books. In smaller regional market towns, booksellers dominated publishing, although the print shop which produced the local weekly newspaper might also produce chapbooks, other 'local interest' books and pamphlets. These were often related to important events of regional or national significance, or were biographies of eminent locals. Feather (2017, pp.21-3) acknowledges the neglect of the non-metropolitan and smaller operators within the trade, partly because their histories are 'less easily recovered'. He also notes that local weekly newspapers 'underpinned the economy, fragile as it was, of the pre-industrial book-trade', and that in smaller towns, serving wider rural areas, the bookshops had more in common with general stores, than specialist retailers in larger towns.

Although they are a peripheral element in Darnton's 'communication circuit', for the producers of print, there was a literally well-trodden circuit through which they travelled, as they moved around the country through varying local print economies which were linked together by a network of typographical societies. The limitations of this two-dimensional model and its elaborations in print culture studies is further discussed by Howsam (2015, pp.1-13) and expanded by Sydney Shep (2015, pp.53-70), in her essay on 'Books in global perspectives'. Shep proposes a model for 'situated knowledges', in which life stories, space and place converge with the material record (print products) 'in a zone of investigation'. This 'multidimensional contact zone', or intersection, allows for the 'constant, energetic interplay between people, places and things'. According to Shep (2015, p.66):

> An examination of the complex, dynamic intercrossings between people (prosopography), places (placeography) and objects (bibliography) offers quite a different way of conceptualizing the ways and means by which books travel and transform through space and across time.

Shep describes the central overlapping section of the diagram (Figure 1) as the 'event horizon', a term from quantum physics. However, because of its association with black holes, I prefer the word 'intersection' (pp.64-66). I would also substitute, in the context of this study, the phrase 'print products' for 'books'.

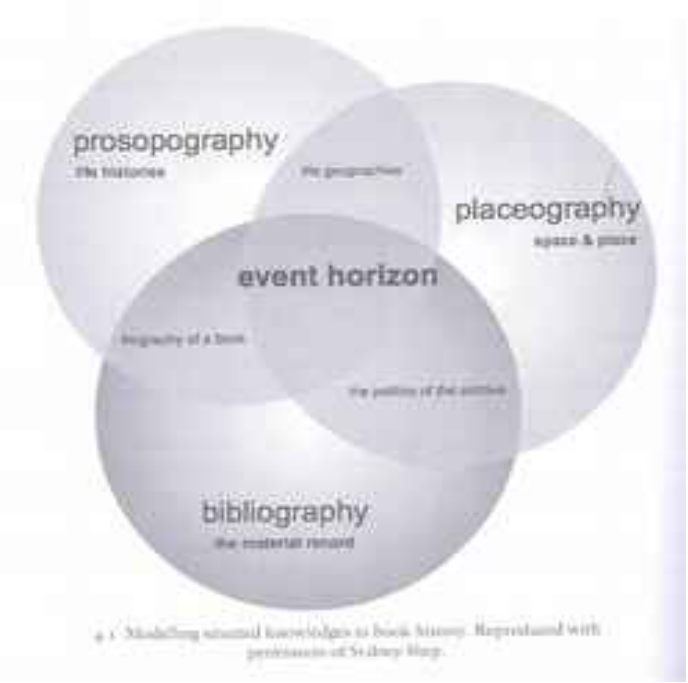

Figure 1: Model for 'situated knowledges in book history' proposed by Sydney Shep.

The space formed by the intersection of these elements forms a 'node', in which print was produced, traded and consumed. Shep's model thus defines the space in which print flourishes, but underlying these 'intersections' of people, place and printed output, are the organisations and networks of individual print trade workers, that is those who produce the print. It could also be argued that the 'factors of production' – representing the availability of paper, type, presses and printing machines and other materials essential to print production, together with the capital invested in a print business by its proprietor – ought to figure in this diagram, making a fourth element, placed between the circle representing 'Prosopography' and 'Placeography' and overlapping with both, and contributing to the central intersection.

Print networks

A print economy is necessarily situated at a fixed geographical point but these intersections, as defined in Shep's (2015) model, were linked. The intersection is occupied by the 'print economy', that is the area where place, people and material output come together, but these economies are physically linked by the movement of individuals between them, as well as by the movement of printed products. The social networks of consumers naturally formed a significant factor in the intersection at the centre of any regional print economy, but these economies are also linked with other

social networks. McKenzie (1986, pp.6-7), for example, highlighted the 'human motives and interactions' involved at every stage of the 'production, transmission and consumption' of print. Hinks (2003, p.3-11) has also noted the importance of the printing industry to a local economy in itself while acknowledging that a print business might operate alongside trade in other goods or services. The nineteenth century workers themselves engaged in the local print culture as consumers of print as well as producers. Books, newspapers, notices, forms and other print might move between print economies, but individuals active in the trade also moved around. In the case of operative printers, they followed recognised routes that linked the networks of trade societies which appear to have been in existence for many years before the formally constituted trade unions developed in the mid-nineteenth century.

An alternative approach is taken by Rukavina (2010b, p.74) who has examined the 'possibilities of a social network' in the context of the international book trade, and makes the case for a model sufficiently flexible to allow for 'the complexity of interactions between agents to play out' without 'proscribing the nature of interactions'. Her solution is a structure which she describes as a rhizome and which, in common with its organic counterpart,'ramifies and diversifies in unpredictable and often uncontrollable ways' (Rukavina 2010b, p.79). However, this implies a level of serendipity in the development of a network and the encounters within it that was not true of the networks and organisations of the operative printers, which were linked by what was known as 'custom and practice'.

The print trade had a long tradition of mobility among the workforce, and the typographical benefit societies evolved out of a need to manage access to employment and financial support for these mobile individuals. Tramping among printers continued throughout the nineteenth century, despite attempts to end it in favour of static unemployment relief. The limited support payments, and the perils and discomforts of life on the road do not seem to have been a deterrent, although few commentators saw any benefit to print workers in the tramp system as a solution to unemployment.[2] It would appear from the extant records of the local typographical societies that although the experience was not universal, a significant proportion of individuals spent at least part of their career 'on the road', travelling the length and breadth of the British Isles.

2 See for example the *Compositors' Chronicle* (14) 1 October 1841, which has an editorial on the subject (p.109) and a long letter from a correspondent (pp.110-11).

Tramping meant exactly that – walking from town to town. However, it must be noted that not all printers were 'society men' and not all towns with a print economy were home to a typographical society, so our information is necessarily partial and possibly biased. Trade societies, and indeed the print trade itself, thus constituted a social network, linking print workers and producing particular expectations of others in the trade. Borrowing the terminology used by Mark Granovetter (1973) to describe contemporary job seekers, nineteenth century print operatives who 'went on tramp'[3] left 'strong' local ties to family and colleagues and moved to a different 'node' in the print trade network, relying on 'weak' (or less personal ties) within the typographical society network for support. In his more recent examination of 'The impact of social structure on economic outcomes' Granovetter (2005, p.41) notes the importance of social relations amongst a workforce in maintaining productivity, given that 'Group norms and cultures […] shape skill and productivity'. The information-sharing facilitated by trade structures, such as the benefit societies and developing trade union federations in the nineteenth century print industry, can usefully be characterised in his terms as 'interaction with knowledgeable others'.

Much of the literature on 'social networks' and their analysis relates to connections in the contemporary electronic social media, rather than addressing the interactions in physical space, and mobility between those spaces, but social network analysis techniques have been used to examine the connections that exist between individuals in a variety of social settings. Wellman and Berkowitz (1988, p.4) have emphasised 'that network analysis is neither a method nor a metaphor, but a fundamental intellectual tool for the study of social structures'. They make explicit the fact that these structures can be 'represented as *networks* – as sets of *nodes* (or social system members) and sets of *ties* depicting their connections'. Their work also relates to contemporary society but the insights which can be derived from the work of Granovetter and others open the possibility that social network analysis might offer a tool to analyse the links and ties within the print trade. Charles Wetherell (1998, p.135), for example, has applied the technique in a historical context and asserts that it allows historians to answer structural questions which 'will then allow specific instances of economic and social support to be placed in context and cross-temporal comparisons drawn'.

3 See the glossary for an explanation of 'tramping'.

According to Halpern (2005, p.2) ‘Most people are embedded in a series of different social networks and associations’ and he describes these links, or ‘everyday networks’ as ‘what we mean when we talk about ‘social capital’. He goes on to define three elements of social capital as the network of linked individuals; the group norms and values; and the punishments and rewards that maintain those norms and sustain relationships within the network (Halpern 2005, pp.10-12). This analysis yields a three-dimensional model for social capital that operates on three levels: micro, mass and macro (Halpern 2005, p.27 Figure 1.4). The national print trade bodies that had developed by the beginning of the twentieth century fit into this model at the ‘mass’ level and, as Halpern remarks, the social outcome of connecting ‘in social networks with shared norms that facilitate co-operative action should be the emergence of trust. It may be argued that the underlying issue is not trust *per se*, but trustworthiness’ (Halpern 2005, p.33). The issue of support to individuals and the level of trust offered to strangers who are ‘members of the trade’ by the network of benefit societies, particularly in the first half of the century, is a theme that runs through the extant records of trade societies and the pages of the early trade journals. Halpern (2005, p.39) also notes that the measurement of social capital remains a controversial topic, and this is particularly true in the historical context, where informal networks have inevitably left no record and cannot be reconstructed. Bixler’s (2015, pp.65-7) essay on ‘Historical network research’ notes the limitations of the surviving historical data, which often lack the quantitative detail used in the social network analysis of contemporary society, while acknowledging the potential of social network visualisations in representing historical social structures. The membership records and contribution lists, together with such employment records as have survived in business archives can, however, provide data on individual employees, though in many cases only for limited periods. The statistical techniques employed for a full social network analysis require a large body of consistent data to produce meaningful results, on a scale beyond that of a regional print centre with only a few small- to medium-sized print businesses. It is likely that this can only be achieved by a study incorporating data from several such centres or from major centres of industrialised book, newspaper and business print production.

Print trade operatives

The support structures and organisations developed by print trade workers have been the object of study by a number of labour historians. Operative printers were among the

earliest to have a formal support structure in the form of typographical benefit societies, the precursors of what became trade unions in the nineteenth century. They have also left traces in print of their activities. The earliest trade journals date from the 1840s, beginning with the *Compositor's Chronicle* published between 1840 and 1843, and numerous local benefit societies were already in existence throughout the United Kingdom at this point. The evolution of these structures into trade unions and the issues relating to industrial relations in which they participated have been studied in some detail. Both Gillespie's (1953) centenary history of the Scottish Typographical Association and Musson's (1949) history of the Typographical Association (which represented letterpress workers throughout Great Britain and Ireland, excluding London and Scotland) examine the prehistory of the unions themselves, looking at 'chapel' organisations and the early benefit societies and federations, but both are naturally focused on the later formal union structures and the policies and administration of their central bodies. Regional developments, except where they involved the executive, are less well covered. However, both provide statistical information on the trade in the nineteenth century.

The developments in the first half of the nineteenth century, before the formation of stable trade organisations, are comprehensively examined in J H Richards' (1957) dissertation on the 'social and economic aspects of combination' during that period. He provides a wealth of detail on the earlier period, when the 'tramp' system was an important element of trade structures, and concludes that the social and industrial aspects of printers' organisations were closely related and should be given equal weight in any study (Richards 1957, pp.454-55). A further perspective on the growth and development of print trade organisations is found, for example, in Donald Bateman's (1990) thesis on the Bristol print trade and the role of the union development in the area in the nineteenth century. In particular, Bateman challenges the assumption that printers' chapel organisations were absorbed seamlessly into the newer trade union structures (Bateman 1990, pp.151-52). However, both these studies are focused on English regions, and there are no similar in-depth studies of Scottish regional print trade structure.

The phenomenon of 'tramping' among artisans, including printers, was examined first

by Eric Hobsbawm (1964).[4] His work raised as many questions as it answered, among them the suggestion that 'closer analysis' would illuminate the 'effects of tramping' on the spread of trade skills and union organisation. He also later noted that 'the difficulty of measuring the tramping craftsman's influence should not lead us to underrate it' (Hobsbawm 1964, pp.52-54). Both Gillespie (1953) and Musson (1949) discuss the operation of the tramping system, and the efforts to eliminate it as a way of managing unemployment among operative printers, but offer no analysis of the information flows that might result from the movement of print trade workers. R A Leeson (1979) wrote a narrative history of tramping artisans, but although he mentions that these individuals included 'men with a purpose' who aimed to set up societies where none existed, and carried letters between societies, he also notes that most of these letters were concerned with administrative matters (Leeson 1979, p.15) and has little more to say about the exchanges of information between tramping printers and the members of the societies they visited. Humphrey Southall's (1991) article focused on engineering workers rather than print trade operatives: his statistical analysis of the data available and the graphic representations of the movements of individuals point to a methodology for exploiting membership data in the branch records. Scotland's regions are only peripherally important to these studies.

An additional issue addressed by Hobsbawm's essay on 'The labour aristocracy in nineteenth-century Britain' (1964, pp.272-315) and in R Q Gray's (1976) *Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*, is the characterisation of the skilled workers in the printing and allied trades, together with workers in other industries as a 'labour aristocracy'. This term, rooted in Marxist analysis of society as a class-based structure stratified according to socio-economic criteria, and liable to inter-class antagonisms, has been used in connection with a number of studies of operative printers. Although Hobsbawm (1964, p.273) states that 'there is no single, simple criterion of membership of a labour aristocracy', he goes on to list six characteristics of a 'labour aristocrat'. His analysis is based mainly on the first of these, that is, 'the level and regularity of a worker's earnings'. R Q Gray (1976, p.1) explicitly approaches the analysis of working class Edinburgh in Victorian times from the perspective of 'the Marxist tradition of socio-historical analysis', although he acknowledges that this approach has some

4 Hobsbawm's article, 'The tramping artisan' was originally published in *Economic History Review* NS 3 (3) pp.299-320. It was reprinted in Hobsbawm (1964, pp.34-63). The latter is the version referred to here.

limitations, as it ignores what he characterises as the 'independent effect of cultural tradition'. He also notes the importance of the 'network of formal and informal institutions' that shaped the social world of working-class people' (Gray 1976, pp.7-8). He concludes that further investigation of 'the life situation, the hopes and fears' of workers in different localities is required to fully illuminate the social structures of the Victorian period' (Gray 1976, p.190). In Gray's (1981, pp.64-66) later analysis of this concept he suggests that 'there is scope for investigation of technology, work organisation and production processes' as well as acknowledging a greater significance for social factors in understanding the patterns of the working lives of individuals and occupational groups.

Patrick Duffy's work on *The Skilled Compositor, 1850-1914*, subtitled 'an aristocrat among working men' notes that 'Printers displayed a well-established trade consciousness long before industrialization' (Duffy 2000, p.18). He takes issue with aspects of Hobsbawm's approach, noting that the picture is 'complex and often contradictory' given the range and diversity of regional and occupational experiences, but he accepts the basic premise that such an 'aristocracy' exists, and that compositors, in particular, could be characterised in this way in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As will be seen in chapter six, the variety of career paths and the scale of social and geographical mobility within the printing industry highlights the limitations of the class-based approach and the concept of a 'labour aristocracy' as models to describe the organisations and trade structure of the nineteenth century printing industry.

At this period in time it was not uncommon for individuals to move between so-called class 'strata': the sons of masters in the trade frequently followed the conventional route via apprenticeship, in their father's business or elsewhere, as a prelude to a management role in the business. Many master printers had themselves progressed from apprentice to journeymen, before branching out 'on their own account' as master. Only a proportion of these ventures succeeded, and it was not uncommon for a small master to fail in business and revert to the status of journeyman employee. Overall the life experiences of print trade operatives spanned a broad range, even for those who had no previous family connection with the trade, and started with the conventional experience of apprenticeship. Class boundaries therefore are fluid and hard to define. In addition the discussion of working lives focused on attempts to stratify individuals according to

Marxist class criteria obscures any attempt to take a holistic view of the 'print culture/economy' in any locality.

Another issue only addressed to a limited extent in studies of the nineteenth century print trade is the presence (or absence) of women in certain roles or occupations, although there is evidence that employers sought to introduce women to print shops on numerous occasions throughout the century. The earliest study of the position of women in the British printing industry was published at the beginning of the twentieth century (Macdonald 1904). Alongside the qualitative and quantitative data, it illuminates contemporary attitudes to 'male' and 'female' roles in the printing industry. The introduction of women in Edinburgh composing rooms is the subject of Reynolds' (1989) study of *Britannica's Typesetters*, but women also worked as compositors in significant numbers in Aberdeen and Perth, and in some other towns. It is possible that other centres where women were employed in so-called 'skilled' roles may remain to be identified. Honeyman and Jordan (1991) have examined women's role in the printing trade throughout Europe and over a period of 400 years, showing that Scotland, and indeed the rest of the United Kingdom, shared attitudes to what constituted 'women's work' with their Continental neighbours. Tusan's (2004) examination of gender in the printing trade in Victorian Britain is focused on the efforts of feminist activists to find alternative employment opportunities for 'middle-class' women, and on the workshops they founded, including the Caledonian Press in Edinburgh. However, these print shops did not reflect the experience and background of the generality of women associated with the trade. In Edinburgh, for example, women were recruited into the composing room locally by major employers, alongside male non-union labour, in an attempt at strike-breaking.[5] Both groups were therefore unpopular with union members, and reviled in the trade press. The trade unions in any case were exclusively male, and generally sought to maintain their status as 'skilled' workers by resisting the introduction of women to anything other than 'assistant' roles. Score (2014, pp.280-81) links female exclusion to the male desire to maintain centuries old exclusive practices and rituals, as well as the fears of reduced pay and status, given the convention that women were paid less. The issue of pay was not unrelated to the development and introduction of new typesetting technologies, which were often depicted as 'easy enough' and as lady-like as playing the piano. The *Compositor's Chronicle* was

5 See the section on the Scottish Typographical Association in chapter four.

scathing about both the effectiveness of the early attempts at mechanical typesetting, particularly the Young-Delcambre machine, and the women employed to operate it (issue 24, 1 July 1842, pp.185-92).

The benefit societies, trade organisations and trade practices of the time were rooted in personal interaction and physical presence in meetings, and in visits to the branch 'call house'. These interactions fostered a growing trade identity which also found expression in the pages of the trade journals. This trade identity appears to have been stronger among operative printers than so-called 'class consciousness', that is a sense of solidarity with the wider social stratum of the 'working class', combined with opposition to business owners as a distinct group with antagonistic interests. However, it is apparent that at various times, operative printers supported fellow-unionists in other trades in their actions to obtain improvements in hours or wages. This support is more often framed in terms of solidarity with fellow unionists and a collective endeavour to improve conditions, rather than in terms of class conflict. It is more apparent in the later years of the century, by which time trade unionism rested on a more stable legal and financial basis. It should also be noted that not all comment on 'the masters' in trade journals was critical. Many of the master printers had experienced the same training as apprentices, and had themselves emerged from trade societies and unions. Some continued to pay dues, so that they could maintain their entitlement to benefits, for example those provided by the sick and funeral schemes. In the earlier part of the century, printers were also active participants in movements to promote Victorian forms of respectability, such as the encouragement of self-improvement through the provision of libraries, and the temperance movement. Call houses, which were usually local public houses at the beginning of the century, had often been moved to coffee houses, or temperance hotels by the middle of the century.

The nature of networks in the printing and allied trades have aroused some interest, though much of it is focused on the distribution and sale of books and newspapers. John Hinks (Hinks and Feely 2017, p.1) examines the challenges of network-based studies of the book trade, and highlights the limitations of this approach. Although the trade has always depended on networks of various kinds, 'Because relationships change over the long term a network is rarely more than a snapshot of a moment in time', but studying these networks can illuminate the ways in which 'people, places, event and ideas' relate

to each other. Bearing this in mind, the value of network analysis lies in the fact that as well as identifying the points or 'nodes' on a network, it explores the nature of the connections between them. Steve Conway's (2017, pp.39-43) essay in the same collection also emphasises the changing nature of networks, and makes the case for longitudinal studies to capture these changes to avoid presenting 'an ossified version of the network', and provides examples of potential visualisations for book trade network data.

As already mentioned, local trade organisations were linked together into wider federal structures from the 1830s onwards, and operative printers who moved around the country often did so via defined routes linking print centres. This movement reinforced the place of each centre in the wider social and trade networks. Information notes and local branch reports in print trade journals supported this system from the 1840s onwards. The links were, however, based on face-to-face interactions and the sharing of information in person as well as in print, concerning where the next call house or node in the network was to be found, and which print centres should be avoided because of continuing disputes. The monthly trade journal reflected the operation of real networks and trade communities, which contrasts with Benedict Anderson's (1983, pp.35-36) formulation of an 'imagined community', linked in space and time by a contemporaneous experience of reading daily newspapers as they appeared in print.

The geography of print

A number of book historians have addressed the issues of social networks in the trade, and the related issue of mobility, from a geographical perspective rather than that of the social historian. Worth's (2014) examination of 'colonial networks and information technologies' considers the dissemination of knowledge through print, but is focused on content rather than production technology. Raven (2014, p.148) examined some of the larger firms which were active in the eighteenth century London book trade, and provides insights into the interrelationships within the book trade in such a large centre. He also notes that it is important to keep in mind both the range of content available, and the variety of forms in which it appeared, commenting that 'the heterogeneity and mobility of the product offered many contrasts to the structural uniformities of the book business'. He also records the importance of the Scottish contribution to the London trade at this period, while acknowledging that it was not without its tensions (Raven

2014, p.150).

Withers and Ogborn (2010, p.10) describe the 'geography of the book' as 'more than just mapping the distribution of printers, printing, presses and printed words', encompassing study of the localities of production, as well as the distribution and patterns of consumption. Fiona Black's (2010, pp.79-108) contribution to the collection discusses how historical geographic data can be used in the context of print culture studies. In an earlier contribution to this area of scholarship, investigating the possible use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) data in the context of print studies, Black *et al* (1998b, p.27) noted that there is 'immense potential' for the use of GIS within the discipline, while acknowledging the challenges of this approach, given that 'Historians face a wealth of data as they unravel the complexity of print culture' (Black et al 1998b, p.12). Gregory and Healy (2007) consider the practical aspects of the application of geographic data to historical investigation, and the possibilities following from its integration into databases capable of linking spatial data to historic text, images, or other data, while noting that the creation of such databases is a time-consuming task.

The field of social geography explores the intersections between social relations and space, which allows a focus on the meeting places of print technologies and people, and on the knowledge and skills exchange that takes place, as in the intersection of the Venn diagram in Shep's (2015) model.[6] The movements of printers were extensive, but information specific to patterns of mobility in the printing trade are lacking. For example, while Brock's (1999) study of the patterns of migration within and beyond Scotland in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provides much valuable data on the geographical origins and destinations of Scottish emigrants at the macro level, it lacks reference to detailed occupational data which would indicate patterns of transnational movement among the print trade workers. Baines' (1985) study also covers the latter part of the nineteenth century, but is confined to England and Wales, as is his latter study on the economic basis of emigration (Baines 1994). Boyer and Hatton (1997) likewise confine themselves to England and Wales in looking at the relationship between migration and the labour market in the late nineteenth century. Harper's (2003) study of 'the great Scottish exodus' provides many insights to the routes, destinations and social realities of life for emigrants, but does not refer explicitly

6 See page 17 above.

to print operatives. Although taking account of social networks, Epperson (2009) is focused on the operation of chain migration from the Highland region, where the print trade had a limited presence, to a specific community in Ohio.

There have been a number of studies of Scottish migrants in recent years, which look beyond the narrative of rural dispossession in the Highland region. Devine's (2011) survey of the migration of Scots over three centuries throughout the globe is an overview of the scale of mobility, and the range and variety of circumstances and individual motivations behind these moves. However this, and other studies such as the collection of essays on the *Scottish Diaspora*, edited by Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton (2013), while illuminating the range of destinations and the issues surrounding transnational movement, are on too broad a scale to offer much insight into the operation of the trade organisations with transnational links that connected printers from Scotland to printers beyond their borders.

The literature on mobility in the print trade has been examined in some detail above. Gillespie (1953) has little to say about emigration, though there was an active emigration society among Glasgow printers in the late 1840s. Musson (1949, pp.322-25) outlines the history of the emigration funds established by the typographical societies in the 1840s and 1850s, but compared with the issues of 'tramp' printers and unemployment in the trade emigration was a minor issue, though one often put forward in the trade journals as a solution to these other ills. Printers travelled freely around the British Isles, and the various societies and federations recognised each others' members on a reciprocal basis. Studies specifically focused on emigration organised by trade unions include that of Shepperson (1953), who examined 'industrial emigration' by operatives from various sectors, including printing, although his main discussion relates to pottery workers. His broader study helpfully includes occupational statistics for the middle of the century, which does identify print trade workers as an occupational group (Shepperson 1957, p.262-65). The economic theories underpinning the attitudes to emigration adopted by trades unions, including compositors and bookbinders, are discussed by Clements (1955), and the politics of state support for emigration are examined by Malchow (1976), providing the context in which individual movements and broader patterns of mobility among unionised workers took place. Van Vugt's (1988) study of the economic context of emigration in the mid-nineteenth century

includes a statistical overview but printers are not distinguished as an occupational group. As noted above, Southall's (1991) study of tramping artisans relates to engineering workers, but he does discuss emigration in this context. The patterns of mobility seen among British operative printers are similar to those in the Swedish trade, according to Olsson's (2010) account, which offers some parallels with the Scottish experience.

Finkelstein (2014) examines mobility among operative printers and the resulting print skills transfer between localities and across regional and national boundaries. He suggests that four broad categories of trade works can be identified through the examination of local trade society records in several towns. These characterisations of the career paths of operative printers are helpful but, as with an examination of print trade networks, can only reflect a snapshot of individual lives, and lack a temporal perspective. Individuals might, for example, appear to be in the category of 'solid, long-lasting anchor' through many years of membership records, but an examination of records from twenty years previously might place them in one of the mobile categories (Finkelstein 2014, pp.159-61). This concept and the additional complexities of allowing for different stages in the career and life of individuals will be explored more fully in the examination of 'print trade lives' in chapter six.

Summary

While various aspects of the nineteenth century printing allied trades have been explored in depth, most studies have focused on larger centres or on the large companies. The concentration on the production of books, daily newspapers and large-circulation weekly or monthly periodicals has privileged London and large urban centres such as Manchester and Edinburgh to the exclusion of the far more numerous small towns. While individuals, usually business owners, in these smaller centres have also inspired some interest, general studies of the production of print, as opposed to the circulation of printed matter within them are lacking. These local print economies, however, were linked with each other and with the major centres through trade mobility. Operative printers moved through centres of all sizes in search of work.

This study is an attempt to look beyond the general focus on book and newspaper production in major centres and to consider the production of print in all its forms and

its producers in the regional context, examining the trade in a smaller regional centre, as well as examining the trade networks that supported and connected operative printers.

Chapter 2

Sources and methods

In order to re-construct the clearest possible picture of a regional print economy, of the main print centre within it and of the networks linking it with other such centres, a broad range of contemporary material, both manuscript and print, was consulted. Nineteenth century organisations, institutions and individuals including those relating to the printing industry, have left a wealth of resources for study, both archival and print, but the very scale and variety of these resources creates issues of selection, arrangement and evaluation. Defining the temporal and geographical limits of the study, and the specific issues to be explored within this framework, was therefore the first step. Having established the boundaries, and considered what sources were available within them, their relative merits in relation to the study of the printing industry was assessed.

The proliferation of print during the period is in itself a rich resource, and it is possible that printers were more inclined to print trade documents and maintain journals than other trades were. The material record of the local printing industry includes newspapers, other periodicals, other local publications, and any extant samples of the printed ephemera which was produced and consumed locally. As the century progressed, other sources such as local and trade directories were produced, providing detailed snap-shots for particular dates. Manuscript material has also survived on a greater scale from this period. The surviving records of trade organisations, businesses and individuals, both manuscript and print, were explored in order to investigate both the print centre and the inter-relationships within it which together formed the local print economy. These sources also contain information about the connections between centres, from which a greater understanding of the operation of the wider networks in the trade and how they functioned, can be derived.

The next two sections of this chapter define the temporal and geographical framework, the overall scale of the study, and the rationale for those limits. The following section explores the concepts of a regional print economy and of a regional print centre. The next section of the chapter will examine the range of available contemporary sources for the study of Scotland's regional printing industry, evaluating their relative merits in the

context of this project. It will also explore in what ways this material illuminates the operational functioning of a single regional economy, south-west Scotland, together with an examination of the structure of the print trade within the print centre itself. The question of how far this region can be regarded as typical will also be considered. The ways in which data from different regional print centres can be combined and compared in order to reconstruct the networks that connected regional print centres and the individuals active in the trade. Finally, the issues of data management, and the options for future, larger-scale studies exploiting data from this and other centres will be considered.

Setting the limits: temporal

Research undertaken as part of the *Printers on the Move* project (Finkelstein 2010) had identified a large body of extant print trade records from the second half of the nineteenth century in the main centres for the Scottish printing industry, notably Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee. There are also numerous survivals for the rest of the British Isles, including societies in Ireland.[1] An initial examination of the membership lists and registers for the Edinburgh and Glasgow societies, which date mainly from the mid-1850s onwards, highlighted the fact that many of the individuals listed as members in each centre had an employment history that included time spent in other places. A survey of places of origin (for those arriving in town) or destination (for those leaving) in the available membership data for the Edinburgh and Glasgow societies in the second half of the nineteenth century showed that more than sixty Scottish towns are mentioned at least once. This amounts to more than twice the number of the Scottish Typographical Association (STA) branches in existence at the time. In some of the smaller towns, where many individuals completed their apprenticeships, there were no formally constituted union branches, and union membership would have been administered through the nearest branch. Some smaller print centres did have union branches, for example Banff, Elgin and Wick, while members based in towns such as Auchterarder and Crieff in Perthshire, or Anstruther in Fife paid their dues to the nearby branches of Perth and Cupar respectively.

Apart from the records surviving for the four major centres mentioned above, references

1 Branch records have been identified institutions including the Working Class Movement Library in Manchester, the Modern Records Centre at the University of Warwick, and in local archives and library collections throughout the British Isles.

to three other Scottish branches were found.[2] The minutes of the Perth Branch of the STA, dating from 1868 onwards, are held in the local archives in the A K Bell Library in Perth (MS40), and those of the Dumfries Branch, and its predecessor organisations dating back to 1831, are held in the Ewart Library in Dumfries (GGD25). According to MacDougall (1978) the records of the Stirling Branch, covering the period from 1867 onwards, were still in the hands of the branch itself, but I have been unable to ascertain their current whereabouts.[3] An initial examination of the surviving records of the Perth and Dumfries Branches suggested the possibility of a comparative analysis of the two towns, both regionally important print centres, and both with established trade societies representing print trade operatives. Other resources available in both places include locally printed weekly newspapers, post office directories, a limited collection of business records and, of course, the official records such as census, birth, marriage and death records, shipping passenger lists, and the voting and valuation rolls.

The surviving records of the Perth Branch of the STA proved to be fairly limited. They consist only of the minutes of branch meetings from the late 1860s, although it is clear that the branch had a much earlier existence. No membership lists or branch accounts survive. The first entry in the minute books for Dumfries, however, is dated 31 December 1831, and the society had an almost unbroken existence from that date onwards, despite the varying fortunes of the wider federations with which it was associated. From its foundation, the Dumfries Typographical Union, as it was known, was involved in the affairs of the Northern Typographical Union, based in Manchester, and was one of the most active Scottish societies. Relations with other societies, especially Edinburgh and Glasgow, could be fraught. Dumfries was in the forefront of moves to create a national Scottish union in 1836, the General Typographical Society of Scotland. It became one of the founding branches of the STA in 1853. In addition to the minutes of the branch meetings, there are lists of members for a number of dates throughout the century, together with supporting material such as meeting attendance registers.[4] Approximately ten years of the society's accounts from the 1830s and 1840s

2 More may exist: as more locally held catalogues for archival collections are put online, other branch records may be found. Since beginning this study it has emerged that, for example, the records of the Greenock Branch of the STA are now in the archives of Inverclyde Council. The Greenock records have not been examined for this study.

3 They are not in the collections at the University of Stirling, Stirling Council Libraries or the National Records of Scotland.

4 See Appendix one.

are also extant. The accounts not only record the dues paid by members, and the sickness or unemployment benefits they received, but also record the names, place of origin, and date of arrival of tramping printers who passed through the town. This is a particularly unusual survival, and provides evidence of the existence of other societies in towns across Great Britain and Ireland, and of the reciprocal arrangements that existed between them.

A more detailed study of the area covered by a single branch, considering the context within which its print trade operated and the wider relationships with other trade organisations thus formed a more balanced project. As well as marking the foundation of the Dumfries Typographical Union, the early 1830s mark the beginning of a number of transformations affecting society in general. The operations of the Dumfries trade organisation can be considered in the context of the parallel changes in the transport system brought by the development of the railway system; the increase in demand for print; technological changes in print production methods; political reform movements; and, finally, the changing legal basis of union organisations. These issues will be explored more fully in chapters three and four.

Setting the limits: geographical

As discussed in chapter one, the operation of the printing and allied trades in the south western area of Scotland have not been the subject of any detailed or comprehensive study, although the history of the eighteenth century Rae press has been studied (Couper 1918; Stewart 1906). The Royal Burgh of Dumfries was the largest urban centre in the region, and was already well established as a print centre for the region by the end of the eighteenth century, remaining as the dominant print centre in Dumfries and Galloway throughout the nineteenth century. Any line drawn to define the 'sphere of influence' within which Dumfries' print trade dominated inevitably has an arbitrary quality. The starting point for considering the geographical limits for this study was therefore the administrative boundaries, and patterns of trade and communications in the area during the period under study. Historically the town was a strategic and commercial centre for the whole south-west region of Scotland. It is probable that transport changes, particularly the building of a network of railways, and the changes in the pattern of coastal shipping, reduced its overall economic importance as the nineteenth century progressed. Its national significance however, which dated back to medieval times, lay

in its strategic position near the border with England, and its port operations, as well as its position at a crossing point of major routes connecting Scotland and England, and that connecting the western and eastern border regions.

The county of Dumfries itself is mainly rural. However, unlike counties such as neighbouring Peeblesshire, in which the county town of Peebles is situated in the middle of the area for which it was the focus, Dumfries is set at the very western edge of the county for which it serves as the administrative and trading centre. The town lies on the eastern bank of the River Nith, and the neighbouring townships of Troqueer and Maxwelltown which effectively became suburbs of Dumfries as new bridges were constructed across the river during the nineteenth century, were in the neighbouring county, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. They were in fact merged into the burgh of Dumfries in 1929, but it is clear that for many years before that they had acted as residential areas for those whose place of employment was east of the river.

The modern administrative region of Dumfries and Galloway includes these two historic counties, together with Wigtownshire to the west. The three counties together cover the whole of the south-west corner of Scotland and as well as geographical unity, there is evidence that the area had some commercial unity, which will be explored further in the next section. In addition, a preliminary inspection of the trade sources indicated that in the early years of the trade organisation, the small number of operative printers in the town of Stranraer at the western edge of the whole region sought to associate themselves with the society operating in Dumfries, although there was later an independent society in Stranraer. The trade societies and union branches were usually based in medium-sized towns where there were enough journeymen compositors and press- or machine-men to sustain them but members, as in this case, were often drawn from a wider area.

As noted above, the town of Dumfries had grown up on the crossing point of the north-south route from Glasgow to Carlisle and the towns of Lancashire, and the east-west route through the border region between Scotland and England. In printing industry terms, the trade in the town was on a small scale, but this position meant that despite the limited range of employment opportunities it offered, there was a disproportionately large transient population of printers. Managing the support for these fellow-members

of ‘the trade’ was an important impetus for the establishment of the Dumfries society, and for its engagement with other trade organisations throughout the United Kingdom from its earliest existence. It was therefore also closely involved with the earliest attempts to create federal structures of trade societies, and an active participant organisation within those structures. These issues will be explored in more detail in chapter four.

Defining print economies and print centres

While the phrase ‘self-sufficient small and market town print economy’ (Finkelstein and McCleery 2007, p.93) is a helpful short-hand term for the operations of the printing trade within one of the smaller regional centres, it requires further elaboration to clarify the concept. In terms of the model referred to in chapter one,[5] a print economy forms the ‘intersection’, that is the locality in which people engaged in the production of printed matter, the regional marketplace for print, and the surviving material record of printed products available within that marketplace exist and interact. However, each individual ‘print economy’ does not merely operate within its own boundaries but has a wider region surrounding it, which forms a kind of ‘catchment area’, in this case a more sparsely populated rural region. The print centres are also linked to others. In the chosen case of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries, taking the print economy to include the administratively separate but commercially connected settlements of Maxwelltown and Troqueer, the town is also connected to other urban settlements, both those on a much larger scale, such as Carlisle to the south and Glasgow to the north, and the smaller towns of the overall region, such as Annan, Moffat, Sandquhar, Kirkcudbright, Castle Douglas, Newton Stewart, Stranraer, Wigton, etc. These links are made explicit in the printed record. Pigot (1837, p.359), for example, lists coach services to Kirkcudbright, Langholm and Portpatrick, as well as those to Carlisle, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and more than thirty towns in the three counties were served by carriers moving goods from Dumfries. The local newspapers themselves offer further evidence of the area through which the newspaper circulated, particularly in the first half of the century when nearly all the newspaper in the region were printed in Dumfries.[6] The ‘Births, Marriages, and Deaths’ column of the *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Herald and Advertiser* for 23 October 1835 (p.4), for example, mentions towns from Lochmaben in the east of the region to Wigtown in the far west. Advertisements in the *Herald and Advertiser* for 11

5 See chapter one, page seventeen.
6 See Appendix two.

April 1851 (p.1) include a farm to let in Borgue, the post of precentor in the church at Kirkpatrick Durham (both in Stewartry of Kirkcudbright), and a notice of a dog lost in the Kirkmichael district of southern Ayrshire, and a farm to let near Brough in Cumberland. At its launch, the *Dumfries Times* listed the agents through which it could be purchased: twenty four towns outside Dumfries are listed, including Carlisle, Edinburgh, Glasgow and London. The rest are all in Dumfriesshire, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright or in Wigtownshire (*Dumfries Times*, 24 January 1833, p.1). Of the twenty agents throughout the region, four are booksellers (as is the agent in Carlisle) and William Cuthbertson in Annan is a printer. Of the others for whom a designation is given, ten are merchants, and the others include an accountant, a teacher, a 'spirit dealer' and John Turner, the innkeeper at New Abbey in the Stewartry. This in itself illustrates the dangers of too narrow a definition of a print trade business.

Within this regional print economy, Dumfries was the largest print centre throughout the nineteenth century. Its dominance can be seen from the listings in Kelly's (1880) trade directory.[7] Within the Royal Burgh twelve firms are listed in the printing and allied trades, of which six include printing itself as part of their business. Three weekly newspapers were published in the town, and the monthly literary periodical, *New Moon*, which was produced at the Royal Crichton Institution, is also mentioned. Of the eleven other towns within the region which are listed in the directory, only one, Lockerbie had as many as five related businesses, three of which were printers. Three other towns (Castle Douglas, Newton Stewart, and Stranraer) had four related businesses, and all the rest had fewer. No town, apart from Dumfries itself, had more than a single newspaper published within it. At the beginning of the century, Dumfries was therefore the focus of the printing industry for the whole of south west Scotland, and remained so throughout the period under consideration. The scale and nature of the regional printing and allied trades will be explored fully in chapter five.

Trade sources: archival

The minute books, accounts and membership lists of the Dumfries Branch of the STA and its predecessor bodies form the core of this study. The earliest item is the minute of the inaugural meeting of the Dumfries Typographical Union in December 1831. The six members present at this founding meeting were all employed in the burgh's two

7 These details are taken from the alphabetical list of places in Scotland (Kelly & Co, 1880, pp.897-939).

newspaper printing offices, the *Dumfries Journal* and the *Dumfries Courier*. In July 1836 it became part of the General Typographical Association of Scotland (GTAS), as one of the founding branches, and changed its name to the Dumfries Typographical Society. When the GTAS itself ceased to exist because its constituent branches were reorganised to become the Northern Board of the National Typographical Association, it became the Dumfries Branch of the new association. The National Typographical Association collapsed in 1848, a new Dumfries Typographical Society was formed on 23 June 1848 (GD25/1; GD25/2). A number of letters from the Glasgow Typographical Society are referred to in the minutes of meetings for September and October 1852, and at the meeting held on 21 January 1853, the Dumfries Typographical Society became one of the founding branches of the Scottish Typographical Association. The name most often used in the minutes for this organisation, which through all name and structural changes, continued to represent the operative printers of Dumfries, was the Dumfries Typographical Society (DTS). This last name will be used for convenience, when referring to the local trade organisation.

Meetings were minuted in great detail, especially in the early years, and the minute books include a range of other material, such as the rules of the society, written out in full. The first rules agreed by the members are dated early in 1832 and were based on those of pre-existing similar organisations. There are also, especially in the earlier period, copies of letters to other societies in Scotland and to the Northern Typographical Union, based in northern England. The answers received are also sometimes recorded. As might be expected, issues raised at meetings include administrative matters, the level of benefits paid to members, the number of apprentices in town, and negotiations with local employers over working hours and pay rates. Relations with other typographical societies, and reports of the proceedings of some delegate meeting also feature. The issue of ‘tramping’ printers who passed through Dumfries in considerable numbers recurred regularly in the early years, and information can also be gleaned from the minutes about the lives of individual members. This aspect of the minutes will be explored in more detail in chapter six.

Membership and meeting attendance lists are also included in the minute books, but not all are dated. These lists have been transcribed in full and can be found in Appendix 1. Additional membership lists are sprinkled through the books in the form of short lists of

names and the dates noting when the individuals joined or left the DTS. All these lists can be challenging to interpret, not least because when a member moved on or was 'struck off' for any reason, their name was crossed out. It has been possible to establish at least an approximate date for all of these lists.

Figure 2: meeting attendance register 1860-1864 (GD25/2)[8]

The meeting attendance register from the 1860s (figure 2) illustrates the challenges of those membership records which are available. A member leaving the society for reasons varying from going 'on tramp' to expulsion for arrears for working in an 'unfair' office was quite literally struck off.

Information on individual members can also be gleaned from the minutes themselves, though the quality of this is variable as it depends on the secretary in post. Some detail in relation to the lives and careers of individual careers can be gleaned from references to elections, members listed as present at meeting or fined for absence, and the names of those proposing and seconding motions. On some occasions, when a member's qualifications are queried, the individual is involved in a dispute or has behaved in a manner that the society as a body regarded as unacceptable, matters are reported in more detail. Names, however, are not always spelled accurately: Robert Bower (as he signs himself) is sometimes referred to as Robert Bowers. A printed list of the members, dated 28 March 1892, was pasted into the cover of the third minute book (GD25/3),[9] which also gives the age of each member at that date. For most of the century, it is difficult to be sure exactly how many members the DTS had at any one time, but at the

8 See list 15, Appendix 1.
9 See list 21, Appendix 1.

time of this list there were thirty nine, and the list has been annotated by hand, marking who was an apprentice. There are also several subsequent, dated lists, drawn up by hand at the back of the minute book covering the dates 1890-1937 (GD25/3), which give details of the later lives of the individuals on the printed list.

The other element of the DTS records that has survived are the accounts which cover the dates from the beginning of 1832 to the end of 1847, although there are some gaps. The income columns in these accounts record contributions paid in, and fines collected, and the occasional donation. While the fines are usually attributed to an individual, the contributions, or 'dues' are not: they are listed by employer. The records of expenditure list administrative expenses, benefits paid out and the dues paid by the DTS to the broader federations to which it belonged at different times. Where money was paid out as benefit, the name of the individual recipient is often given, and in the case of tramping printers, the place of issue for the card they presented. Some individuals passed through the town on more than one occasion, giving an insight into the scale of their travel. Information of the type that can be extracted from these accounts is rarely available.

One of challenging aspects of attempting a comparative study of print operatives in different localities is the differing practices in recording membership data. Record-keeping not only varies between branches, but standards of accuracy and detail depend on the individual official. New members are sometimes acknowledged in the branch minutes, recording their full name, age, status (apprentice or journeyman), branch of the trade (case or press), employer, proposer and seconder. Members leaving the branch are less frequently mentioned in the minutes, although if moving to another branch the scale of any benefit awarded and sometimes also their destination may be listed if a card has been issued to them. This level of detail, however, is rarely available consistently even when membership lists and the full minutes are available. The deaths of long-standing members are also sometimes recorded in the minutes, with short obituary notices, and at the end of the period, mention is made of members who are in receipt of superannuation payments. However, in the absence of attendance registers for all meetings, it is difficult to be sure that a member who is taking no active part in meetings, for example in proposing or seconding motions, is present or absent.

For some individuals, almost the full details of their membership of a trade society can be reconstructed if all three elements of the records are available. Taken together they can provide information about place of origin (if not local), disciplinary matters, participation in union affairs/strikes, membership of committees, election as an official and removal and emigration grants paid. For others, very little is known. Selected individual lives have been reconstructed in chapter six.

Trade sources: print

The printed trade journals which were produced by and for the typographical societies, can supplement this archival evidence. The earliest of these periodicals was the *Compositors' Chronicle*, published from September 1840 until August 1843 under the auspices of the London Society of Compositors. A number of other short-lived titles were published during the 1840s, such as the *Typographical Gazette* from 1846 to 1847. As the trade organisations became more stable, the main monthly periodicals were published by the unions themselves. The *Scottish Typographical Circular* was published by the Edinburgh Branch of the STA, but was distributed through all branches. The *Typographical Circular* was published by the Provincial Typographical Association (later the Typographical Association), which represented letterpress printers outside the London area. London, by a considerable margin the largest print centre in the country, had separate unions for its compositors and the press or machine-men but had co-operative arrangements with the other letterpress unions. The organisational structures in the letterpress sector of the print trade will be examined in more detail in chapter four.

The content of these journals covered a wide range. The *Compositors' Chronicle*, for example, included reports of delegate meetings of the trade's federal bodies such as the Irish Typographical Association and the General Typographical Association of Scotland. These occupied many column inches, as did accounts of disputes. Letters and reports from typographical societies in America and Australia were also published in its columns. The contents also included literary works, including poems, short stories, and some longer, serialised items: the latter included 'Stray chapters from the life of Wimble Flash, a typographic cosmopolite' which purported to be the reminiscences of a tramping printer and appeared in seven parts between October 1842 and April 1843. The management of unemployment and particularly the tramping system were major issues

in the period, as were the associated costs and administration of the benefit system which supported unemployed and tramping members. Suggestions for alternative ways of managing unemployment loom large in its pages. In addition to the editorial matter and articles, there is an extensive correspondence on the subject.

One of the solutions for unemployment in the letterpress printing trade proposed was emigration. It is clear that transnational links already existed within the printing trade. The second issue acknowledged the receipt of the:

> constitution and bye-laws of a typographical association established at New Orleans. We are informed, upon good authority, that the association is in a very flourishing condition and has been found highly useful in obtaining a fair remuneration for labour. (*Compositors' Chronicle* 5 October 1840, p.11)

The issue of emigration is also highlighted in the discussion, across several of the early issues, of the employment conditions for compositors in Australia, which was based on correspondence received, such as the letter, dated 4 July 1840, from T. Tucker the secretary of the 'Australian Society' in Sydney, to his counterpart in London, in the fourth issue. He sought to dissuade British printers from travelling, because of 'the present state of the trade here, and the small chance there is of their obtaining permanent employment' (7 December 1840, p.25).

For the purposes of this study, however, the most useful element of the *Compositors' Chronicle* and later journals are the reports from individual branches on the state of the local trade, and the small notices some of which appear in the columns labelled 'To Correspondents' and 'Facts and Scraps'. As well as recording the existence of new branches, and the demise of some of the smaller ones, there is information on the whereabouts of individual printers, which in some cases confirms or complements information found in the records of the individual societies. On 5 March 1836, according to the DTS accounts, a tramping printer named J Harrison Clarkson, accompanied by his wife and child, was paid four shillings, despite his lost card. At the branch meeting held on 8 April 1836, the secretary was instructed to write to 'the Northern Union, exposing and describing an individual calling himself James Harrison Clarkson, a Compositor, who has most shamefully imposed on our Society' (GD25/1 8 April 1836). Unfortunately, this attempt to publicise his activities seems to have been ineffective, and five years later, in the 'Facts and Scraps' section of the sixth issue of *Compositors' Chronicle* there was a 'Caution to printers':

> A tall, thin, pale-faced man marked with the small pox, 35 years of age, named J H Clarkson, by trade a printer, absconded from his lodgings at Mr Cooper's, High Cross-street, in this town, on Monday, Dec 7th, taking with him two blankets, sheets and a coverlet, the property of Cooper. He came from Manchester, had been working in Leicester about twelve months, and has borrowed several pounds, which he still owes, from his employer, in the pretence that he wished to furnish a house. He is a married man, with two children. He wore a low-crowned hat, with a large crop of bushy hair underneath it, and was dressed in a dark suit of clothes, worse for wear. (1 February 1841, p.45)

As well as both confirming and adding to the archive record in Dumfries, this passage illustrates another of the motivating factors for co-operation between the benefit societies: the prevention of fraud.

On the demise of the *Compositors' Chronicle*, a new title, *The Printer*, was established also in London which lasted from November 1843 until June 1845. Its contents were very similar, and included literary and 'general interest' material alongside correspondence and articles on matters relating to working conditions and technological innovation such as the new typesetting machines, but there are fewer detailed reports from individual branches. The *Typographical Protection Circular* was published in London from 1849 until at least 1853. Issue number 48 (December 1852, p.220), for example, included reports from Derby, Hull, Taunton, Edinburgh and Glasgow, the last of these including an announcement that the STA was to be established the following month. The report from Northampton in the issue for January 1853 illustrates another common problem in relation to the societies' funds:

> a person named *McCabe*, who left his work on the *Northampton Mercury* without giving the usual notice. He was Secretary to the Society, of whose money he took 2s. […] There is a person named Philip Hargreaves travelling with a Northampton card, which is a forgery. (*Typographical Protection Circular* January 1853, p.223)

The *Typographical Societies' Monthly Circular*, later the *Provincial Typographical Circular*, and then the *Typographical Circular*, all published for the most part in Manchester, fulfilled the same function for the rest of the century.

Matters concerning the Scottish societies and the names of individual members do appear in these journals, but from September 1857 the Edinburgh Typographical Society published the *Scottish Typographical Circular* on a monthly basis, until the early years of the twentieth century, when the STA Executive took over responsibility for publication and changed the title to *Scottish Typographical Journal*, although the nature

of its content remained substantially the same. The sixth issue, for February 1858 (p.21), claimed that circulation had risen from 1,037 for the first issue to 1,173 for the fifth. The next issue reported that the Edinburgh Branch had relieved 50 cards '19 English, 1 French, 6 Irish, and 24 Scotch. Among the cards issued – 1 for Hong Kong, and 1 for the US' (September 1858, p.51). In addition to administrative matters, reports on the state of trade and new technologies, and literary contributions, there are also reports of celebrations, such as a dinner held to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the *Dumfries Courier*, on 3 January 1860:

> A five o'clock the party sat down to an excellent dinner, provided in Mr Clark's best style – the chair being taken by W R M'Diarmid, Esq, co-proprietor and editor, the vice-chair being filled by Mr Mitchell, sub-editor. […] The whole staff of the *Courier* – from the editor to the "devil" - was present. After dinner, toast and song went round in quick succession; and altogether a most happy and agreeable evening was spent. (*Dumfries Courier* February 1860, pp.193-94)

Reports of delegate meetings, information on printing offices 'closed' to members and the names of branch secretaries also appear regularly. Later issues include lists of cards issued, giving the place of origin and the destination. Obituaries for individual members from branches throughout Scotland appear from early in 1858.

Sources for business

As already noted, the nineteenth century saw a dramatic growth in the scale of print production throughout the country. This was partly due to the increase in size of the book and newspaper printing offices in the major urban centres, but there was also an increase in the number and the geographical spread of printing offices, many of them fairly small-scale, to smaller towns. A significant proportion of these businesses lasted for only a few years and most have left no traces. There may be very few archival survivals even for larger and longer lasting firms, but records have survived of some. While, in the case of the Dumfries and Galloway region, their extent does not rival those of the typographical societies, as detailed above, these archives do provide valuable insights into the business of running a print-trade business in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Very occasionally, detailed business records may have survived. For businesses such as the Edinburgh book printing firm of T & A Constable (Dep.307/174), or the *Scotsman* printing office (Acc.11812/162), there is a substantial archival record which includes detailed information about wage rates paid, and to whom. These wage records may give

the start and end date of a period of employment, the hours worked and level of wages, and print trade occupation and career stage (apprentice/journeyman/foreman). Although not directly linked to the printing industry in Dumfries, and the south-west region of Scotland, these records, taken in conjunction with the membership records for the typographical societies and unions, have the potential to provide supplementary information on the careers of individual print trade operatives. Occasionally, a published company history may mention particularly valued or long-serving members of staff, but this is less commonly found in these publications than information on the owners or managerial staff of a company.

Such detailed sources of information on individual companies are rarely available for smaller regional printers, even those with a long and continuous history. Those records that survive may be fragmentary. In the case of Dumfries, there are a number of legal records relating to company formation, from the second half of the century, or the sequestration process following a business failure. The latter are far more informative. The minutes and accounts of the sequestration proceedings, begun in 1811, for the Dumfries bookselling business of George Johnstone (Acc.10262) give an indication, through the lists of creditors, of the publishers whose works he stocked, and through the lists of customers, of the reach of his business throughout the region. The same is true of the sequestration records for Currie & Company, described as 'Print and Music Sellers, Gilders, Booksellers, Stationers, News Agents, Bookbinders and Printers', on a petition of the wholesale stationers James Lumsden, Sons & Co of Glasgow in April 1879 (CS318/24/107). Neither set of records includes any information about individual employees, but they both offer insights into the operation and scope of the regional print economy, which will be considered further in chapter five.

Detailed financial records have survived for a few years in the 1850s for one of the newspaper printing businesses in Dumfries. The 'Cash book' (accounts) and the 'Blotter book' (the rough copy used to prepare the accounts) for the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* (GD 4/23; GD 4/24) record the overall sums paid to the printing staff, but not their names. The editor, William McDowall received £2 per week, twice the sum paid to the proprietor of the printing office, William Burgess. Other more occasional payments were made to workers such as Jerry Knight, who was paid a shilling on 10 February 1855 for 'posting Mechanics' bills'. Bills (or posters) and other

business or jobbing printing which formed the mainstay of many regional print shops, constitute another potential source of information, although only a very small proportion has survived as these items were not much valued at the time of production, or seen as 'collectable' by contemporaries, either individuals or collecting institutions such as libraries. It must also be remembered that all material survivals in fact form a limited selection from a much larger whole.

The costs of setting up in business and equipping existing ones for new and changing processes and technologies such as faster and more complex printing machines are likewise illuminated by the business accounts which are available, together with the catalogues of manufacturers such as Greig (1889) and Miller and Richard (1869). Another source is the advertisements and listings in trade directories, for example Kelly & Co (1872-1896) of which the first edition was published in 1872. These, however, are naturally focused on new machinery, and while it is clear that there was a second hand market for print technology, its extent and the prices paid are less easy to assess. Smaller print-shops and journeymen entering the trade as small masters are particularly likely to have used this route, but are also the businesses which are least likely to have left any traces. In a region such as south-west Scotland, where street directories were not produced on an annual basis at any point in the nineteenth century, businesses might easily come and go between the scattered editions, and leave little or no indication that they had ever contributed to the regional print economy.

Newspapers and other general sources

As well as sources specific to the printing and allied trades, or to the south-west region of Scotland and the town of Dumfries itself, general sources such as newspapers and directories shed light on the area's print economy and on the lives of individuals. Locally produced newspapers also have a more geographically distributed readership than the town in which they are printed and its immediate surroundings. Publication often took place on market day, or on the day before, to take advantage of visitors to the town as well as increased local trade. In Perth, for example, where market day was Friday, in the 1850s three of the four newspapers, the *Perthshire Advertiser and Strathmore Journal*, the *Perthshire Courier, Farmers' Journal and Central Scottish Advertiser*, and the *Northern Warder and General Advertiser for the Counties of Perth, Fife and Forfar*, were published on Thursday mornings (Post Office 1850). The weekly

newspapers for the south-west region and their changing pattern of publication through the nineteenth century will be considered in more detail in chapter five, as they form a significant feature of the local print economy. The newspapers, of course, are also an important source of information on the production and circulation of print in the region. In addition, as Blair (2016, p.xii) has commented, in her study of the *People's Journal* of Dundee in the mid- nineteenth century, 'most newspapers of this period were passed from hand to hand, read aloud in the workplace, posted to relatives overseas, ordered for communal reading rooms and generally treated as shared property'.These newspapers occasionally carry editorial matter or articles referring to trade matters such as participation in civic events, or the installation of new printing machines, as well as carrying advertisements for printed matter available through the town's booksellers. In the case of the newspapers published within the town of Dumfries itself, an index to the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser and its Predecessors over 200 Years* has been complied, of which the first four volumes cover the period up to the end of the nineteenth century (Urquhart 1980-84). Despite the exclusion of rival titles, and the limitations imposed by the need to search each title and period separately, they provide a valuable access point to the newspapers, few of which are available online. As well as indexing editorial matter, articles and correspondence, the advertising columns and the names from announcements in the personal columns are also included, and some entries include additional information (unreferenced) about individuals, for example, the entry for Alexander Williamson in volume one, states that he was a 'newspaper owner and journalist' and the last editor of the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, which ceased publication in 1833; he was also the great-grandson of Robert Jackson, who had established the *Journal*, and a cousin of one of the founders of the *Dumfries & Galloway Standard*, and that he later 'pioneered newspapers' in the western United States and Canada, and held the contract for printing for Wells, Fargo & Company (Urquhart v.1 1980, pp.84-168). Newspapers produced in Glasgow and Edinburgh also circulated throughout Scotland's regions, as did titles published in London. News and announcements relating to the regions likewise appeared in these papers. The *Scotsman*, for example, carried a notice announcing the sequestration of the bookselling and stationery business of John Johnstone in Dumfries (*Scotsman* 17 November 1841, p.3). The *Glasgow Herald* for 7 April 1882 included a notice announcing the rates to be charged on the toll roads throughout Dumfriesshire for the year, in between notices about court reports from Kilmarnock (bigamy) and Dunfermline (concerning the pawning of a Singer sewing

machine) (*Glasgow Herald* 7 April 1882, p.7). The local papers themselves made extensive use of material printed in the London dailies and elsewhere, especially for reports of speeches and proceedings in parliament, or news from abroad.

Additional printed sources of information for local businesses are general directories. While these were published frequently in the larger towns, and in the later years of the century on an annual basis, coverage is far more patchy in the regions. In Perth, for example, from the mid-century onwards a new edition was published on average every two to three years, and sometimes annually. The Post Office directory for Greenock was published every other year between 1847 and 1857, and annually thereafter. In Stirling and Dumfries, however, local directories were published irregularly and fairly infrequently, but can include the names of those pursuing fairly humble occupations, such as washer-woman and colporteur (book-pedlar), adding to the information which can be gleaned about individuals from any surviving trade and employment records.

Official sources

All the surviving archival and printed material directly related to the printing trade, and contemporary local publications can be supplemented by information made available through official records. These include the decennial census, which becomes useful on an individual basis from 1851, and in some cases from 1841; statutory registration of vital events (birth, marriage, death) from 1837 in England and Wales, and from 1855 in Scotland, and other more limited records such as those relating to travel or military service. At an aggregate level, the occupational data in the census provides an indication of changes in employment patterns in the printing and allied trades, but these figures have to be treated with some caution. The occupational status of women can often be under-reported, and some occupational categories, for example that of ‘printer’, can be ambiguous. In areas where textile dying and printing are major employers, enumerators do not necessarily distinguish between individuals employed in the letterpress or lithographic trades, and those employed as calico printers. However, despite their limitations, the existence of these information sources make it possible to investigate the lives of individuals in ways that are not possible for earlier periods.

In the context of this study, the existence of a reliable printed list of typographical society members, which also stated the age for each individual on 28 March 1892,

provided a reference point that was close enough in time to a census date (5 April 1891) to allow all the individuals on the list to be traced in the returns. The additional information on place of birth, marital status and other household members such as parents, spouse or children assisted with tracing each individual for other census years and in other sources. Changes in occupational status, or to other occupations could also be tracked, and in addition, the use of census data highlighted instances where print trade operatives were living in close proximity with other individuals, either as household members or as neighbours, employed in similar or allied trades. Scottish birth, marriage and death records are available in full from 1855 and are detailed enough to provide further insights into occupational status.

Information about the movements of individuals is fairly limited until the 1890s, from which point lists of out-going passengers on longer voyages have been preserved. These cover in particular passengers travelling to the United States, Canada, and South Africa, and those travelling directly to the Indian subcontinent, the Far Eastern ports, Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania. For these latter destinations, after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 a proportion of long-distance travellers left via the Channel ports, and travelled overland to the south of France where they embarked on their sea voyage via the Mediterranean, and do not appear in the United Kingdom's embarkation records. Passenger lists, where they have survived, may include enough details, such as name, age and occupation, to identify individuals or family groups, and provide information on the actual date of travel and the intended destination. However, the sources for any exploration of the lives of migrants once they have their destination are not readily available. In any case many returned, often though not always to their place of origin. Taking all these information sources together, for some individuals a surprisingly complete outline of their existence can be pieced together, as will be seen in chapter six.

Reconstructing print trade lives

From this range of information sources, some of which are unclear or contradictory, it is possible to attempt to reconstruct 'a printer's life'. In the period under investigation, letterpress remained the dominant process, and a significant proportion of the operative printers, both compositors and press- or machine-men, within this sector of the trade were members of benefit societies and later of the typographical unions. It is however, important to bear in mind that while most of the surviving documentary evidence (apart

from official records) relates to these individuals, many others were employed in 'the trade'. Aside from other operative printers who were eligible to join the typographical societies/unions, but chose not to, there were also other workers, usually labelled 'unskilled'. Their numbers increased as the century progressed and machine men became supervisors of a number of assistants working with the faster and more complex machines which came into use even in the smaller centres. Assistants were employed in a range of roles within a printing office: feeding paper into the printing machines, or taking it off; operating the foundry equipment for the manufacture of stereotype plates; labouring in the paper store, and sundry other roles such as packing and delivery of the finished goods. Workers in other print trade sectors such as lithographic printers, stereotypers and electrotypers were not organised into print unions until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, nor were those regarded as 'unskilled' within any print trade sector. While employees in trades such as bookbinding and papermaking were organised from early in the nineteenth century, in these trades the unions also tended to resist the participation of those regarded as 'unskilled', a category which in all sectors tended to include women whatever role they actually filled. Very rarely, the personal papers of an individual operative printer survive. Adam Richardson, printer to the Royal Crichton Institution in Dumfries for twenty-one years, and intermittently a member of the DTS among other trade organisations, is one of these (DGH 1/6/6/9).

The lives of operative printers considered in chapter six are therefore selected from a limited geographical area and from a restricted occupational group. The conventional pattern for a 'skilled' operative in a letterpress printing office began with apprenticeship to master printer while still in his teens,[10] during which he usually lived with his family and earned very little, while learning the work of both case-room and press-room in the employment of a single master. After seven years as an apprentice he would attain the status of journeyman, and with several years' further experience might become a foreman, a proof-reader or a master himself. The trade societies and typographical unions operated on the assumption that their members followed this pattern and also that, once an individual had attained the status of journeyman, he would only work for 'fair' masters, that is those who paid the standard wage rate for the town in return for a standard working week, and who did not employ an excessive amount of unskilled labour or too many apprentices in relation to the number of journeymen employed. The

10 Apprenticeships were not offered to girls.

rules of these societies also assumed that any journeyman who became a master printer and ‘went into business on his own account’ would conform to these standards and operate a ‘fair’ house.

From the range of sources consulted, it is clear that the reality was much more varied. Apprentices, for example:

- were usually still living with family, but might live in lodgings;
- were expected to stay with same employer, but might ‘turnover’, or change employer;
- might join a union in the latter part of their apprenticeship;
- were quite likely to become unemployed when apprenticeship is completed.

Changing employer during apprenticeship was only approved by the trade societies and union branches if the apprentice moved town with his family, or if their employer’s business failed. Other turnovers, irrespective of the length of time employed in the printing trade, were expected to complete their time in full. A period of mobility often followed apprenticeship: if the new journeyman was already in a large centre he might be able to get enough casual employment for a period until obtaining an established situation or ‘sit’.

Having obtained the status of journeyman, and a membership card stating this, the pattern of individual lives became even more complex. Leaving aside personal circumstances, and focusing on aspects of working life, individuals might work at both case and press, or work solely either as a compositor or as a pressman/machine-man. The lives and careers of experienced journeyman printers, whether compositors or pressmen/machine-men were very varied. Valued workers might be promoted to foreman, and some did become masters. Some compositors became newspaper reporters, in some cases eventually editors. If he chose to join a union, a printer might be a union member continuously, or an ‘intermittent’ union member, that is one who leaves and rejoins several times. Some print trade workers remained with the same employer for almost their whole career, but many changed employers at least once, and overall might have one or many employers, or the same employer more than once. The reasons for moving from the place where the apprenticeship was served varied greatly as well. In periods of unemployment an individual might leave town to look for work having claimed a removal grant, then claim a tramp allowance in ‘call-houses’ in any

place with a trade society or union branch. Other reasons for leaving town included using the removal grant and tramping system to move to a place where a position had already been obtained. Additional allowances were paid to some individuals to encourage them to move on if they had participated in a strike, as a protection from the possibility of victimisation from employers. Emigration grants were paid to some individuals, but there is evidence that many returned after a short period: they were expected to repay the grant and were unlikely to be assisted again. Some individuals left the trade, either for a short period because of poor employment prospects, or for some other occupation entirely. Many members of the societies and union branches served in some capacity as an official, though not all did, and members who 'declined office' might be fined to encourage them to take on the responsibility if there was difficulty in filling posts such as president or secretary.

Having paid their dues for a minimum period, a member became entitled to benefits, of which removal grants from their own branch and tramping allowance paid by other branches was only one element. Static out-of-work benefit, as it was known, might also be available within a member's home town and in the second half of the century was seen as preferable to sending men 'on tramp', at least in the larger centres where there was more likelihood of alternative employment. Despite this, tramping did not stop entirely until the early years of the twentieth century. For those who were ill, or who were injured, sick benefit might be paid. Funeral benefits were also paid, and by the end of the nineteenth century a superannuation scheme was also in place. In addition to these benefits, for those completely incapacitated or the dependents of a deceased member, a special appeal or subscription might be raised from the members of the branch or, indeed, throughout the whole union.

Outcomes

There are two major strands to this study. Firstly, the exploration of the nature of a single small-to-medium sized print centre and the regional print economy within which it was set, during the period when printing processes changed and became industrialised, and the demand for print increased. Secondly, print centres of this type, most often based in a market town, were linked together in a network forged by the movements of operative printers working within them, and also linked to major centres of print production such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham and the

largest of all, London. The network was based on the operations of the trade societies organised and managed by the operative printers themselves. For each individual print centre there is an overlap of source materials, reflecting the interplay of individual print trade lives within the local economy.

Dumfries and south-west Scotland proved to be rich in a range of sources from which to construct a picture of the print economy of the region, and to reconstruct the networks created by operative printers to link such economies as they moved through the town. Some sources of information on individual lives and businesses were not exploited in the course of this study, but might offer further insights: examples include local valuation rolls, and voters' registers. The result, though, is still incomplete. In addition, as Musson (1974, p.8) noted in his discussion of 'writing trade union history', there are methodological problems associated with arranging 'into intelligible and interesting order' these 'miscellaneous multitude of facts' derived from the wide range of sources available for even a relatively small centre. At some periods, sufficient data from a range of sources is available, enabling the construction of a more detailed picture of the local printing industry. However, only selected individual lives and movements can be traced, and even for those individuals, gaps remain. The overall result has something of the effect of a jigsaw with missing pieces.

By focusing the study on a limited area, and considering a range of different information sources, it is possible to give an indication of the scale of the print economy within the region and of its major print centre. For this there is a reliance on secondary sources, in the absence of detailed records for the majority of the businesses. The nineteenth century saw changing production technologies, patterns of business ownership and demand for printed products, but only limited snapshots are available. However, where such records do exist they provide insights into the costs of equipping and staffing a business and the nature and scale of the output. The records of the local typographical society provide further insights, particularly with regard to the numbers employed and the relations between the business owners and their staff, and also into the scale of co-operation between businesses. In addition, the typographical society both operated within this print centre, and formed the main basis of the links connecting it to other such centres.

The records of the typographical society, both archival and printed, naturally provide the main source for the investigation of the network linking print economies, and of individual lives. Managing the data extracted from these and other relevant sources has proved challenging, and the issues this process has highlighted will feed into the future development of the relational database under development for the *Printers on the Move* project which was structured on the basis of data derived from a group of similar sources, that is membership and financial record of individual branches of the unions representing compositors and printing machine operators. To date it includes membership data gathered from the pre-First World War membership records of the Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen and Dublin Typographical Societies, and it has already proved possible to trace the movement of a number of individuals between printing centres.

Issues that have already emerged include:

- patchy coverage – where membership records survive, they are often incomplete;
- ambiguity – members are referred to by surname only, leaving doubt as to whether a single person or multiple individuals are referred to;
- variant name spellings – an example that is straightforward to interpret from the Dumfries records is John Wemyss, also referred to as John Wyness and John Wymess;
- the start of a period of membership may be clearly marked by the payment of entry-money, but its conclusion is often vague.

In the absence of membership lists and accounts as, for example, in the case of the Perth Typographical Society and for some periods also of the Dumfries Typographical Society, information on individual members can only be extracted from the minutes. This is unsatisfactory, as individuals are frequently referred to by surname only, and mentions may be scattered. The presence of those who were elected as officials, or were active participants in the business of meetings through proposing and seconding motions is recorded. Other members can only be identified where meeting attendance, or absence, is recorded, and this is rarely consistent as it depends on the preference of the secretary of the time. Although other sources such as trade journals, local and trade directories, and local newspapers, provide some additional information not all members of the union, let alone all operative printers are mentioned. Searching the census records

by street to search for additional print trade workers is a laborious task even for a very small area.

To successfully incorporate such a range of information sources, and to provide meaningful output, a database needs to function at both the macro and the micro level. At the macro level, it should be possible to interrogate the data, ideally integrated with geographic information, in such a way as to provide insights into overall patterns of membership and mobility in the printing trade. At the micro level, a structure is needed that can accommodate all the range and variety of 'print trade lives' and serve as a prosopographical tool to connect all the data on a single individual from a range of sources, and link them together, or to their fellows in a given work place, union branch, or print centre. The membership data which can be derived from the accounts, membership lists, meeting attendance rolls and minutes of the DTS in its various forms between 1831 and the end of the century provide a case-study illuminating the diversity of individual print trade lives within even such a small centre. Despite the scale of information collected and the range of the information sources available, however, there is a lack of consistency, even within official sources such as the occupational categories used in the census, which makes it difficult to be sure that any statistical inferences made on the basis of these sources are soundly based (Alloway 2007a, p.476). Any attempt to establish patterns of wider significance requires a large body of data to pass the threshold of statistical significance, and produce meaningful results.

Summary

The range and variety of resources uncovered in the course of this study illustrate the way in which trade organisations and their members functioned in Scotland's regions, and the nature of regional print centres in Scotland in the era of industrialisation in the printing and allied trades. The next chapter will examine the context for the study as a whole, before the examination of the origins and development of benefit societies and trade unions, and how local organisations related to the wider structures of the printing trade in Chapter four. Chapter five examines the nature of a regional print economy and the operation of its largest print centre, in this case Dumfries. Chapter six looks at individual careers of selected individuals. These two chapters together form an examination of the way print centres are linked together by individual movements and trade organisations.

Chapter 3

Context

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Scotland was still a largely agrarian country with a population of just over one and a half million. The pace of change over the next one hundred years was such that by 1901 the population had grown to four and a half million, despite the emigration of an estimated two and a half million individuals. In addition, the distribution of the population had changed: by 1891 more than half of Scotland's population lived in towns (Morton 2012, p.24), and the process of industrialisation and urbanisation had progressed to the point where, in common with the rest of the United Kingdom, agriculture was no longer a major source of employment.

The largest print trade businesses were naturally concentrated in the largest urban areas, mainly Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, although by the beginning of the nineteenth century thirty six Scottish towns, including Dumfries and Perth, had been home to at least one print shop. This had increased to over 200 by 1900 (National Library of Scotland 2008). In nineteenth century Scotland the increasing geographical spread of the printing trade, rising literacy levels, and general growth in trade organisations, fostered the spread of local branches of what became a national trade union. This aspect of the printing trade will be explored more fully in the next chapter.

The current chapter will explore the socio-economic context of print production in Scotland between about 1830 and the end of the century. It will examine aspects of regional and social life, changes in education and transport, and the technological advances in the printing and allied trades which influenced the operation of local print economies.

Conditions of life in nineteenth century Scotland

From around one and a half million at the beginning of the century, by 1831 Scotland's population stood at 2.4 million (Morton 2012, p.57) and the process of industrialisation and urbanisation was well underway. Instead of a country where less than a third of the population lived and worked in towns of 5,000 or more (1801 figures), nearly 60% of

Scots lived in such towns by the end of the century (1901 figures). The majority of these towns, and over 80% of Scotland's population in total, were concentrated in Scotland's central belt, an area stretching from Greenock in the west to Edinburgh in the east, and no further north than Perth and Dundee (Morton 2012, pp.81-83). Outside this area, the main centres of importance included the important north-eastern towns of Aberdeen and Inverness, the textile towns of the border regions, including Galashiels in the east, and Kilmarnock and Dumfries in the south west.

Despite the general increase in population and the progress of industrialisation and urbanisation throughout the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century, the south-west region of Scotland changed relatively little in terms of the structure of its economic activity. It remained a predominantly rural region, not sharing in the major expansion of the mining industries, particularly coal, in the neighbouring counties of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, nor in the general industrial growth, development and diversification of Scotland's central region. Expansion occurred in some industries, for example, quarrying for sandstone and granite for buildings in rapidly expanding towns such as Glasgow, and in tweed manufacture around Dumfries itself. However the region continued to be mainly dependent on the products of agriculture. The most obvious changes that did occur were related to the establishment of the railway network, and the changes in sea transport with the introduction of steam ships and iron hulls, all of which had influence on aspects of commercial life in the region, and will be explored more fully in the section on 'Mobility', below.

In the early years of the century the growth in population in Scotland's urban areas, was not matched by improvements in sanitation or in the living conditions of the poorer inhabitants, and there were recurrent epidemics of infectious diseases, particularly typhus, cholera and smallpox. Although there was substantial variation between areas, the average life expectancy for those born in 1841 in the United Kingdom was forty to forty five years. Howe (1976, pp.175-76) notes living conditions were particularly bad at this period but 'bad as they were, the apartments of the poor were more wholesome than their place of work'. Although smaller market towns escaped the worst aspects of urban overcrowding, they were not immune to the consequences of failing to address them. In the early 1830s, for example, there was a serious outbreak of cholera throughout the British Isles with over 30,000 deaths, and another in the late 1840s,

affecting Scotland in the winter of 1848-1849, and England and Wales thereafter (Howe 1976, pp.181-87).

Better understanding of the causes of disease and the benefits of clean water and better disposal of waste, meant that Scotland's towns became healthier places to live in the second half of the century. The incidence of cholera lessened and the vaccination programme for smallpox was fairly effective. Tuberculosis, however, remained a major cause of premature death throughout the century, and print trade workers were no exception. The contemporary trade journals contain frequent reference to the deaths of printers from this disease, and to the working conditions associated with it. Howe (1976, pp.178-79) also comments on one of the enduring causes of overcrowding in the growing cities: 'a general lack of transport facilities and this, coupled with the need to be living in reasonably close proximity to places of employment, led to overbuilding of sites and overcrowding in houses'.

In the early part of the century regional centres remained compact, despite the overall growth in population in most of them. However, changes in the available means of transport, examined in the section on 'Mobility', below, did have an impact on regional towns, many of which had their origins as market centres for agricultural produce and the related craft industries. Some of these places had held the status of Royal Burgh since medieval times. The status was not granted because of a town's size, but was awarded to settlements that were centres for trading, often alongside a military garrison. Royal Burghs governed their own affairs, independently of local feudal overlords, and were able to engage in foreign trade. Later this status also granted the right to send representatives to the assembly known as the Convention for the Royal Burghs, and to parliament. By the middle of the thirteenth century, as well as large and long-established centres such as Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Perth, the list of Royal Burghs included towns such as Nairn, Elgin, Montrose, Hawick, Dumfries, Annan (only 16 miles away from Dumfries), Ayr and Prestwick (Smout 1998, p.146). Other towns had the status of 'burghs of barony' which conferred a more limited range of trading privileges: there were far more of these and they varied considerably in size. By the 1830s, examples included Kilmarnock in Ayrshire, Langholm in the Dumfries and Galloway region, Kirriemuir in Forfarshire, and the 'considerable seaport town' of Peterhead in Aberdeenshire (Pigot 1837, p. 209). Both the Royal Burghs and the burghs

of barony were dominated by oligarchies of burgesses, that is the merchants who were organised into guilds, together with the craftsmen of the Incorporated Trades. The burgesses controlled town councils and elected the magistrates, and all other residents were mere 'indwellers'. The 'trades' were medieval in origin, and this was reflected in their names, for example, cordwainers, fleshers, hammermen, and wrights. Membership rules aimed at maintaining the *status quo*, and individuals aspiring to become members were required not only to pay fees, but also have completed a recognised apprenticeship. As time went on, the majority of new members of these Incorporated Trades were related to existing members (Smout, 1998, p.148). Printers, although apprenticed in a similar way to other craftsmen, were relative late-comers to this form of urban government especially in the smaller towns, and did not form their own incorporations but, if admitted as burgesses, would join the most suitable of the local Incorporated Trades. There were a number of booksellers and bookbinders among the wrights of Perth, but in St Andrews they were with the hammermen (Carnie 1958 and 1960b). The government of the Scottish burghs was reformed in 1833, eliminating the official role of the Trades and replacing them with annual elections to the council (one third of the members to retire each year) on a £10 household franchise (Morton 2012, pp.91-92).

As noted, the population of towns throughout the United Kingdom grew in the nineteenth century, but the scale of expansion varied considerably, especially outside the major towns. Motherwell, a village in the parish of Hamilton in Lanarkshire in the 1830s (Chambers 1838, v.2 p.527) had, by the 1860s:

> very much increased, both in importance and extent, chiefly owing to the great number employed by the Glasgow Malleable Iron Company (Slater 1861, p.993)[1]

Checkland and Checkland (1989, p.51) describe an alternative pattern of growth in:

> towns that remained largely agrarian, continuing to service farming regions and to provide marketing points: among them were Perth, Inverness and Dumfries. Here the rate of change though often significant was not on the same scale.

These smaller centres usually escaped the worst problems associated with rapid urban growth, although the conditions in poorer areas were also overcrowded and insanitary. By the 1860s, the overall geographical pattern of Scottish towns had assumed the form it was to take for the rest of the century, although the scale of urbanisation continued to

1 There is no independent entry for Motherwell in either Pigot (1837) or Chambers (1838).

change.

As noted above, municipal action on sanitation and water improved living conditions in all urban areas, though the timing depended on the energy of the local councils. Other improvements also followed: gas lighting was an improvement on candles, although it was not without associated risks of fumes and fire, and was used from early in the period. Electric light came much later still, and did not reach smaller settlements until well into the twentieth century. Machinery such as the newer, faster printing machines, as well as highly mechanised mills, foundries and other industrial premises outside the major centres, continued to be powered by water and steam, and later gas.

Mobility

For many, possibly most, people in nineteenth century Britain day-to-day travel meant walking, although bicycles had become commonplace among all classes by around 1890. For those who were not employed on a live-in basis, daily walking included getting to their place of employment, to shops or markets, to school and to all other business or leisure activities. Horse-drawn tram routes were found in larger towns by the 1880s, but before that living within walking distance of one's place of work was a necessity (Morton 2012, pp.115-17). Service industries, such as the jobbing sector of the print trade, needed to operate in close proximity to their business customers, including the banks, lawyers, retailers, and tradesmen. Travel between urban centres was either by road or by water, using Scotland's networks of rivers and canals, or the many coastal vessels. The road network had grown and improved over the previous hundred years, and a canal network was under construction, mainly in the central and Highland regions. Away from the canals transporting goods between towns by road meant using a carrier service of which there were many. According to Pigot (1837, pp.692-93) the Royal Burgh of Perth, for example, was linked to the towns of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen and Inverness by daily coach services. For goods, carrier services not only served towns and villages throughout Perthshire, and others in the counties of Forfarshire and Angus, and Kingdom of Fife, but also operated as far north as Inverness and Aberdeen, and to Edinburgh and Glasgow. Being 'most delightfully situated on the banks of the river Tay', the coastal trade was important, particularly the transport of potatoes grown in the area to London. There had also been 'instances lately of voyages to and from the West Indies direct by vessels of this port' (Pigot 1837, p.683-84).

This coastal trade was on a substantial scale, with goods and passengers conveyed in small sailing vessels of under 100 tons. In the 1820s 2,160 of these vessels were registered at the twenty-two ports sited on Scotland's coast and islands, including Lerwick, Kirkwall and Stornoway. The port of Dumfries was registered home to 158 of these small vessels, a number only exceeded by the ports of Leith and Greenock. The two latter of course, had many more larger vessels registered being, along with Aberdeen, Dundee and Glasgow, the largest ports, but seventeen ships over 100 tons were registered at Dumfries, and nine at Perth's inland port (Chambers 1838, v.1 p.xii). The coastal traffic continued to be important throughout the century. On land, however, the growth and spread of railways changed the pattern of travel between towns for both goods and people. The first railway line linking Edinburgh and Glasgow was opened in 1842 (Morton 2012, p.107), and by 1850 the lines between Edinburgh and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and that linking Glasgow to Carlisle via Kilmarnock and Dumfries had opened. Inverness was linked by rail to the central belt via Aberdeen and Perth by the end of the 1850s, and the direct line from Perth to Inverness was completed by 1863 (Durie 2010, p.150). The journeys to more distant destinations in America, South Africa, India, the Far East, and Australasia became shorter with the advent of steam shipping. The improvements in transport and communication occurred in parallel with new opportunities for migration including those arising from the sponsorship of emigration societies. Migration to the expanding colonies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand was encouraged, but for many emigrants the destination of choice, despite incentives offered to imperial settlers, remained America. The Scots were an exceptionally mobile people, and were found throughout the world, not only as agriculturalists, but also as soldiers, gold prospectors, and continuing to work in any trade for which they might already have the training.

Operative printers were one of the occupational groups with a tradition of providing support for eligible members 'on tramp'. Hobsbawm (1964, p.36) has noted that curriers, hatters, calico-printers and paper-makers, among others, adopted a similar model of support. As well as their established support network, letterpress printers were in communication with fellow members of 'the trade' in Canada, the United States and Australia and from the 1840s onwards, saw emigration as one potential solution to the problem of un- and under-employment at that period. Printers were among the trades

that established emigration societies which were funded by the membership to offer financial subsidies to fellow members who wished to emigrate. The stand-alone societies did not last long, but emigration schemes were written into the rules, both of the long-established typographical societies from the mid-nineteenth century and the newer unions such as the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers, which came into existence in 1880. The structures that developed to support individuals on the move and to manage this system will be examined in detail in chapter four.

Commerce and industry

The early years of the nineteenth century in Britain were dominated by wars in Europe and the Americas. Although the industrial revolution was well underway and, for example, the New Lanark cotton mill had been established in the 1780s, employment in large factories remained the experience of only a minority of workers. A period of 'distress', to use the contemporary term, followed the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815. In fact, according to Floud (1997, pp.7-8) there were as many as eleven business cycles between 1815 and 1914. The 1830s, for example, were a period of hardship in the areas depending particularly on manufactured goods, and in the 1880s the agricultural sector was particularly depressed. The period from 1873 to 1896 is often referred to as the 'Great Depression' as prices generally declined especially for agricultural produce, but the experience in individual business sectors and localities varied hugely.

According to Morton (2012, p.127) the period from the early 1830s to around 1870 was a period of economic growth led by advances in industry:

> Scotland was well placed for this development, with a strong banking system supporting a motivated business class linked to both town and country, a labour force with experience from a ra[n]ge of proto-industrial enterprises and a strong tradition of exporting to mainland Europe as well as to England.

Some towns grew along with demand for particular products: Dundee, for example, is possibly best known for the processing of linen and jute, and Kirkcaldy was a centre for linoleum production. However, despite the progress of industrialisation, agriculture and fisheries remained important elements of the economy, and regional centres dependent on these sectors changed little in character, even if they grew in size. It should also be noted that, overall 'Scotland's experience was not too different from that of the rest of the UK' (Morton 2012, p.148).

The nineteenth century also saw changes in business structures and patterns of company ownership. In the first half of the century companies were owned by sole traders and or by partnerships. However, although these forms of business ownership continued to be common, following the passing of the Companies Acts in 1855 and 1863 limited liability companies subject to clearer accounting rules, and with shareholders to satisfy, became more common. On 26 June 1889, for example, a company named 'Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald Newspaper Company Limited' was incorporated, with fifteen shares divided between five shareholders and capital of £5000. The purpose of the business was:

> To carry on, conduct, and manage the business of printers and publishers of the said newspaper, and of newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, and other literary works and publications, advertisements, bills, letters, notices, intimations, cards, and other printer matter of every description, advertising agents, bookbinders, vendors of and dealers in paper, books, and stationery of every description. (BT2/1871)

Many companies continued to be run as partnerships: George Waterston of Edinburgh, stationery and bank-note producers, continued to be run as a partnership of family members until 1914 when the limited liability company of George Waterston & Sons Limited was formed (Watson 2002, p.32). The *Glasgow Herald* was owned by partnerships for a hundred years, before a private limited company, George Outram & Company, was set up in 1903. It later became a public company in 1920 (Phillips 1982, p.168).

Working lives

Working hours for employees were long. Typefounders in Edinburgh, for example, worked a fifty-seven hour week in the 1860s (Bremner 1969, p.144). In the nineteenth century, the working week for those employed full-time might be as much as sixty hours over six days, although this varied between region and industry. The general tendency over the century was for wages to rise, and hours of work to reduce, but this did not happen uniformly for the different industries or in different localities. Engineers in Glasgow, for example, were said to earn 28s 9d for a sixty hour week in the mid 1860s, but by 1880 their wages had risen to 31s 9d, and their hours had fallen to fifty four (Knox 1999, p.89). Many workers were employed 'by the piece', that is pay was linked to work done not hours, a system that hid under-employment and the true level of casual working. Piece-work was common in the printing industry especially for compositors. Night shift wages for compositors at the *Scotsman* in the 1860s, ranged between 7d and

7¾d per 1000 ens. For the week ending 7 October 1866, for example, John Henderson and William Lyall both earned £2, but John Morgan only earned £1 9s 2d (Acc.11812/162).

Floud (1997, pp.10-11) noted that although unemployment, and under-employment were a common experience for many throughout the period between 1830 and 1914, the overall scale of unemployment, as a percentage of those of working age did not vary significantly although he also notes that this 'does not rule out patches of increasing misery'. In the printing trade, for example, the 1840s was a period of particular difficulty: according to the sixth annual report of the General Typographical Association of Scotland the industry had been 'unusually depressed' in the year under review (*Compositors Chronicle* 1 October 1842, p.209). Given the dependence of the printing industry on local customers, the 'state of trade' varied across the country. The *Scottish Typographical Circular* for April 1858 (pp.11-12) included reports from the branches for the half-year to the end of December 1857. During that period, it is reported that 'business has been above the average' in Dumfries, whereas in Perth 'trade has been dull for some months back, and little prospect of getting better'. Twenty years later the *Scottish Typographical Circular* reported that:

> There is no encouragement for men in search of work to visit Dundee just now, as we have enough surplus labour in town to meet any push that could possibly occur. (1 July 1879, p.553)

The range and variety of experience of operative printers, and their engagement with trade organisations and support structures will be explored fully in chapters four, and their working lives and career patterns in chapter six. However, in addition to the letterpress compositors and pressmen who are the main focus of this study, there were numerous other roles, both 'skilled' and 'unskilled', within the industry. The night shift staff employed in the *Scotsman'*s composing room in the 1860s, for example, included journeymen compositors, readers, 'galleys', as well as apprentices and a porter (Acc.11812/162). The casting of stereotype plates and electrotypes was done by foundrymen even in relatively small businesses, and in larger ones warehousemen managed the stores of paper, type and ink, and any stereotype plates that were to be preserved in the longer term. These occupations did not involve an apprenticeship, and were seen as 'unskilled', irrespective of the nature of the work undertaken. The rates of pay reflected this.

Apprenticeships were not open to women, but despite this women were employed in the printing trade in some towns, particularly in the latter part of the century, from the 1870s onwards. By this point the role of women in the trade had already been the subject of much debate in the pages of the trade journals. The attitudes of the time meant that, in general, women:

> were caught in a vicious circle: in low-paid jobs because they were women, while jobs were low-paid because women did them. On the rare occasions when they were doing work comparable to men's, women were regularly paid less. (Reynolds 1989, p.26)

Much of the hostility towards the employment of women demonstrated by journeymen printers was related to the fact that they accepted lower wages to perform at least some of the same tasks, but the language used was often belittling. In the 1840s, the introduction of women into composing rooms was associated with the new typesetting machines, specifically the use of the Young-Delcambre machine in a printing office in London to produce the *Family Herald*, and titles elsewhere. Writers in the *Compositors' Chronicle* are uniformly dismissive of both the machine and those operating it: the operators were described as 'factory girls' and 'elderly ladies' (1 July 1842, p.192). When the machine was taken out of use the following year, it was reported that:

> the factory-girls are turned to the right-about – and the keys of the composing-machine are now as quiescent as those of a devout spinster's harpsichord on a Sunday. (*Compositors' Chronicle* 1 May 1843, p.268)

The issue of women working in the printing trade reappeared in the 1860s, when Emily Faithfull's Victoria Press opened in London, and the Caledonian Press or 'Scottish National Institution for Promoting the Employment of Women in the Art of Printing', was established in Edinburgh. Its existence was noted in the *Scottish Typographical Circular* (May 1861, pp.324-325) but more satisfaction was reserved for its closure:

> After a painful and protracted existence of nearly four-and-a-half years, the 'Caledonian press – The Scottish National Institution for Promoting the Employment of Women in the Art of Printing', which was to open up a fresh and 'more extended' field for the employment of the surplus female population of the country, has met with the fate to which it was only too plainly destined from the day of its birth. (*Scottish Typographical Circular*, 1 July 1865, pp.165-166)

There appears to have been no immediate sequel to this effort, but within a few years women were employed in the composing rooms of some of Edinburgh's larger firms. The Edinburgh printers' strike of 1872 is discussed in chapter four, but it is appropriate to note here that one of its consequences was that women were taken on in the place of

strikers to be trained in at least some of the tasks of the composing room. It is not clear on how large a scale this took place initially, but both Constables and Chambers were advertising for young women to be trained as compositors in early 1873 (Reynolds 1989, p.43). From this point women continued to be employed in Edinburgh case-rooms, though paid at lower rates than the men. In fact, they appear to have been treated as equivalent to apprentices both in terms of pay, and in the attempts made by the STA to limit their numbers. Outside Edinburgh, there seem to have been women compositors in Glasgow and Falkirk, albeit briefly, and larger numbers in Aberdeen and Perth (Reynolds 1989, pp.47-48).

In the case of Perth it is not clear when the first women were introduced into composing rooms, but part of the settlement of a dispute in the town between the Perth branch of the Scottish Typographical Association and a local employer, Samuel Cowan, over his attempt to increase working hours in early 1886, stipulated that:

> he should not (as it was feared by some he would) reduce the wages of any Journeyman Compositor or Machineman presently in his employment; and, finally, that he should introduce no more girls into his machine-room. (MS40/1, 5 March 1886)

These 'girls' were probably employed as 'layers on' or 'takers off', that is feeding paper into the machines or removing the printed sheets under the supervision of time-served journeyman machine-man. The agreement apparently also included a 'clause relating to the female compositors' but there is no indication of what it contained, although its existence implies that women compositors were already being employed by Cowan. In November 1886, the branch minutes record that 'two female compositors had just been brought from Edinburgh to the Advertiser Office', that is Cowan's (MS40/1, 2 November 1886), and further references in the minutes make it clear that female compositors were a fixture in his printing office, if not in other printing offices in the town.

The matter appears to have rested at this point, with no further effort made to induce Cowan or any other employer to remove their women employees. However, further concern was expressed at a committee meeting of the Perth Branch, when it was noted that 'two females' had been 'introduced in Messrs Wood's offices' (MS40/1, 13 April 1896). This appears to have given rise to a dispute between the STA and Woods, which was referred by the Perth Branch to the Executive Council. A special meeting was held

to discuss the matter, but:

> After a pretty lively discussion, from which not much practical good was obtained, and in which the personal element was very much in evidence, the meeting at last decided to adjourn. (MS40/1, 16 May 1896)

The dispute was apparently resolved, although it is not clear on what terms, but it appears that the women left. When the issue was raised again two years later, and the STA Executive called on to support the branch over 'the importation of females in *Advertiser*' (MS40/1, 13 August 1898), a branch member suggested that 'the matter be let drop and it would cure itself as the last importation of female comps to City left of their own accord in a very short time' (MS40/1, 16 March 1899).

However, at this point women were being recruited as compositors into several Perth printing offices. The members of the Perth Branch of the STA, became concerned about the numbers employed and about the rates at which they were being paid: the women were only paid sixteen shillings a week, whereas the established wage in the town for the men was thirty shillings. A solution suggested by one branch member, Mr Knight, was that the branch should 'get the girls under the protection of Association as was the case in America where the girls were v much better paid' as he was of the opinion 'that the girls like the Linotype had come to stop' (MS40/1, 1 April 1899). Strike action to force the employers to sack female compositors was threatened in 1900. It was reported in the *Perth Courier* that 'the matter has taken a serious turn' because the master printers had decided to resist demands from the men to dismiss their female compositors (21 June 1900, p.5). However, by this point, the women compositors in Edinburgh had been recognised by the STA with the formation of an Edinburgh Female Compositors' Society, which had financial support from the union (Gillespie 1953, p.107). The women compositors in Perth were not admitted to branch membership, and over the next few years some disputes over their presence occurred, but Mr Knight was right: the women stayed.

In 1901 Perth was visited by Miss Irwin, who was 'making enquiries into the conditions of female labour in connection with printing and kindred trades' (MS40/1, 20 March 1901). Margaret Irwin was the secretary of the Glasgow Council for Women's Trades, and of the Parliamentary Committee of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, and was contributing to the study of *Women in the printing trades* (Macdonald 1904; Tuckett 1986, p.26). Miss Irwin consulted the men of the Perth Branch of the STA but it is not

clear if she spoke to any of the women employed in printing offices in the town. At the time Perth was one of several regional print centres in the United Kingdom where women were employed, in all of which the letterpress union:

> for over a quarter of a century has had to carry on a constant struggle with the employers in order to protect the journeymen printers against three forms of cheap labour – apprentices, unskilled men and women. (Macdonald 1904, p.47)

In terms of the regional printing industry, the male operative printers felt unable to tackle what they saw as this difficulty alone, and the Perth Branch expressed indignation at the Scottish Typographical Association Executive's lack of action:

> Perth was the only branch which had really tackled the question. Edinburgh had been very lax, and only in a feeble way had tried to solve the matter. In Aberdeen […], females were practically employed in every office at dis,[2] but it would be strange if they did not work on case also. (MS40/1 12 December 1904)

The dissatisfaction over the presence of women compositors in Scotland continued for some years beyond the scope of this study. Given their exclusion from STA branch membership it is difficult to be clear about the actual numbers employed, and despite the concerns expressed by male union members in Perth and other centres, the women in the so-called skilled roles in the printing industry remained a minority.

The demand for print

The printing industry as a whole increased in scale, both in terms of numbers employed and of the scale of production over the nineteenth century. The demand for reading matter in the form of books, newspapers and other periodicals, chapbooks and so on increased, but so did the range of printed ephemera of all varieties. There were many influences at work, all of which played their part. These included the overall increase in population, and better opportunities for education for a larger proportion of that population. Other important factors were the repeal of the advertisement, newspaper, and paper excise duties, the larger scale business enterprises, and the changing business structures mentioned above which required more, and better, record keeping together with a general expansion of regulations and reporting within a range of institutions. Excise duties on paper had been raised at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These were reduced in the 1830s and finally removed in 1855, which encouraged the establishment of new periodicals, and an increase in size and frequency of publication

2 Distributing or 'dissing' the type after use was one of the tasks given to the most junior staff in the composing room.

for some existing ones. Printers throughout the country had campaigned for their removal: according to Musson (1949, p.84) it was believed by the various typographical societies that the repeal of the 'taxes on knowledge', including paper duty, would 'cause a great expansion of the printing industry, increased employment, and higher wages'. Although the motives of the operative printers and their typographical societies were based on their own economic interest, they made common cause with those who saw the repeal of these taxes as enabling the production of cheap and wholesome reading matter for 'the masses'. Distribution, especially of weekly newspapers and other periodicals to individual subscribers were facilitated by Rowland Hill's postal reforms from 1839 onwards. The gathering of news was facilitated by the growth of the telegraph system which grew alongside the railways, and a transatlantic cable linking the United Kingdom and America was successfully laid in 1866.

Outside the large print centres, and even within them to some extent, the majority of printing businesses, including those which produced newspapers, were sustained by jobbing printing for the local businesses, institutions and individuals. Small print shops, usually set up by a journeyman wishing to go into business on their own account with no more than a couple of apprentices to assist him, supplied the market in their locality with playbills, tickets and letterheads for local businesses. Although untypical in that he was self-taught, and had no formal training through the apprenticeship system, William Chambers began his career as a printer in Edinburgh around 1820 by undertaking jobbing work, such as printing notices saying 'To Let' in four-inch wooden letters he had cut himself (p.158), and:

> 'Rules' for Friendly and Burial societies […] A person who was lessee of several toll-bars in the city, found me out as a cheap printer, and gave me a job in printing toll-tickets, which I executed to his satisfaction. Another piece of work of a similar character which came in my way was the printing of tickets for pawnbrokers. (Chambers 1872, pp.158-60)

Another order was for '10,000 shop-bills, bearing at the top the words, in large italics, *Fresh and Cheap*' (Chambers 1872, p.163).

The earliest known print produced in a given town was usually in the form of books. In smaller regional centres, book production would usually take place alongside the printing of weekly newspapers and other periodicals, as well as the jobbing printing for local businesses, and might be integrated with a bookselling business and/or the retail

and wholesale supply of stationery. The books produced encompassed a range of subject matter, including reprints of literary texts and local literature, especially poetry. Books of local interest were common, such as John Shearer's *Antiquities in Perthshire, with Historical and Traditionary Tales, and Biographical Sketches of Celebrated Individuals Belonging to the County*, printed in Perth by J. Taylor around 1860, and *Dunning, its Parochial History, with Notes, Antiquarian, Ecclesiastical, Baronial and Miscellaneous* by John Wilson, printed in the same town in 1873. By far the most common literary publications are poetry: examples from Perth include Andrew Sharpe's *Collection of Poems, Songs and Epigrams*, printed by Robert Morison in 1820 and *The Bard's Ghost*, printed by R. Whittet for T. Richardson in 1864.

'Popular reading', such as small, cheaply produced pamphlets of songs and ballads, known as chapbooks, and single-sheet broadsides were also printed in regional centres. The latter often took the form of reports of gruesome crimes or criminal trials and subsequent hangings. Such chapbooks did not usually exceed twenty four pages, and were sometimes illustrated with woodcuts. As well as ballad collections, they included biographies and accounts of local events. A series of 'New and improved lives' were printed in Glasgow 'for the Booksellers' in the 1850s. Subjects of these twenty-four page biographies included figures as diverse as Robert the Bruce, John Knox, Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and Napoleon Bonaparte. Although the main publishers of this range of popular print were in the larger urban centres such as Glasgow and Edinburgh, regional printers also operated in this market: the eight-page pamphlet entitled *The Jolly Miller of Drone: To Which is Added, Bessy Bell & Mary Gray, with the History of the Ballad* was printed in Falkirk by Thomas Johnston in 1813, and William Scott of Greenock printed a similar-sized pamphlet of ballads at around the same time, with all the ballads listed as part of the overall volume title *The Tired Soldier, to Which are Added Mrs Hall, Auld Lang Syne, Begone Dull Care, Queen Mary's Lamentation, The Death of Sally Roy and Inconstant Sue*.

Political and religious controversy also kept compositors and press rooms busy. Elections provided opportunities for printers, and the publications were similar in style and scale to the broadsides and chapbooks discussed above. Two reform issues in particular were extensively discussed in print in the first half of the nineteenth century. The long standing campaign for the extension of the franchise at last bore its first fruit

in the Reform Act of 1832, although the franchise remained restricted to only a proportion of the adult male population, later increased with the parliamentary and electoral reforms in the 1860s and 1880s. The Corn Laws had been introduced in 1815 and amended in the 1820s to protect British farmers from depressed prices resulting from the import of foreign wheat. The high bread prices that resulted were unpopular and there was a campaign for their repeal, which finally took place in 1846. Single sheets, such as a satire on the election of Sir George Murray, MP for Perth, entitled *Wha Wadna Vote for Murray?* and produced in 1832, would have circulated locally, and may have been printed in the town though no printer or publisher is stated. Many were anonymous: the author of the eight-page pamphlet printed by J Taylor in Perth in the 1830s, entitled *Political Catechism Containing a Brief Display of Tory Principles, Contrasted With Those Held by the Great Body of Reformers* is described as 'an operative weaver'.

The more broadly based political agitation known as Chartism after the People's Charter at its core was contemporary with these. In Scotland, this was generally a peaceful campaign, concentrated in towns in the central belt, but also active in places such as Perth and Dumfries. Printers and bookbinders were among the prominent activists in the movement and a weekly journal, the *Chartist Circular*, was published in Glasgow from 1839 to 1841.[3] Andrew Wardrop, a frame maker and campaigner for the Charter in Dumfries, was also prominent in other local reform movements. He published a pamphlet, apparently printed locally and planned as the first of a series critical of local authorities, entitled *Peeps Behind the Curtain, at the Manner in Which the Affairs of the Burgh of Dumfries are Mismanaged, and "The Way the Public Money Goes"* in 1846 (Fraser 2010, p.147). However, in the first half of the nineteenth century the typographical societies as corporate bodies held aloof. As the Corn Law and Chartist agitations faded, the temperance cause grew stronger, processions and demonstrations in support of temperance were held in many towns and printers often played a prominent part in these. These activities are discussed in the section on 'Civic engagement and print' in chapter five.

3 According to Fraser (2010, p.102), a Scottish National Printing and Publishing Company was set up in 1841 'with a capital of £1000 in £1 shares […] to be sold to individuals and trade societies and associations. This was to keep the *Chartist Circular* going'.

As the century progressed there was an increase in the number and scale of institutions and societies and therefore in the demand for printed regulations, forms and formal notices. Examples include *The Rules and Regulations of the Perthshire Widows' Fund Society, as Amended in the Year 1833* printed 'for the Society' by J Taylor in Perth; and *Special Regulations for Attendants and Servants* who worked at James Murray's Royal Asylum at Perth, printed in 1861, and there were many others. Regular jobs, such as *The Valuation Roll of the County of Perth*, printed by Samuel Cowan in Perth from the late 1850s might provide a steady income, as would local railway timetables, in the middle of the century: the *Time-tables of the Scottish Central Railway*, for example, were printed in Perth in 1853. Local directories and almanacs were also steady sellers.

In addition to printed single-sheet items such as forms, invoices, and other printing for business, a wide range of other ephemeral material was available. Sale catalogues, for example, *Catalogue of Two Powerful Condensing Beam Engines, 3 Double-Flued Wrought Iron Boilers, Heavy & Light Shafting & Gearing, Large Quantity of Flax, Tow, Hemp, & Jute Spinning, Weaving, & Finishing Machinery Bleaching Plant, Hydraulic Press and Pumps, 5-Bowled Chesting Calender, etc […] To be Sold by Public Auction, Without Reserve, Within the Premises of Kirkland Works, by Leven, Fife, […]* was printed for the sale in held in August 1882 by Alexander Thomson & Sons 'stationers and steam printers' in Dundee. In Perth, Leslie, one of the local firms printed a poster advertising *Valuable Salmon Fishings in the River Tay, to be Let, by Public Roup*, in 1884. Printing for railway developments or town improvements provided another source of income: a *Book of Reference to the Plan for Sale or Lease of the Paisley & Renfrew Railway […] to Improve the Line, and also to Construct New Quays on the Clyde at Renfrew Ferry, etc* was printed in Paisley in 1846 by A. Gardner. Printed catalogues superseded manuscript ones in local libraries, for example the *Catalogue of Newton-on-Ayr Public Librar*y was printed at the office of the *Ayr Observer* in 1874.

Doctrinal disputes and sermons were a fruitful source of business for printers. This was particularly true in the first half of the century, with the controversy in the Church of Scotland, leading to the Disruption of 1843. In Kilmarnock, H Crawford printed *Brief Narrative of the Sufferings of Some of the Martyrs in and about Kilmarnock during the Late Persecution, Taken from a Sermon Preached in the Laigh Kirk of Kilmarnock by the Rev. Mr. Brown* in 1824, and in Dundee, Thomas Black printed *A Call to Separation*

from the Church of Scotland, with a Short Address to the Modern Deists in 1833. These are just a small sample of the semons and pamphlets published in the era of the Disruption. The secession of the Free Church in 1843 did nothing to stem the tide: *Another Gospel Call, or, A Consolatory Epistle to the Bannockburn Free Church Congregation, with Introductory Remarks; to Which Epistle is Added, a Word of Reproof to the Frees of Perth, by Way of Postscript* by Peter Prosepoint, was printed in Stirling in 1853, and *"Disruption Facts and Principles" – a Sermon Preached in the Free North Church, Stirling, on the Second Sabbath of November, 1859, etc* was also printed there in 1859. Ecclesiastical debate and the printing of sermons continued to be popular throughout the century. *A Sermon, Preached on the Occasion of the General Mourning for his Late Royal Highness the Prince Consort* by Archibald Scott ran to a second edition in Perth in 1862, and in 1881 the office of the *Perthshire Constitutional* printed *The Church of Scotland Free from Patronage and Spiritually Independent* in 1875. The presence of the Episcopalian cathedral in Perth also provided work for local printers with service sheets for both regular and special services being printed in the town. Other religious works, for example, books for children, were printed in regional centres: *The Beatitudes, a Series of Stories for Children, Illustrative of Christ's Sermon on the Mount* was printed in Stirling in the 1880s.

The production of periodical literature was, as previously mentioned, boosted by the abolition of advertisement and paper duties in mid-century, and weekly and monthly journals were produced in large numbers from the main publishing centres. An advertisement for a new reading room in town, which appeared in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* for 2 May 1855 included in the list of its stock, about twenty newspapers, including both editions of the London *Times*, and newspapers from Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Liverpool, as well as *Blackwoods Magazine*, *Punch* and *Reynolds' Miscellany*, and all the newspapers printed in town. As well as the local newspapers, most of which appeared weekly, other local periodicals were produced in regional centres. The *Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth* were printed for the Society by local printer Robert Morison in 1827, and *The Transactions of the Perthshire Medical Association* were printed in Perth for the Association by J. Young & Sons in the 1880s.

Printing businesses frequently combined printing with other trades, most frequently

within the print economy, such as bookbinding, bookselling, stationery manufacture and retail, agencies for London newspapers, and circulating libraries. William Miller, 'Bookseller, Stationer, Paper-ruler, Account-book Manufacturer' of the Stationery Warehouse at 230 High Street, advertised in the Perth *Post Office Directory* for 1850 that, in addition to the large stock of Bibles and stationery in stock 'Paper-ruling & book-binding of every description, executed with neatness and dispatch to any Pattern, and on the most reasonable of Terms' (p.185, advertisement section). Likewise, the firm of T. Currie & Co is listed in *Johnstons' Directory of Dumfries and Maxwellton, & c* for 1882 under three separate headings: 'Booksellers & stationers', 'Music sellers' and 'Printers'. Dumfries as an example of one of these mixed 'print economies' will be further explored in chapter five.

Workers' organisations

Trade unionism developed slowly throughout the nineteenth century. At its beginning, unions, or 'combinations' of employees were illegal. The Combination Acts, which outlawed associations of employees that aimed at improving wages or working conditions, were repealed in 1824-1825, and this has been said to precede an upsurge in trade union activity (Fraser 2010, p.9). Within the printing industry the position was less clear cut. The collective organisations within the trade will be examined in more detail in chapter four, but it is important to state here that friendly and benefit societies such as the early typographical societies were never illegal and continued to exist throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century despite the Combination Acts, which 'made all journeymen's societies illegal' (Child 1967, p.50), though few records survive. It should also be noted that although the Combination Acts did apply under Scots law they do not appear ever to have been enforced. Other laws were used to prosecute any violence or actions, such as strikes, that were perceived as 'restraint of trade' by employers (Gray 1928, pp.346-347).

In general, and until the formal trade union legislation of 1871, disputes between business owners and their employees were dealt with under a series of 'Master and Servant' laws, which provided no remedy for summary dismissal for an employee, while allowing employers to pursue any employee who left their situation without notice, thus enabling the prosecution of strikers. Likewise any attempt to dissuade others from going to work could be prosecuted as 'intimidation'. The *Scottish*

Typographical Circular reported that on 19 October 1870 two compositors in Ayr were:

> charged at the Police Court with assaulting a third man belonging to the same trade, said assault being 'aggravated by having been committed with the wicked and felonious intent of deterring' their brother workman 'from continuing in the employment of' the *Ayr Advertiser*.

The defence case, according to the *Scottish Typographical Circular*, was that the two compositors had been 'on the "spree" ' and had run out of cash. They saw the third man, named M'Call, standing outside the *Ayr Advertiser* office, and asked for the loan of a shilling. His offer of standing them a round later was not good enough for them and:

> a little demonstrative pressure was put upon the 'victim'. […] One hauled him this way, to give emphasis to his request; the other pulled him that, to give point to his plea; till between them, in the purest good-nature, though perhaps with a little horse-play, the 'victim' was pulled off his legs altogether! The catastrophe of this shocking 'outrage' was witnessed by the proprietor of the *Advertiser*, who at once went off to the Fiscal, and got a summons issued against Penrose and Johnstone, on a charge of intimidations, assault, conspiracy – probably also for highway robbery, murder arson, child-stealing, high-treason, and bigamy, and *the want of proper respect to employers*, the last the most serious crime of the lot.

The two accused failed to answer their bail and the actual verdict of the magistrates is not given, but the case had been reported in the newspaper press as one of 'rattening' in printing trade (*Scottish Typographical Circular*, 1 Nov 1870, pp.388-389).[4]

The perception of trades unions changed from:

> rather mysterious conspiracies that middle-class observers had seen in the 1830s, with so much in them that was dangerous to society, to the respectable, legalised – indeed privileged – bodies that annually sent their sober delegates to the meetings of the Trades Union Congress. (Fraser 1993, p.12)

Their existence pre-dates the legislation of the 1870s, and in a number of trades, including printing, the unions arose out of the benefit societies that had existed for many years. Fraser also notes that general economic conditions and business cycles influenced the growth and development of workers' organisations:

> at times of depression and of high unemployment workers were less willing to take the risk of belonging to a union, especially if the union was powerless to prevent wage cuts. In times of boom, with the union in a position to press for advances and the workers feeling secure enough to ignore employers' hostility to unions, membership tended to rise. (Fraser 1993, pp.16-17)

In fact it would appear that, before taking any strike action, one of the strategies of union branches, such as the typographical societies, was to make an effort to recruit

4 For an explanation of 'ratting' in the print trade, see the glossary.

non-members. In March 1872, the Perth Branch of the STA approached the employers requesting a reduction in hours which was not immediately granted. Before issuing a threat to strike, a resolution was passed at a Special Meeting of branch held on 4 April 1872 'that the Society's Books be opened for the admission of Members (free)' – that is without the payment of entry money – and eight new members joined on these terms (MS40/1 4 April 1872).

Probably as a result of their uncertain legal status in the first half of the century, the trade societies, and the regional and national federations that they formed, in general avoided overt political action, limiting themselves to supporting strikers in their own and sometimes in other industries. After the typographical societies had combined into a more stable federal structure, links between trades began to develop at a local level. Trade union membership grew and the organisations were in general on a firmer financial and organisational foundation. Local branches of the national unions became more willing to send representatives to other bodies such as the local trades councils which were established during the second half of the century. Trades councils emerged first in larger cities, with Glasgow and Sheffield leading the way in 1858. The first secretary to the trades council in Sheffield was the secretary of the local branch of the Typographical Association, William Dronfield (Fraser 2010, p.44). Trades Councils were operating in Glasgow and Edinburgh from the 1850s, but they reached smaller centres much later. However, on occasion *ad hoc* meetings were convened. At the meeting of the Dumfries Branch of the STA held in July 1868, there was discussion about participation in 'an aggregate meeting of trades' delegates' under the auspices of the Scottish Reform League was:

> in connection with the Representation of Dumfries Burghs. After a deal of conversation, in which some members expressed the opinion that this subject was altogether free from any connection with the meeting, [...] On a vote the motion was declared carried; and Mr Cumming and Sharpe were appointed delegates. (GD25/2, 1 July 1868)

This appears to have been a one-off meeting, without a sequel as far as the local print union was concerned. Seven years later, the branch received a letter from the Glasgow United Trades Council requesting contributions to fund a National Trades Council meeting in Glasgow: 'The communication was not entertained' (GD25/2, 4 June 1875).

The Perth Trades Council was set up in the 1890s. The matter was first noted by the

Perth Branch of the STA when, at a meeting held on 19 September 1892 ‘A suggestion by Mr H Pye as to a Trades Council for Perth was left over for future consideration’ (MS40/1). The trades council in the town was apparently not formed until 1897 at which point the committee of the Perth Branch agreed to participate (MS40/1, 9 September 1892; 4 October 1897). The first Trades Union Congress was held in Manchester in 1868, and set up its organisational headquarters in London ‘at the centre of a hurly-burly of plans and counter-plans’(Tuckett 1986, p.19). Increasing dissatisfaction with the operations of the London-based organisation led to the formation of a separate Scottish Trades Union Congress in 1897, attended by delegates from Edinburgh Press and Machinemen’s Association, and from the Dundee and Glasgow Typographical Societies (Tuckett 1986, pp.26-41; pp.425-426). The role and involvement of the national print unions in these is outside the scope of this study.

Print technologies

As far as print production is concerned, the nineteenth century began in the pre-industrial wooden hand-press era. By its end print production was on a vastly increased and mechanised scale as over the period increasingly complex printing machines increased the scale and speed of production. Likewise, in 1800 and for most of the nineteenth century, techniques for setting type remained much as they had been for the 300 years since the introduction of printing to Scotland at the beginning of the sixteenth century. However, after a series of experiments the process of typesetting was mechanised using the hot-metal processes towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1800 paper was still produced by hand as it had been since medieval times, but machinery to speed up the process was invented around this date, and with the advent of the industrialised process, paper-making became an important Scottish industry.

According to John Southward (1897, p.5), writing on the letterpress trade at the end of the nineteenth century, there were three main branches of printing – jobbing, book and newspaper. Jobbing, he comments, ‘might be regarded as the least important of the three branches of the business’. However, he goes on to say of jobbing that:

> its importance is shown by the preponderating number of persons consistently engaged in it – far more than in news and book printing put together. Bookwork, as a special branch, is done in only two dozen towns throughout the kingdom; there is hardly a respectably sized village, without its jobbing printer. There are, perhaps, only about 2,000 newspaper printing establishments (for some of them do several different papers); there are at least 8,000 general jobbing offices.

(Southward 1897, p.6)

As noted above, printing offices operating in smaller regional centres frequently combined all of the three branches within a single business, although it is probably safe to say that overall, book printing was probably the smallest element of their output. Recurrent jobbing work for other local tradesmen and individuals kept the business financially afloat, along with the production, on the same machinery, of the local weekly, or sometimes bi-weekly, newspaper.

The dominant technology for the production of text throughout the century remained letterpress. Compositors set type piece by piece, standing at the case, the set type was gathered together into galleys, imposed into the required layout in a chase which was locked up to provide the flat printing surface known as a forme. During the first third of the nineteenth century there were a number of significant innovations in the process of printing itself. For the letterpress trade, the first of these was the invention of an iron press using a system of levers rather than the screw principle to put pressure on the platen. Earl Stanhope's press of 1800 was the earliest iron press, though its successors, the Columbian press invented by George Clymer in Philadelphia in 1816 and R W Cope's Albion Press of 1822 were more widespread. For smaller print runs and proofing, the early nineteenth century presses such as the Albion and the Columbian remained in use throughout the century and beyond. However, despite the extra effort demanded to produce an impression, wooden presses remained in use: around 1820, Sir Walter Scott's Waverley novels were being printed in Edinburgh by Ballantyne on wooden hand presses, quite possibly adapted to work with levers on the Stanhope principle (Bell 2007, p.33; May 2016, pp.76-77). Around twenty years later Charles Timperley (1838, p.90) commented in his manual of work in printing offices, that 'At the present day the old wooden press is nearly exploded, and therefore it would only be a waste of time to notice it'. However over thirty years later, Adam Richardson, printer to the Royal Crichton Institution in Dumfries, complained in a notebook dated 1872 of the decayed state of the Institution's wooden hand press (DGH1/6/16/9/2).

Iron presses could withstand greater pressure than the wooden framed hand presses, enabling the use of larger platens and therefore printing on larger sheets. In addition, the use of a system of levers reduced the effort needed on the part of the pressman so that these larger sheets could also be printed more quickly. However, power-driven machines

depended on the application of the cylinder principle, already in use in copperplate printing presses. Instead of an impression produced by a single flat surface, the platen, over the whole sheet at the same time, restricting the size of sheet that could be printed, an impression cylinder rolled across the flat printing surface, enabling the printing of larger sheets at a single pass, increasing output by four or five times. William Nicholson patented a cylinder machine in 1790, but the first such presses in use in the trade were designed by Freidrich Koenig, and installed for use at the *Times* in 1814. The first perfecting machine (capable of printing both sides of the paper in a single pass) appeared two years later (Moran 1978, pp.107-08; pp.110-11).

The appearance of iron presses coincided with the industrialisation of the papermaking process, introduced to Great Britain by the Fourdrinier brothers when they escaped from revolutionary France at the turn of the century. By 1800, Scotland had a well developed papermaking industry, and there were thirty two licensed paper mills functioning in 1800, all of them producing hand-made paper. Over the next twenty-five years thirteen papermaking machines were installed in Scotland, and the number of licensed paper mills doubled (Thomson 1974, pp.124-128). The Fourdrinier process, which has not changed substantially since, enabled quicker and cheaper production of larger quantities to meet a growing demand. However, the raw materials also changed, as there were insufficient linen and cotton rags available to be pulped for these greater quantities of paper. By the end of the nineteenth century, wood pulp and esparto grass, the latter imported from southern Europe and north Africa, were commonly used as the basis for paper manufacture, although for the best quality paper, rags remained the main source. Machine-made paper was made by a continuous process, and the resultant continuous ‘web’ was wound onto reels, before being cut into sheets of the required size. Web- or reel-fed presses were developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century which could operate at higher speeds than traditional sheet-fed machines.

The daily newspaper trade which demanded speed of production was an important driver of technological innovation, but faster and more efficient machines appeared much later in smaller centres. Some of the larger machines which came into use later in the nineteenth century were only used in dedicated newspaper printing houses in the larger conurbations. In general, smaller offices functioning across the different branches of the trade would be equipped similarly to Robert Smail’s of Innerleithen in

Peeblesshire: an Arab treadle machine, two other clam-shell platen machines, all used mainly for jobbing, and a 'wharfedale' flatbed stop-cylinder press, used for larger jobs such as posters and the local newspaper (Boyter 2016, pp.22-23).

Of the machines that came to dominate in regional print shops from the 1860s onwards, the two main types were Arab printing machines for jobbing, and the 'wharfedale' stop-cylinder presses which could accommodate larger formes. The Arab printing machines were sometimes referred to as 'clam-shell' platens, because the forme and impression platen were held vertically and brought together by a hinged mechanism, rather than pressure being exerted by the platen being lowered onto the printing surface. They were often supplied by the manufacturers to be built in the print shop, as were other printing machines. There was a treadle operated by the printer's foot, and these machines were used mainly for jobbing as they would only hold small chases. Up to 1,000 impressions per hour could be produced by a skilled operator working alone, feeding the press with one hand, and removing the printed sheet with the other while keeping the treadle in operation (Southward, [1890], pp36-37).

Following on from Koenig's successful development of a cylinder press for the *Times*, a Scottish engineer working in London, David Napier, further elaborated the machine in 1828. A similar machine was designed by Richard Hoe of New York in 1832. These were all 'stop-cylinder' machines, in which the impression cylinder rises and stops revolving as the bed holding the forme of type returns to its starting position. These machines were the mainstay of small print shops until well into the twentieth century, and were also commonly used for book printing throughout the nineteenth. According to Whetton (1946, p.108) 'the Wharfedale is the best known and most widely used. It has long been the "bread-and-butter" machine of the commercial printer'. These machines were never patented and were made by a wide variety of machine makers, but were named after the area which became a centre for their manufacture, the town of Yorkshire town of Otley in Wharfedale. The bed of the press was large enough to contain formes of a sufficient size to print of posters and local broadsheet newspapers, and 'perfecting' machines able to turn the sheet and print on both sides in a single operation were developed. Various other improvements were added throughout the century. The maximum speeds quoted for these machines were quite high (1,500-2000) per hour, but they were rarely run at full speed and lower output was usual especially in jobbing

offices (Gaskell 1972, p.258; Whetton 1946, p.110). In the 1890s, Tom Cossar of John Cossar & Sons in Govan, who had started as an apprentice engineer in the nearby shipyards, adapted the wharfedale press used to print the local weekly *Govan Press*, stripping down the machine and experimenting after the week's edition had been produced (*Printing World* 1978, p.264).

As well as the well-known manufacturers, for example, the various firms in Otley in Yorkshire and the firms of Long, Ritchie and Greig in Edinburgh, there were other smaller suppliers. J Brown of Kirkcaldy supplied the press installed in the office of William Burgess who printed the *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* in 1855. The edition for 25 April 1855 announces that:

> we have had constructed, expressly for our use, a Cylinder Printing-Machine, of the most approved kind, which is capable of throwing off One Thousand Impressions in the Hour. [...]. By means of the Machine, we are not only enabled to issue our Sheets more rapidly, but the Printing of the Paper is, as our Readers will observe, greatly improved. (p.4)

Steam was introduced as a motive power for printing machines along with the use of impression cylinders in 1814. Most presses continued to be worked by hand for some time but steam, and later gas were used to power the larger presses. Robert Smail's of Innerleithen, along with other businesses, used water power from the nearby mill lade built to serve the main local industry of woollen textile manufacturing (Boyter 2016, p.17). Whatever the source of power, individual machines were often linked by a system of belts which increased noise levels and added to the risk of accidents.

There were various experiments with curved (rotary) printing surfaces in further attempts to speed up the printing process, but although experiments were made with rotary machines for many years it was the late 1850s before a viable method of casting curved stereotype plates was invented, which solved the difficulties of printing with individual pieces of type which could not easily be attached to a cylindrical printing surface. These larger machines, however, were not commonly used in the smaller printing offices found in regional print centres, as they could not in general afford the outlay of capital, nor find the space to accommodate them.

Another technical advance of the nineteenth century which did not feature in Scotland's regions was mechanical typesetting. As noted above, attempts at mechanising the

process of typesetting such as the Young-Delcambre machine had been made since the 1840s. Alexander Neill Fraser, of the firm of Neill & Co in Edinburgh, was among those who worked on the problem, and developed a version which was in use within the firm. Mechanical typesetting machines, such as the Thorne and Hattersley machines, had been introduced in various offices in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee in the 1870s and 1880s (Gillespie 1853, p.110-111), but it was not until the development of Linotype that there was any significant impact on the operation of the case-room. Successful mechanical typesetting ultimately came from the United States, with the Linotype system of Ottmar Mergenthaler, first used in New York in 1886, and introduced to the United Kingdom from 1891. Tolbert Lanston's Monotype system was developed in the 1890s, and in the United Kingdom was mainly used in book printing. In the nineteenth century, unlike in earlier times, most regional printers did not manufacture their own type but obtained it from one of the dedicated typefounders, such as Miller & Richard in Edinburgh.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the most commonly used technique for printing illustration was copperplate engraving, which would often be undertaken by a separate business. Woodcuts, which could be printed alongside the letterpress, continued to be used for cheap forms of print, as they had been since the early days of printing. In the early years of the nineteenth century, steel and zinc came to be used for engraving illustrations, as the harder metal could withstand the longer print runs that had become the norm. The dominant process for illustration throughout the century was, however, the technique of wood engraving developed by Thomas Bewick. The use of graver's tools on the cross grain of hard wood, usually boxwood, enabled the reproduction of fine detail similar to that achieved using copperplate engraving, but on a block that could be printed together with the letterpress printing surface. Although local papers were not usually illustrated other than with small stock books, this technique in particular is associated with periodicals such as the *Illustrated London News*.

The other significant new process relevant to the regional printing industry was lithography, developed by Alois Senefelder at the beginning of the century. Unlike engraving, where the ink is held in the grooves created by the engraver, or relief printing processes such as woodcut and letterpress, where the ink is carried on a relief surface surrounded by the area to be left blank, lithography is a planographic process depending

on the differing properties of oil and water and the repulsion between them: the printing surface is smooth, and the area to be printed is treated with grease, to which oil-based inks are attracted, and the rest is treated with water to repel the ink. The image to be printed, including any text, is drawn directly onto the printing surface, in reverse. The limestone suitable for lithography is not readily available, and zinc plates were also used from the mid-nineteenth century. The original hand-operated lithographic presses were superseded by cylinder presses in the middle of the century, with offset machines coming into use in its last quarter, originally for printing on tin. With this process, the original image was prepared on the stone or plate, and was then transferred to a cylinder covered with rubber sheeting, known as a blanket, from which it was transferred to the surface to be printed, on a second cylinder. Offset machines only came into use for printing on paper at the very end of the century.

Other processes used in printing by the end of the nineteenth century included the manufacture of stereotype and electrotype printing surfaces, and various photographic methods for the reproduction of illustrations. Stereotype was used throughout the century, and even fairly small printing operations would have their own foundryman. Once the type was set and the forme locked up ready for printing, a mould, known as a flong, was made. Originally plaster of Paris was used for this, but later papier mâché was found to be more successful. The mould was used to cast a metal plate which formed the printing surface used in the press. Stereotypes were used for publications where long print-runs were expected, as they saved wear on the type or when it was thought that a reprint would be needed. Once a stereotype plate had been created, there was no need to keep the type standing and it could be distributed back for re-use. Stereotype plates were also used to speed up newspaper production, enabling several machines to be worked at the same time, on a printing surface produced from the same text which had only to be set once. The electrotyping process, discovered around 1830, was more expensive. A wax mould of the printing surface is made and treated with a fine graphite powder, before being deposited in a solution of copper sulphate. The chemical reaction causes a copper shell to be deposited on the mould, which forms the printing surface once it has been been fixed to a backing plate.

Illustrative processes, for example metal engraving – initially copperplate, and subsequently on zinc or steel plates – and wood engraving, often operated in separate,

specialist businesses, so that the production of illustrative matter required for insertion into letterpress publications might be outsourced to another local business. Lithography, a new process at the beginning of the century, and mainly used for illustrative material and music and map production, was likewise a separate industry, although some general printing businesses operated both letterpress and lithographic departments. J Young, Sons & Watson, of 1 & 3 Watergate, Perth, advertised in the Perth *Post Office Directory* for 1880 as 'The only Firm in Town which executes Letterpress and Litho, combined'.

Differentiation in the trade in larger centres such as Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, where larger businesses focused on the production of newspapers and books, or the specialist sectors of art reproduction or label printing, and undertook a relatively small proportion of jobbing work, was reflected in the separation of functions within the businesses. Individual journeymen might be employed as compositors or as pressmen (later in the nineteenth century more often referred to as machine-men) but initially apprentices worked in both functions, and were not considered fully qualified if they had not done so. As machinery became more complex, and some print producers grew into large-scale businesses, it became more common for apprentices to train in only one function in larger offices. Although in the largest offices the functions of compositor (putting the type together to make up the printing surface) and pressman (operating the printing machine) were usually separate, in the majority of smaller offices and many regional centres the two functions were more usually combined.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the changes in printing machines and the development of entirely new processes, particularly for printing illustrations led to an increase in the variety of businesses within the printing industry. Large specialist printing houses came into being, but they were concentrated in Edinburgh, an important centre for book and map printing, and in Glasgow where, in addition to the numerous newspaper houses, a large lithographic trade developed. These large-scale enterprises existed alongside smaller print shops often consisting of a 'master' who was the only trained printer in the business, assisted by unskilled labour, who might or might not be formally apprenticed. The struggle to control entry to the trade by restricting apprentice numbers was often mainly directed at these small businesses. Many of the master printers running much larger enterprises had also followed the progression from apprentice to journeyman, and sons of master printers might train alongside other

entrants to the trade. There were, however, exceptions to the standard pattern of progress through the trade, as in the example of William Chambers who taught himself to set type and work a press on the basis of observation during visits to printing offices (Chambers 1872, pp.152ff).

Summary

Many aspects of life in the United Kingdom changed in the nineteenth century. The overall growth in population, and its increasing concentration in urban centres, together with easier movement over long distances facilitated by the railway network are some of the most obvious. Public institutions increased in numbers and almost every aspect of life was subject to more evaluation and regulation, were one source of the increasing demand for print. The increasingly literate (and larger) population looking for instruction or leisure reading was another.

These changes increased the demand for print of all kinds at the same time as changes in processes, such as the production of paper and improvements in the speed and scale of printing machines, enabled the industry to meet the demand. The application of steam and other forms of motive power to production processes also speeded up output. Unlike the hand-loom weavers, often cited as an occupational group made redundant by mechanisation, the increased demand for print and the spread of the trade into new areas meant supply of operative printers does not seem to have significantly outstripped demand. It remained a labour intensive business, and the trade unions had sufficient strength by the end of the period to retain influence over the introduction of new technologies, and resist the employment of cheaper labour, including women, to operate machinery.

Chapter 4

Print Trade Structures

This chapter is focused on the print trade structures that played a significant part in the trade in regional print centres throughout the United Kingdom. Within the town, there were a number of interconnected businesses and other institutions, sometimes linked through family or other ties. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the various businesses involved in the production and distribution of print were linked through a web of relationships. Examples include booksellers and printers entering partnerships to fund the publication of individual titles, proprietors of newspapers accepting payment to advertise books and other items produced by potential rivals among local businesses. There is some evidence that print businesses shared capacity to complete urgent or particularly large-scale jobs. Workers moved between offices within a locality, and between print centres. They also came together both within their own workplaces, and in local areas for their mutual benefit. Formal employers' organisations also existed in larger centres, and while it is clear that in smaller towns employers co-operated, especially in response to the actions of the operative printers' organisation, the number of individuals involved was small and records of their meetings were rarely kept.

In addition print workers, specifically the compositors and pressmen/machine-men in the town, were part of a larger network, which during the middle years of the nineteenth century evolved out of the long-standing trade benefit societies into the trade unions which represented the 'craft' workers in the letterpress trade until the mid-twentieth century. Ultimately these local and national associations were matched by associations of employers, who met together to consider issues of mutual concern in response to the collective actions of their employees, which were formalised eventually at the turn of the twentieth century in the foundation of a network of local and national federations of master printers.

The printing business

From the very earliest years of the printing trade, print shops involved a group of individuals, almost exclusively men, working together, to set type and print the results. Besides the master printer himself, most printing businesses included both journeymen

and apprentices, although in the smallest shops the master might be assisted by apprentices alone. As demand for print grew and the machines became increasingly complex, 'unskilled' labour was employed alongside craft apprentices. Printers' assistants, some of whom were women, were employed in various ancillary roles under the supervision of a time-served journeyman. In many smaller regional centres mechanised typesetting was unknown until the end of the nineteenth century, and despite changing technology in the pressroom, print shops continued to be dominated throughout the period by the collective organisations of the 'craftsmen', that is, the compositors and press- or machine-men who had undertaken a seven-year apprenticeship covering both typesetting and the operation of the press. For larger specialized businesses, such as the big book printing firms or daily newspaper offices in centres such as Edinburgh, the case room and the press room became separate branches of the trade, and by the end of the nineteenth century, apprentices might only be trained in one of them. Maintaining their status as skilled craftsmen, and controlling entry to the trade by limiting the number of apprentices in relation to the number of journeymen employed, were important issues in the trade throughout the nineteenth century.

In smaller regional centres the largest print shops were those that printed a weekly newspaper alongside jobs for local businesses and, sometimes a small number of books and pamphlets. These larger printing offices were also the focus for local collective organisations, which aimed to include all the time-served printers in a locality. During their print trade career individuals might occupy a variety of roles. The range and variety of the roles in a print shop and the varying paths an individual's career in the print trade might take will be illustrated in chapter six.

Earliest print trade organisations

Print-trade workers had a long-standing tradition of collective organisation within their workplaces. These organisations were known as 'chapels': the origins of the term are unclear, but these organisations were known by this name from at least the seventeenth century. According to Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises of the Whole Art of Printing* of 1683: 'Every printing House is by the custom of time out of mind called Chappel; and the oldest Freeman is Father of the Chappel' (Moxon 1958, p.323). The chapel exercised a range of functions: it dictated standards of behaviour, raised funds and supported members in need. It was also a social organisation: much of the fund-

raising was for the purpose of paying for drink. The chapel rules set out conventions to be observed by its members: these rules put the mutual support and comfort of the individuals in the workshop ahead of the speed and efficiency of working. The rules cited by Moxon (1683) are echoed by those produced by the printing house of James Watson in Edinburgh in October 1721. The first of the *Rules and Directions to be Observed in Printing-Houses* was that 'Cursing and Swearing, profane and abusive Speaking is Strictly prohibited'. Apprentices were to give 'due respect' to the journeymen; no 'promiscuous drinking' was allowed, and 'no Gaming Fighting, Wrestling, Jostling, or throwing any Thing at one another, be in the Printing-house upon any Account whatsoever'. Rules relating to timekeeping, theft of tools and materials, and penalties for breakages, had lower priority (*Rules and Directions etc* [1988]). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, John McCreery wrote in his long poem that served as a specimen of his printing:

> Each PRINTER hence, howe'er unblest his walls
> E'en to this day his house a CHAPEL calls. (McCreery 1803, pp.17-18)

The chapels traditionally undertook some of the functions later assumed by the benefit societies: according to Gillespie (1953, p.17), 'chapel funds obviously provided the main source of relief to tramps, that wandering band of unemployed printers, in the days preceding the trade society'.

In addition to the workplace 'chapel' organisations and local societies, the compositors and pressmen/machine-men in the town, were part of a larger network of collective organisations. The habits of mutual support and co-operative organisation in pre-industrial print shops facilitated the later development of local typographical societies, and the federations which emerged in the late 1830s eventually became recognisable national unions in the mid-century. Bateman (1990, chapter six, pp.151ff) has challenged the concept that the development of typographical societies and later union branches evolved out of the chapel organisations. He suggests that the two structures continued to operate in parallel (and to some extent in opposition) based on his study of the trade in Bristol, but it is unclear whether the experience in this print centre was typical or not. In the nineteenth century when union membership was far from universal, the social aspects of the chapel organisation would have included all journeymen printers within a single printing office, irrespective of union membership.

In small centres such as Dumfries with few printing offices, records of the earliest organisations have not survived. With possibly no more than half a dozen members in each printing business, records may not have been kept. No records of individual chapels have survived from the town and there is no evidence of 'chapels' and unions in the town operating in opposition to each other. From the 1830s, the structure of the trade societies in Dumfries appear to have followed a conventional pattern. Each of the larger printing offices were represented on the society/branch committee, and although this individual may have functioned as the 'Father of the Chapel', he is usually referred to in the records of the society as a 'committeeman' for a particular office. In 1883 R Crosbie, for example, was 'appointed to the office of committee man for the Herald' (GD25/2, 3 October 1883). Earlier in the century, the individual offices were referred to as chapels on occasions when committee members representing the workers at an individual business were asked to consult their members. At a special meeting, held on 21 July 1840 to consider a circular from the Central Board of the General Typographical Association of Scotland, for example, a meeting of the committee was fixed at which 'each member of which was desired to bring along with him the opinion of a chapel meeting of his office' (GD25/2, 21 July 1840). It is clear from references in the records to non-members within the town that not all the eligible operative printers in Dumfries were members of the typographical society, or later of the union branch.

All these early associations in the printing trade led a precarious existence, as any collective action to improve wages and conditions could leave them subject to prosecution under a range of laws concerning conspiracy or restraint of trade, even before the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 were enacted (Child 1967, pp.49-50). The benefit societies, as mutual support organisations, remained legal throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century and in practice it would appear that the masters were content to deal with their employees collectively.

Trade mobility

The printing trade throughout the United Kingdom had a long tradition of 'tramping': that is, of print workers moving from place to place in search of work, supported on the road by their brethren in the trade. Trade, or typographical societies as they were known, developed to a large extent in response to the need to manage the movement of workers 'on tramp' and to regulate the benefits paid to them, as well as to provide

welfare support to local members. A period spent tramping at the end of an apprenticeship might indeed add to the range of an individual's knowledge and experience, but tramping was also a response to unemployment. By providing support to 'strangers' in town, the local membership also ensured that their position was not undermined by unemployed men coming into the area and taking situations in 'unfair' houses at less than the locally agreed rate, or in businesses where there was a dispute. Tramping was also used to manage any such disputes: striking print workers were paid to leave town, with the dual benefits of discouraging strike-breaking and protecting individuals from victimisation. As previously mentioned tramping did usually mean walking from place to place.

Although there were always natural incentives to remain near the support system provided by family, friends and a familiar area, in the absence of a welfare state, mobility was a normal response to under- or unemployment, irrespective of trade or occupation. Individuals in almost all occupational groups might choose to move from an area with few or no opportunities to another where there was at least the possibility of obtaining work of some kind. 'The ebb and flow of regional prosperity' led to the loss of employment for some, which might be matched by gains elsewhere (Smout 1997, p.86). As the Ayrshire coal field, for example, grew close to exhaustion, coal miners left for Lanarkshire. The alternative might well be, for those deemed ineligible for support under the restrictions of the Poor Laws, destitution and starvation. The tradition of mobility in the printing trade, and the structures that developed to support individuals on the move, and to manage that movement system should be seen in this context.

In fact, tramping among printers continued for most of the nineteenth century, despite repeated attempts to end it. An editorial in *The Printer* for February 1844, concerning the 'monstrous evils and injustices of the tramping system' began with the impassioned plea from 'an elderly man, who had travelled on foot upwards of 600 miles during the present winter':

> Should I live until next year, and be out of employment I will go into the workhouse sooner than draw my card and tramp. (*The Printer* February 1844, p.56)

In spite of all the arguments against it, and attempted remedies such as the establishment of emigration societies so that unemployed printers could try their luck abroad, and the introduction of static out-of-work payments, tramping continued for the

rest of the century, although as time progressed its scale diminished (Musson 1949, p.266). The subject was discussed at length in the trade periodicals and a range of solutions suggested, and there was also a lengthy debate about tramping at the Scottish Typographical Association's delegate meeting in 1860, but provision for itinerant printers remained in place. Smaller branches, including Dumfries, Ayr and Kilmarnock were granted funds to ease the financial burden of paying allowances to large numbers of tramps passing through them on their way between major centres. Tramping was formally abolished by the Scottish Typographical Association at their Delegate Meeting of 1877, being replaced by removal grants for branch members (Gillespie 1953, p.82).

Typographical benefit societies

The primary focus of the early local typographical societies was support for unemployed 'members of the trade'. The rules of the Glasgow society, established in 1817, set out the priorities:

> First, to provide for such members as require to leave the City for want of employment, without having pecuniary means: Secondly, to furnish, with facility, money to such strangers as cannot find employment in the City; and, Thirdly, to co-operate with other places in exposing irregular workmen, and maintaining a friendly intercourse throughout the Trade. (quoted in Gillespie 1953, pp.24-5)

From these origins, trade union organisation within the print trade developed slowly throughout the nineteenth century. At its beginning, unions, or 'combinations' of employees were illegal, although 'friendly societies' (or 'benefit societies') were never banned and maintained their existence throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century though, few records survive. The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 outlawed associations of employees that aimed at improving wages or working conditions, until their repeal in 1824-1825. Within the printing industry, however, mutual support organisations had been established while the Combination Acts were in force. This was particularly the case in the larger centres, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester and there were also a considerable number of smaller Scottish towns which had typographical societies. During the 1830s and 1840s, for example, cards from Dunbar, Elgin, Galashiels, Kilmarnock, Montrose, Paisley, Perth and Stirling amongst others were honoured by the DTS as well as those from Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen and more than twenty English towns (GD25/1, accounts section). Some smaller societies were short-lived, partly because they led a precarious financial existence irrespective of their legal position, and a large number of tramps passing

through the town, or a local dispute could quickly exhaust their resources. In October 1841, the 'Fifth annual report of the Scottish Association', reported that:

> The Berwick branch, from the smallness of its number, is unable to grapple with the difficulties which surround it, and appears likely to give way. (*Compositors' Chronicle*, 1 October 1841, p.105)

The demise of branches in Northampton and Monmouth were also noted in the *Compositors' Chronicle* (1 September 1842, p.205).

After some false starts, the typographical societies amalgamated into federal associations in the mid-nineteenth century. In general they had remained aloof from the attempts, including those led by Robert Owen, to create national general union organisations in the 1840s, and remained focused on the interests of the print trade (Child 1967, p.89). Despite the number of smaller towns with print shops continuing to grow throughout the nineteenth century, and despite the increasing numbers of branches of the typographical unions, it was always the case that even in towns with branches not all time-served compositors and press- or machine-men were members of any society, and not all towns with a print shop were home to a branch of the typographical union.

After the repeal of the Combination Acts the typographical societies took on a more formal structure, although until trades unions were officially recognised in the Trades Unions Act of 1871, they remained vulnerable to legal sanctions under the Master and Servant legislation, which was not wholly superseded until the Employers and Workmen Act 1875. In the autumn of 1840 for example, the DTS, at the time a branch of the General Typographical Association of Scotland, was in dispute with a local employer, David Halliday, who ran a bookselling and printing business in the town from the 1820s until the middle of the century. It would appear that it was in fact two linked disputes, the first of which concerned the wage rate paid to a journeyman, Moses Wardrop, who had come to Dumfries from Glasgow, and the second related to the number of apprentices in the office. Advice from the Central Board of the GTAS was sought several times, although the details of the letters exchanged are not recorded in the minutes, and the matter was further complicated by the behaviour of Moses Wardrop himself, who was repeatedly fined in meetings for, among other things, 'improper language and interruption' (GD25/2, 6 November 1840)[1].

1 The career of Moses Wardrop is covered in more detail in chapter six.

At the beginning of February 1841, a special meeting of the branch was called to consider 'the extraordinary circumstances in which the Society is at present placed'. The President stated that:

> Mr M'Dowall had this day been examined before the Sheriff, relative to the Society and the late dispute with Mr Halliday, that the Society's Box had been taken from the Secretary's House by Warrant of the Sheriff – the Secretary being also examined and his declaration taken. (GD25/2, 4 February 1841)

Robert M'Dowall was a society member and employed at Halliday's at the time. There is very little said in subsequent minutes, but at the meeting held on three months later the secretary was directed 'to communicate with the Secretary of the Board, requesting him to call on Mr Gemmill, in order to get that Gentleman to write to the Fiscal here, regarding our case' (GD25/2, 14 May 1841). Mr Gemmill appears to have been the lawyer appointed to act on behalf of the Society. The case was noted in the *Compositors' Chronicle* in October 1841, in the fifth annual report of the GTAS:

> the Society's box and papers having been seized by warrant of the Sheriff, in November last, and the office-bearers threatened with a prosecution. From the precognitions then taken, it appeared evident that nothing short of extinguishing the Association was aimed at by the authorities. […] Although the prosecution is still pending, and the property detained, we have good reason to hope [...] that the authorities have failed to make out a case against the Association. In fact, the Fiscal confessed as much, by offering to drop the prosecution if our Dumfries members would dissolve their illegal Society; this, of course, was refused, as it would have been and admission of the illegality of our Association; but its legality we are prepared to defend, conscious of having shown due respect to the laws of the land. (*Compositors' Chronicle*, October 1841 p.105)

The main concern of the members, according to the report, was not fear of imprisonment, or that 'our right to associate for mutual protection and support' was threatened, but the 'enormous expense' of defending the case. It is noted later in the same issue that the box, which contained the funds, and the papers of the society had been returned, but the details of the dispute, and the legal grounds of seizure remain unclear.[2]

As noted in the previous chapter, in smaller regional print centres such as Dumfries, trade societies were centred in the largest offices, which were most often publishers of the local newspaper. At the end of December 1831, there was:

2 None of the contemporary local newspapers mention the matter, and the records for the Sheriff's office and of the Procurator Fiscal in Dumfries are not among those preserved in the National Records of Scotland.

> a meeting of delegates from the Journal and Courier offices held in Johnstons Waterloo Tavern, High Street, present Messrs Colquhoun, Roddan, and Carruthers, from the Journal office, and Messrs Miller, Pagan and Glendinning from the Courier office:- held for the purpose of proposing Rules and Regulations of the Tramp fund, and for further extending the view of the Society in support of the Profession generally. (GD25/1, 20 December 1831)

The rules of the Dumfries Typographical Union were settled in May 1832 and were at least to some extent based on 'the experience of the workings of former societies' (GD25/1, meetings in May 1832). The typographical society remained in being almost without a break until it became one of the founding branches of the STA in 1853.[3] The main issues affecting its members were support for members of the trade passing through the town, and other benefit payments, as well as maintenance of trade standards (wages, hours and apprentice numbers) in the town, and arrears of payments due from members.

In its position on the border between England and Scotland, and on the main route north from the major centres of Manchester and Liverpool to those in Glasgow and Edinburgh, Dumfries was called upon to provide relief to all those passing north or south across the border on the west coast route. During the period for which data is available from the DTS accounts in the 1830s and 1840s, men passed through Dumfries claiming membership of societies from towns throughout the British Isles. Tramps were relieved on cards originating in fourteen Scottish towns apart from Dumfries itself and including Berwick-upon-Tweed, from twenty-six English towns and four Irish towns. London is the place most frequently listed (thirty four times) followed by Manchester and Dublin (both eight times), Edinburgh (five) and Glasgow and Wigan (four each). No Welsh towns are named, and most of the English towns are north of Birmingham, though in addition to London, Bath, Bristol and Cheltenham are mentioned. During the ten years for which detailed records are available, over 150 cards were relieved, although sometimes an individual passed through the town more than once, offering a different card on each occasion. On 10 July 1840, Duncan M'Donald was paid three shillings on a Manchester card; on 18 March 1843, he was paid two shillings and sixpence, on a Liverpool card (number 8, dated 19 February 1843). It is not clear on either occasion in which direction he was travelling (GD25/1, accounts section).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, prior to establishment of the larger federations,

3 The only year in which no meetings were minuted was 1851.

Dumfries maintained direct links with a number of English and Scottish societies, in addition to paying benefits to men carrying cards they issued. In the early 1830s, there are references in the minutes to writing to Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, but also to other towns.[4] Although the Dumfries society did take an interest in general trade matters, for example, paying a levy in support of:

> the individuals who have vacated their situations in consequence of an attempt on the part of the Glasgow Masters to crush the Scottish Typographical Association. (GD25/1, 25 February 1837)

During the Dublin printers strike, the secretary was requested to send a donation of £1 to the Irish Union:

> and to state that the Dumfries Printers will again add their mite, if need be, to assist their Brethren in Ireland during the present struggle. (GD25/2, 11 September 1840)

In the period between 1848 and 1853, when there was no broader federation in existence covering the Scottish societies, the DTS functioned mainly as a relief society, providing a station on the road for tramps. Few meetings were held and the one due in January 1849 was postponed 'on account of the prevalence of cholera' in town. The annual meeting, held in the following October, recorded that three cards had been issued to members, and that forty six cards has been relieved (GD25/2, 18 October 1849). The next meeting minuted is the annual meeting for 1850 at which it was reported that another three cards had been issued, and that sixty five cards had been relieved (GD25/2, 15 November 1850).

The membership of the Dumfries society was fairly fluid. According to the first membership list, written into the early pages of the first minute book, eighteen members joined the society when it was established at the end of 1831, and a further nine joined in 1832, indicating that the print trade was well established in the area at the time.[5] Overall, a total of sixty four individuals are named as members between December 1831 and the absorption of the Dumfries society into the General Typographical Association of Scotland in July 1836. From occasional references in the minutes, it seems likely that there were always non-members of the trade in the town as well. A number of these members were only in Dumfries for a short period, before moving on again once any

4 This will be discussed further in the sections of the federations of typographical societies, below.

5 See lists 1-2, Appendix 1.

available work ran out, and there were in addition many men merely passing through. Some left more than once: for example, William Millar, a founder member of the DTS who worked at *Dumfries Courier*. According to the various membership lists, a card was granted to William Millar on 6 August 1832; he rejoined the society on 11 April 1833, and another card was granted to him on 1 May 1834; he rejoined again on 14 July 1835, and another card granted was granted to him on 26 April 1836. Moses Wardrop first joined the DTS in March 1839 (GD25/1) and the last time his name is mentioned is in the minutes for the meeting held on 15 October 1862 (GD25/2). In between these two dates, he had spent several periods working in Dumfries, had spent time working in Glasgow and Carlisle, and had also travelled at least as far south as Wigan.

The financial burden of supporting this mobile workforce was considerable. In 1840, for example, tramp relief was paid by the DTS to twenty six individuals, all but five on the basis on cards from other towns. However, according to the minutes in July of that year there were 'Currently 16 journeymen and 19 apprentices in the town' (GD25/2, 24 July 1840). Fourteen years later, according to the fifteenth half-yearly report of the Provincial Typographical Association, covering July-December 1856 (MSS 39A/TA/4/1/1, July-December 1856 p.4), there were five printing offices in Dumfries, of which three were considered fair, and two unfair. There were fifteen journeymen and eighteen apprentices in the town: three journeymen and three apprentices were working in the unfair offices. The printed list of members of the society, dated 28 March 1892,[6] indicates that the scale of employment in the letterpress trade had not grown significantly over the second half of the century: there are thirty nine names on the list ranging in age from nineteen to fifty seven. Only nine of them were over the age of forty.

Scotland and the Northern Typographical Union 1832-1836

As noted above, from around 1830, local typographical societies began to set up broader structures to formalise their links and activities. The earliest was the Northern Typographical Union (NTU), which had its headquarters in Liverpool although the initial meeting, in September 1830, was held in Manchester, home to the largest typographical society outside London. By 1834, the NTU had thirty-six branches and ten years later, this had grown to forty-four. As its name suggests, the majority of its

6 See list 15 in Appendix 1.

branches were in the north of England, and it is not clear what the proportion of members to eligible non-members was in the towns where the NTU had a branch (Musson 1949, pp.38-39). A letter from Manchester suggesting the possibility of a union including both English and Scottish societies was discussed at the Glasgow Typographical Society meeting on 4 November 1830. The Glasgow Typographical Society considered the possibility of establishing a federation in Scotland on the same model, but nothing seems to have come of this at this point, or the following year when the Glasgow Typographical Society received a letter from the Edinburgh Typographical Society also suggesting an organisation of Scottish societies along the same lines (T-GTS 1/1/2, 4 Nov 1830; 26 Feb 1831).

In March 1832, one of the first actions of Thomas Colquhoun, secretary of the newly formed Dumfries Typographical Union, was to write to the NTU, announcing the formation of the Dumfries Society and requesting a copy of their rules (GD25/1, letter dated 15 March 1832). The reply from Mr Roberts of the Manchester Typographical Society is copied into the minutes: he welcomes the formation of the Dumfries Society, and promises to 'honour Dumfries cards', mentioning that:

> A Society has recently been established in Aberdeen, so that there are now to my knowledge five Societies in Scotland. These, if united would do much good. (GD25/1,18 March 1832)[7]

In June 1832, Thomas Colquhoun wrote to both Glasgow and Edinburgh expressing the view 'that a general Union should take place of the different Societies in Scotland'. No answer was received from Glasgow, but the Edinburgh secretary replied that it was:

> not the intention of the Edinburgh Society at present to unite with any similar society; but it will continue as formerly to unite all printers who have a Card [...] attesting they are Members of a Typographical Society, whether in England or Scotland. (GD25/1)

The correspondence continued and in a letter to Edinburgh dated 23 August 1832, Thomas Colquhoun again expressed a hope that 'shortly a Union may be effected [...] along with ourselves and other towns in the west of Scotland' (GD25/1). The DTU continued to communicate with Edinburgh, Glasgow and the Northern Union, for example on the issue of apprentice numbers. It would appear that the DTU in general looked to the Northern Typographical Union for their model. A committee meeting in

7 Clearly two of these societies were in Edinburgh and Glasgow, but it is not clear where the fifth was.

January 1836 considered a letter from Berwick 'requesting our opinion of the Rules and Regulations annexed'. The committee agreed to honour cards from the Berwick Society and 'recommend the Northern Typographical Union as a guide to them in their management' (GD25/1, 28 January 1836).

General Typographical Association of Scotland 1836-1844

The Scottish societies did not in fact join the Northern Typographical Union but in 1836 they established their own federation of local societies. In her history of the Scottish Typographical Association, Gillespie (1953, p.27) states that 'Nothing is known of the events leading up to the formation' of the General Typographical Association of Scotland in July 1836, but expresses the opinion that Glasgow played a leading role. The minutes of the Dumfries Typographical Union, however, offer an alternative perspective. In April 1836 the DTS held a meeting, during which a letter from Aberdeen was discussed, leading to a resolution which expressed unanimous support, and 'readiness to appoint a Delegate to appear and act in the hour of cause at the contemplated Typographical Parliament' (GD25/1, 21 April 1836). The resolution goes on to note that the Aberdeen society 'has not yet received an acquiescing reply from the Printers of Glasgow' despite the fact that they had 'been awake and active when Edinburgh was asleep and apathetic'. As well as appointing their own delegate, the Dumfries printers suggested that delegates be invited:

> from the towns of Greenock, Inverness and Ayr. In all of them there are more than one newspaper printed; and if there are no Societies in these towns, it is high time they were instituted. (GD25/1, 21 April 1836)

The 'Typographical Parliament' took the form of a meeting of five delegates in Edinburgh on 13 July 1836, and after 'a lengthened and anxious deliberation', the result was the formation of the General Typographical Association of Scotland (GTAS). The meeting was attended by James Pagan from Dumfries.[8] Delegates also came from Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and a 'representative letter was presented from Cupar': most probably Cupar in Fife, rather than Coupar Angus.

The resolutions passed related to a range of issues, including payments to travelling members, especially those who have:

8 A printed copy of the minutes is bound into the minute book (GD25/1). James Pagan was one of the six founding members of the DTU, and had served as its secretary. There are more details of his career in chapter six.

> sacrificed their situations in consequence of resisting a reduction in wages and the taking of a disproportionate number of apprentices. (GD25/1, GTAS minutes 1836)

Other issues included the usual concerns of such trade organisations: wage rates and entry to the trade, including apprentice numbers, and the discouragement of apprentices who 'turned-over' between offices part way through their apprenticeship. From these beginnings, the association spread across Scotland. Its fourth annual report, published in the *Compositors' Chronicle* for November 1840, mentions societies in Perth, Stirling and Stranraer, as well as the account of a meeting at Paisley in August, at which a deputation from the Central Board was well received:

> by a respectably-attended meeting. After having explained the advantages to be derived from Union, the deputation pressed on the society the necessity of exertion in the endeavour to excite a better system of organization in Paisley. The deputation received most satisfactory assurance of the good intentions of the members of this branch, and their determination to abide by the rules of the association. (*Compositors' Chronicle,* November 1840 p.17)

The GTAS continued until 1844, and according to Gillespie (1953, p.31), eventually there were fifteen branches, with a total membership of over 700, although this appears to be an underestimate. There is no indication of the overall membership numbers, but at various times the *Compositors' Chronicle* mentions branches in nineteen Scottish towns, although some of them were probably short-lived.[9] At various times, the Dumfries branch also acknowledged cards from Dunbar, Elgin, Galashiels and Haddington (GD25/1, accounts section). As a comparison, over forty years later in 1887, the main union representing the same occupational groups in letterpress trade in Scotland, Scottish Typographical Association, had no more than twenty-six branches (T-GTS 2/5/1).

A dispute arose in Glasgow early the following year. The Glasgow master printers had themselves combined in response to the new Scotland-wide organisation. They objected in particular to any attempt to implement the GTAS rules on apprentice numbers, as agreed at the July 1836 meeting, on the grounds that these ratios had been set without regard to them. In addition, there was a dispute over wage rates: according to a printed circular, dated 14 March 1837 and signed by Edward Khull on behalf of the Glasgow

9 The full list branches, mentioned in different issues of the *Compositors' Chronicle*, was: Aberdeen, Arbroath, Ayr, Berwick, Dumfries, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Inverness, Kelso, Kilmarnock, Montrose, Paisley, Perth, Peterhead, Stirling, Stranraer, Wick.

masters, the Glasgow Typographical Society had drawn up an approved scale of wages 'prepared by the pressmen *themselves* and that it was never sanctioned by the Masters'. The circular included a list of the men who 'being Unionists, have quitted employment'. As well as naming the strikers, the list indicates whether each is an apprentice or a journeyman, and whether they had been working at press or case (T-GTS 1/9/1). Appeals for support were sent to other member societies of the GTAS, and Dumfries responded by levying additional dues from their membership. Between 27 March and 22 May a total of £27 5s 10d was sent to Glasgow (GD25/1, 22 May 1837). The dispute was apparently settled with a few months, and the new Scottish association survived, though there seems to be no record of any agreement that might have been reached, nor whether any of the men named had been reinstated (Gillespie 1953, p.28).

In Dumfries, advice was sought from the Central Board when any potential cause of dispute arose in that town. When a fourth apprentice was introduced at Halliday's printing office in September 1840, the Central Board was consulted as to the appropriate action to take. The answer was considered at a Branch meeting:

> followed by a statement from the deputation as to the reception they had met with from that gentleman – neither of which gave satisfaction to the meeting. (GD25/2, 6 October 1840)

Another letter was sent to Glasgow. The advice received was to avoid a strike, and not declare the house closed. At the special meeting held a fortnight later, a resolution from the Board was laid before the members, to the effect that:

> the Board is of the opinion that the Laws regulating the number of Apprentices in Dumfries – from them not being embodied in the Rules of the Dumfries Society – have not been sufficiently understood by the Employers;- would advise the Dumfries Branch not to <u>strike</u> Mr Halliday's house, in the event of his pledging himself to abide by the Rules in future; but, should he not accede to this, the Board has no hesitation in advising the Dumfries Branch to close the office at once. (GD25/2, 20 October 1840)

Mr Halliday was not willing to give the pledge, and minutes record an increasing level of frustration with the Central Board's request for the DTS to continue negotiations, which gave rise to some 'some pithy remarks' at the meeting of 30 October 1840. The dispute was further complicated by the behaviour of the society's members who worked at Halliday's but it seems to have been settled by the end of the year, with the Central Board supporting the local society in declaring the office 'unfair' (GD25/1, 27 November 1840).

By about 1840, the network of typographical societies organised into federal groups such as the GTAS covered the United Kingdom from Wick to the south coast of England, and across to Ireland. There was even a small society in the Isle of Man (*Compositors' Chronicle* 5 April 1841, p.61). The scale of this network was matched by the numbers of men in the trade who were moving around it. According to a report presented to a meeting of delegates from throughout the United Kingdom, held in Leeds in June 1842, the thirty five branches of the Northern Typographical Union had between them made 6,036 payments to tramping members in the twelve months from 1 May 1841. At the time, they estimated the membership of the various federations, throughout the United Kingdom at 5,000 men (*Compositors' Chronicle* 20 June 1842, supplement p.180).

Thus, the financial burden of the tramping system was clearly considerable, particularly for the smaller societies: in 1840 the Dumfries society paid benefits to twenty-six individuals, twenty-one of whom were from other towns. The standard rate of relief was 3s 6d, though some only received 2s 6d, and a few received 'double relief' of five shillings. This constituted a considerable burden for the branch as in mid-1840 there were 'Currently 16 journeymen and 19 apprentices' in Dumfries, who were paying between them a total of around 3s 6d per week in contributions (GD25/2, 24 July 1840). Overall the years from 1836 to 1843, when the GTAS was in existence coincided with a general depression in the printing trade throughout the British Isles, stretching the tramp relief system to breaking point as the numbers 'on the road' and requesting relief grew (Musson 1949, p.56). In their seventh annual report, the GTAS commented that:

> the state of our profession, especially in the large towns, is most distressing. In Edinburgh and Glasgow, indeed, there has not been, for this sometime past, anything like constant employment, for even half of the journeymen. […] Hundreds of men are at present wandering from town to town in the almost hopeless search for unemployment – leaving behind them, perhaps, a family in poverty and distress. (*The Printer* November 1843, p.10)

The figures provided give some indication of the scale of the problem: the GTAS had over 700 members. The Glasgow branch had relieved 186 cards, and Edinburgh 158. Among the smaller branches, Kelso had relieved eighty three, Stirling seventy five, Dumfries seventy and Kilmarnock sixty seven. The scale of unemployment was linked, according to the GTAS itself, to an over-supply of apprentices, and restrictions on apprentice numbers remained an issue of dispute between masters and journeymen for

years to come (*The Printer* November 1843, pp.10-11).

National Typographical Association 1844-1847

As previously mentioned, the typographical societies did not participate in the moves in the 1830s to form a Grand National Consolidated Trade Union. Musson (1949, p.76) noted that although the typographical societies were 'in favour of national unions in particular trades, they held strictly aloof from the movement to establish a general trades' unionism'. The Manchester Typographical Society, for example, had rejected various overtures from such organisations. Instead, an attempt was made to create a UK-wide typographical union following a delegate meeting in 1844, and the formation of the National Typographical Association (NTA) was achieved in January 1845. The Manchester Typographical Society and the societies covering pressmen and the newspaper compositors in London did not join the NTA, and many printers remained outside the national organisation, some of whom were members of local unaffiliated benefit societies, and a considerable number of whom belonged to no organisation at all.

The Central Board of the General Typographical Association of Scotland became the Northern District Board of the new body. Meetings held in Dumfries in 1844 make numerous references to new or amended rules being under consideration, and the Dumfries Branch of the NTA was established at a meeting in January 1845, called by 'the Secretary of the late Dumfries Typographical Society […] for the purpose of forming a branch in Dumfries of the National Typographical Association'. Some members of the old organisation declined to join the new one. It was agreed, however, that the journeyman printers of Stranraer, who at this point were not of sufficient numbers to create a branch in their own town, could be part of the NTA branch in Dumfries (GD25/2, 24 January 1845). In its four years of existence, the NTA was involved in a number of disputes, particularly over apprentice numbers, in towns in Scotland including Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. As trade became more depressed in the latter half of the 1840s, the financial position of the NTA became less secure and employers began to exert pressure on their employees to renounce their membership.

At the beginning of 1847, the Northern District Board of the NTA responded to a series of resolutions along these lines passed by the newly formed Edinburgh Master Printers'

Association by declaring thirty-eight employers in dispute, and promising strike pay to members becoming unemployed as a result. A circular was issued, imposing a levy on all members to support this action. This was not universally popular: the secretary of the Dumfries branch was instructed at their branch annual general meeting:

> to repeat the objections of the Branch to the mode of apportioning the levy; to enquire what mode of proceedure ought to be adopted in the case of the members who refuse to pay the double subscription. (GD25/2, 15 January 1847)

It was reported at the next meeting that six men had withdrawn from the Association, five of them with arrears owing of between fourteen and sixteen shillings (GD25/2, 20 February 1847).

The strike in Edinburgh began on 6 February, involving 200 men. The employers responded by advertising for printers without union affiliation: on 3 March, for example, the firm of Murray & Gibb advertised in the Scotsman 'To Printers' for:

> a Person properly qualified to take charge of the Press and Machine Department. Also, Two good and steady Pressmen, accustomed to work stereotype and bring up woodcuts. None connected with the National Typographical Union need apply. (*Scotsman*, 3 March 1847, p.1)

In April, strike pay was still being paid to 150 men in Edinburgh, supported by subscriptions from affiliated printers throughout the UK. The print trade was also undergoing a period of depression at this time and the costs of the strike, added to the burden of supporting unemployed members throughout the country, meant that strike pay could no longer be paid. Additional subscriptions were levied from employed members, but the financial burden was too great. The Edinburgh dispute ended on the employers' terms in October 1847, and the NTA was dissolved on the resolution of the south-east, or London, district early the following year (Gillespie 1953, pp37-38; Musson 1954, pp.71-75).

The formation of the Scottish Typographical Association

On 9 March 1848, the Edinburgh printers resolved that:

> the National Typographical Association having been virtually dissolved, by the English and Irish Districts forming separate independent Societies, and by the secession of the Branches of our own District, resolve, that this Branch shall, after the present date, be formed into a Local Society. (Acc.4068/1)

The Glasgow society had also reformed themselves almost immediately, and by 1849 societies had been reconstituted in Banff, Dumfries, Dundee, Kilmarnock, Perth and

Stirling as well, but all had returned to the status of benefit societies, relieving tramps with recognised cards. The position, therefore mirrored that of nearly twenty years before, when tramp relief rather than 'trade matters' such as apprentice numbers, wages and hours, was the dominant concern of the local societies (Gillespie 1953, p.44). Also in 1849, the typographical societies outside London reorganised themselves as the Provincial Typographical Association (later the Typographical Association or TA), which came to represent compositors and pressmen in the English trade outside London, Wales and the whole of Ireland, with a number of 'recognised societies' remaining independent. In London, the London Society of Compositors and the London Society of Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society both continued as independent organisations, as they had been throughout this period.

The new typographical societies in Scotland began corresponding with each other almost at once about the possibility of reforming a Scottish association on the model of the earlier General Typographical Association of Scotland. A letter from Mr Baird, of the Glasgow Typographical Society 'in reference to the re-constitution of the Scottish Association' was read at the meeting of the Edinburgh society held on 27 July 1848. At the following meeting, on 4 September, the secretary was asked 'to correspond with the office-bearers in the provinces anent the formation of a Scottish Association' (Acc.4068/1). However, for the next two years the main preoccupation in Edinburgh was the re-establishment of the local society on a proper financial basis, and the liquidation of the outstanding debts of the now defunct National Typographical Association. At the same time the Glasgow society complained about the apathy of the smaller towns in relation to their attempts to revive the national organisation. The correspondence between Glasgow and Edinburgh revived in 1851, and continued through the following year. At a meeting of the Edinburgh Typographical Society held in May 1852, a motion was unanimously carried to the effect that:

> this meeting is of the opinion that Edinburgh & Glasgow should unite in forming a Central Society, and that such a Society would speedily be joined by the whole trade in Scotland. (Acc.4068/1, 6 May 1852)

A delegate meeting was held in Glasgow on 9 November 1852 at which it was:

> reported that five Societies had intimated their willingness to join – Dumfries, Kilmarnock, Paisley, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Stirling had declined, and no reply had been received from Perth, Dundee or Inverness, where, in fact, no Societies existed at that time. Aberdeen had expressed regret at being unable to form a Society. (Gillespie 1953, pp.45-46)

The establishment of the new Scottish Typographical Association with five branches was unanimously approved, and came into being on 1 January 1853, with its Central Board in Glasgow.

The collapse of the NTA had been noted at the April 1848 branch meeting of the Dumfries society, at which the secretary was instructed to:

> correspond with the various officers of the district boards in order to enquire into the position which the Society occupies in regard to those bodies which have branched off from it. It was also agreed to suspend payment till satisfactory information on this point be obtained, leaving it to the generosity of individual members as to the relief of tramps calling in the interim. (GD25/2, 28 April 1848)

A special meeting was held two months later, at which the 'society':

> after expressing regret at the failure of the National Typographical Association, and consequently declaring itself no longer a branch of that body, resolved on re-constituting the Dumfries Typographical Society, adopting the printed rules of 1840. (GD25/2, 23 June 1848)

The members' roll for this new organisation, recorded at this meeting, consisted of eight members.[10] The meeting formally reconstituting the local union in Dumfries was held on 25 November 1848. The next meeting was due in January 1849 but was postponed 'on account of the prevalence of cholera in Dumfries'. In the meantime, however, the secretary had informed 'various towns' of the formation of the Dumfries union (GD25/2, 4 April 1849). For the next few years, the concerns noted in the minutes were indeed purely local. The meetings were also infrequent: the society did not meet again between April and October 1849, and there are no records of any meetings held in 1851 (GD25/2).

Scottish Typographical Association, 1853 onwards

The Scottish Typographical Association (STA) was formed on 1 January 1853, initially with with five branches (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dumfries, Kilmarnock, Paisley) and another seven had been added by the end of the following year.[11] By 1860 there were twenty three branches, representing 1,041 members (Scottish Typographical Association

10 They were: Samuel Welsh, Thomas Currie, Charles Balieff (apprentice), James Bell, James Hannay, William Harris, Thos M'Knight (apprentice), Robert M'Dowall. By 25 November 1848, the members included W Johnstone, R Mundie, T Gibson, J Martin, J Brown, journeymen; J Haining, apprentices. See list 13, Appendix 1.

11 The additional branches were: Aberdeen, Arbroath, Banff, Cupar-Fife, Dundee, Greenock and Perth.

1903, pp.30) and by 1887 there were twenty-six. In the smaller towns of the Scottish Borders, 'what might be called a federated branch' had been established in 1871, covering Hawick, Jedburgh, Kelso, Peebles, Roxburgh and Selkirk (Scottish Typographical Association 1903, p.60). The Central Board was based in Glasgow throughout, although there were occasional suggestions that it should be moved to Edinburgh. Delegate meetings were held every few years, at which there were extensive discussions of the rules governing the association. Staff from the Central Board travelled to the branches to help them negotiate with local employers to solve, or sometimes avoid, disputes. A special meeting of the Perth Branch, for example, was held in March 1886:

> for the purpose of hearing a deputation from the Executive Council, consisting of Messrs Battersby, Orr and Revie, anent the dispute in the Advertiser Office. The meeting was a large and enthusiastic one. (MS40, 3 March 1886)

Mr Battersby's speech was 'long and eloquent' and he was followed by the other members of the delegation. The support of the Central Board and suggested strategy in relation to the dispute over hours with Mr Cowan, publisher of the *Perth Advertiser*, seems to have been effective and at another special meeting held two days later it was reported that Mr Cowan recognised the claim for a working week of fifty one hours, without reduction in wage rates. The local branch decided, however, that Mr Cowan was unlikely to agree to their other demand that 'he should introduce no more girls into his machine-room, so let it drop' (MS40/1, 1886). The issue of women in the trade was a significant one in Perth (see chapter three).

The most significant dispute in Scotland in the latter part of the century began in Edinburgh in August 1872, when fifty three men working at the *Scotsman* tendered their notice, in a dispute over the distribution of copy for setting and other complaints, including the dismissal of five men and other issues relating to the piece-work system in the office. The strike was not sanctioned in advance by the Edinburgh Branch, let alone the STA as a whole.[12] The members of the *Scotsman* chapel stopped work on 7 August, but were replaced at once by non-union labour: on 8 August 'a horde of "indescribables" from London and Liverpool made their appearance' though some were later persuaded by the union to leave (Scottish Typographical Association 1903, p.62). The *Scotsman* remained closed to union members, and in October 1872 a memorial was presented to the book and jobbing employers in Edinburgh requesting a fifty-one-hour

12 This dispute is explored in detail in Finkelstein (2018, forthcoming).

week, and an additional ½d on the hourly piece rate. The strike began, involving 750 men, and the dispute was finally settled, on the masters' terms, in the spring of the following year, leaving the union with debts to pay off. The Edinburgh Branch lost members as a result, and in some ways the most significant outcome was the employment of a considerable number of women compositors, possibly as many as a hundred, in some of the larger Edinburgh printing works (Gillespie 1953, pp.104-105).

Around the same time, discontent among the pressmen and machine-men of Edinburgh who felt that their interests were not fully represented by the existing structures, led to their forming a separate organisation, named the Edinburgh Machinemen's Society in 1874. It remained separate for the rest of the century. A similar movement had occurred in Glasgow in the 1860s, but had not led to complete secession (Gillespie 1953, pp.122-125) The Dumfries branch also briefly seceded, over the decision taken at the Delegate Meeting held in Stirling in 1877 to make membership of the new sick benefit scheme compulsory for all members. The Dumfries branch were not alone in their opposition, but at a meeting held in January 1878, and after consultation with the members, the Dumfries Branch considered a demand from the STA Executive that they either accept the decision of the Delegate Meeting, or secede:

> Under the circumstances, Mr Miller moved "That we form ourselves into a Society to be called 'The Dumfries Typographical Association' " which was seconded by Mr D Lockerbie. The Secretary was instructed to communicate the decision to the Executive but with this addition "that the Dfs branch still desired to continue under former terms".

In the meantime, a sub-committee was formed 'to communicate and make enquiries regarding joining the Provincial Typographical Association of England; and also particulars regarding their status as an independent Society' (GD25/2, 3 January 1878).

Three weeks later the branch held another special meeting at which it was reported that 'owing to communications from various branches' a Special Delegate Meeting would be held on the subject. The full membership were invited to vote again on the motion:

> "That we express our willingness to remain a branch of the Scot. Typ. Assoc. In the event of the Sick and Funeral Fund not being made compulsory". (GD25/2, 24 January 1878)

The threat to secede brought with it some difficulties: at yet another special meeting called 'to consider the present position of the Branch', it was reported that 'certain members' had ceased to pay their dues (GD25/2, 13 March 1878). The branch appointed

its delegate to the new Special Meeting at their regular quarterly meeting on 3 April 1878, and two further special meetings were held to discuss the branch's position. At the second of these, on 1 May 1878, the Dumfries delegate was formally instructed on how to act at the forthcoming meeting to be held in Edinburgh on 3 and 4 May 1878, and in addition, the Secretary was 'requested to propose a motion for the STA to unite with the Typographical Society and that he supported the Glasgow proposition generally' (GD25/2, March-July 1878). The Edinburgh Delegate Meeting 'eliminated the sick scheme from the rules' (Scottish Typographical Association 1903, p.70) and by the middle of July, the Dumfries Branch had completed the negotiations with the Executive over the payments due to the Executive which had been withheld since the beginning of the year. The Dumfries Branch always maintained its links with the Typographical Association, as acknowledged by Mr Templeton of the Scottish Typographical Association Executive who, during the delegate meeting held in Dumfries in April 1895, commented that 'he looked upon the branch as the connection between their association and the kindred body on the other side of the border, the TA' (GD25/3, 1895 printed report pasted in).

Dominant issues in the second half of the period were the linked questions of wages and hours; entry to the trade, often described as the 'apprentice question', and the employment of non-union labour. The societies and federations of the first half of the century had made a number of attempts to control apprentice numbers, without any lasting effect. In 1850, there were apparently about 1,200 apprentices and about 1,500 journeymen in Scotland. The town of Aberdeen had forty eight journeymen and eighty one apprentices, creating a 'special problem' (Gillespie 1953, p.93). As well as concerns about the scale of 'boy labour' the other issue was the 'turnovers'. Apprentices who had served at least four years of their apprenticeship might be offered a small additional sum to move to a different office, and undertake work that would otherwise be given to a journeyman. It was not until the 1870s that the STA tackled both issues successfully, although the smaller branches including Dumfries often had little option but to accept higher ratios of journeymen to apprentices (Gillespie 1953, pp.91-97). Apprentices in the latter half of their time were encouraged to join the association, though they paid a reduced subscription and were not entitled to vote although their membership provided access to some protections. Despite the passage of the trade union act of 1871, three apprentices, who had handed in their notice together with the journeymen at the *Journal*

and Advertiser in Stirling in 1873 during a campaign for a reduction in hours, were taken to court by their employer for 'having left their employment'. However, after a two-day trial, the Sheriff found in favour of the apprentices, whose lawyer was paid for by the union (Scottish Typographical Association 1903, p.64).

The major issues for the Dumfries branch were wages and hours, though apprentice numbers were also sometimes a cause for concern. At the 1869 annual meeting, the members agreed unanimously that 'a memorial be presented to the employers for an increase of wage and a reduction of the hours of labour' and a committee was appointed to draw it up (GD25/2, 13 January 1869). It was reported at the next quarterly meeting that, as a result of the employers' response to this memorial, more information had been requested, and the secretary had written to other branches in towns of a similar size for information on wages and hours. Little progress had been made by the next quarterly meeting, at which it was agreed to give the employers in town a fortnight to answer the men's request (GD25/2, 20 July 1869). By the time a special branch meeting was held in September 'for the purpose of hearing the answer from the employers' there had been no further progress:

> The secretary intimated that he had received a note from Mr Craw stating that he could do nothing in the matter till Mr McDiarmid came home, as he had always been in the habit of consulting him. A verbal answer was also received from Mr Henderson to the same effect. (GD25/2, 7 September 1869)

The branch decided to 'wait upon' the proprietors individually in the hope of achieving progress but no satisfactory conclusion had been reached by the time the next quarterly meeting was held. Mr McDiarmid had written to the branch on behalf of all the proprietors, which said that:

> It appeared to them, after careful consideration of the question, as put by us that no satisfactory discussion, as to the rate of wages of compositor here can be arrived at without a knowledge of the rates current in towns somewhat similar in population and position as the burgh. (GD25/2, copied into minutes 6 October 1869)

The branch's response was again to request a reply within a fortnight. The events that followed were summarised in advance of the annual meeting in January 1870. The employers had refused to concede the changes requested, and the branch had therefore consulted the STA Central Board on whether they should call a strike or not. Having received the support of the Board, and following a meeting on 17 December 1869, it was agreed that notices would be handed in, to take effect at New Year. This at last

produced an offer from the other side:

> On the Saturday one of the proprietors hearing of our intention offered a compromise of 24s a week on the condition that he did not receive any notices. A meeting was held on that day at half past one o'clock, when it was decided as there were no proposals before the meeting from the other two offices it could not be entertained. On Monday the employees of the Herald received a similar offer, a meeting was held that night and it was decided by a small majority that we do not accept of the compromise.

Initially the Central Board had supported this position, but soon after a telegram was received advising that the offer be accepted, and after meeting the branch voted in favour of withdrawing their 'warnings' (GD25/2, before minute of 12 January 1870). At the annual meeting:

> The Secretary read a letter which he had received from Mr Govan, Glasgow, explaining on what authority the Central Board had sanctioned the acceptance of the compromise offered by the masters during the late strike – not in consequence of any information supplied by the secretary, but "because of cowardice or treachery in the camp". (GD25/2, 12 January 1870)

It is not clear what this treachery amounted to, but one member of the branch had lost his job, and was awarded £5. At the next quarterly meeting at the end of March, another member, David Halliday,[13] was also awarded full strike allowance after losing his job following the strike.

Improvements in printing machines do not seem to have had any significant effect on the numbers employed in the printing industry or their pay. With the development of successful typesetting machines towards the end of the century, the introduction of new technologies in the composing room became an issue. However, in common with other regions of Great Britain, the craft unions retained control of the typesetting and type production, negotiating favourable rates for their members working on hot-metal machines. Regional printing offices rarely used the Monotype system but Linotype, first used in New York in 1886, was introduced first in Glasgow and Edinburgh newspaper offices in the 1890s, and was in use in other regional newspaper printing offices by the end of the century. In 1890 the STA became involved in dispute in the *Scottish Leader* office in Edinburgh over the terms on which Linotype operators were employed (Gillespie 1953, pp.111-14). A dispute in the Glasgow *Evening Citizen* printing office in

13 David Halliday was a member of the DTS from the 1850s to the 1870s (lists 14-18, Appendix 1). He appears to have been no relation to David Halliday, proprietor of a printing business in Dumfries from the 1830s to around 1880 (see Appendix 2).

1892 over the rates of pay for Linotype operators led to the entire membership in the business (about sixty men) being locked out as the employers decided to declare their offices to be non-union. The excluded members were later employed on a new evening paper, the *Glasgow Echo*, which was set up 'on behalf of the working classes' in the wake of the dispute and lasted until 1895 when it was sold, and the title changed to the *Daily Record* (Gillespie 1953, pp.120-22). The STA was also represented at meetings of the Typographical Association which discussed pay rates and hours for operating these machines. Although there were instances where men were put out of work following the introduction of the new technology, the increased demand for print meant that overall there was no significant unemployment as a consequence. Mechanisation in itself, and increases in the size and speed of presses, had little effect on employment levels overall, and did not lead directly to dilution or weakening of trade status.

Trade journals

Trade journals both emerged from and supported the emerging federations of typographical societies, reporting on trade issues including technological innovations, the tramping system, giving notice of disputes and publishing the reports of both local societies and the larger bodies. The earliest journals, the *Compositors' Chronicle* (1840-1843) and *The Printer* (1843-1845) were printed and published in London, and were closely linked to the London trade organisations, but were addressed to printers throughout the United Kingdom, and reported events accordingly. The *Compositors' Chronicle*, for example, according to the address to its readers in its first issue, was established as:

> a medium of communication between all who are interested in the prospects and prices of the trade. For this purpose the columns of the "Chronicle" will be open to all correspondents whose aim is to promote the interests of the profession – to the secretaries of the various societies in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and to the literary effusions of the members of the trade upon all subjects.

The intention was to:

> allay, not to provoke unnecessary disputes between employers and the employed – to promote temperance, frugality, and honesty – to make the members of the trade happier and better men – and maintain the claim of the profession to that rank amongst the industrious classes of Britain to which it is entitled. (*Compositors' Chronicle* 7 September 1840, p.1)

After the *Compositors' Chronicle* ceased publication in August 1843, the whole run was re-published as a single collected volume, which was sold to help pay the expenses of

its production. The editors also announced a new monthly title to replace it, *The Printer*, first issued on 1 November 1843. It was 'only a continuation (upon an improved and somewhat enlarged scale)' of the *Compositors' Chronicle* (1 November 1843 p.8). The contents are very similar to the earlier title, and although published in London, matters of interest to members of the trade from throughout the British Isles are recorded, such as reports of delegate meetings, correspondence, news of strikes and fraudulent individuals. *The Printer* nearly folded within the year: an address 'To our readers' in the issue dated 1 June 1844 begins 'Illness and ill-success have for some time been urging us to discontinue the publication of The Printer' but correspondence convinced the editor that 'it was necessary to preserve the only medium of communication which exists in the Trade' (*The Printer* 1 June 1844, p.113). The final issue appeared a year later in June 1845. It was succeeded by the similarly short-lived *Typographical Gazette* (1846-1847), and then the *Typographical Protection Circular* also published in London, from 1849 to 1853. The contents of this last title were similar, and again included reports from the local societies and correspondence on the 'state of the trade', as well as poetry and some advertisements for suppliers or publications and news of individuals. An obituary column in the issue for May 1849 lists nineteen names, thirteen of whom had died of cholera. Tramping remained a matter of concern to the correspondents (*Typographical Protection Circular*, May 1849 p.36).

With the establishment of the more stable federal structures for the typographical societies in the middle of the nineteenth century the trade press also stabilised. The Provincial Typographical Association published the *Typographical Societies' Monthly Circular* in Manchester, on a monthly basis from 1852. In 1875 it changed its title to the *Provincial Typographical Circular*, and two years later to the *Typographical Circular*, a title it held for the rest of the century. Bateman (1990, p.12) dismisses the 'parochial ignorance existing in the smaller centres' before the foundation of technical journals (he describes them as 'rudimentary') such as the *British Printer*, established in 1878 as the *British and Colonial Printer and Stationer,* and the *Printers' International Specimen Exchange*, first published in 1880. However, the journals published by the trade organisations not only reported on the activities of the federations and other societies, and kept their members informed about movements of members and the progress of disputes, but discussed technical matters including innovations in stereotyping, mechanical typesetting and new printing machines. They also continued to

publish poetry and other writings by members.

In Scotland, the Edinburgh Branch of the STA took on responsibility for producing the *Scottish Typographical Circular* from 1857. The Manchester-based *Typographical Circular*, however, also circulated in Scotland as much of its content was of use to members who moved south. At the annual general meeting for 1886, the Dumfries society, for example, debated a motion:

> that the branch in future get the Scottish Typographical Circular instead of the English one. It was agreed, however, to continue the English one, and also to get three copies of the Scottish every month for the use of the members. (GD25/2, 6 January 1886)

The *Scottish Typographical Journal* included general commentary on 'the state of the trade', reports from the local branches, discussion of technical matters and notices of disputes, and literary contributions. It also noted the movements of individuals between centres, with card numbers and details of the amounts of benefit paid. Profiles of prominent individuals and obituary notices were also published and towards the end of the century these often included photographs.

Other print trade organisations

Differentiation in the trade in larger centres such as Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, where larger businesses focused on the production of newspapers and books, or the specialist sectors of art reproduction or label printing, while undertaking a relatively small proportion of jobbing work, was reflected in the separation of functions within the businesses. Individual journeymen in these businesses were employed as compositors or as pressmen (later in the nineteenth century more often referred to as machine-men). Apprentices were expected to train in both functions, and were not considered fully qualified if they had not done so. In 1846, the Dumfries branch wrote to the Northern District Board of the National Typographical Association in Edinburgh asking for advice on the position of a member who was employed at the *Courier* printing office. According to the letter, William Johnstone 'justified himself in working at Case and Press, as there was no law against it, and as it was allowed in other parts of ~~England~~ Scotland'. His apprenticeship had been solely in the case-room, and the Board decided that:

> Johnston [sic] should not be allowed to work at Case and Press, as he never served a regular Apprenticeship at that department, it being the use and wont of the

> Profession not to allow Journeymen to work at either Case of Press unless they had served an Apprenticeship to them. (Acc.4068/50, meeting on May 1846)

As well as technological change in the letterpress branch of the industry, the nineteenth century was in general a period of change and development in the trade as a whole. New processes came into use, and thus new occupational groups appeared, the largest of which were workers in the lithographic trade and wood engravers, and later workers in photo-mechanical processes. A considerable proportion of the workers in printing offices were not part of the training systems and support structures such as the benefit societies and later the 'craft' unions which sought to maintain craft status and exclusive control of particular aspects of the business for their members. Separate unions represented the 'semi-skilled' and 'unskilled' workers in printing businesses developed in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Printers' and Stationers' Warehousemen, Cutters and Assistants Union was founded in 1889, which in 1914 merged with, among others the National Union of Paper Mill Workers (established in 1890) to form the National Union of Printing and Paper Workers. The Print Labourers Union (which later became the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants) did not have any presence in Scotland. The National Society of Electrotypers and Stereotypers, representing the foundry workers in these trades, was founded in 1893, but does not seem to have had a significant presence in Scotland until the early years of the twentieth century. As lithographic printers grew in number with the expansion of this sector of the trade, their structures matched those of the letterpress printers. The Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers and Operative Assistants (ASLP) was active in Scotland from 1880, and the Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers and Process Workers (SLADE) from the end of that decade (Gennard 2010, pp.30-31).

Bookbinders, like the compositors and pressmen, were organised into mutual support organisations from early in the nineteenth century. Most of the local societies of bookbinders (though not Edinburgh) had joined the Bookbinders' Consolidated Relief Fund in 1835, which became the Bookbinders' Consolidated Union in 1840. Edinburgh finally joined the other societies in 1872, when the Consolidated Union became the Bookbinders and Machine Rulers Consolidated Union. These various unions, including the STA joined the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation (P&KTF), which was established in 1890 on the initiative of George Kelley of the ASLP. Its aims included

establishing ‘more uniform working conditions throughout the industry and to co-ordinate union policies’, although because the London unions did not join the national P&KTF but formed a regional one of their own, the role of the national body was restricted to fostering co-operation’. The STA held aloof for a time because of the attitude taken by the P&KTF to the dispute between themselves and the Edinburgh Machine Men, still ongoing since the mid-1870s and not resolved until 1907 (Gennard 2010, p32).

Other organisations

As well as organising and paying dues to their own local typographical society, operative printers engaged with other organisations. Apart from co-operating with other typographical societies to build the broader union structures, and to support fellow printers in dispute, these were mainly other local bodies. As a recognisable ‘workers movement’ began to emerge in the political sphere in the last third of the nineteenth century, the question of representation on other bodies such as local trades councils and the Trades Union Congress arose. In the first half of the century, the legal position of the union organisation and the benefit societies was precarious, and there is no indication in the Dumfries Typographical Society’s minutes, for example, that they participated as a body in any campaigns or demonstrations in support of parliamentary reform, the repeal of the Corn Laws, or meetings and demonstrations as part of the Chartist movement. Individual members of the printing and allied trades, however, did so: one of the most prominent Chartists in Dumfries was a bookbinder, William McDowall, editor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* from 1846 to 1888. His brother Robert was a prominent member of the DTS, and held office as secretary and president at various times, but there is no mention of the latter’s name in connection with the Chartist movement.[14]

The ‘house of call’ for many typographical societies was a local public house. This was not only the place for tramps to call in order to ask about work in town, or to receive benefit, but also served as meeting rooms. The first meeting of the Dumfries Typographical Society was held in Johnstons Waterloo Tavern on the High Street. From 1835 until the end of 1852 the society met in the Ewe and Lamb Inn, in a close just off the High Street. It was expected that those attending would consume enough beer or

14 See chapter six for more detail of Robert M’Dowall’s career.

other drinks to cover the rent on the room, and any deficiency had to be paid from branch funds. The first meeting as the Dumfries Branch of the newly formed STA in January 1853, however, was in Kerr's Temperance Hotel, in the middle of the High Street itself, where they continued to meet until the early twentieth century. In the early 1870s, many of the meetings of the Perth branch of the STA were held in Carmichael's Temperance Coffee Rooms, but for most of its existence the branch met in various public houses. At the special meeting held in December 1886, a notice was given that a motion would be put to a future meeting:

> That the Committee of the Perth Branch STA be empowered to procure a room, other than that of a public-house, in which to transact the business of the Branch. (MS40/1, 6 December 1886)

However, meetings continued to be held in the Black Bull Inn and other local hotels, and by the 1890s were mainly in the County Place Hotel. The meeting held there on 13 August 1898 apparently ended with and hour spent 'in song and sentiment' (MS40/1), although by the following year meetings were being held in the Perth Coffee House. The temperance movement is not mentioned directly in the minutes of either the Perth nor the Dumfries branch minutes, but the printers in the latter town, for example, took a prominent part in a number of temperance events. This aspect of civic engagement by the Dumfries printers will be explored more fully in chapter five.

The local typographical societies also engaged with other workers' organisations. As well as contributing to levies in support of strike actions by other branches of the STA, or the other print trade federations, appeals for support from other trades were received. At the meeting of the Dumfries branch in April 1874, for example, a request from the Lincoln & Neighbouring Counties Amalgamated Labour League was discussed, requesting support from the branch for their members affected by 'a general Lock-out of Agricultural Labourers' in a dispute over wage reductions in their region. The branch did not provide any funds from its own resources but arranged for voluntary subscriptions from members (GD25/2, 8 April 1874). In October 1897, both the Perth and Dumfries branches of the STA contributed to the support of the Amalgamated Engineers in London. The Perth Branch arranged a levy from their members, and Dumfries granted £3 from branch funds (MS40/1, 2 October and 11 October 1897; GD25/2, 9 October 1897).

Trades councils, which appeared in large towns such as Edinburgh and Glasgow in the

1850s, were not formally constituted in the regions until much later. The attempt to create a wider representative structure for all trades that was made in the 1870s was rebuffed by the DTS.[15] Trades councils were not set up in either Perth or Dumfries until the late 1890s. At the 1896 annual general meeting a member of the Dumfries Branch raised the possibility that a trades council might be established in Dumfries. The opinion expressed that:

> such an organisation would have a beneficial effect on the different trades in the town; but as there were formidable obstacles to be overcome before a Council could be formed, the matter dropped. (GD25/3, 22 January 1896)

The 'trades' in the town did, however, meet for specific purposes: at a special meeting held on 11 March 1896, two members were appointed to represent the branch 'at a meeting of all the trades to be held in Town Hall following evening' concerning arrangements a procession to be held in town on the centenary of the death of Robert Burns (GD25/3). Participation by the operative printers in these events will be considered in more detail in chapter five.

As employees in the printing trades began to combine for mutual support, so did the employers. Formal organisations first appeared in the larger centres: for example the Glasgow Master Printers Association was formed in 1837, and the Edinburgh Association about ten years later (Gennard 2010, pp.19-20). In smaller centres where there were only a handful of printing businesses, there were no formal organisations, but there is some evidence that the masters met on an *ad hoc* basis when there were matters that affected them all. The consultations among the employers in Dumfries have been mentioned, but no records have survived. However, no more than half-a-dozen individuals were involved, and it may not have been thought necessary to keep any other written record than that which was sent to the typographical society. Although the master printers came together on this local basis, they did not form their own national organisation until the formation of the British Federation of Master Printers in 1900, originally intended as a single organisation to cover the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. The Scottish Alliance of Masters in the Printing and Kindred Trades was formed in 1910, and the relationship between the two bodies was eventually settled two years later (Gennard 2010, pp37-42).

15 See chapter three, section on 'Workers' organisations'.

Summary

As the nineteenth century progressed, the long-standing traditions in the printing industry of combination at a local level for mutual support ceased to be sufficient, and local typographical societies came together in wider bodies that eventually became the letterpress print unions. At this point, not all operative printers, even among the so-called skilled trades of typesetting and printing were consistently members of the union, but many had a connection with them at least at some point in their career. The trade organisations not only provided support for their members, and collective bargaining with employers, but also a conduit for information about matters of interest to members, including employment prospects, new technologies and the prevention of fraud. As the broader workers' movement developed in the later nineteenth century, the print unions also gave the print trade a corporate voice on matters of general interest, both in local civic matters, and in the wider workers' movement.

Chapter 5

The regional print economy of south-west Scotland

Although there had been booksellers in the region in the seventeenth century, the earliest known printing business in the south-west of Scotland was that of Robert Rae. He operated first in Kirkbride, moving to Dumfries in 1715. Printing took place in the town intermittently throughout the eighteenth century, and it was not until its end that other 'printing towns' were established in the three counties which form the region of Dumfries and Galloway. There was a printer operating in the north of Dumfriesshire in Sandquhar in 1799, and one in Kirkcudbright in 1805. Two presses began operating in Wigtownshire over the next ten years or so: in Wigtown in 1807 and in Stranraer in 1816. By 1830, they had been joined by printing offices in Newton Stewart (1820), Annan (1822) and Castle Douglas (1823) (National Library of Scotland 2008). However, the businesses which actually undertook printing only form part of the 'print economy' of the region, and there were also a number of bookbinders and booksellers and stationery suppliers, among others.

This chapter will look at the scale of the printing and allied industries operating across the region, and the production and distribution of print within the area over the century. As well as examining in some detail the print economy in the main print centre, the burgh of Dumfries itself, the business operations, and the scale and nature of printed material produced in the town (the material record) will be described, together with the factors driving the demand for print locally. The place of the print trade in the town will also be considered and the operation of the trade society regulating the relationship between the master printers and their employees.

South-west Scotland in the nineteenth century

South-west Scotland is a region covering more or less the same territory as the contemporary county of Dumfries and Galloway. In the nineteenth century it consisted of three counties: Dumfriesshire itself, Kirkcudbrightshire to the west, and further west on the coast, Wigtownshire. Ayrshire and Lanarkshire are to the north of this region, the counties of Peebles, Selkirk and Roxburgh to the east, and Cumbria or Cumberland south across the Solway Firth and the English border.

Figure 3: South-west Scotland in 1841

The Royal Burgh of Dumfries was not only the administrative centre for the county of Dumfriesshire, but also the commercial centre and largest town for this region. The town itself dates back to at least medieval times, and its original importance lies at least partly in its strategic position just north of the border with England, on a crossing point on the River Nith near the point where it drains into the Solway Firth. Dumfries lies on the eastern bank of the River Nith, connected by the fifteenth century Devorgilla Bridge to the townships of Maxwelltown and Troqueer in the neighbouring county of Kirkcudbrightshire on its western bank. As the Burgh of Dumfries itself prospered, new bridges across the Nith to the townships were built: the New Bridge, built in 1794, was linked to the older part of the town by a broad new thoroughfare, Buccleuch Street. Although not part of the Royal Burgh, during the nineteenth century Maxwelltown and Troqueer effectively became suburbs of Dumfries. The town had been granted the status of a Royal Burgh by William the Lion in 1186 and for many years was a fortified settlement, although the fortifications had long gone by the eighteenth century when the Jacobite army camped at the town for three days on its retreat north from Derby in December 1745.

In the first third of the nineteenth century, Dumfries 'gradually, and […] rapidly, advanced in prosperity and population' (Chamber 1838 v.1, p.217). At this point, Dumfries was at the height of its importance as a trading and cultural centre for the whole region. For the rest of the century the burgh remained primarily a commercial

town with little industry, its main importance being as a marketing centre for livestock and for the agricultural produce of the whole south-western region of Scotland. It was:

> the metropolis of the south-west corner of Scotland […] Serving as a kind of capital, not only to its own shire, but also a portion of Galloway. (Pigot & Co 1837, p.351)

For centuries, until bypassed by railways and new roads, Dumfries was a stopping point on the west coast route linking Scotland and England. Roads converged there, connecting Scotland's central belt and all the country to the north with the route south across the Solway and the border with England via Carlisle, thirty seven miles away, and on to the towns of Lancashire and beyond. Dumfries is just over seventy miles from both Edinburgh and Glasgow to the north, and around eighty miles from Portpatrick and Stranraer on the west coast (Pigot & Co 1840). Liverpool and Manchester are both just over 155 miles to the south, it is nearly 240 miles to Birmingham, and nearly 340 to London. In the 1830s, before railways were constructed locally, the town was well served by coach services travelling these routes. Goods were moved around by carriers' carts which linked many towns throughout the Scottish border region.

Dumfries was also a port town. The 'port of Dumfries' in fact consisted not only of the Burgh of Dumfries itself, but also the neighbouring quays at Kingholm Quay, Kelton, Glencaple and Carsethorn. Annan, further south-east along the coast of the Solway Firth from Dumfries, was also a Royal Burgh and a considerable port in its own right. As might be expected, the majority of the trade was coastal, with towns on the west coast in the Glasgow area as far south as Liverpool. Vessels also sailed to Irish ports and to the Isle of Man, as well as on the Atlantic trade routes. The port facilities in the town itself had been expanded during the eighteenth century, and the scale of tobacco imports were such that Dumfries it was described as the 'Scottish Liverpool' (McDowall 1986, p.Dum 36). The *New Statistical Account* records eighty four vessels registered to Dumfries, and the Custom House covered an extensive area of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway coast (*New Statistical Account: Dumfries* 1845, pp.19-20). There were also ship-building yards for wooden vessels. Exports were mainly the products of the local agricultural economy: wool and various grains dominated, and the transport of livestock connected the port to the droving routes that converged at Dumfries. As noted, tobacco was a major import, both officially and unofficially with smuggling being a major issue for this and other commodities. Coal, lime, wine and other goods from the Continent, and timber from Canada were among the other imports that arrived by sea. Emigrant

ships sailed from the area, particularly the quays at Carsethorn and Glencaple, carrying thousands of people to Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia in Canada, and later to Australia and New Zealand. However, even for smaller vessels, the River Nith was unreliably navigable due to shifting sands and silting, and its tides were unpredictable. It was in any case too shallow for the increasingly large steamships as the century progressed. Despite the various improvement works undertaken in the first decades of the nineteenth century, port activity reached a peak in the 1840s, just before the coming of the railways and thereafter the port went into decline although trade through the docks continued for some years (McDowall 1986, p.777).

As well as functioning as the market centre for the surrounding agricultural region, Dumfries had for centuries been an important stop on the west coast livestock droving routes. Cattle in particular, but also horses, sheep and pigs, were herded south on this route from the northern regions of Scotland as well as east from the Irish route via the short sea-crossings at Portpatrick and Stranraer to the west, heading south to the English markets. The town therefore developed into a trading centre for livestock, with weekly markets on Wednesdays. The annual cattle fair continued throughout the nineteenth century, surviving into the twentieth century as the Rood Fair, held at the end of September. Horse fairs were also held twice a year. Despite the fact that Dumfries had no significant industrial presence, some local, agriculture-related industries developed there. Tanning was particularly important: there were nine tanneries in the 1820s. Other industries in Dumfries based on this regional agricultural economy included hosiery manufacture, shoe and hat-making, brewing and basket making and wool processing.

Royal Burghs such as Dumfries had the right to run local affairs, and collect taxes through its Provost and Council. Local businesses had right to representation on the Council through the town's seven incorporated trades, originating in medieval times.[1] Originally the Trades controlled who could settle in town, and what could be traded there, but their dominance waned during the eighteenth century. The town's Trades Hall was built in 1804 as the Incorporations were becoming obsolete, and during the local government reforms of the early 1830s, they lost the right to be represented on the Town Council. In 1831, the population of Dumfries itself was just over 11,000, that of the neighbouring area of Maxwelltown at over 3,000, and that of Troqueer at just over

1 They were the Hammermen, Squaremen, Tailors, Weavers, Shoemakers, Skinners and Glovers, Fleshers.

1,000 (McDiarmid 1832, p.8). During the nineteenth century the population of the urban area around Dumfries continued to grow.

The first railway line in the town was built in 1848, and the network was complete within fifteen years (McDowall 1986, p.776). With the coming of rail transport, the nature of trade in Dumfries changed as the cattle were transported by rail to their markets instead of passing along the old droving routes. However, in the 1870s the railway junctions at Dumfries became 'the working nexus between the Scottish system and the English Midland system' with a number of new buildings constructed near the station, including a large hotel (Groome 1901, pp.391-92). Despite these changes in trade and transport, the town continued to be important as the commercial and administrative centre for the surrounding area. The manufacture of tweed expanded, and new industries such as the manufacture of implements and machinery for use in the agricultural sector. There was also an iron foundry on the west side of the River Nith in Maxwelltown (McDowall 1986, pp.790-92), and large-scale excavation of stone at the nearby Locharbriggs quarry. The stone was used locally, as well as in the construction of many buildings during the nineteenth century expansion of cities such as Edinburgh and Glasgow, and elsewhere. Further west, granite was quarried in Kirkcudbrightshire. As well as the Trades Hall in the centre of town, the Assembly Rooms were built in the early years of the nineteenth century. The prison, in Buccleuch Street, held the distinction of being the site of the last public execution in Scotland in 1868 (Houston 1962, p.104).

The towns of south-west Scotland shared the issues of health and sanitation common to all urban areas in the period. Although spared the extremes of poverty and overcrowding experienced in Edinburgh and Glasgow, the town of Dumfries was particularly hard hit by the cholera epidemic of the early 1830s. The first cases in the town occurred in mid-September 1832, and the last known case was reported on 27 November 1832. By the time the epidemic was declared over there had been 837 officially reported cases, and 422 deaths, but these figures are thought to have been an underestimate. Although a Board of Health was established in the burgh and took energetic action, it did not survive the epidemic itself, nor were improvements made to the water supply, and a second serious outbreak occurred between November 1848 and January 1849, with around 600 cases and 317 deaths, and an additional 214 cases and 114 deaths in

Maxwelltown (McDowall 1986, p.818). On this occasion, local effort was limited, apparently because there was no desire to spend burgh resources on the scale of the epidemic of 1832. The newly established Scottish Board of Health intervened, organised a medical board and a cleaning programme for housing. With the greater knowledge of the disease, the source was tracked to a contaminated water supply, and the local authorities were finally moved, ninety years after it was first proposed, to install a clean water supply, from four miles away at Lochrutton Loch, and marked the event by placing a water fountain in the High Street (*New Statistical Account: Dumfries* 1845, pp.6-9; Lockwood 1988, pp.84-86). Other amenities were already in place: gas-lighting had been installed to light the streets in the 1820s and was only superseded by electricity in the early years of the twentieth century.

Despite the general increase in population and the progress of industrialisation and urbanisation that took place throughout the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century, the south-west region of Scotland changed relatively little in terms of the structure of its economic activity. It remained a predominantly rural region, not sharing in the major expansion of the mining industries in the neighbouring counties of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, nor in the general industrial growth, development and diversification of Scotland's central belt. Dumfries continued to be the main urban centre for the region although it grew only slowly.

The regional print economy: origins and growth

The earliest information about the Dumfriesshire print economy dates from the second half of the seventeenth century: there was apparently a bookbinder, Robert Hynnem, working in the town in 1667 (National Library of Scotland, 2017; Shirley 1914, p.225). As noted, the first printing press known to be operating in the town was that of Robert Rae. He was the son of Peter Rae, the Minister of the parish of Kirkbride, north of Dumfries in 1703. It seems likely that, although the imprints give the son's name, the earliest known works from the press were printed by the father: in 1711, Robert Rae was aged only thirteen. The Rae press operated from the manse at Kirkbride from 1711 to 1714, before the disapproval of the parishioners forced a move to the Kirkgate in Dumfries in 1715, where it employed at least one print worker.[2] Robert Rae is also credited as the printer of the town's first newspaper, one of the earliest newspapers in

2 The baptism of Katharine 'lawful daughter to [–] Steel, printer' was recorded in the parish register for Dumfries in March 1715 (National Library of Scotland 2017)

Scotland outside Edinburgh. *The Drumfries [sic] Mercury*, may have appeared as early as 1715, and was priced at three halfpence. The business also sold and bound books as was common in most regional print shops of the period, but does not seem to have been active after about 1721 (Shirley 1914, p.225). It was at least thirty years before printing was revived in the town, although there were a number of booksellers. The most significant of these was Ebenezer Wilson's bookselling and publishing business which lasted throughout the second half of the eighteenth century (National Library of Scotland 2017).

Printing was re-established in Dumfries by the brothers Robert and Cuthbert Maclachlan (or McLauchlan/M'Lachlan). The Maclachlan printing office (sometimes called St Michael's Press) was in existence from around 1771 until the 1830s in various forms. Allan McLauchlan had run a bookselling and bookbinding business in the town between 1755 and the 1780s. This business was large enough to support apprentices in the 1760s and 1770s (National Library of Scotland 2017). After Allan's death, his sons Robert and Cuthbert took over the business. Robert sold his share to his brother in 1791, and Cuthbert continued in business alone. The Maclachlans printed sermons and chapbooks for the regional market such as *Abounding Iniquity, and its Fatal Consequences: a Sermon Preached at Kirkcudbright, the Twenty-Seventh of February, 1794* […] by the Reverend Robert Muter. Dumfries: printed by Cuthbert McLachlan, 1794. This title was also sold by Thomas M'Millan in Kirkcudbright, and the booksellers W. Chalmers, R. Clugston, and E. Wilson in Dumfries. Songs in chapbook form, such as *Four Excellent New Songs Called: Death of Parker, The Silly Drummer, The Seige of Belisle, The Banished Soldier* (1797), and *The Bride's Burial, or, The Affectionate Lovers, a True Love Song* (1812) were both printed by Cuthbert M'Lachlan for John Sinclair, one of the booksellers in Dumfries. Other items produced included *Burgh Reform. Dumfries, January 17, 1793: At a Meeting of the Committee of the Burgesses of Dumfries, Who Wish for a Reform in the Internal Government of the Royal Burghs in Scotland: Read the Following Minute of the London Committee for Conducting of the Said Reform*, printed by Cuthbert McLachlan in 1793. Both the brothers were dead by 1817, but the business was carried on by their sister Isabella throughout the 1820s. Chapbooks continued to be a significant element of the business: *Execution: a Full and Particular Account of the Execution and Behaviour of John M'Kana, Alias M'Kena, and Joseph Richardson, for the Crime of Uttering as Genuine*

False and Forged Notes, who were Executed at Dumfries, on Wednesday the 14th Day of May, 1823 was printed by her business in the 1820s. The McLachlan printing office also printed ephemera for local consumption: a surviving sample of this is the announcement for the *Dumfries Races, 1828, To Start Each Day at 1 O'Clock*. The address of the printing office run by Isabella M'Lachlan is given on this item as 4 Bank Street, which runs between the town centre and the River Nith, rather than the one usually given in the Dumfries High Street.

Contemporary with the Maclachlans, Robert Jackson and William Boyd ran a printing business in partnership from 1773 to 1777, publishing the short-lived *Dumfries Magazine,* before parting company to run separate printing and bookselling businesses in the town. William Boyd printed religious and other works, and also acted as a bookselling partner in editions of Thomson's *Seasons* and of Burns' poetry. His business ceased in 1800, but Robert Jackson's continued until his death in 1810, and he was succeeded by his son, also named Robert, who continued until his own death in 1824. A large proportion of the extant print produced in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Dumfries took the form of sermons and other religious pamphlets, but books on grammar, arithmetic, cookery and animal husbandry were also printed there. Poetry also featured, including some of Robert Burns' works. As well as works printed in the town, Dumfries booksellers acting as joint publishers together with booksellers from major centres such as London, Edinburgh and Glasgow, for books that were printed outside the region.

The regional print economy in the nineteenth century

By the 1820s, businesses selling books and stationery were widespread throughout south-west Scotland. According to Pigot & Co (1825, pp.309-32) there were fourteen businesses in Dumfries itself concerned with the production or distribution of print, five of which included printing offices, as well as two libraries. The rest of the region altogether supported twenty-two businesses, of which five included printing offices. In addition, two weekly newspapers were printed in Dumfries. In the rest of the region, at this period, only the weekly periodical, the *Castle Douglas Miscellany* appeared in the mid-1820s.

In the far west of the region, four print-trade businesses operated in the town of

Stranraer. Robert Dick, was a shoemaker, as well as operating a circulating library and bookselling business in Georges Street [sic]. Agnes Bryce operated a bookselling business in the same part of town, and Peter Walker traded as a bookseller and bookbinder, as did William McCredie. In Wigtown there were two booksellers, James McBryde and William McMann. Some miles to the east John Paterson and John Robert Thompson were both in business as booksellers and stationers in Newton Stewart, and Joseph McNairn, traded as a bookseller, bookbinder, printer and stationer (Pigot & Co 1825, pp.681-88).

At the centre of the region two towns in Kirkcudbrightshire had printing offices. Bookseller and stationer Joseph Aitken and a bookbinder, James Anderson, were in business in Castle Douglas, alongside Anthony Davidson, 'printer and publisher of the *Castle Douglas Miscellany*', which was a weekly journal with a little news of agricultural prices, and a mixture of essays and poetry which appeared between 1829 and 1832. In Kirkcudbright itself, John Cannon undertook printing as well as running a circulating library. Alexander Gordon traded as a bookseller and bookbinder, and is not listed as a printer, though he apparently undertook printing work at other times (National Library of Scotland 2017). Thomas Macmillan had been in business since the end of the eighteenth century, as a bookseller, bookbinder and stationer. John Nicholson was listed as a bookseller-stationer, and also bound books, and ran a circulating library alongside a business selling musical instruments, and 'genuine teas' (Pigot & Co 1825, pp.448-49).The business continued until at least the 1880s. Dalbeattie, further west toward Dumfries itself, did not have any booksellers or similar businesses, but there was a paper mill there (Thomson 1974, pp202-04; Kelly & Co 1880, p.902).

Dumfries, as the largest urban centre, continued to be the most significant print economy for the region throughout the nineteenth century. In Dumfriesshire outside Dumfries itself, there were combined bookselling and stationery suppliers in Langholm (Wellwood Richardson) and in Thornhill (William Milliken). In Lockerbie Thomas Walker was in business as a 'bookseller, bookbinder, stationer and circulating library' while in Sandquhar John Halliday was the agent for the Caledonian Fire Office as well as a bookseller and stationer. In the Royal Burgh of Annan, a few miles south-east from Dumfries along the Solway coast towards the English border, John Norvel, ran a bookselling and stationery business in the High Street. Peter Forrest, also in the High

Street, was also bookseller and stationer and in addition ran a circulating library, and a printing office (Pigot & Co 1825, pp.311-13).

The businesses in Dumfries itself will be considered in more detail in the next section, but the position in the 1820s can be summarised here. There were four printing offices in the town: in the High Street there was: Isabella McLauchlan; William Carson, who also published the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* on Tuesdays; John McDiarmid & Co, who published the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, also on Tuesdays; Norman McLeod Bruce operated as a letterpress and copper plate printer at 26 Queensberry Square. The copperplate engraver Bryce Gillies was also on the High Street. The High Street was also home to three businesses described as 'booksellers, binders and stationers': William Fraser; David Halliday; and James Sinclair. Three others which, in addition to selling stationery as well as selling and binding books, operated libraries: Allan Anderson, at 69 High Street; John Anderson at 74 High Street and John Johnston at 33 High Street. In addition to these circulating libraries there were 'Subscription Reading Rooms' at 131 High Street, managed by Thomas Glendinning, and another 'Reading Room' at 113 High Street managed by James Broom. Three bookbinders are listed, John Dunbar and James Henry in Dumfries itself, as well as Charles Dunlop on the other side of the River Nith in Maxwelltown, technically in Kirkcudbrightshire (Pigot 1825, pp.309-32).

For the first half of the century, general directories covering the whole of Scotland are the main contemporary sources of information on the print economy outside the surviving material record in print. By the last quarter of the century the growth in population, industrialisation and changes in commercial practice mean that alternative sources are available, including specialist directories of businesses operating in a particular sector of the economy. In 1872 Kelly, the specialist directory publisher published the first for the print sector under the title *Directory of Stationers, Printers, Booksellers, Publishers, & Paper Makers of England, Scotland & Wales & the Principal Towns in Ireland*. The third edition appeared in 1880. While not providing a direct comparison, an analysis of this source to survey the trade throughout the region demonstrates that the number of businesses in the sector operating in the region had increased overall, with thirty seven businesses operating outside Dumfries, of which eight were, or included, printing offices. There was, however, less growth in the trade in Dumfries itself, although the town was still the main print economy of the region by

some distance. Three newspapers were published in the town, and seven in other towns in the region. The list of towns with print-related businesses had two new additions: Creetown on the western fringe of Kirkcudbrightshire, and Moffat in the north-west of Dumfriesshire. On the other hand, it would appear that the towns of Sandquhar and Thornhill had no businesses in the sector as they are not listed in this directory (Kelly & Co 1880).

Outside Dumfries itself, the most striking changes are in the number of newspaper titles, none of which were in existence in 1825. Wigtownshire now had two: the *Wigtownshire Free Press*, which was originally established in 1843 as the *Galloway Advertiser and Wigtownshire Free Press*, when Thomas Harkness moved his printing operations from Dumfries to Stranraer, closing the *Dumfries Times* in the process. The *Galloway Gazette*, based in the east of the county in Newtown Stewart, was much more recent, dating from 1870. The *Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser* was the only newspaper in progress in that county: it was established in 1858 and was produced in Castle Douglas. Kirkcudbright itself was no longer home to any newspapers. The *Kirkcudbright Stewartry Times* had been published from 1859 until some time after 1870, but no successor had appeared in the town by this date. Another newspaper, the *Galloway Express*, had appeared between 1870 and 1873. It was published initially in Castle Douglas and later in Kirkcudbright itself (Ferguson 1984, p.51)

Four newspapers, all weeklies, were being produced in the county of Dumfriesshire in the towns of Annan, Langholm, Lockerbie and Moffat. Of these, the oldest was the *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser* which dated from 1848. The *Annandale Observer* was founded in the town of Annan itself in 1857 under the title *Annandale Observer and Annandale Monthly Advertiser*. Its title was changed to *Annandale Observer and Advertiser* at the beginning of 1857, which may have been the point at which it changed to weekly publication (Ferguson 1984, p.5). Kelly & Co (1880, p.899, 934) lists single titles in Lockerbie (the *Annandale Herald*) and in Moffat (the *Moffat Times*). The former first appeared with the title *Annandale Herald & Southern Advertiser* in 1862, and changed its title to the *Annandale Herald & Moffat News* twelve years later (Ferguson 1984, p.5). The *Moffat News and Times* also appeared for the first time in 1862, and may have been printed in Lockerbie to begin with. Ferguson (1984, p.82) also lists another newspaper for Moffat: the *Moffat Times, Register and Upper Annandale*

Advertiser which was first published in 1857 and changed title to the *Moffat Times and Annandale Observer* in 1875. It lasted until 1893. The newspapers printed within the Royal Burgh of Dumfries will be examined in more detail in the next section, but it should be noted that these locally-printed weekly papers published within the region were not the only periodicals circulating in the area. As well as daily newspapers from Edinburgh, Glasgow and elsewhere, the market for newspaper readership and for the advertising revenue within the area was also served by titles such as the weekly *Western Argus*, printed in Ayr by W.M. Dick between 1866 and 1872. According to its subtitle it aimed to serve 'the counties of Ayr, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, and Dumfries'.

The seven printing businesses which are listed as operating in Dumfries according to Kelly & Co (1880) will be considered in more detail in the next section. There were printing offices in seven other towns throughout the region, but only in two of them was there more than one printer in business. Of the three printers in Lockerbie, James Halliday, in Victoria Square also traded as a stationer, while Thomas Gardiner and David Halliday, who were both in the High Street are listed under the headings for booksellers, news agents and stationers as well as printers. Thomas Gardiner also ran a library. William French sold books in Union Street Lockerbie, and Robertson Rutherford is listed as a 'bill poster'. There were two printing offices in Castle Douglas: Stodart & Maxwell printed the *Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser*, and Samuel Gordon undertook printing alongside the sale of books and music, and also traded as a news agent and stationers. There were two other news agents in town: William Copland was also a 'fancy stationer', and James R Murdoch sold books and music. All these businesses were on the town's main thoroughfare, King Street.

There were five other towns in the region with printing offices in 1880. William Cuthbertson of Annan printed the local newspaper, the *Annandale Observer*, in his office on the High Street while David Watt, also on the High Street, ran a business as a bookbinder, bookseller, news agent and stationer. Mrs E Richardson on Church Street (the continuation of the High Street heading out of the town to the east) was a stationer, bookseller and news agent, and ran a library. James Grieve in Moffat's Eastgate operated solely as a printing office, while two other businesses in town were newsagents. Robert Knight in Well Street was also a bookseller, music seller, and a general and fancy stationer. Muir & Company on the High Street, was a bookseller,

circulating library music seller and stationer. James D McLymont ran a printing bookselling and stationers business on Dalbeattie's High Street. Also on the High Street was the bookseller, news agent and stationer, William Milligan. The paper maker John Forsyth was also listed (Kelly & Co 1880).

As noted in the previous section, in Pigot & Co (1825, pp.442-52) John Nicholson was in business as a bookseller (with a circulating library) and bookbinder alongside dealing in a number of other commodities in Kirkcudbright's High Street. Kelly & Co (1880, p.932) records a James Nicolson running a printing, bookselling and stationery business in the High Street there: it would appear that James was the successor of John. They appear to have been in business together for some years from around 1850, and were the publishers of the *Kirkcudbright Stewartry Times* in the 1860s, as well as of a series of chapbooks described as 'A selection of amusing and instructive reading; comprising the wonders of nature and art, with memoirs and anecdotes of singular & eccentric characters, historical facts, and geographical descriptions, &c., &c. collected from costly and rare works'. The first of these was *The Life of Daniel Dancer Esq. the Remarkable Miser*, published by Nicholson sometime in the 1840s as a pamphlet of twenty four pages, which sold for a penny. The other two allied businesses in the town were in Castle Street: James and John Denniston, and Mrs Jane Campbell, were both booksellers, news agents and stationers.

The north part of Newton Stewart's main commercial thoroughfare is called Victoria Street, and John Fulton sold books from number twelve, while William Anderson ran a business as a bookbinder, bookseller (and circulating library), news agent, stationer and relief stamper at number eighty two. The southern section is Albert Street, where Alexander Neilson was a news agent and stationer at number twenty four. The only printing business in Newton Stewart was also in Albert Street. Bruce Kelly (or Kelley) had been in business in the town as a bookbinder, bookseller, and stationer from sometime in the 1830s, adding printing some time later (National Library of Scotland 2017), probably under the direction of his son Charles, who is listed in the 1851 census as a 'printer and bookbinder', aged seventeen. Kelly & Co (1880, pp.934-35) lists Miss Isabella Kelly as the only printer (and also as a bookseller and stationer) in Newton Stewart at 46 Albert Street. It is not clear what her relationship to Bruce and Charles Kelly was, but it seems most likely that this was his daughter, born in the mid-1850s,

although he also had a sister named Isabella who was born in the mid-1840s.[3] The printer of the town's newspaper, the *Galloway Gazette*, is not given but when the title was established in 1870 it was printed by W M Leslie. At this juncture the *Galloway Gazette* may have operated as a printing office in its own right, or it may have been printed by Isabella Kelly's office.

As noted above, the first printing office in Stranraer dated from 1816, and the *Wigtownshire Free Press* had been produced there on a weekly basis since 1843. However, Kelly & Co (1880, p.938) does not list a separate printing business, and it therefore seems likely that the printer of the newspaper was the only printing office in town. There must have been at least one, possibly more printing offices in the town in the 1880s: Stranraer is included in the list of branches produced by the Scottish Typographical Association in 1887 (T-GTS 2/5/1). Other related businesses in town were those of Mrs Mary McCoid and W & J Hunter, both of which were booksellers and newsagents, as well as Robert Thomas Ross, a newsagent who also sold books, music and fancy stationery.

The situation was similar in Langholm, at the eastern end of the region: three businesses are listed in Kelly & Co (1880, p.33): Robert Scott, a bookseller and stationer, and Walter Wilson, a bookseller, newsagent and stationer, both in the High Street. There is no printing office listed, but the *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser* was apparently printed in Langholm: in the 1890s, it was printed by Walter Wilson's printing office. Neither Creetown in Kirkcudbrightshire, nor Wigtown in Wigtownshire had a printing office. There were two bookseller/stationers in Creetown, John Craigie and Andrew Hyslop, both in St John Street: the former was also a newsagent. John Cowper and Gordon Fraser were in business as booksellers, newsagents and stationers in the High Street, along side another bookseller/stationer business, that of Mrs Elizabeth Morrison.

The only other trade allied to printing with a significant presence in the area was papermaking. This industry was centred on the towns of Dalbeattie and Tongland, both in Kirkcudbrightshire, and dated from the second half of the eighteenth century. A number of other paper mills, making hand-made paper were established across the region during the early years of the nineteenth century. From 1825 paper-making

3 Information from census for 1851 and 1861.

machines came to dominate the industry and the larger mills which developed were concentrated in Scotland's central belt, Fife and Aberdeenshire (Thomson 1974, pp.122-33). Paper-making at Tongland seems to have ceased before 1850, but the mill near Dalbeattie adopted the industrial paper-making process and continued in business although the owners changed several times (Thomson 1974, pp.202-09).

Despite their limited numbers at the beginning of the century, by its end, most towns of any size in the Dumfries and Galloway region had their own printing office. The general nature of the printing trade in the area was a 'mixed economy': there were few businesses in the region operating solely as a printing office: Grieve in Moffat appears to have been the only exception. It would appear that apart from newspaper printers, who in any case often also undertook other work such as stationery manufacture, most printing offices were small-scale affairs in businesses that combined with book, music and print selling, bookbinding.

The regional print centre: Dumfries

The print trade in Dumfries had, from the start, been centred on the High Street. Of the fifteen businesses listed in Pigot & Co (1825, pp.319-23) that are allied to the printing industry, under the relevant print trade headings, ten are at addresses in the High Street including the town's copper-plate engraver, Bryce Gillies. All but two of the others are situated in the streets leading from it. There were four letterpress printing offices, one of which also undertook copperplate printing. There were also two reading rooms in the High Street, and in addition, three of the booksellers also operated circulating libraries. Two of the letterpress printers, William Carson in English Street, and John McDiarmid & Co in the High Street, printed the town's weekly newspapers.

By1831, when the typographical society was founded, two newspapers were printed in Dumfries.[4] The *Dumfries Weekly Journal* had been established by Robert Jackson in 1777, and continued by his descendants from 1810 onwards, being 'the first political broadsheet published in the town' according to McDowall (1986, p.795). Although as mentioned above the printing side of the business was continued by his son, also Robert, as mentioned above, the editors of the newspaper from 1810 to 1828 were Robert junior's sister, Mrs Jessie Comrie and her daughter, Mrs Williamson, said to be

4 The publication dates and title changes for all newspapers published in Dumfries in the nineteenth century can be found in Appendix 2.

‘the first women journalists in Scotland’ (Urquhart 1980, v.1 p.vii). After 1828, Alexander Williamson, great-grandson of the founder became the editor, while the ownership of the newspaper passed through various hands until Dr Henry Duncan (founder of the savings bank movement) took over in 1831. The *Journal* ceased publication in 1833. Dr Henry Duncan had previously been the first editor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, first published in 1809. In 1817, John M’Diarmid, one of the founders of the *Scotsman*, moved from Edinburgh, becoming editor and joint proprietor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*. He became sole owner in 1837. Under M’Diarmid’s editorship it ‘became one of the most renowned and successful of provincial journals’ and ‘a copious weekly record of events occurring in, or connected with, the three southern counties’. Politically, it favoured the liberal causes of reform, although under Dr Duncan’s editorial control, its main preoccupation had been thrift (McDowall 1986, pp.795-96).

Although the *Journal* ceased publication in 1833, the *Dumfries Times* was established in January of that year. Its owner and first editor was Robert K Douglas, and it was produced at the printing office of Robert Palmer. According to the ‘Prospectus’ in the first issue ‘A newspaper of enlarged, liberal, and consistent political views has long been a desideratum in the south of Scotland’ (*Dumfries Times* 10 January 1833, p.1). There is no mention in the DTS minutes of either the closure of the *Journal*, or of the appearance of the *Times* so it is unclear what effect these changes had on the operative printers. Robert K Douglas edited the *Times* for two years, promoting reform of the electoral system and other liberal causes, after which he left to become the editor of the *Birmingham Journal* and prominent in the Chartist movement (Fraser 2010, p.25). The editorship was taken over by Thomas Harkness, a local lawyer who also jointly owned the paper along with the town clerk, James Broom (McDowall 1986, p.796). At the end of December 1842, an editorial reflected on its original objective ‘to secure for the South of Scotland a useful, liberal, and independent organ of public and political information’ before announcing a move to Stranraer for the whole operation, including the printing office, where a new title the *Wigtownshire Free Press* was to be established (*Dumfries Times* 28 December 1842, vol.10 no.522, p4). One of the results of this move was that two attempts to call a quarterly meeting of the Dumfries Branch of the GTAS (as it then was) were inquorate, and when it was finally held, in January 1843:

> In consequence of the discontinuance of the "Dumfries Times", Mr Craw gave notice that at next quarterly meeting, if there should be no augmentation of the

> numbers of the Society, he would move that the quorum which constitutes the general meeting be reduced. (GD 25/2, 17 January 1843)

It does not appear that this rule change was required, as by the beginning of March the typographical society had become aware of plans to establish a new newspaper in the town, the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* (GD25/2, committee meeting 3 March 1843).

There was already another weekly newspaper produced in Dumfries, the *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Herald & Advertiser*, which changed its title to *Dumfriesshire & Galloway Herald & Register* in 1843. This title was established in 1835 and later edited for many years by the poet Thomas Aird. A printed flyer announced that the proprietors of the new weekly newspaper sought to:

> identify themselves with that body of the community, who are more anxious to guard the blessings of social order they already enjoy, than disposed to hazard these by sweeping innovation. (Dumfries and Galloway Herald 1835)

After warning of 'reckless spirit of change, which so extensively prevails', the proprietors intend to be:

> Representative of the opinions and wishes of this portion of the Community, the "HERALD" will defend the leading Institutions of the Country, Civil and Ecclesiastical, in that best line of defence, which not only acknowledges, but points out an imperfection, and calls for amendment as the surest means of renewed stability. (Dumfries and Galloway Herald 1835)

The first issue appeared on 24 April 1835.

The operative printers in Dumfries had been aware of the plans for some time: at a committee meeting in January, it was agreed that letters would be written to the secretaries of the Edinburgh and Glasgow branches:

> intimating that as a newspaper was about to be started in Dumfries, it was requisite that the trade should be aware that the correct standard of wages had been fixed in the town at £1 sterling weekly, & any Compositor or pressman accepting of a lower sum must be looked on as acting in a manner inimical to the interests of the trade, & would consequently not be entitled to the countenance of his brethren. (GD25/1, 22 January 1835)

Journeymen did come to Dumfries to work on this newspaper: a branch meeting was held:

> for the purpose of meeting with the Journeymen who have recently come to Dumfries & are engaged upon the Herald. All the Journeymen attended, with the

> exception of such as are already in the Society. (GD25/1, 1 May 1835)

Four individuals are mentioned: William Craw and David McAdam:

> were regularly admitted members of the Society – on the Committee being satisfied that they had each served the regular apprenticeship of seven years. (GD25/1, 1 May 1835)

There was more doubt over the position of William Poole, who was asked to produce proof of his apprenticeship and status as a journeyman which he later did, and was admitted to the DTS. Poole does not appear to have stayed very long in the town as a card was granted to him in July 1835 (list 3, Appendix 1). William Millar:

> also expressed his willingness to join the Society, but on his being asked for the Entry Money […] he refused to pay it. (GD25/1, 1 May 1835)

There was a dispute over the rights and wrongs of Millar's position, but he was duly admitted at the next meeting.[5] It is not possible to be absolutely certain that this is the same William Millar present at the meeting in December 1831, but it seems likely that he was the same man, as he was immediately appointed to the branch committee at the July 1835 meeting (GD25/1, 1 May 1835; 14 July 1835).

Dr Henry Duncan was involved in editing another new weekly newspaper in Dumfries founded in 1843, just before the events known as the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. This was the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, which was owned by a group of twenty eight shareholders described as 'leading Non-Intrusionists of the town and district', who wished to promote their views in church matters. It was also, in common with the other titles with which Dr Duncan was involved, generally supportive of liberal politics (McDowall 1986, p.797).

A local almanac for the year 1835 (Dumfries Times 1834) lists four letterpress printing offices in the town: David Halliday, in Bank Street, who also had a bookselling business at 113 High Street; John M'Diarmid & Co, printers of the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, at 117 High Street; Robert Palmer, printer of the *Dumfries Times* at 54 High Street; and Joseph Stoddart at 28 Plainstones, an alleyway off the High Street. Robert Palmer also undertook copperplate printing, and there were two other copperplate printers, Bryce Gillies (also listed as an engraver) in the High Street, and Thomas Robert in Church Crescent. Ten businesses are listed under the heading 'Booksellers,

5 More details of the careers of Craw and Millar will be found in chapter six.

binders and stationers', including Halliday. All but two are in the High Street: James Henry, bookbinder, was in Irish Street, and John Johnstone was on the western side of the Nith in Glasgow Street. Pigot & Co (1837) adds to this information that four of the booksellers in the High Street were also operating circulating libraries. The *Dumfries Times* was now printed by Robert Wallace, Long Close, High Street, and William Craw, who had arrived in Dumfries two years before, is named as the printer of the newest newspaper, the *Dumfries & Galloway Herald & Advertiser*. The *Times* and the *Courier* were both published on Tuesdays, and the *Herald* on Fridays. Bookseller John M'Kinnell of 104 High Street was also operating as a music dealer and two of the other booksellers were agents for the London newspapers. The list of libraries include the Law Library in the Court House, and the Dumfries Library in the High Street continued, and at this point there were three reading rooms, two of which were based in the High Street 'supplied with London and provincial papers, magazines, &c. (the principal one has an excellent billiard table)' (Pigot & Co 1837, p.352).

Literary magazines were also printed and distributed in the town, but most were short-lived, for example, the *Southern Mirror*, printed and published by Robert Palmer between January and May 1832. In December 1844, *The New Moon, or Crichton Royal Institution Literary Magazine* was first published. It was reviewed at length in the *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* (1845) citing the prospectus, in which:

> the exclusive management of the work by inmates is asserted; and the object is stated to be, a humble endeavour to lead persons of that class "to think aright on the chief subjects which should occupy their attention under present circumstances, so that they may leave the institution wiser and better men and women than they entered it."

The reviewer, goes on to comment that

> Not only is the literary matter sane in its general tone, and rhetorically correct, but there is positive merit in several of the little articles (*Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* 18 January 1845, p.43)

The Crichton Royal Institution had been established on the outskirts of Dumfries in 1833, and encouraged inmates to engage in various activities from gardening to amateur dramatics. *The New Moon* was published monthly for more than a hundred years, with the printing being undertaken, at different times, by local printers or by inmates trained in the printing trade. For the twenty-one years to November 1883, Adam Richardson was employed by the Institution as 'printer to the Crichton Press'. He had started his

career as an apprentice at Halliday's printing office in July 1839.[6]

The *Courier*, the *Herald* and the *Standard* all continued until 1884, when the first two amalgamated to become the *Dumfries & Galloway Courier & Herald*, incorporated as a limited company in 1889 (BT2/1871). Appendix three shows the complete range of businesses listed between 1825 and 1896 in the various directories available for Dumfries. In 1825, there were four letterpress printers and a copperplate engraver in the town: by 1896 this had increased to seven. In both years there were only two newspapers produced in town, although there had been three weekly titles for many years. By the end of the century, there were no longer any engravers in the town, but one of the letterpress printers, James Maxwell, also undertook lithographic printing, along with machine ruling, numerical printing and photographic printing. The expansion in the printing trade within the town of Dumfries itself was thus on a limited scale during the nineteenth century, and on a scale with the relatively slow growth in the population of the burgh. During the period a more significant expansion in the printing and allied trades had taken place in smaller towns within the Dumfries and Galloway region.

The business of printing

Reconstructing the operations of a printing office in the nineteenth century is a matter of piecing together such information as can be gleaned from a variety of sources. The benefit society and union records provide a certain amount of information about hours and wage rates in the town, but nothing about other business costs. The records of the businesses themselves provide further insights, but are rarely available. When a business closes or fails and any necessary processes to examine its affairs and pay off any creditors have been completed, it is common for the records of its day-to-day operations to be lost. With the passage of time, and certainly with any movement between premises, the older records even of long-standing businesses with a continuous history are frequently lost, and what does survive is usually fragmentary. This is the case for the majority of the print trade businesses in nineteenth century Dumfries, but those records that have survived do illuminate some aspects of the town's print economy, albeit as snapshots from different periods. Limited evidence of the operations of at least four print-trade businesses within Dumfries itself has survived. There are

6 More details of Adam Richardson's life can be found in chapter six.

records of the sequestrations of the businesses of George Johnstone in 1811 (Acc.10262), and of Currie & Company in 1879 (CS318/24/107). Financial records have survived from the mid-1850s for the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* (GD4/23, GD4/24), as has the memorandum of association for the Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald Newspaper Company Limited (BT2/1871).

George Johnstone ran a bookselling business in Dumfries in the early years of the nineteenth century, from around 1808. In addition to the town centre shop, he held a 25% stake in the *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* which was founded in 1809.[7] A statement on the state of the business, dated 29 August 1811 was prepared, and trustees were appointed to administer his affairs on 23 September 1811. According to the statement, the premises he occupied 'in the very best part of the town' had been a bookseller's shop for over thirty years, and Johnstone had entered into a lease allowing for a rent of £10 per annum in 1808, and claimed to have spent £128 on 'alterations and repairs'. The main part of the business was the sale of books and journals, supplying the majority of the circulating libraries in the area, and Johnstone also claimed to have as customers 'almost all respectable people of the County of Dumfries & Galloway'. There was also a bookbinding workshop on the premises. The stock in hand of books and journals is listed in some detail. It included books of poetry, Chalmers' *Caledonia*, encyclopaedias and a range of textbooks. The serials include medical and agricultural journals, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Scots Magazine*, and *La Belle Assemblée*. Many of these titles were distributed throughout the region on subscription, as well as to a number of local libraries. The Dumfries Reading Room, for example, subscribed, via George Johnstone, to the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Scots Magazine*. Copies of the *Farmers' Magazine* were sent to the Public Libraries in Dumfries, Gatehouse of Fleet, and two copies to the Agricultural Library in Castle Douglas. The printers and publishers to whom money was owed were mainly the Edinburgh houses of Cadell, Archibald Constable & Co, Adam Black, William Blackwood, Bell & Bradfute, although Longmans & Co of London were also included. Paper-making firms in Kirkcudbright, Cumbria and the Edinburgh area were also on the list of creditors.

The valuation of Johnstone's interest in the *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* states that there were 620 subscribers at the date of valuation (10 October 1811), risen from 530 at

7 The details of the business given in these two paragraphs can all be found in the sequestration records, Acc.10262.

the beginning of the year, and that 'very considerable' jobbing work was also undertaken, to the value of approximately £3 10 shillings per week. The work was done by three journeymen, one of whom was the foreman, and five apprentices. The assessment goes on to state that:

> Two of the apprentices at Case have been at the business two years & are now nearly equal to journeymen – one of the journeymen can therefore be dismissed at the end of his engagement.

The weekly wage bill for the printing staff came to £6 14s 0d, and the estimated saving from dismissing one of the journeymen is sixteen shillings a week (Acc.10262/2). The established weekly wage in the town twenty years later was twenty shillings per week.

Johnstone is a frequently occurring name in the Dumfries area, and two other print trade businesses of that name failed in the nineteenth century: a lawyer or 'writer', Thomas Johnston was declared bankrupt in the mid 1830s. He was also a banker, 'discounter', printer and publisher, and himself had debtors in Liverpool, Jamaica, New Orleans and Rio de Janeiro (CS96/4106). The list of 'Scots bankrupts' published in the *Scotsman* for 17 November 1841 included John Johnstone 'of Duncow', who had been trading as a bookseller and stationer in Dumfries. This may be the same as the John Johnston who is listed in various directories as a bookseller, also operating a circulating library at 33 High Street, Dumfries, and mentioned as a customer of publishers Oliver & Boyd of Edinburgh (National Library of Scotland 2017, Pigot & Co 1825, 1837).[8]

A petition of sequestration against Currie & Co, 'Print & Music Sellers, Gilders, Booksellers, Stationers, news Agents, Bookbinders and Printers', of 130 High Street Dumfries was raised on 26 April 1879 by a large wholesale stationery supplier in Glasgow, James Lumsden, who was owed £156 16s 0d. The largest creditor listed, however, was the City of Glasgow Bank 'in liquidation' to which the Currie & Company owed £1,942 5s 0d. That institution had failed at the beginning of October in the previous year and it is possible that the subsequent failure of Currie & Co was one of the consequences. As with George Johnstone's business, the sequestration records for Currie include information on suppliers to the business and on the geographic area it served. The list of debts owed to the company is very long, but the sums involved are

8 'Good; Considered Good by O&B (fond of a long date)' Oliver and Boyd Travellers Logbook, National Library of Scotland Acc.5000/78, cited in the Scottish Book Trade Index (National Library of Scotland 2017).

mostly a few shillings each and, while it is not stated, the majority are presumably customers who have bought items on credit, or who had not paid for small printing jobs. One of the largest of these debtors was the Marquis of Queensberry who owed £27. Many of the customers were in or near Dumfries, but the business had dealt with individuals, institutions and other businesses in Annan, Dalbeattie, Lochmaben, Dunscore, Kirkcudbright, Lockerbie, Moffat among others. The list includes the postman in Dunscore, the station master at Dumfries station and, separately, the bookstall there, Thomas Chambers at the Union Bank, 'Scott, Custom House' and 'Routledge, Dumfries Prison'. The overall total owed to the business is £766 3s 1d. No detail of the stock in hand is given, but the estimated value of 'stock in trade, pictures, musical instruments, printing machines, stationery & shop fittings &c' was £2,865.

The list of creditors does provide some further information. Currie & Co obtained type from a range of foundries: £44 2s 10d was owed to the Miller & Richard and £4 14s 6d to the Marr Typefounding Co both in Edinburgh, as well as a further £16 8s 3d to the Farm Street Letter Foundry in London, £3 18s 7d, to Caslon and £6 to Figgins. Paper had been supplied by the Mugie Moss Paper Mills in Aberdeen. Publishers of books and printed music, and suppliers of prints and artists material, mainly in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Birmingham and London make up the bulk of the list, but it also includes Hamilton Nimmo 'Pianoforte and music seller' of Ayr, Alexander Gardner 'publisher' of Paisley and the Caledonian Fancy Wood Works of Lanark. Newspapers supplied through the business include the *Scotsman*, the *Daily Review* (Edinburgh), the *Glasgow Daily News*, the *Glasgow Evening Times*, and the *Newcastle Journal*. A single figure of £20 is given for the workmen's wages and taxes. Despite this setback, the company survived: Currie & Co is listed in Kelly & Co (1896, p.344-45) under the headings for booksellers, 'lithographers, music, numerical and photographic printers', news agents, letterpress printers, publishers and stationers.

In contract to these sequestration records, the cash book and 'blotter book' (the rough copy from which the cash book is derived) of the *Dumfries & Galloway Standard & Advertiser* which survive for just over three years in the mid-1850s provide more detail about the day-to-day running of the business (GD 4/23, GD 4/24). They note payments received for advertisements and subscriptions (including the locations of the subscribers), and provide evidence for the numbers printed, the sources and costs of

paper, ink and type, and the capital outlay involved in installing a new and up-to-date printing machine. At this period the newspaper was printed 'for the proprietors' by William Burgess in Dumfries High Street, and published on Wednesdays. An advertisement in the newspaper itself for the printing business announces that 'Handbills, Posters, Circulars, Cards, Funeral Letters, and all kinds of Plain and Ornamental PRINTING' are executed 'upon the shortest notice and at Moderate prices' (*Dumfries & Galloway Standard & Advertiser* 3 January 1855, p.1). In April a 'Notice to readers' informed them that:

> owing to the increased and increasing Circulation of the STANDARD, we have had constructed, expressly for our use, a Cylinder Printing-Machine, of the most approved kind, which is capable of throwing off One Thousand Impressions in the Hour. We will thus be enabled to supply Copies to our Subscribers and the Public with greater promptitude and regularity [...] By means of the Machine, we are not only enabled to issue our Sheets more rapidly, but the Printing of the Paper is, as our Readers will observe, greatly improved. (*Dumfries & Galloway Standard & Advertiser* 25 April 1855, p.4)

This issue is indeed better printed, possibly because new type is also being used. The surviving accounts cover this period, and from them it is possible to establish the cost of this new machine. It was bought from Brown's of Kirkcaldy, and was paid for in two instalments of £82 each in July and October. Various other costs of its installation, including the cost of its carriage from Kirkcaldy, two shillings to the railway porters for moving it to the office, and a shilling for 'refreshments' to the men who removed the old press, are detailed in the accounts (GD4/23).

The weekly wage bill for the printers was around £6 15s 0d: it varied only a shilling or two. Occasionally overtime was paid to an apprentice, but this never seems to have amounted to more than sixpence. William M'Dowall, the newspaper's reporter and editor was paid £2 per week, and the master printer, William Burgess himself, drew £1 a week from the business. Ink was bought 'from Leith', that is A B Fleming & Co of Caroline House in Granton, at a cost of '£24 less £2 8/- disct', leaving a bill of £21 12s 0d (GD4/23, 15 November 1856). Type was bought from Miller & Richard in Edinburgh, who were paid £5 12s 0d 'for Types, Brass Rules & c' (GD4/23, 18 November 1856). Paper came from a number of sources, including Alexander Cowan & Co of Penicuik, who were paid £20 17s 4d 'for stamped news' in June 1855 (GD4/23 6 June 1855). Small amounts of paper for special jobs were bought from other local printers or stationers: for example, on Currie & Co were paid one shilling and a penny

‘for paper for Gemmill’s job’ (GD4/23, 1 May 1855).

The blotter book (GD4/24) gives details of the actual number of newspapers printed each week: in January 1855, for example the number varied between 800 and 865. Of the 810 copies of the issue published on 22 January 1855, 453 were posted out to subscribers, another fifty three were delivered locally, and eighty six were sold directly. At the end of the week, forty six copies remained unsold. At this point excise duty was still payable on each newspaper. The Stamp Act was repealed during the year but in common with local weeklies elsewhere, some copies of each issue continued to be printed on stamped paper and others on ‘blank’ or unstamped paper and sold at a lower price. Just over 1,000 copies of the issue for 12 December 1855 were printed, 590 of which were on unstamped paper, and a further 435 on stamped paper. Just over 600 copies were posted out, half stamped half not, and over 230 were sold locally, bringing in £2 13s 11d. At the end of the week over 100 copies remained unsold. There are few details of the other printing jobs undertaken, but they included ‘bills’ or posters: Jerry Knight was paid one shilling ‘for Posting Bills (Fall of Ministry)’ (GD4/24, 31 January 1855). Flour was bought to make the paste for this, as well as treacle (one of the ingredients for making the inking rollers) and oil and tallow for greasing the printing machine.

Small printing jobs for local individuals, businesses and institutions, and sales of copies of the newspaper were not the only sources of income. In the *Dumfries & Galloway Standard & Advertiser* for 14 March 1855, new reduced rates for advertisers were announced following the repeal of the duty on advertisements. The rate for a four-line advertisement has reduced from three shillings to one shilling, a seven-line advertisement reduced from three shillings to one and sixpence, and ten lines from four shillings to one and ninepence. To take fairly typical examples, on 18 August 1855 William Hay, druggist of Kirkcudbright, paid six shillings, and Miss Craik of Dumfries paid two shillings and sixpence for advertisements. On 20 August William S Hogg, draper of Dumfries, paid eight shillings for his advertisement, and Bernard Crosbie of Dumfries and William Todd of Maxwelltown paid two shillings each for small printing jobs. For that week the total income to the business was £16 9s 1d, and the expenditure was £13 14s 9d, of which £6 16s 0d was the printers’ wages. The editor received the usual £2 in salary and three shillings expenses for his visit to the Lamb Fair at

Lockerbie (GD4/24, 14-22 August 1855)

From the limited amount of information available in the financial records from a single business in the 1850s it is clear that the printing of this local newspaper was subsidised not only by its advertising income, but also by the production of small general printing jobs, and also the distribution of print around the town, particularly in the posting of advertisements or 'bills'.

Material record

In addition to these business archives, some indication of the kind of work produced can be found in the material record of the town, in the form of printed ephemera, other business printing such as annual reports and sale catalogues, and the chapbooks, books, newspapers and other periodicals published in the town.[9] As was common practice in the nineteenth century, the local booksellers operated as publishers, often in partnership with firms in the major centres. In 1844, a school textbook, entitled *Bible Illustrations, or a Series of Doctrinal and Explanatory Questions on the Most Important Animals, Plants, and Objects, Mentioned in the Bible for the Use of Schools* was jointly published by Myles MacPhail of Edinburgh, Smith & Son of Glasgow, C Paton of Perth, John Anderson of Dumfries, L Smith of Aberdeen and G Bell of London. It is not always clear who actually printed chapbooks and other popular print: *The Life and Wonderful Prophecies of Donald Cargill, who was Executed at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 23rd July, 1680, for his Adherence to the Covenant and Work of Reformation* was printed, or more likely reprinted, in Dumfries 'for the booksellers'.[10]

There were a number of long-standing bookselling businesses in Dumfries in the nineteenth century of whom John Anderson, mentioned above, was one. David Halliday was another: his business was originally at 163 Dumfries High Street (Pigot & Co 1825, pp.309-32). By the early 1830s he was also operating a printing office, and in 1842 he printed *Prospectus of a New Weekly Newspaper Proposed to be Published in Dumfries, on the Afternoon of Every Wednesday, to be Called The Presbyterian Standard*. This plan apparently came to nothing, but two years later David Halliday was the printer of the *Dumfries & Galloway Standard* from 3 January 1844. Other publications under the

9 Appendix 2 consists of a table showing the printing businesses listed in various directories in Dumfries throughout the nineteenth century.

10 The date of printing is uncertain.

name of David Halliday were mainly sermons and pamphlets on religious matters. Examples include:

- *The Honour Due to the Teaching Elder: a Sermon Preached at the Ordination of the Rev. James McGill, etc.* (1829)
- *Biographia Scoticana: or, A Brief Historical Account of the Lives, Characters, & Memorable Transactions of the Most Eminent Scots Worthies […] with […] a Short Historical Account of the Wicked Lives and Miserable Deaths of Some of the Most Bloody Persecutors in Scotland* by John Howie, etc (1835)
- *To Those Members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church who Still Traffic in Ardent Spirits by the Reformed Synod* (1837)
- *The Practical Bearings of the Doctrine of Christ's Headship over the Church : with Reference to the Great Church Controversy* by Robert Brydon (1844)

Halliday himself wrote a pamphlet on the cholera epidemic of 1833, which he printed and sold, entitled *A Short Account of the Origin and Progress of the Cholera Morbus: Particularly its Ravages in Dumfries, in September, October, and November, 1832* 'by a citizen', (1833). This takes the view, common at the time, that the epidemic was a visitation from God.

Local institutions also provided work for the printing office: *The Seventy-Second Report of the Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary, for the Year Ending 10th Nov., 1848* was printed at Halliday's office, as was the *Sixth Annual Report of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Education Society [...] for the Year Ended 1st February, 1854*. Most of the books and pamphlets printed in the town seem to have been on religious topics and these, together with reports of institutions and works on matter of local interest, far outnumbered any literary works, though poetry pamphlets, and some of Robert Burns' works were printed in the town. Various civic events and celebrations associated with Burns were marked in print, such as *An Account of the Masonic Procession, Which Took Place at Dumfries on the 15th June, 1815, at the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Mausoleum to be Erected over the Remains of Robert Burns* which was printed by C Munro & Co, printers of the *Dumfries & Galloway Courier* in 1815. Political broadsides were also produced, for example *The Jerry M.P., or, The Twalpenny Lawyer Exhausted* by Roger Quinn, which was printed in Dumfries by R Johnstone in 1863. A local almanac was printed annually at the *Times* printing office in the 1830s, of which at least one, a pamphlet of fifty pages, has survived: *The Dumfries & Galloway Directory*

and Almanac for the Year 1835 was 'Printed and sold at the Times Office by R Palmer; and by all the booksellers'. William Johnstone 'Printers by Atmospheric Gas Power' at 36 Irish Street printed a *Directory of Dumfries Maxwelltown etc* in 1882, with separate listings for both businesses and individuals.

Local institutions had provided work for the town's printers since the beginning of the century: J Martin had reprinted the Reverend Henry Duncan's *Rules and Regulations of the Dumfries Parish Bank Friendly Society for the Savings of the Industrious* (1815), and John M'Diarmid, printer of the *Dumfries Courier*, was also the printer of the *Report of the Society in Dumfries & Maxwelltown for the Establishment of Local Sabbath Schools* in 1822; the *Report for the Year Ending Nov. 6th, 1831* for the Dumfries Public Dispensary was also printed locally. In 1839 the *Regulations of the Crichton Institution for Lunatics, Dumfries*, were printed at the *Herald* printing office of W C Craw in Dumfries. The records of this institution provide many examples of the kind of ephemera which kept the printing offices busy such as diet sheets, forms for the admission of patients, regulations for attendants, and documents setting out the rates of board (DGH 1/6/17/1). Valuation and voters rolls remained an important source of income for local printers throughout the century.

Other extant print produced in Dumfries in the nineteenth century includes theatre bills and programmes, posters announcing race meetings, programmes for other events such as the *Charity Carnival*, held in the Drill Hall, Dumfries, in December 1892 (printed by J. Maxwell & Son), auction catalogues, admission tickets for lectures, concerts etc, memo slips, letterheads, invoices. In the case of these last few categories, a few examples have survived. The auction catalogue for an *Extensive Sale. To be Sold by Public Roup, at Mabie Mansion-House, near Dumfries, on Thursday, 29th October, 1863, and Following Days, the Whole Household Furniture, Bed and Table Linen ... and Other Effects which Belonged to the Late Robert Kirkpatrick Howat, Esquire of Mabie*, was printed by M'Diarmid and Company, in Dumfries in 1863.

The majority of the printed matter produced in Dumfries in the nineteenth century was small scale. The local newspapers were printed on a single sheet and folded to make four pages, and most of the books produced were in pamphlet form, consisting of thirty two pages or fewer. It is in the nature of printed ephemera that little survives, but from

such records as survive it seems likely that all of the printing businesses in the town supplied print for the local market and local consumption.

Distribution of print

The more substantial items from the printing presses in town, such as newspapers and other periodicals, pamphlets and books, were available through booksellers and stationers who also sold print produced elsewhere. At the top of the first page of the *Dumfries Times* for 17 January 1833, J M'Kinnell 'bookseller, stationer and bookbinder' 'respectfully invites his friends and the public' to his new premises in the High Street where they can view the books, music and stationery that he has obtained from Edinburgh, Glasgow and London. As far as binding is concerned, 'he has employed a workman educated in one of the first establishments in Edinburgh'. The business run by John Anderson and his successors in Dumfries High Street for most of the century sold books and stationery in the town, and also ran a circulating library as did some of the other booksellers.[11]

By 1800, there were already three subscription libraries in the town. There had been a newsroom in the Dumfries townhouse in the late seventeenth century, with the first known library established in the early years of the eighteenth century, established in 1706, enlarged six years later and, according to Manley (2013, pp.7-9) 'reconstituted as a subscription, though non-proprietary, library for local citizens' in 1736. The Dumfries Gentlemen's Library (later known as the Dumfries Society Library) was established in the mid-eighteenth century, and the Dumfries Public Library, was opened in 1793, with Robert Burns as an honorary member. In 1859, its collection was merged into that of the Mechanics Institute, which had been founded in 1825. At this point the Mechanics Institute had over 600 members, and the library consisted of about 8,000 volumes. In 1905 the collection was donated to the Ewart Public Library (Shirley 1907, pp.39-44). Dumfries also had a Law Library, established in 1818 in the Court House, and administered by one of the town's lawyers. As well as providing access to books, newspapers and other periodicals from both the region and elsewhere in the United Kingdom, the libraries were customers of the printing offices: C Munro, at the *Courie*r office printed *Catalogue of Books in the Dumfries Library taken November, 1818* in 1819, and W C Craw at the *Herald* office printed *Catalogue of the Society Library,*

11 See Appendix three.

Dumfries. Taken 3rd June, 1835, with a Copy of the Library Regulations in 1835. There was also a Dumfries Book Club: a printed list of the books it had in circulation was printed in November 1846 (AP.4.207.11).

As noted above, the printing office itself might employ an individual to 'post bills' in the town on a casual basis. Print from Dumfries also circulated throughout the region, but not always through booksellers and newsagents. The *Herald* had agents in twelve towns in the region, together with Edinburgh, Glasgow, Carlisle, Liverpool, Manchester and London. The agents in Maxwelltown and Annan were ironmongers, and those in Langholm, Moffat and New Galloway were grocers. Other agents included an apothecary (Thornill) and a land-surveyor (Castle Douglas). The agents in Kirkcudbright and Stranraer were booksellers (*Dumfries-shire and Galloway Herald and Register* 3 January 1844, p.4). The listing for individuals in Johnston (1882) includes a colporteur (Robert Armstrong) and four book canvassers (John Bell, William Gordon, John Lennon, John Rae) in Dumfries and Maxwelltown.

Employers and employees

Taking the nineteenth century as a whole, relations between the printing business owners in Dumfries and their employees seem to have been fairly amicable. The fair management of the tramping system was the main concern in the early years of the existence of the typographical society, and the importance attached by the operative printers of Dumfries to building relations with other typographical societies followed from this. In the early years the main issue of concern to the DTS which had implications for the local employers was apprentice numbers. On 11 June 1836, for example, the typographical society drew up a memorial on the apprentice numbers to be allowed in town (GD25/1). In March the following year, two men from Halliday's printing office, Crawford and McDowall, reported 'that their employer meant to introduce an Apprentice into his establishment at an early date'. There were apparently no journeymen employed there and a deputation was appointed to call on Mr Halliday to:

> call to his recollection the memorial presented to Masters in June last against the apprentice system and otherwise to remonstrate against introduction of lad as unfair and prejudicial to the interest of the profession. (GD25/1, March 1837)

Mr Halliday had refused to listen to the deputation and:

> The lad was introduced accordingly; but the Committee are happy to report that in consequence of the means used by Mr Crawford, the Pressman of Halliday's office, the lad has since been expelled. (GD25/1, March 1837)

It is not clear exactly what the means employed were.

While there seem to have been few disputes with other master printers, relations with David Halliday continued to be difficult. A meeting was called in September 1840:

> to take into consideration […] the terms on which Mr Wardrop is employed with Mr Halliday &c, and to adopt such measures as to the Society may seem meet. (GD25/2, 11 September 1840)

This referred to Wardrop's rate of pay and the matter was settled fairly quickly, but soon after an additional apprentice was introduced into the same office, and after an unsuccessful attempt by the local branch to persuade Mr Halliday to conform to the standards set by the newly established General Typographical Association of Scotland the Central Board were consulted in October (GD25/2, copy latter dated 21 October 1840). The dispute dragged on for some time, and the local branch were not particularly pleased with the advice they received from the Central Board, which suggested conciliation and that conflict with Halliday be avoided. The two members of the Dumfries Branch of the GTAS working in Halliday's office, Robert M'Dowall and Moses Wardrop, were ultimately asked to hand in their notice and Halliday's office was declared 'unfair' (GD25/2, 27 November 1840).[12] Although the dispute with Mr Halliday appeared to have been settled at this point, a special meeting was called on 4 February 1841 and attended by all members, at which the seizure of the society's papers and funds 'by Warrant of the Sheriff' was discussed (GD25/2).[13]

Two main themes run through the minutes of meetings in the years up to and beyond the foundation of the STA in 1853: the state of the funds, which were often at a low ebb, and secondly whether applicants for admission to the society were properly qualified by the completion of an apprenticeship. In addition, the behaviour or 'standing' in societies elsewhere was investigated for individuals newly arrived in town, to ensure that they had completed their apprenticeship, did not owe arrears, and had not worked in 'unfair' offices. Wages and hours occupied much less discussion time, and the first serious attempt to obtain a rise or 'advance' in wages did not occur until the 1850s. The first

12 More details of the careers of both McDowall and Wardrop will be found in chapter six.

13 See chapter four, page 96 for a brief account of this episode.

mention of an attempt to obtain increased wages was at a meeting held in January 1858, when it was suggested that a special meeting be convened the following week 'for the purpose of considering whether or not this is the proper time for petitioning the masters for an advance of wages'. When that meeting was held only seven members turned up and it was decided that the 'Matter should rest' (GD25/2, 20 January 1858; 27 January 1858).

According to the petition submitted by the Dumfries Branch of the STA to the employers in January 1861, 'For the last 20 years, at least, the wage of journeymen printers in Dumfries has been 20/- per week of 60 hours' (GD25/2, 23 January 1861). The petition goes on to compare the situation in Dumfries with that of four other regional print centres:

> showing the wages paid and number of house wrought in each; as also the number of hands employed in the printing profession. Dumfries being, if not at the head of them in regard to population, at least far beyond them in the number of workmen employed. Some you will observe, pay a higher wage, while in others the number of hours wrought in the week is less than Dumfries:-
>
> | Towns | Journeymen | Apps | Hours | Wages |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | Airdrie | 6 | 7 | 57 | 22/ |
> | Banff | 9 | 6 | 60 | 21/ |
> | Dunfermline | 9 | 11 | 60 | 21/ |
> | Wick | 6 | 14 | 56 | 20/ |
> | Dumfries | 18 | 22 | 60 | 20/ |
>
> (GD25/2, 23 January 1861)[14]

Based on this, and the rising costs of food and rent, the journeymen requested a rise of two shillings a week to twenty two shillings for their working week of sixty hours. The petition was presented to the three newspaper proprietors, and the Master Printers of Dumfries[15] sent a single reply copied into the minutes, stating that they disagreed:

> with most of the grounds on which the application is founded; but we decline entering upon a discussion of the question. We have, however, carefully considered the application, and have agreed to increase the wages of journeymen compositors on and after this date to 21/ twenty-one shillings per week of 60 hours. (GD25/2, 5 February 1861)

This was apparently accepted by the journeymen of the DTS as there is no further

14 Because it is not clear when individuals were struck off the lists of members, it is unclear whether the figures for journeymen and apprentices in Dumfries represents the membership of DTS or all the operative printers working in the town. See for example list 15, appendix one.

15 Publishers of the *Courier*, the *Herald* and the *Standard*, 'W R M'Diarmid & Coy', W C Craw, and Geo. Henderson.

discussion in the minutes. Ten years later, by which time the *Herald* and the *Standard* were both published twice a week, though the *Courier* remained weekly, another application was made for a pay rise, this time to twenty-five shillings a week. It was reported at the special meeting held in December that:

> The proprietors of the Standard and Herald had intimated their willingness to give the advance sought, but the proprietors of the Courier could not see their way to conceded the request – on the ground that their paper was a weekly, and that there was always a distinction between weeklies and bi-weeklies. (GD25/2, 23 December 1871)

The president and secretary of the branch held further discussion with the proprietor of the *Courier*, who was persuaded to a limited concession over hours, and the matter was 'remitted to the men in the office to effect an arrangement'. It was suggested that the President and Secretary should wait on the proprietors and discuss the matter with them (GD25/2, 23 December 1871).

One of the reasons that relations were so amicable may have been that, as the century progressed, a number of the employers in the town had themselves been members of the typographical society. At a meeting in January 1853, for example, at the first annual general meeting of the newly formed STA the re-election of Joseph Russell to the post of branch treasurer was proposed. However:

> dissension arose as to the eligibility of Mr Russell's holding that Office, he occupying premises as a Printing Office since June last, in Castle Street, some Members contending that he was a Master Printer, while others upheld that he could not be ranked as such, as he employed no hands; Mr Russell expressing himself as nothing more than a Journeyman like ourselves.
> After a rather warm discussion, the sense of the meeting was taken as to whether Mr Russell ought to be admitted an "Honorary Member" or be considered as a "Full Member" entitled to all the privileges of the Society. (GD25/2, 21 January 1853)

Joseph Russell had been a member for fifteen years[16] and the matter was put to the vote. He was admitted as a full member, and proposed as branch treasurer. 'Mr Russell expressed himself as willing to Officiate; and no other person being proposed he was considered duly elected' (GD25/2, 21 January 1853). He ceased to be treasurer at the next AGM. In January 1857, a letter was read:

> from Mr Joseph Russell, formerly a member of the Dfs branch of the STA, but had to withdraw owing to him becoming an employer, demanding a card of membership, as he was about to leave Dumfries. After some discussion, and his

16 Joseph Russell is listed as a member from 1837 (lists 4, 6, 10 and 12 in Appendix 1).

determination of going to Australia being considered, the card was granted. (GD25/2, 15 January 1857)

Russell's successor as branch treasurer was Walter Easton, a post he held until the AGM held on 20 January 1858. Easton had originally joined the society in 1831.[17] He apparently also went into business on his own account being listed in *Slater's Directory* for 1861 as a letterpress printer at 153 High Street, although the business seems to have been short-lived. Later in the century, the rules did allow individuals who became employers to remain as members, providing access to some benefits including the pension scheme. Robert Connor, a member of the Dumfries branch of the STA from April 1884 was allowed to remain a member though he became one of the proprietors of a letterpress printing office in the 1890 (Kelly & Co 1896, pp.344-345). However, at the branch annual general meeting in 1900, it was reported 'that the Messrs Connor had employed a non-society man' and the matter had been referred to the Executive (GD25/3, 12 February 1900). At the following AGM it was reported that the Executive had expelled Robert Connor from the Association (GD25/3, 30 January 1901).

By the end of the century, although the number of businesses in town had not substantially increased, the numbers they employed had apparently done so. According to the figures used in the wage negotiations in 1861 there were eighteen journeymen and twenty two apprentices in town. The branch secretary reported to the 1893 annual general meeting that 'including 6 unconnected with the Society, the number of men reached a total of 43, and Apprentices 41' (GD25/3, 18 January 1893). By 1904, when another petition was prepared for the employers, a table comparing Dumfries with other regional print centres was again included, and the number of men working in the printing industry in the town had apparently doubled:

	No of journeymen	Wage	Hours
Airdrie	21	32/6	54
Ayr	41	30/	52
Dumbarton	12	32/	52
Greenock	46	34/	50
Hamilton	43	32/6	51½
Kilmarnock	46	30/	52
Paisley	45	34/	50
Perth	49	30/	51
Ardrossan	13	29/	49½
Dumfries	47	28-28/6	53

(GD25/3, 21 May 1904)

17 See List 1 in Appendix 1.

The number of businesses had not increased substantially so the businesses themselves must have expanded. On the basis of this table, the union requested 'that the rate of wages be increased by 2/6 per week and the hours reduced to fifty per week, with a corresponding increase to Linotype operators' (GD25/3 21 May 1904). This is the first mention of Linotype within the town. The negotiations, with support from the Central Board, dragged on for the rest of the year as the employers were willing to concede either a reduction in hours or an increase in wages, but not both. They were still continuing at the time the annual general meeting was held on 9 February 1905, at which time it was announced that Dumfries was 'now the fifth largest branch in Scotland'.

Civic celebrations and print

Print produced in Dumfries played an important part in celebrations within the town. As well as posters or bills advertising events, and extensive reporting in the local press, the printers took a direct part in the proceedings on a number of occasions. The *Dumfries Times* for 3 October 1838, for example, included an extended report on 'The Procession of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Total Abstinence Society' which took place on 28 September 1838. The Abstinence Society had been in existence for about two years, and was said to have a membership of about 2,000. At noon the town's bells were rung and the procession, including deputations from Carlisle, Annan, Gatehouse, Lockerbie and other towns, as well as the Moffat band 'in uniform' and the Annan juvenile band moved off. The participants are listed in full in the newspaper article: towards the back of the procession John M'Manus of the *Times* office and John Hamilton of the *Herald* worked a press on a horse-drawn carriage, decorated with the slogan:

> "The Press! We hail it as the terror of the tyrant, the liberator of the slave, and the great promoter of the temperance reformation." (*Dumfries Times* 3 October 1838, p.4)

Unfortunately, no example of the print produced has survived. The parade passed through the High Street where it paused for speeches, after which there was a prize-giving. In the evening there was a Soirée in the Assembly Rooms, and a Ball at the King's Arms which went on 'with undiminished spirit till about 4 o'clock next morning' (*Dumfries Times* 3 October 1838, p.4). Both McManus and Hamilton were associated with the typographical society, though the former had been expelled for arrears (and since reinstated). Hamilton, after appearing regularly in the list of those fined for non-

attendance at meetings, was elected secretary in May 1842 (GD25/1, 17 May 1842).

The practice of printing during processions continued: the *Illustrated London News* for 7 August 1852 reported on the 'Grand procession of the Gorbals Temperance Society, at Dumfries' (p.101). The visitors arrived by train and were greeted at the station by local clergy and representatives of various regional temperance societies, along with a crowd. After marching through the town with bands playing, a pause for refreshment, a visit to the mausoleum of Robert Burns in St Michael's churchyard, and climbing Corbelly Hill to admire the view, the participants on the outing proposed a vote of thanks to their hosts and formed up to return to the station:

> A carriage with a printing press upon it, gaily decorated with evergreens, followed the procession, and several pressmen were busily engaged throwing off a song of welcome to the total abstainers of the West of Scotland on their visit to Dumfries; also "An Address by the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Total Abstinence Society, on the Day of the Great Temperance Demonstration, held on the 19th July 1852". (*Illustrated London News* 7 August 1852, p.101)

Again, no copies of the address or the song of welcome appear to have survived. It was also reported in the *Glasgow Herald* of 7 April 1882 that the 'Compositors and bookbinders' participated in the procession through the town that was part of the ceremony when Lord Rosebery visited the town to unveil a new statue of Robert Burns at the top of the High Street. No mention is made of a printing press being part of the procession, but in 1896 the Dumfries Branch of the STA were asked by the Burns Committee to:

> take part in forthcoming procession in connection with celebration of centenary of Burns' death. [...] The Secretary stated that his principal reason for summoning that meeting was a personal representation made to him by Mr Sulley that it was absolutely necessary that the printers should have a prominent place in the procession, with machinery in operation. (GD25/3 11 March 1896)

The members were not enthusiastic as the procession was to be held on a Tuesday, which was inconvenient for the printers, presumably because local weekly newspapers were published on Wednesdays. One member asked about who would take responsibility for the costs, and it was suggested that there might be information in the minutes about previous occasions:

> adding that in the procession in 1882 unveiling Burns statue their expenses had been defrayed by the money received for advertisements printed on the sheet distributed by them during procession. (GD25/3 11 March 1896)

However, there is actually no mention of the 1882 Burns procession in the branch

minutes nor is it clear whether the printers did take part in the centenary procession. Another special meeting about the celebration was held on 27 April, and at a third inquorate meeting in June 'the Secretary remarked that the apathy shown was intimation to him to resign position of Branch representative' (GD25/3 3 June 1896). Something similar seems to have happened two years later when the branch was asked to take part in a 'Lifeboat Saturday procession' in town. Only six members attended the meeting and:

> After the subject had been freely ventilated, it was unanimously decided on the motion of Mr R C Hastings, seconded by Mr Gladstone, to take no action in the matter owing to the apathy shewn by the small attendance! (GD25/3 2 May 1898)

The practice of participating in such celebrations with working printing machinery seems to have died out at this point.

Summary

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the printing industry of the south-west region of Scotland was mainly confined to Dumfries, although booksellers and libraries could be found in towns throughout the three counties. By the end of the century most towns in Dumfries and Galloway had at least one printing office supplying jobbing printing for the local market, as well as printing the local weekly newspaper. However, within the town of Dumfries itself the number of printing offices had not increased substantially although the numbers employed had, apparently, grown. The relations between employers and employees within the trade seem to have been mainly amicable, and the main concerns of the operative printers were maintaining trade standards by controlling entry to the trade through the restriction of apprentice numbers and by only admitting to membership of the society those printers in town who had completed the accepted seven year apprenticeship period.

Chapter 6

Print Trade Lives

Between the end of 1831 when the benefit society was first established and the end of the nineteenth century, the print economy of Dumfries and the south-west region of Scotland provided employment to several hundred operative printers, the majority of them in letterpress printing offices. The surviving records include membership lists and some meeting attendance rolls for the Dumfries Typographical Society under its various titles which have been transcribed and can be found in Appendix 1. The level of detail varies considerably but taken together with the other sources available, the lives of at least some operative printers with a connection to the Dumfries and Galloway region can be investigated. The variations are considerable: some individuals came from the area, others arrived as journeymen. Some spent a substantial proportion of their career in Dumfries, others only a short time. A large number of 'tramping' printers passed through the town in search of work, or in the course of a journey between main print centres such as Glasgow, Edinburgh to the north and the towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, Birmingham and London to the south. These print workers appear in the records of benefits paid, but played no other part in the print economy of the area.

This chapter looks first at the range of roles at different 'life stages' within the print trade, before considering the membership of the Dumfries society in a roughly chronological sequence, and investigating the career patterns of individual operative printers.

'The trade'

As previously noted, in regional centres and smaller workshops, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, there were fewer distinctions between compositors and press- or machine-men, and it was expected that apprentices would be trained in both over a seven-year term, and evidence of such a training was usually required before admission as a journeyman to any of the trade societies. Although letterpress workers continued to dominate for the rest of the nineteenth century, by around 1830 the term 'printer' had broadened to cover the wider range of processes and associated workers

now employed in printing and the allied trades. In some areas of the country with substantial textile industries, the word ‘printer’ was used interchangeably for those working as calico printers and for those working as letterpress or lithographic printers.

Even within the printing and allied trades, the occupational title of ‘printer’ encompassed a variety of roles. The most significant were:

- compositors, who turned authorial copy into a reproducible printing surface;
- pressmen (sometimes described as machine-men) who operated the increasingly complex printing machines;
- foundry workers, who produced stereotype plates from formes of set type. Stereotype plates were typically used for long print runs and reprints as they saved wear on the type and allowed the type to be redistributed immediately. Curved stereotype plates enabled rotary printing machines to be used in large newspaper offices, but the machines using this technology were mainly too large and expensive for smaller print shops;
- engravers who produced illustrative matter, as well as maps and music. Copperplate engraving dominated at the beginning of the century, but later other metals, including zinc and steel were used. In a regional centre there might only be small workshops producing visiting cards and similar small items. The technique of wood-engraving came to dominate illustration: there were some large workshops of wood engravers producing stock illustrations and who kept periodicals such as the *Illustrated London News* supplied with illustrations, usually found in major print centres, and small ‘stock blocks’ which were used to illustrate regular columns (see figure 4, p.162);
- lithographers who ultimately dominated many of the sectors (such as music and maps) previously undertaken by engravers. By the end of the period lithography was also the dominant process used for label-printing and production of illustrated advertising matter.

For all these workers, their experience of the industry varied depending on whether they worked in a specialist department within a larger business, working for a large specialist company in a single trade sector, or in a general print business which might serve a small locality in a large commercial centre such as Glasgow, or be one of a handful of print trade businesses in a smaller regional town.

Figure 4: advertisement (Dumfries Times, 29 October 1834, p.1)

Taking the letterpress sector alone, there was a considerable variation in the life stories of the 'skilled' tradesmen, the compositors and pressmen. Boys were taken on as apprentices around the age of fourteen: although girls might be taken on at the same age, they were never offered formal apprenticeship, nor were they trained in the same range of tasks. Apprentices usually remained with the same employer for the full term of their indenture, but if they had moved with their family to a different area, or their original employer failed, they might 'turn over' to a new firm. 'Turnovers' who changed employers for higher wages, often to work in place of a journeyman, were another matter and printing offices that employed them were declared 'unfair'. John Cossar of Govan was 'closed' to union members from around 1879 through the 1880s (*Scottish Typographical Circular* 1 July 1879, p.556; 1 July 1884, p.72). This is at least partly explained by the firm's advertisement for a 'Smart jobbing turnover' in the *Scotsman* on 10 December 1888. In places where a typographical society existed, apprentices would usually join at some point in the last couple of years of their apprenticeship, being admitted to full membership when they became journeymen and becoming entitled to out-of-work and tramping benefits. It was a common experience to become unemployed at the point of completing an apprenticeship.

Once the status of journeyman had been achieved, the lives and careers of printers followed many different paths. A few remained working in the printing office where they had served their apprenticeship. In larger centres where there were more opportunities and enough casual employment to sustain them, another employer might be found without leaving the area. As a general rule, a period of casual labour, either moving from job to job within a printing centre, or around the country was common at this stage of a journeyman printer's career. Some individuals never found a permanent

‘situation’. Others were put out of work for a variety of reasons including their own competence, trade depressions, business failure or participation in strike activity. Thus trade mobility was not necessarily confined to the early part of a printer’s career. Individuals on tramp remained as members of their original branch, but those offered a permanent situation might be allowed to transfer their membership to a local branch if their dues were paid up to date. However, a proportion of letterpress printers were only members intermittently, leaving and rejoining a number of times. Of the forty members of the DTS listed in May 1892 eight were ‘intermittent’ members. The majority would have had more than one employer, and it was far from unusual to work for the same employer more than once. Intermittent membership might occur because of ‘ratting’ in an unfair house, a dispute with the union itself, or because of leaving the trade for a period. If a former member who had been working in an ‘unfair’ house applied for readmission to the society after a period ‘ratting’, the entry money was usually set at a punitive rate, depending on local feelings and in what light this transgression of the rules was seen.

Many members spent at least some time on the committee of their local branch. This was not always a sought-after role: there were occasions when branches found it difficult to find office bearers and committee members, and individuals were fined for refusing office when elected. It should be noted that although there was a general movement from early in the century to spread trade society membership, membership was never universal even at the end of the century, after strenuous efforts at recruitment by the STA. In this context, the Dumfries Branch appointed a ‘deputation of their number to visit small adjacent towns and endeavour to persuade our fellow-craftsmen employed therein to join the Association’ following the 1899 annual meeting (GD25/3, 1 February 1899)

Many trade society members appeared at some point on the list of individuals to whom sick, static or tramping out-of-work benefits were paid, though not necessarily in their original branch. Some (or their dependents) were the recipient of funds raised by subscription. In the earlier part of the century, members of the ‘trade’ who could no longer work were supported on an *ad hoc* basis, with subscription lists being sent round the local print shops, and sometimes round ‘the trade’ in other towns. By the end of the century benefits payable to members included formal superannuation schemes, and such

schemes may have been the reason why the names of some master printers continue to appear in membership lists, long after they had changed their status from employee to employer. Some operative printers were promoted foremen, or became masters in their own right. Some operative printers 'left the trade' altogether, although this might mean that they had found employment in a related occupation. The path from the composing room to the editorial chair of a newspaper, for example, was well-trodden, as was that leading to a bookselling or retail stationer's business. A large proportion of operative printers continued to work as journeymen compositors or press- and machine-men throughout their working lives. A significant proportion of print-trade workers died young: the causes varied but tuberculosis was prevalent in the often unhealthy working conditions.

Printers on the move

As has been noted, many printers had at least one period 'on the road'. Leaving town might be for any one of a variety of reasons – unemployment, avoiding victimisation as a striker, or moving to a previously arranged new situation elsewhere. Movement might be within the same region, throughout the United Kingdom or overseas. Towns such as Edinburgh, Manchester and especially London were a particular draw. There were also transnational migrants, sometimes supported by emigration grants, and for which the primary motivation might be any of the above, or purely in order to seek a different life. In considering the various patterns of 'translocal migration and print skills transfer', Finkelstein (2014, pp.159-61) defined four categories of print trade workers in the trade:

- static individual, constantly present over decades. In a minority of cases this might represent a complete career with a single employer but many would change employers within the same locality. However, in larger centres, individuals might move relatively easily between several employers while maintaining their local branch membership;
- regional migrant (in the context of this study, within Scotland);
- national migrant across the entire UK;
- transnational migrant.

The term 'transnational migrant' is preferable to the word 'emigrant', as there is evidence that a significant proportion of all migrants, whether local, regional, national or transnational, returned, if not to their original branch, then to their region or country of origin. There were some printers at work in the British Isles in the nineteenth century

who had served their apprenticeship in Canada or Australia.

Finkelstein's (2014) categorisation lacks a temporal perspective on patterns of mobility in the trade. Individual print trade workers might be:

- settled: working for the same employer, or in the same locality for significant periods;
- only 'on the road' for a single period, which might be:
  - for a short period on completion of apprenticeship;
  - a single journey to a neighbouring town;
  - an extended journey from the original to a new branch, with many calling points;
  - a circular journey (returning to the original branch) which might have few or many calling points;
- repeated periods on tramp, interspersed with short intervals of settlement (not necessarily in the original branch);
- 'seasonal': for example, there were significant numbers of additional compositors required in offices in London, Edinburgh and elsewhere which specialised in legal printing when courts were in session, but these men might work in other roles (or industries), or go 'on tramp' in between sessions;
- 'peripatetic': some individuals appear to have been almost constantly on the move for a significant proportion of their life in the trade.

For the period for which records have survived a large transient population of men passed through Dumfries. They appeared in the records of benefits paid, but played no other part in the print economy of the area. This was a significant burden and the local enthusiasm in Dumfries for membership of the larger federations is at least to some extent explained by the fact that financial support from central funds was thereby made available to small societies which provided relief to a larger number of tramping printers than could be afforded by the local membership.

Of the twenty-eight names listed as being in membership in the first year of the local society, seventeen are recorded as having a card granted or leaving town, although some did return at a later date. Another member left the business, two 'left their employment' though it not clear if they stayed in town. Three members were struck off and two died. Only two names have no comment beside them, implying that they remained in town

and in membership of the society throughout its early period (lists 1 and 2, Appendix 1). It is possible that at this early period the typographical society consisted largely of those operative printers who intended to, or expected to move, and benefit from the grants and allowances, and that there was an additional 'hidden' group of operative printers leading a more settled existence.

The founding delegates

The six 'delegates' who met in December 1831 to found the Dumfries Typographical Union were Thomas Colquhoun, James Roddan and John Carruthers of the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, and Andrew Glendinning, William Miller (or Millar), and James Pagan from the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* (GD25/1, 20 December 1831). Investigating their lives illustrates some of challenges of tracing individuals before official sources such as the decennial census and statutory registration of vital events (birth, marriage and death) are available.[1] It is, for example, not possible to be sure how many of these six men were originally from the Dumfries and Galloway region. James Pagan and James Roddan were both born in Dumfriesshire, and it is likely that John Carruthers and Andrew Glendinning were. Thomas Colquhoun was not. Tracing the origins of William Miller (or Millar) in the absence of biographical information has not proved possible because the combination of names is so common.

Thomas Colquhoun was born around 1799, in the Edinburgh area, and appears to have spent most of his life in Edinburgh. It is not clear when he arrived in Dumfries: his wife Charlotte came from Aberdeen and their oldest child was born around 1828 in Edinburgh. Colquhoun presided at the meeting in December 1831, and became secretary to the Dumfries Typographical Union at its first full meeting, resigning his post in 1833, during a disagreement over extra benefit paid to Robert Clay (GD25/1, 11 April 1833). He was struck off the membership list around 20 February 1834. The *Dumfries Journal* had ceased publication in 1833, and it is possible he became unemployed at that time, and returned to Edinburgh: the family group is recorded in the 1841 census living in Mclaren Place off Leith Wynd. In the 1851 census the family were living in the Canongate area. Thomas Colquhoun died in Edinburgh on 16 November 1852 of typhus, aged fifty two, having apparently remained a journeyman compositor throughout his career.

1 The first census for which significant levels of information about individuals is available is that for 1851. Statutory registration in Scotland began in 1855.

James Roddan was probably born in Dumfries on 1 November 1812, and was working at the *Dumfries Journal* in 1831. A card and five shillings were granted to him on 27 December 1833, though he was back in town a year later and elected to the committee in January 1835 (GD25/1 accounts, 6 January 1835). Three months later it was reported that he had 'been some time out of employment' and he was replaced on the committee. According to the secretary, Roddan was planning to leave the town some time during the next week, but he did not in fact leave, and was present at the next meeting and re-elected to the committee in July (GD25/1, 3 April 1835, 3 July 1835, 14 July 1835). He was in Dumfries until at least 11 March 1836 when he married Helen Ward. At some point in the next month or so he did leave and in May 1836 a letter from the Secretary of the Northern Union was received which exposed:

> two individuals lately belonging to our Society viz James Roddan and Thomas McDonald, who had shamefully taken advantage of the late strike in the Times Office, Manchester.[2]

The committee 'having severally expressed their indignation' requested the secretary to reply 'immediately describing their persons minutely, and at same time expressing how deeply they felt on this occasion' (GD25/1, 24 May 1836). From Manchester Roddan apparently went to London, and was in Dumfries again on 7 August 1838 when he was paid three shillings on the basis of a card from the London Society (GD25/1, accounts). It would appear that he returned to London, as his children, aged fourteen and two, are listed in the 1851 census as born there. The family were now living in Birkenhead. James Roddan disappears from the available records at this point, and there is no information available on where and when he died.

Carruthers is a common name in Dumfries and the surrounding area rendering the clear identification of individuals in this period challenging. John Carruthers of the *Dumfries Journal* was elected to the committee in April 1832 (GD25/1, April 1832). He may have lost his job when the *Journal* ceased publication in 1833, as he was granted a card and five shillings on 16 November of that year. He rejoined the DTS on 1 February 1834,

2 Thomas McDonald joined the DTS in 1831, 'left his employment' in May or June 1834, was re-admitted on 2 April 1835, rejoined on 5 November 1838, a card was granted on 2 October 1841, presumably leaving his family behind as his son died in Dumfries the following month (*Dumfries Times* 22 November 1841, p.4). A daughter had died in August 1840 (*Dumfries Times* 1 September 1840, p.4). However, his name is so common that tracing him beyond this point without further biographical details is not feasible. See lists in Appendix 1; GD25/1 accounts.

and left town again on 1 May 1834 (GD25/1 accounts). By 1842 he was working in London: the *Dumfries Times* for 2 November 1842 included a notice of the death of two of his children at 82, Webber Row, Westminster Road, London in October of that year (*Dumfries Times* 2 November 1842, p4 'Deaths'). This is the last piece of traceable information that can be related to this individual with any certainty.

Andrew Glendinning was born in Dumfries in March 1813 'lawful son of Thomas Glendinning, merchant'. It seems likely that this was Thomas Glendinning, who was for many years the Keeper of the Subscription Reading Rooms at 131 High Street. Andrew was working at the *Dumfries Courier* in December 1831, and was elected to the committee a year later (GD25/1, December 1832). He was granted a card and five shillings in November 1833, but by 1841 he was back in Dumfries, where he is recorded as living with his father Thomas in the High Street. The death of a brother named William, who was a lawyer in Annan is recorded in the *Dumfries Times* in November 1842 (*Dumfries Times*, 2 November 1842, p4 'Deaths'). No further information about Andrew Glendinning's life or career is available, but a man of that name died in Dumfries, aged 28, and was buried on 25 July 1842,[3] and Thomas Glendinning also disappears from the record around the same time.

William Millar (or Miller) was working for the *Dumfries Courier* when the DTU was established, but left town on 6 August 1832, rejoining the society on 11 April 1833. Another card was granted to him on 1 May 1834 (lists 1-3, Appendix 1).[4] He apparently returned to Dumfries when the *Herald* newspaper was established in 1835: at the meeting held on 1 May the journeymen who had come to Dumfries to work on the *Herald* were invited to join: Millar 'expressed his willingness to join' but refused to pay entry money of one shilling and sixpence. The Committee:

> eventually came to the unanimous finding that Mr Millar's reasons of dissent were frivolous, and that the entry money must be exacted.-This finding was reported to Mr Millar but he still flatly and unequivocally refused to pay anything in the shape of Entry Money.

The committee therefore resolved 'that they can hold no communion with that

3 There are two men named Andrew Glendinning from the area with approximately the same date of birth: the other one was a shepherd, and it is not clear which of them this burial record relates to.

4 There may in fact have been many individuals named William Miller but it seems likely that all references in these records are to one individual.

individual as a Friend of the Trade' (GD25/1, 1 May 1835). However, an extraordinary general meeting was held ten weeks later and its first business was the enrolment of William Millar, 'the business commenced with observations from the chair, in way of apology, originating in some impropriety and misunderstanding at the previous Meeting'. The result of this was that two members of the committee resigned and after short while so did the secretary, James Pagan. Millar was then appointed to serve as on the committee for the remainder of the year (GD25/1, 14 July 1835), and was duly elected as a committeeman for the following year at a meeting held on 15 October 1835. It seems unlikely that he would have been so speedily appointed as an office-bearer for the society unless he had had some previous connection with it.

Millar remained in town over the next six months (GD25/1, 28 January 1836'; March 15 1836). At a committee meeting in April 1836, his application for a grant of five shillings on leaving town was discussed, but some committee members objected and the meeting was adjourned without a decision on the matter. It is not clear if the grant was awarded to him (GD25/1, 26 April 1836). The details of his career after this are not clear but it is possible that he went to Liverpool. The list of obituaries in the *Scottish Typographical Circular* for 1 February 1871 includes the announcement 'Liverpool, on the 5th December 1870, William Miller, compositor, formerly of Dumfries' (*Scottish Typographical Circular* 1 February 1871, p.433).

James Pagan was born in October 1811 at Trailfoot, near Dumfries. He was a member of the first committee of the society, at which time he was working for the *Dumfries Courier*, where he had served his apprenticeship (GD25/1, meetings held in 1832; Irving 1881, p.400). He was appointed secretary in April 1833, but resigned two years later, in the course of a row about the admission (or re-admission) of William Millar, walking out of the meeting, although he was re-elected to the committee a few months afterwards (GD25/1, 11 April 1833, 14 July 1835, 5 October 1835). In March 1836 he was the proposer of the motion supporting the suggestion of the Aberdeen society that a general association for Scotland be established and was subsequently appointed as the Dumfries delegate to the proposed 'Typographical Parliament' in Edinburgh (GD25/1, 15 March 1836, 8 July 1836). The meeting establishing the General Typographical Association of Scotland took place in Edinburgh on 13 and 14 July, and Pagan reported back a few days later (GD25/1, 19 July 1836). The following year he was again

appointed as the Dumfries delegate to the GTAS meeting in Glasgow, reporting to the branch on his return that his employer, Mr M'Diarmid, was planning to take a new apprentice. He was appointed to put the society's view to Mr M'Diarmid himself, reporting back the following day (GD25/1, 10 June 1837, 11 July 1837, 19 July 1836). A card was granted to him on 18 January 1839 (GD25/1, accounts).

Pagan went to Glasgow to join the staff of the *Glasgow Herald,* but returned to Dumfries in June 1841 to marry Ann McKnight Kerr, niece of John M'Diarmid, his employer and owner of the *Dumfries Courier* (Stronach 2013, p.320). Pagan had already gained some experience as a reporter while at the *Courier*, and had also, apparently, spent some time in London (Irving 1881, p.100). Given the role he played in the establishment of the Dumfries society, and in the promotion of a wider federation of typographical societies, it is interesting to note that during a strike at the *Herald* in the winter of 1846-1847 over apprentice numbers he was seen 'in the act of filling a compositor's stick with type' to help get the newspaper out and break the strike (Sinclair 1897, p.110).

When the *Glasgow Herald*'s editor, Mr Outram died in 1856, James Pagan took his place, and soon after became also one of the proprietors. He:

> greatly expanded coverage of local news, verbatim reporting of political and religious speeches, and news by telegraph. He was a shrewd, genial man, and a keen snuff taker (he used his snuff-box also as a store for shorthand notes). (Stronach 2013, p.320)

He also supervised the change to daily publication at the beginning of 1859, and also the move to the building on Buchanan Street nine years later, and the installation of two Hoe eight-feeder printing machines there which cost £9,000 (Phillips 1982, p.70, p.72). Pagan also wrote about the history of Glasgow, and was the author of a guide to its cathedral (Stronach 2013, p.320). James Pagan died, 'much esteemed in social circles for his natural and agreeable manner' in Glasgow, aged 59 on 11 February 1870 (Irving 1881, p.400).

The varying experiences of these six printers as far as they can be ascertained, illustrate the challenges of navigating the surviving records from the first half of the century. Although the evidence is based on a the lives of a few individuals and therefore anecdotal, it would appear that the majority of the membership moved out of the area at

some point in their career.

Dumfries printers in the mid-nineteenth century

This section will consider a number of operative printers working in Dumfries in the twenty years or so prior to the establishment of the STA. Although the name of the society in Dumfries and the federal structure to which it belonged varied between 1831 and 1853, it continued to operate in much the same way throughout the period, focusing on support for its own members and for the printers passing through the town. Wider trade issues, such as apprentice numbers and wages, did figure in its deliberations but did not dominate them. Altogether, thirteen lists of members compiled for various purposes covering the years up to 1853 have been found in the minute books.[5] They include the names of at least 110 individuals, some of which appear more than once, but taken together they probably account for the majority of the operative printers of Dumfries and the nearby towns who joined the organisation between December 1831 and June 1848. It is likely that there were others in town: Halliday's printing office, for example, was closed to society members for a period in the 1840s but continued to function. There are also some members whose names appear in the minutes, often only as a surname, but who are not on any of the lists. Of the ninety three individuals listed in the first four membership lists, which together cover the first ten years of the existence of the benefit society, four died, eight left the profession, one absconded[6] and one (Moses Wardrop) was expelled. Fifty six members either 'lifted card' or 'left town' at least once, indicating a high level of mobility within the membership. Of the twenty three individuals for whom there is no indication in the membership lists that they left, there is evidence from other sources that at least five others (Charles Balieff, Adam Richardson, Joseph Russell, Moses Wardrop and Samuel Welsh) moved away from the region.

There is no membership list indicating who were the founder members of the Dumfries Branch of the STA. However, it was noted at an early branch meeting that the

5 Lists 1-13 in Appendix 1.

6 James Harrison Clarkson, who spent only a short time in town. See section on 'Trade sources: print' in chapter two. One of those who 'left the profession' after a few months was James, son of bookseller John Anderson: he went on to captain the S.S. Great Eastern as it laid the first successful transatlantic telegraph cable in 1866 and was knighted (list 4, Appendix 1: joined 3 Sept 1838, left 1839; *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* supplement 19 December 1866, 'Sir James Anderson in Dumfries' p.6).

membership consisted of ten journeymen and three apprentices in their sixth year (GD25/2, 1 April 1853). However, there are more than twenty named individuals who attended meetings of the branch in its first two years, of whom nearly half had appeared on a membership list for the organisation in one of its earlier forms. The following sections examine the lives of a number of members whose working life in Dumfries spanned the years leading up to the formation of the STA, and the early years of its existence.

WC Craw, David McAdam, Charles Balieff, Joseph Russell, Samuel Welsh

When the *Dumfries-shire and Galloway Herald & Register* was established in 1835, at least some of those recruited to work in its printing office came from outside the town. At the beginning of the year, the Dumfries Typographical Society had written to the secretaries of the typographical societies in Edinburgh and Glasgow giving notice of the standard wage for the town, and informing them that any operative printer recruited to work for the new title at lower wages would 'not be entitled to the countenance of his brethren' (GD25/1, 22 January 1835). Following the publication of the first issue of the *Herald* on 24 April 1835, a meeting of the society was held 'for the purpose of meeting with the Journeymen who have recently come to Dumfries & are engaged upon the Herald', all of whom attended. Four are named: William Millar, who has been discussed in the previous section, but for whom this was the third period of membership; William Craw; David McAdam; and William Poole (GD25/1, 1 May 1835). The relevant membership list (list 3, Appendix 1) also shows that Robert Johnstone was readmitted to membership on the same date. He had been a member in 1831, but was struck off in February 1833, readmitted on 19 October 1833 and granted a card on 7 December 1834 (lists 1-2, Appendix 1), so for him as for William Millar this was the third period of membership in Dumfries. William Poole was not admitted to membership immediately, but produced evidence of his status and was admitted as a member in July 1835 (GD25/1, 1 May 1835; list 3 Appendix 1). He may have only spent a short period in the town as there are no other mentions of his name.

One of the newly-arrived journeyman compositors, William Carfrae Craw was was born in Edinburgh, in March 1810, son of Alex Craw, bookbinder. He may have completed his apprenticeship in Edinburgh: he was married there in May 1832, and two of his children were born there in the early 1830s. When he arrived in Dumfries in 1835 to

work on the *Herald*, it is possible that he was appointed as the foreman/manager of the printing office as the *Catalogue of the Society Library, Dumfries, taken 3rd June, 1835, with a Copy of the Library Regulations* was 'Printed at the Herald Office by W C Craw' in 1835. He was certainly the *Herald* office foreman by 1839 (GD25/1, 11 February 1839). He took an active part in the affairs of the DTS, being elected secretary a few months after his arrival, a post which he held for one year, and remaining on the committee for nearly a decade (GD25/1 and GD25/2, annual meetings from 1835 to 1844).

However, at the meeting establishing the Dumfries Branch of the National Typographical Association in 1845, it was reported that he 'declined' to join, and his connection with it seems to have ceased at this point (GD25/2, 24 January 1845). This was probably because he was by this time not only the manager of the *Dumfriesshire & Galloway Herald and Register* printing office but also one of the proprietors. It is not clear exactly when he retired from the business but when the *Courier* and the *Herald* newspapers merged in 1889, he was living in Edinburgh (BT2/1871). His son Alexander H Craw, who had also entered the printing trade, had left Dumfries and was, by this point one of the proprietors of the *Hawick Express*. The 1881 census describes Alexander H Craw as a 'letter press printer, employing 6 men and 4 boys'. William Craw died in 1891, in Edinburgh.

David McAdam was born in Castle Douglas (Urquhart 1981, v.3 pp.274-544). He remained in Dumfries working at the *Herald* until July 1837 and played an active part in the affairs of the society during this time, occupying the position of 'Father of the Herald Chapel' in 1836 (GD25/1, 17 June 1836) and being elected President and Treasurer of the DTS later that year (GD25/1, 7 October 1836). At this point the two offices were combined, and he retained these positions until the second half of July 1837 at which point a card was granted to him, though his destination is not stated (GD25/1, 13 July 1837; list 3 Appendix 1). It was reported at the next quarterly meeting that a 'deficiency of 4/11½ was found, had not been accounted for by the late Treasurer Mr McAdam'(GD25/1, 24 October 1837), and a year later it had still not been repaid to the society. The secretary had been requested to write to him in April 1838 'concerning the sum not accounted for' (GD25/1 27 April 27 1838), and was ordered to write to him again at the next annual general meeting to claim the outstanding 4s 11½d 'together

with the treasurer's old cash book' (GD25/1 13 November 1838). It is not clear if the money was ever paid, but the matter rested at this point. His whereabouts in the intervening years are not clear but he is listed in the 1871 census at Moore Place in Liverpool, where he died in December 1874 (Urquhart 1981, v.3 pp.274-544; *Dumfries & Galloway Standard & Advertiser* 16 December 1874, p.5).

Charles Balieff was born locally and served his apprenticeship in Dumfries: his name appears on the list prepared for the Northern District Board of the National Typographical Association in the mid 1840s (list 11, Appendix 1). Balieff's father was a hatter, and Charles entered the *Courier* office as an apprentice on 17 March 1842. He was one of the operative printers who reformed the Dumfries Typographical Society in the wake of the collapse of the National Typographical Association in 1848 (list 13, Appendix 1) by which time he appears to have attained the status of journeyman. He was issued with card number three in October 1849 (GD25/2, 18 October 1849), and by 1851 he was in Birmingham working as a compositor and living in a lodging house at King Edwards Place. A fellow lodger was another compositor from Scotland, William 'Porters'. This may have been another member of the Dumfries Typographical Society, William Porteous (list 3, Appendix 1). Charles Balieff died in Halifax in May 1853 (Urquhart 1981, v.2 pp.153ff; *Dumfries-shire Standard and Advertiser* 18 May 153, p.4).

It would appear that Joseph Russell and Samuel Welsh also had local roots. Joseph Russell joined the society on 25 September 1837 (list 4, Appendix 1), and when the Dumfries Branch of the National Typographical Association was formed at the beginning of 1845, he was working in Halliday's printing office (list 10, Appendix 1), but by the end of that year he was working in the *Standard* office (GD25/2, 26 December 1845). He was elected Treasurer in January 1847 (GD25/2, 15 January 1847). He left town in August of that year (GD25/2, 10 August 1847), but was back in Dumfries and elected to the committee at the annual meeting in October 1849 (GD25/2, 18 October 1849). By January 1853, he had been a member of the society for fifteen years, and was elected as the first treasurer to the Dumfries Branch of the STA, despite having set up in business on his own account in Castle Street, Dumfries about six months earlier (GD25/2, 21 January 1853).[7] He was, however, the only journeyman in the business. He only held the post of treasurer for a year, probably relinquishing it

7 See section on 'Employers and employees' in the previous chapter.

because of his status as an employer. In January 1857, after the failure of his business, he requested a membership card before departing for Australia (GD25/2, 5 January 1857).

Samuel Welsh was a member of the Dumfries Typographical Society in the 1840s, and in February 1845 was still an apprentice in the *Courier* office (list 10, Appendix 1). He must have completed his apprenticeship soon after, because he was elected president at the annual meeting in January 1848 and this position was only open to journeymen (GD25/2, 28 January 1848), and was one of the members who reformed the local society in 1848 (list 13, Appendix 1). He was, however, more widely known in the area through his involvement in the local temperance movement. The Dumfries and Maxwelltown Total Abstinence Society was established in January 1837, and sometime in the same year Samuel Welsh 'a young pressman in those days' organised the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Juvenile Teetotal Society, a forerunner of the 'Bands of Hope', which awarded him a silver medal 'as the "best speaker and most efficient member" ' (McDowall 1986 pp.811-812). Samuel Welsh apparently left Dumfries during the mid-1850s: he was still the secretary of the Dumfries Temperance Society in 1852 (*Illustrated London News* 7 August 1852, p.101). Welsh worked for a short period in the Middlesborough area, where he seems to have made the transition from the press room to newspaper reporting, before moving to Walsall, where he remained until his death in January 1912. As well as editing the *Walsall Free Press and Staffordshire Advertiser* from the late 1850s until the early 1890s, he campaigned for the establishment of the first hospital in the town, for which he later served as the secretary. According to his obituary he 'was a very active advocate of international peace' and was 'instrumental in forming the first Trades Council for Walsall' (*Staffordshire Advertiser* 20 January 1912, p.7). His daughter arranged for 'Samuel Welsh Memorial Homes for aged nurses' to be built in the town in his memory (*Walsall Observer and South Staffordshire Chronicle* 24 January 1942, p.5).

None of these individuals spent the whole of their career in Dumfries, but all represented their fellow-workmen within the typographical society. Apart from these similarities, their lives took very different paths. The next three sections cover the lives of three other operative printers whose careers in Dumfries overlapped the 1840s, and the early years of the STA from 1853.

Robert M'Dowall

The most significant dispute in the Dumfries printing trade in the first half of the nineteenth century took place around 1840.[8] Two of the journeymen involved, M'Dowall and Wardrop, both had a long association with the society. Robert M'Dowall first joined the society on 1 May 1834 (list 2, Appendix 1). He was born in Maxwelltown around 1820, and his father died young. His older brother William was apprenticed as a bookbinder, and Robert as a printer.[9] In March 1837 he was a journeyman at Halliday's printing office, and reported to the society that an additional apprentice was to taken on there (GD25/1, March 1837). He does not seem to have taken a very active part in the society's business, and may have left town, re-joining the society on 16 June 1839 (list 4, Appendix 1). A new dispute over apprentice numbers in Halliday's printing office had arisen, where M'Dowall was again employed. He had not turned up for the meeting held on 20 October, but 'the members agreed to seek him out, and request his presence'; he and Moses Wardrop, the only other journeyman employed by Halliday, both agreed to give their fortnight's notice at the beginning of November to Halliday, unless fewer apprentices were employed (GD25/2, 20 October 1840). M'Dowall did hand in his notice, though later than originally promised, and was granted a card in December 1840 (list 2, Appendix 1). He was, however, still in Dumfries at the beginning of February when it was reported that he had been questioned by the Sheriff, who had also seized the Society's papers and funds. It appears that he did not leave at all, as he was fined at the meetings held in July 1841 and July 1842 for refusing to accept office (GD25/2, 4 February 1841; 9 July 1841; 1 July 1842). M'Dowall was given notice to leave his job on the *Dumfries Times* in October 1842 before the closure of that title (GD25/2, 25 October 1842) but he was still in Dumfries though unemployed in the early months of 1843 (GD25/2 3 March 1843). He does not seem to have left the area for any significant period, regularly featuring in the lists of those fined for non-attendance at meetings. He joined the Dumfries Branch of the National Typographical Association when it was formed in 1845, at which time he was working in the *Standard*

8 See chapter five, section on 'Employers and employees'.

9 William worked in Glasgow and London as a bookbinder, before turning to journalism, working on the *Scottish Herald* in Edinburgh, and in Belfast on *The Banner of Ulster*. During this period he was also active in the Chartist movement. He returned to live in Dumfries to be the editor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* in 1846, a post which he held with only one short interval elsewhere, until his death in October 1888 (Lockwood 1988, pp.1-2).

printing office (list 10, Appendix 1). His record of attendance at meetings was no better, but he was nevertheless elected president in January 1847, and secretary the following year (GD25/2, 15 January 1847; 28 January 1848). His name appears on the list of journeymen who re-formed the local typographical society in June 1848 (list 13, Appendix 1), and at the annual meeting held in January 1852, he was appointed to the committee (GD25/2, 15 January 1852). M'Dowall refused to accept the office of secretary at the first annual meeting of the new Dumfries Branch of the STA but was re-elected to the committee the following year (GD25/2, 21 January 1853, 27 January 1854). He remained in town from this point, and was re-elected president at the annual meeting in 1859, a position which he retained until the annual meeting in 1863 (GD25/2, 5 January 1859, 7 January 1863), serving another year on the committee from January 1864 (GD25/2, 6 January 1864). He died, aged forty five, on 27 May 1865. The minutes of the next branch meeting recorded its:

> deep sense of the loss of Mr R McDowall, Standard office – he having been a member of this branch since its organisation and a firm adherent to its rules. (GD25/2, 26 July 1865)

M'Dowall was still working as a journeyman compositor at the time of his death.

Moses Wardrop

The other society member involved in the dispute at Halliday's in 1840 was Moses Wardrop. He was born in Glasgow in February 1803, son of a weaver and was married there in April 1830, in the Calton district. He and his wife apparently had no surviving children, though it is possible that the Janet Graham Wardrop baptised in October 1832 in the Tolbooth Church in Edinburgh was a child of theirs. Nothing is known of his apprenticeship and early career but in 1837 Moses Wardrop, listed as a journeyman, was named on a printed list of striking members of the Glasgow Typographical Society (T-GTS 1/9/1, "Letter Press Printers": statement by the Master Printers of Glasgow, 14 March 1837). It seems likely that at this point, or soon after, Moses Wardrop left Glasgow 'on tramp'.

Moses Wardrop's whereabouts over the next two years are unclear, but he first appeared in the records of the Dumfries Typographical Society, not as a recipient of strike or tramp relief, but paying entry money in March 1839 (GS25/1, accounts). Further entries in the accounts and minutes prove that he remained in town for about a year and a half. He was fined both for non-attendance at the meetings, and for non-payment of

contributions, but despite this he was elected to the committee in October 1839 (GD25/1, October 1839, accounts,). At the September 1840 meeting of the Dumfries Typographical Society, he was at the centre of an argument over pay. Wardrop was employed in Halliday's printing office, but:

> his new scale being neither at the Established rate of this town, nor the Standard prices of the Trade, Mr Wardrop, while attempting to vindicate his working for 24s where he had received £1, stated that he had worked in Glasgow for this proportionate rate – being considered fair by the Society there [...] This being disputed by members present, a lengthy and warm discussion followed, in the course of which Mr Wardrop was fined for expressing himself in an insulting manner while addressing the chair.

The outcome of the debate was that Wardrop was told to communicate to his employer that he should be paid the standard wage of the town and instructed to report back the following day, which he apparently did (GD25/2, 11 September 1840).

At the next annual meeting, held the following month, Wardrop was re-elected as the committee-man for Halliday's office (GD25/2, 6 October 1840). The DTS was also in dispute with Halliday over apprentice numbers at this time, and had consulted the Central Board of the GTAS as to the best course of action. The matter had been complicated by 'private letters' sent by Wardrop to the Central Board. However, Moses Wardrop agreed, as did Robert M'Dowall, to give in their notice to Halliday on 1 November 1840 (GD25/2, 20 October 1840). Although M'Dowall did give his notice a few days after the deadline, Wardrop reported to the meeting on 6 November 1840 that he had not, and intended to appeal to the Central Board instead. A special meeting was held a week later, at which a letter written by Moses Wardrop was produced, in which he refused to hand in his notice, accusing the Society of 'reckless antipathy, and describing it as 'a Faction who in the meantime I deem insane'. At the meeting Wardrop claimed that it was not intended to be made public, and had been written under the influence of alcohol. 'Some warm discussion was the consequence, during which Wardrop was fined 6d for improper language and interruption'. Wardrop did produce a written apology which was accepted by the meeting, but he refused to sign a statement that he would hand in his notice, and 'it was moved and seconded that Mr Wardrop leave the room, which he did accordingly' (GD25/2, 6 November 1840). He was formally expelled from the society at the next meeting and members of the society were to be fined 'if seen speaking (or even recognising) Mr Wardrop' (GD25/2, 27 November 1840).

It would appear, according to the census, that soon after this Moses Wardrop returned to Glasgow, at least temporarily: on census day 1841, he and his wife were recorded at 63 Rottenrow. He cannot have remained there long, however, as at the end of April 1841, the DTS committee was asked to consider a letter from Moses Wardrop, 'requesting to be re-admitted to the Society, on paying a fine'. The committee considered the case 'in all its bearings' before unanimously adopting a motion stating: 'That we cannot take any steps in Moses Wardrop's case at present' (GD25/2, 27 April 1841). The matter did not rest there, and a meeting in July 'took up the case of Moses Wardrop, when a long discussion ensued'. Robert M'Dowall confessed to having unintentionally caused some of the trouble surrounding Wardop's correspondence with the Central Board. As a result, the meeting agreed to readmit Wardrop, 'on paying a fine of £3, with all arrears – to be paid previous to his receiving a card, and, also, that, should he not conform to this, the Society drop all farther proceedings and communications in his case' (GD25/2, 9 July 1841). It is not clear whether Wardrop remained in Dumfries for the next couple of years, or moved away again, but at the meeting held in November 1843, his re-admission was considered again. The secretary was:

> authorised to communicate to Mr Wardrop "that upon payment of a fine of 15/- within six weeks, and an apology in writing for his misconduct towards the Society, he would be re-admitted as one of its Members".

Wardrop sent the written apology demanded, and expressed:

> high satisfaction at the conduct of the Society towards him, and enclosing 2/- as part of his fines, but craving time for the payment of the rest as he was out of employment. (GD25/2, 3 November 1843)

It would appear that he did not do so, as he asked for more time, and was granted a further six weeks' grace (GD25/2, 12 January 1844).

Wardrop does not appear to have spent any time in Dumfries over the next few years, but did spend at least part of the time back in Glasgow, where his date of entry to the Glasgow Typographical Society is recorded as 1 September 1845, and he continued to contribute until 20 April 1846, when he 'left town', re-entering the society on July 1846 with a Kilmarnock card. He left again in August, was 'Back from Edin Clear' in September and presumably employed from mid-October, when he began paying dues to the society again. He apparently remained in Glasgow, though not contributing regularly, until April 1847, when he left town again, although he was back in July

briefly before leaving town again. He reappeared, with a Derby card in October 1848, before leaving town again in November (T-GTS 1/2/1). The Dumfries Typographical Society has no record of tramps passing through the town at this period, though it does seem probable that Wardrop travelled through Dumfries whenever he went south, or returned northwards. He was certainly in the town in 1849 when he was jailed in Dumfries for 'Drunk and assault' (HH21/49/3 p.20).

By census day in 1851 he and his wife were at 19 Greyfriars Wynd, in the St Paul's district of Glasgow: he is now described as a 'Book Printer pressman'. Janet Graham Wardrop died on 7 September 1855 in the City Poorhouse (Calton District): her death certificate notes that she had been in the district since 16 January 1855, but her parents and marital status are given as 'not known'. Wardrop himself continued to travel: he lodged a Glasgow card in Dumfries on 10 March 1860, and was present at the quarterly meeting of the branch in the following month. He was apparently working at Halliday's again as he proposed one of the apprentices there for membership. His former colleague, Robert McDowall, was now the branch President (GD25/2, 11 April 1860). He was issued with a card by the Dumfries branch on 6 August 1860, possibly to head south (GD25/2, 8 October 1862). On census night 1861, Moses Wardrop was in a lodging house at 10 Hallgate Street, Wigan, listed a 'Printer letterpress'. He was back in Dumfries in October 1862, after fifteen months spent working in Carlisle. He must also have been in Glasgow at some point as his card had, for some reason unspecified, been stopped there. It was, in any case, out of date:

> After a deal of discussion, Mr M'Kie moved that the Secretary write to Glasgow to ascertain the reason of Mr W's card being stopped and also its re-delivery. (GD25/2, 8 October 1862)

A week later:

> Owing to the nature of the information obtained from Glasgow, which directly said that Mr W could not get a card, a committee meeting was called […] When, after a long, and rather fiery discussion the following motion […] was universally agreed to […] "That this Society – seeing that Mr Wardrop's card was (as he states) unjustly retained by the late Glasgow Secretary, and this seemingly having been admitted by the present officials there in re-issuing it – is of the opinion that that Branch alone is entitled to renew the card to Mr Wardrop: this Branch to have no more to do with the case". (GD25/2, 15 October 1862)

Moses Wardrop disappears from the available records at this point. He died of apoplexy, a 'Pauper (formerly a Compositor)' aged sixty nine, on 24 February 1871 in the City

Poorhouse in Glasgow.

Adam Richardson

Adam Richardson was born in Dumfries in 1825, and joined Halliday's as an apprentice on 9 July 1839 (list 11, Appendix 1). He apparently left as a 'turn-over' around the end of 1840[10] and was in Edinburgh by census day 1841, still an apprentice printer, and lodging in Rose Street. He did not remain in Edinburgh, but returned to Dumfries and applied to be readmitted to the Society at the beginning of 1843. He was allowed to re-join 'upon paying up all arrears since his return from Edinburgh' which he did, and was formally added to the membership roll at the April quarterly meeting (GD25/2, 17 January 1843; 7 April 1843). The following year his part in the rescue of a youth who had got into difficulties swimming across the River Nith for a bet was mentioned in the *Standard*: Richardson 'gallantly rushed in, and […] succeeded, at great personal risk, in hauling the fool-hardy lad to the edge' (*Dumfries Standard* 18 September 1844, p.4).

Adam Richardson, still apparently serving out his time as an apprentice at Halliday's printing office, was enrolled into the Dumfries branch of the National Typographical Association on 7 February 1845 (list 10, Appendix 1), and remained in town for at least two years (GD25/2, 29 January 1847) though he left by 1850. He was recorded in the census for 1850 in New York, along with his wife Ann, and their son William was born in New York in 1852. By the mid-1850s he and his family had returned to Scotland and were in Govan, Glasgow. Adam Richardson wrote poetry, mainly in the form of acrostics, and also left a collection of papers and notebooks recording his 'Irregular Enumeration of Inventions, Designs, Improvements, Experiments, Suggestions, &c., &c'. One of his poems, for example, is dated in the Gorbals, 24 December 1854, and another, an acrostic dedicated to Robert Anderson, a fellow printer,[11] is dated Glasgow, 7 March 1855. Richardson also wrote poems on subjects as diverse as the death of his daughter Agnes, inauguration of a statue to Robert the Bruce at Lochmaben, Andrew Carnegie, and the Sabbath School Excursion (DGH1/6/16/9/1).[12]

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10 He was in Dumfries until the beginning of November 1840, as he is recorded as paying a fine of 1½d on 11 November (GD 25/1, accounts).

11 A Robert Anderson joined the DTS on 1 August 1836 (lists 3 and 6, Appendix 1).

12 The full title on each notebook is: Books of 'Irregular Enumeration of Inventions, Designs, Improvements, Experiments, Suggestions, &c., &c By Adam Richardson, Compositor, Dumfries, Scotland'. Most are dated between 1 August 1870 and 1876. There is also one notebook dated 1886.

Adam Richardson's daughter Agnes was born in Govan 1856 and a son, John, was born in Whitehaven in Cumbria towards the end of the 1850s, but by the beginning of 1860 the family had apparently returned to Dumfries. Adam Richardson re-applied for membership of the DTS in February 1860, and it is clear that he had been in Dumfries, working in the office of the *Dumfries Courier* since the end of the previous year (GD25/2, 29 February 1860). At the April meeting 'some conversation took place with regard to the admission of Adam Richardson [...] it being objected that the entry-money paid by him was by far too little' (GD25/2, 11 April 1860). Richardson must have settled his differences with the Society, as he was elected to the committee at the annual meeting in January 1861 (GD25/2, 9 January 1861). The census of that year records him living in St Michael Street in Dumfries, with his wife and three children. He appears to have remained in St Michael Street for the rest of his life, initially at number seventy nine.

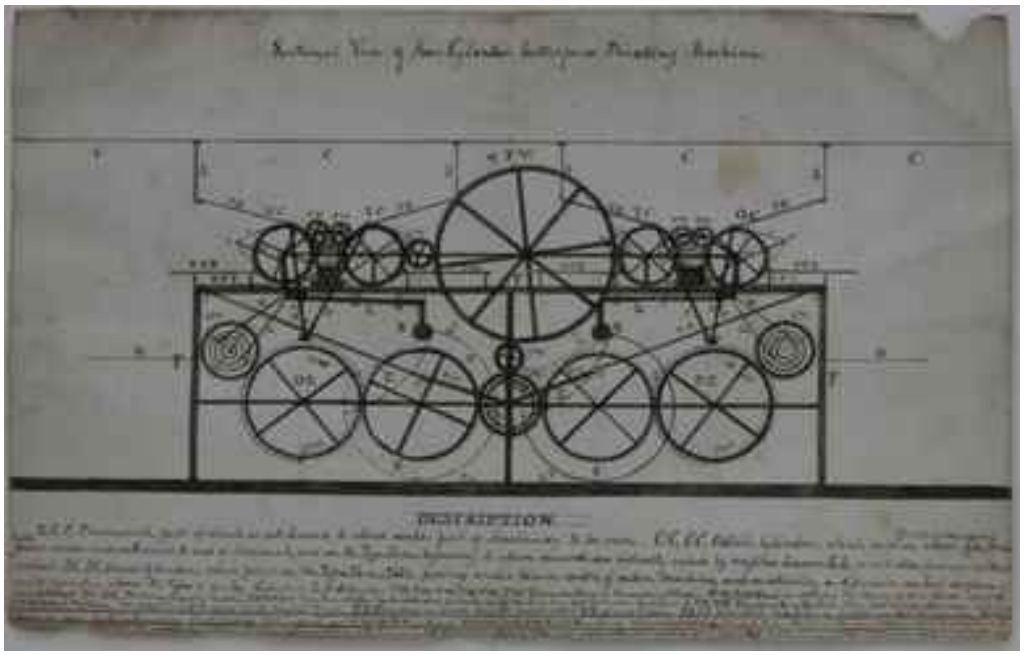

Figure 5: section through a printing machine, by Adam Richardson (DGH 1/6/6/9)

Despite his status as a committee member, however, Richardson again came into conflict with the DTS; at the quarterly meeting held in April 1861 he was criticised for:

> working in the Standard on the Tuesdays, thereby […] keeping another man who had more need out of work – Richardson being on full time in the Courier, while there were in the town one or two who were not fully employed, and also several

> tramps passed the town and could not obtain a day, probably from the overseer's dependence on getting Richardson when required. (GD25/2, 3 April 1861)

The secretary had written to the Central Board of the STA for advice, and had been advised that the DTS must 'put a stop to such a practice, as it was entirely at variance with the spirit of the laws of the Association'. There was 'a great deal of discussion' and two votes on the matter, with the inconclusive result that 'That Mr Richardson be allowed to use his discretion of going or not to the Standard' which effectively permitted the *status quo* to continue. A change in the rules was proposed to put a stop to this practice (GD25/2, 3 April 1861).

Adam Richardson apparently left town for at least part of the following twelve months, but he was back in Dumfries in 1862, as he was present at the quarterly meeting held in August, having apparently returned to the town from Liverpool,[13] where he may have spent some time on an earlier occasion. Richardson told the meeting:

> that his card on presentation at Liverpool had been stopped by the Secretary there in consequence of Richardson having failed to pay a fine inflicted on him by the Liverpool Society for entering and continuing to work in an unfair house in that city, and asked this meeting to interfere in the matter. (GD25/2, 6 August 1862)

Despite the fact that some members thought that this should be settled directly by Richardson himself with the Liverpool Society, the meeting agreed that the Dumfries secretary should write to the Liverpool Secretary on his behalf to try and get the fine reduced (GD25/2, 6 August 1862). The Dumfries secretary's letter (dated 7 August 1862) states that 'He has now been a long time out of work, and is scarcely getting anything to do having tried others, as well as his own business, but failed'. The fine imposed by the Liverpool Society was reduced (GD25/2, 5 September 1862), but this decision was so controversial that it was said to be the grounds on which another member, John Sharpe, left the society (GD25/2, 8 October 1862).[14] It has not been possible to establish when Richardson was in business as a printer on his own account, nor the nature of that business, but a business partnership with Thomas Jesse Norton as music sellers in Dumfries was formally dissolved on 13 January 1865 (*Perry's Bankrupt Gazette*, 18 February 1865).

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13 Adam Richardson's archive includes an undated letter from his brother, William, who apparently lived at 6, Union Terrace, Rokeby St, Liverpool (DGH 1/6/6/9).

14 John Sharpe applied to rejoin at the quarterly meeting held on 27 July 1863. See section on Neil Sharpe, below.

Richardson obtained the post of printer to the Royal Crichton Institution for Lunatics, just outside the town of Dumfries in 1863 and seems to have had no connection with the Dumfries branch of the STA for some years. Printing for the Institution had been undertaken by businesses in the town centre since it was first established: this included a monthly periodical, entitled *New Moon*, recording events in the institution together with writings by the inmates, which was published from 1844 and continued for over a hundred years. A printing press was obtained by the Institution, and printers among the inmates produced items, mainly of an ephemeral nature, such as memos, forms, tickets, posters and programmes of events. Given the success of the venture, particularly the sales of *New Moon*, Adam Richardson was employed to supervise this work, probably from some point early in 1863. A hymn sheet for the Harvest Festival was printed 'at the Crichton Press by Adam Richardson', probably the same year (CRI scrap book).

Richardson was not impressed with the equipment: one of his notebooks included a 'Simple Plan for possibly, in some cases, a Great Improvement in the Common Wooden Printing-Press' which was 'more particularly suggested by the present state of a wooden press which I work at the Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries, which, through decay and loss of spring stuffing &c, needs so much blankets and pastings-on as to friction injurious of in the manner mentioned above' (DGH 1/6/6/9, 17th notebook, dated 1872, paragraph 13,685). The notes included inventions on a range of themes but as might be expected, a number related to printing machines of which some were illustrated (see figure 5, above). Richardson remained at the Royal Crichton Institution for twenty one years, retiring in November 1883 with a pension.[15] He re-applied for admission to the typographical society at this point, but they were reluctant to admit him given his age, and sought advice from the Executive, and it appears that he did not in fact rejoin (GD25/2, 2 April 1884, 9 July 1884). He is described in the 1891 census as 'letterpress printer unemployed'. He died in Dumfries in June 1905.

Dumfries Branch, Scottish Typographical Association

As the century progressed, more formal records of membership of the whole membership of the STA were maintained by the Central Board, partly as a defence against fraud. The list of the whole union printed in 1887, for example, includes twenty

15 On 30 April 1895, for example, he was paid his quarterly pension £2 10s 0d (DGH 1/6/6/9).

four members of the Dumfries Branch (T-GTS 2/5/1, *Register of Members of the STA* 1887). On 28 March 1892 a 'census' of the Dumfries branch was taken and the list of thirty nine individuals, their ages and their dates of joining was printed, providing a snapshot of the branch about sixty years after the original society came into being (list 21, Appendix 1). Five of the members are stated to be apprentices.

Age range	Number of individuals
51+	3
41-50	5
31-40	9
21-30*	16
Under 20 years of age	6
Total	39
*26-30	6
*21-25	11

Table 1: age profile of membership in 1892

The majority of the membership were aged between twenty and forty, but three members were over fifty years of age (see table 1). Only nine members were born outside the Dumfries and Galloway region: two were born in England, two in Glasgow, and two in Fife, and the other three elsewhere in Scotland. All of these individuals were traced in the 1891 census: all but one were in the Dumfries area at that point, the exception being Richard Thomson who was living with his parents in Fife. He disappears from the record almost at once: at the annual meeting for 1893:

> The Secretary reported the disappearance of Richard Thomson, a member of the Branch, on May 21 last, and who he believed was employed in the Scottish Leader (non-Society) Office, Edinburgh. (GD25/3 18 January 1893)

It has not in fact proved possible to trace the later career of Richard Thomson at all, and it is possible that he left Britain altogether. Two of the members were based in towns in the region other than Dumfries; Alexander Macbean, described as a 'reporter-printer', was living in Kirkcudbright, and Robert Austin was in Dalbeattie. Thomas Crosbie is in Dumfries itself, but listed in the census as a 'cab driver'. Two months later a manuscript list was made in the minute book, with one additional name (Robert Carradice), and a note of whether the membership was 'intermittent' or 'continuous'. Of the forty named

members on this list only eight had not been 'continuous' members of the STA. Intermittent membership could occur when a member joined a different union during a period spent working outside Scotland (see Walter Miller, for example, below).

Ten years later, on census day in 1901, twenty seven of the members listed in 1892 were still in the Dumfries area. Four men had died, Richard Thomson had 'disappeared' and in addition it has not proved possible to trace Nixon Noble.[16] Three were working elsewhere as compositors (in Rutherglen, Liverpool and Manchester) and one was working as a Linotype operator in Glasgow. William Dick was working as a journalist in Bridlington, and Alexander Macbean as a journalist in Edinburgh. Of those who remained in the town, the majority were compositors, and there was one 'Linotype operator'. Thomas Crosbie is again listed as a 'cab driver'. John Kleiser, who was back in Dumfries in 1901, had been travelling in the intervening years: he sailed to Demerara in British Guiana (now Guyana) from Glasgow in October 1893, although it is not clear when he returned. The 1892 'census' of the membership list also provides an overview of the membership since the establishment of the branch in January 1853. Three members, John Gallacher, David Moffat and Neil Sharp,[17] appear on the earliest list of members available for the Dumfries Branch, dating from the late 1850s (list 14, Appendix 1). Other important figures were John Wemyss, Walter Miller, John Connor and Aitken Wishart.

Neil Sharp

A profile of Neil Sharp appeared in the *Scottish Typographical Journal* for October 1911 (p.186) on his retirement from employment and from his position as secretary of the Dumfries Branch, an office he had held for eighteen years. He was born in Glasgow in the 1840s, where his father John was working as a pressman. John Sharp moved to Dumfries, joining the typographical society in October 1852, and was elected as president at the annual meeting in January 1854, although he returned to Glasgow soon after (GD25/2, 15 October 1852; 27 January 1854; 19 February 1854).[18] He was

16 He may have been abroad, his name mistranscribed, or in an area where the data has been lost. It would appear that he died in Essex in 1939.

17 The spelling in the sources varies between Sharpe and Sharp: as secretary to the Dumfries Typographical Society, he signed the minutes as 'N. Sharp' (GS25/3).

18 The record is confusing: there was apparently another Neil Sharpe, working as a pressman in the *Standard* printing office, was admitted as a member of the Dumfries branch in January 1856 (GD/2, 4 January 1856), and served as president in 1857-1858 (GD25/2, meetings held between January 1856 and July 1858). He had joined

readmitted to the branch, lodging a Glasgow card, in April 1860 (GD25/2, 11 April 1860) and took an active part in branch affairs, being elected to the committee in January 1861 (GD25/2, 9 January 1861). John's son Neil was 'entered as a compositor apprentice in the office of the *Dumfries Standard*' in July 1864, leaving to work in Glasgow as a 'young journeyman' in the *Glasgow Herald*, then edited by Dumfries man James Pagan, and later at the *Evening Times*, joining the union and filling the roles of both clerk and 'Father' of the *Herald* chapel. He is listed as a member of the Glasgow society from November 1868 to 1881 (T-GTS 1/2/3-5; *Scottish Typographical Journal* October 1911, p.186). He did, however, leave the printing trade for a while: at the time of his marriage he was living in Edinburgh, and working as a 'shipping agent'.

An injury prevented him working for nearly a year and he returned to Dumfries, finding work on the *Dumfries Standard* (*Scottish Typographical Journal* October 1911, p.186), becoming one of the 'readers' and taking an active part in the affairs of the local branch of the STA, being elected secretary in January 1894 and serving the branch in that capacity until October 1911 (GD25/3, 17 January 1894; 2 October 1911).

Figure 6: Neil Sharp (Scottish Typographical Journal, October 1911, p.186)

In accepting his resignation, the president described Sharp as 'an ideal secretary in every respect, sparing no effort to keep the branch to the forefront in the trade union movement' (GD25/3, 2 October 1911). While in Glasgow he:

> was the first to inaugurate and conduct a vocal musical class among the daily newspaper compositors in Glasgow […] On returning to Dumfries, church music very largely engaged his spare time. Besides acting as Choirmaster in Martyrs

the Glasgow society in February 1847, and later returned to Glasgow and the local branch of the STA from January 1859 and 14 July 1862 (T-GTS 1/2/3-5). The Neil Sharp under discussion would have been aged nine or ten at that point.

> United Free church for seven years […] he was a member of the Choral Society, and also ever willing and ready to lend his vocal gifts in furtherance of local charities. (*Scottish Typographical Journal*, October 1911, p.186)

Neil Sharp died suddenly from heart failure on 6 July 1913, and the obituary which appeared in the *Scottish Typographical Journal* added the information that he had 'suffered from sore family trouble' which had 'undoubtedly hastened his end' (*Scottish Typographical Journal* July 1913, p.143).

David Moffat

Neil Sharp was in fact the youngest of the three senior members. The oldest was David Moffat who gives his original date of joining the STA as January 1853, although there are no extant membership records for the branch from that date. He was born in Glasgow in the early 1830s, and may have originally worked in the paper-making industry as he is listed in the 1851 census as a 'callender boy' aged seventeen. However, by the beginning of January 1855 when he married Agnes Townsend he was working as a pressman in Dumfries. He was present at meetings of the Dumfries Branch of the STA from mid-1857, and the following year was elected to the committee, and to be the branch delegate for the meeting to be held in Perth (GD25/2, 7 July 1858). He was appointed treasurer in April 1859, but only served in that capacity for just over a year as he left town the following August (GD25/2, 20 April 1859, 8 August 1860). He worked on the *Christian News* in Glasgow, paying dues to the Glasgow branch from August 1860 until October 1869 (T-GTS 1/2/3-5). It is not clear exactly when he arrived back in Dumfries, but he is recorded as present at meetings from the beginning of 1871, and was elected president two years later (GD25/2, 15 January 1873), a position he retained for around five years.[19] He was working at the *Standard* printing office in 1878 (list 19, Appendix 1) and appears to have remained in Dumfries and a branch member for the rest of his life, although he never again acted as a branch official. In July 1903 he applied for the allowance from the superannuation scheme, and at the following year's annual meeting the secretary, Neil Sharp, on behalf of the branch 'wished their friend Davie – one of the oldest and staunchest trades unionists in the association – every comfort in his retirement' (GD25/3, 10 February 1904). He died on 2 April 1909 and branch members 'subscribed over 28/- to provide a wreath as mark of respect' (GD/3 29 April 1909).

19 The last mention of Moffat as branch president is at the meeting held on 13 March 1878 (GD/2).

John Gallacher, James Hardie

John Gallacher was born in 1840 in Troqueer, son of a weaver who later became the beadle at a local church. He served his apprenticeship as a compositor at the *Standard* printing office in Dumfries, and he appears to have remained there all his working life. He joined the Dumfries Branch in September 1860, and the membership list for 1866-1867 records his place of employment as the *Standard* printing office (list 17, Appendix 1). He was elected branch president in January 1864, and re-elected at subsequent annual meetings, serving until 1868. Although elected president for the final time in January 1868 he chaired no meetings that year, and is not mentioned again in the minutes for some years. However, his name appears on all the membership lists available for the 1860s and 1870s (lists 17-19, Appendix 1). He died on 8 February 1910, aged sixty nine. At the branch annual meeting held later the same month, it was noted that John Gallacher:

> had he been spared but a few months longer, would have been fifty years on the roll. He was employed in the *Standard* office (where his apprenticeship was served) for the long and exceptional period of fifty-six years; and in his departure, the members of the Branch not only mourn the removal of a genial colleague but also the loss of a personal friend. (GD25/3, 23 February 1910)

The death of James Hardie was reported at the same meeting. His parents were Scottish but he was born in England at the end of the 1840s. The family returned north soon after, and were in Edinburgh on census night 1841, and Glasgow ten years later, by which time James had started to work as a draper's apprentice. It is not clear when he started his printing apprenticeship, but he was working as a journeyman compositor in Dumfries in 1861, joining the Dumfries branch in 1865. He spent at least some time working in Edinburgh in the 1870s, reapplying to join the Dumfries branch towards the end of 1881, and being admitted 'subject to the approval of the Edinburgh Branch to which he belonged' (GD25/3, 11 November 1881). He appears to have remained in Dumfries for the rest of his life, and was active in the union, serving as president for twenty years from 1882 until his retirement under the Superannuation Scheme in 1902 (GD25/3, annual meetings 1882-1902). In retirement, he apparently ran a tobacconist's shop until his death on 19 December 1909.

Walter Miller, John Wemyss, John Connor, Aitken Wishart

Walter Miller was born in Hawick in the mid-1830s, and at fifty seven, was the oldest

member of the Dumfries Branch in March 1892. On census day in 1851 he was working as a printers' apprentice in Hawick, and during the 1850s he travelled to Canada, where he was recorded with his wife and two children (both of whom were born in 'Upper Canada') in Ontario province in the 1861 Canadian census. He returned to Scotland the following year and applied for admission while working in Lockerbie, on the basis of a card from 'the Typographical Union of Boston, US' (GD25/2, 8 October 1862). He appears to have left the trade for a period, as he is recorded in Dryfesdale in Dumfries-shire on census day in 1871 as a 'china merchant'. He is, however, recorded again as a member of the Dumfries Branch in 1875 (list 18, Appendix 1) and from that point took an active part in the affairs of the Branch. He was one of the members who were unhappy with the superannuation scheme and left the society, but was re-admitted in November 1881. Miller may have been working only casually as a printer as in July 1889 it was reported that he:

> had been paying under Rule 75, but owing to accepting occasional work, decided that he pay as a full member. This he objected to, and intimated to the Secy his withdrawal from the Association, he being 6/6 in arrears. (GD25/2, 10 July 1889)

Miller remained a member however, and was present at meetings over the next few years, being elected branch president in January 1893, a post which he retained for the next five years (GD25/3, annual meetings from 1893 to 1899). He died in January 1901.

John Wemyss was born in Dumfries around 1850 and spent at least part of his childhood as an inmate of the workhouse (known as Muirhead's Hospital), which is where he was on census day in 1861. He probably served his apprenticeship at the printing trade in Dumfries, joining the STA in July 1867, and serving as treasurer for a few months in 1873. It is possible that he stood down because he was leaving the town, and the position was filled by John Connor (GD25/2, 15 January 1873; 16 July 1873). He was back in Dumfries within the next couple of years, and was again active in the union, serving as branch delegate in 1877, chairing some meetings and acting as branch auditor. He died on 12 March 1900.

John Connor was born in Maxwelltown around 1850, and there is no information as to when he served his apprenticeship or who his employer was, but he was working as a compositor in Dumfries at the *Courier* office and a member of the Dumfries Branch by 1873, when he replaced John Wemyss as treasurer, a post which he filled until 1876 (GD25/2, 16 July 1873; 12 January 1876). He remained in town and was re-elected

treasurer in 1880, a post which he retained for just over three years. In August 1883 a special meeting was convened: the secretary had been in correspondence with the Executive Committee because they had not received payments due from the Branch. John Connor gave a statement 'to the effect that in April, he lost £10, and had been trying ever since to make it up, but had been unable'. He made the offer to pay the debt at the rate of five shillings a week, handing over £2 15s 0d to the meeting. He was asked to sign a document promising to pay five shillings a week. 'After a rather desultory discussion' a committee was appointed 'to go over the book vouchers & other documents of the branch, to ascertain the exact amount of the deficiency'. Aitken Wishart took over as branch treasurer (GD25/2, 25 August 1883). The promissory note was accepted with two 'cautioners' or guarantors (GD25/2, 3 October 1883).

John Connor was unable to pay at the agreed rate, and the matter was discussed at meetings intermittently over the next ten years. In April 1884, the secretary complained that not only had he paid less than half the expected money due, but 'I have had to write for every payment, and threaten him with his Cautioners'. A reply from Connor was recorded:

> Sir, I am very sorry that you have to write me again. I find 5/- in the week rather much for me to pay, but I will endeavour to send as much as possible on Saturday, and will do my utmost to make my payments more regular, so that I hope you have written me for the last time on that score. I am, yours &c., John Connor. (GD25/2, 2 April 1884)

Connor had also built up arrears of dues, and the meeting agreed that 'his arrears of defalcations be not made more regular, in the future we will have to call back on his cautioners' and that he should cease to be a member of the Branch (GD25/2, 2 April 1884). Connor continued to pay, though slowly, and a year later applied to be re-admitted to the Branch which was agreed (GD25/2, 8 April 1885). At the meeting in April 1886 the Secretary reported that he had complained again to Connor, and there were 'remarks by several members, who regretted that Mr Connor was paying up so slowly (GD25/2, 7 April 1886). Three months later, in the light of the delays, the branch agreed to inform one of Connor's cautioners that they were becoming impatient and that 'unless the debt was paid up more quickly the Society would call upon the cautioners' (GD25/2, 14 July 1886). This does not appear to have had much effect, and Connor continued to pay slowly, at the rate of between seven and nine shillings in each half year (GD25/2, 10 January 1887, 11 January 1888). By July 1889:

> the treasurer informed the meeting that Mr Connor's defalcations amounted to £11-0-10, and £3-4-4 was still owing. During the last 2½ years he had only paid 1 1 3, and for the last quarter 1/6. The meeting considered that the Branch was being trifled with, and regretted that after a long period of indulgent treatment on the part of the Branch, Mr C did not see his way to wipe off the debt. (GD25/2, 10 July 1889)

The meeting also agreed unanimously to approach Connor's cautioners again, and threaten legal action unless things improved, although it is not clear if they did and the matter was mentioned in the minutes at various times over the next few years (GD25/3, 9 October 1890; 14 July 1891; 18 January 1893). The debt was finally cleared by the beginning of 1898, and it was reported at the annual meeting that the final instalment of thirteen shillings and fourpence had been paid, and the bond returned to John Connor (GD25/3, 26 January 1898). John Connor remained in membership of the branch and his son, John A Connor was also admitted as a member in January 1904 (GD25/3 membership list dated 1911). His younger brother, Robert, was also a DTS member. He became a master printer and was expelled from the union for employing a 'non-society' man (GD25/3, 12 Feb 1900). John Connor died on 28 April 1916.

Aitken Wishart took over as branch treasurer in the wake of John Connor's resignation, and was re-elected annually thereafter for the next quarter of a century (GD25/2; GD25/3 minutes of annual meetings). He was born in December 1857 in Kinghorn in Fife, and appears to have served his apprenticeship as a compositor somewhere in Fife, possibly Kirkcaldy, where his marriage took place in 1883. By this time he was working as a printer-compositor in Dumfries, and one of the witnesses was another Dumfries printer, Alexander Macbean. Wishart had 'lodged his card' in the town in October 1882 though he had originally joined the STA in March 1880 (lists 17 and 21, Appendix 1). In March 1910 a 'Branch dinner' was held in Dumfries. As well as mentioning that

> Dumfries Branch, like her neighbours, has had her own share of unemployment during the past year, she is nevertheless in a fairly healthy condition, while in the fortunate position of not having a single non-society printer in the town, of being on the best of terms with the employers, and of having experienced and highly respected officials in her secretary and treasurer. (*Scottish Typographical Journal* March 1910, p.328)

Particular notice was taken of the fact that Aitken Wishart, who was present at the meeting had been Branch treasurer for twenty seven years and he served for over thirty years in the end (*Scottish Typographical Journal* March 1910, p.328; GD25/3, minutes of annual meetings). In his working life, he became a printer's overseer. He died in

Dumfries in January 1922.

Summary

Although the ‘print trade lives’ described here form a body of anecdotal evidence which support the general outline described by Finkelstein (2014, pp.159-161) without a detailed examination of the career patterns and life experiences of a much larger number of operative printers, it is difficult know how typical this selection might be, even for a small regional printing centre. All the variations suggested in the ‘Printers on the move’ section of this chapter are represented. However, it would appear that only one individual listed in the membership records of the Dumfries Branch of the STA and its predecessor organisations, John Gallacher, never left the area, according to the evidence available from all sources. Many spent long periods in the area even if they left it for a time. A number of the typographical society members, from the earliest days of its existence through to the end of the century, made the transition from newspaper case-rooms to roles as reporters or editors.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This examination of a single small-scale regional print economy in the nineteenth century raises a number of questions which will only be fully answered with further research into the regional print economies in comparable areas throughout the United Kingdom. It is difficult to be certain how typical Dumfries is as a regional centre, but detailed examination of other areas would provide further insights. What is clear from the current study is that print was produced in regional centres in the same way, using fundamentally the same technologies and the operative printers were trained in very similar ways throughout the British Isles. The printers who moved between printing centres were able to work together because of this shared experience.

The necessity of managing the movement and maintaining standards of wages were the foundation of the network of typographical societies. This network linked the regional centres, each of which formed an intersection, as defined in Shep's (2015, pp.64-66) model, of place, people, production and material output within which the print economy functioned. Although each local typographical society maintained its own records and dealt with members and trade issues on a local basis, because of the scale of movement between centres and these arrangements for mutual support, the operative printers throughout the United Kingdom were linked together. The local typographical societies, and the federations that linked them, ultimately evolved into the print unions that represented the operative printers or 'craftsmen' of the printing industry into the twentieth century. Aspects of these societies, their members and the ways in which they were linked together would all benefit from further study.

Many individuals passed through Dumfries, and printers who originated in Dumfries frequently spent at least part of their working lives elsewhere. These individuals can be identified in the records of other societies. Although Dumfries was a relatively small regional centre, and it would appear that the majority of men working in the printing trade in the town for the longer term did originate in the region, over the century many men who had trained or spent part of their working lives as journeymen elsewhere also spent time working in the town.

Most of the general issues that have been highlighted in the course of this study are not unique to Scotland. On the basis of the evidence in the surviving local typographical society records, the issues that concerned operative printers in Dumfries were shared with 'the trade' throughout the British Isles and, indeed, the Anglophone world:

- entry to the trade, that is the ratio of apprentices to journeymen;
- under- and unemployment among journeymen, and the best means of managing it;
- tramping which was generally seen as an evil to be remedied;
- benefits and contributions, that is the payment of entry-money and dues, management of arrears, fairness of benefits, and dealing with fraud;
- the established or standard wages and hours of work within a print centre;

A dominant theme within the printing industry throughout the nineteenth century was the tension between the trade societies who wanted to restrict the number of apprentices and ensure that 'boys' did not take on tasks more properly (in their view) undertaken by journeymen, and the masters who wanted unrestricted choice in who they employed and in what numbers. For the smaller centres, it often proved difficult to enforce the ratio of apprentices to journeymen expected by the union organisations.

The effect of emerging technologies on workplace practices and the implications for rates of wages and employment of 'skilled' workers seem to have been of less concern, but this may have been because these advances tended to be adopted first in the larger print centres, and typographical societies in those places negotiated the changes and the financial and employment issues surrounding them first. In any case it is generally accepted that demand for print increased throughout the nineteenth century, and although there were periods of fairly widespread unemployment among operative printers it does not seem that overall employment levels among compositors and machine-men grew significantly over the period.

The only major issue in the nineteenth-century printing trade that cannot be addressed by reference to Dumfries is the employment of women in roles traditionally seen as male-only and 'skilled', especially typesetting. This was a more prominent issue in other regional print centres, notably Perth, as well as Aberdeen and Edinburgh, but not in Glasgow. In the case of Dumfries, it would appear that women were not employed as

compositors, although the efforts to exclude women and the invisibility of their point of view in extant trade sources makes it difficult to ascertain the scale of their employment and the nature of their role. The fact that there are few mentions in contemporary sources makes it challenging to investigate, though the tone of discussions recorded at union meetings, the rhetoric of the trade press and reports such as Macdonald (1904) make it clear that women's employment and pay rates were a significant issue in some sectors and particular areas.

The range, scale and variety of sources available for the Dumfries area made it an ideal small scale study in which to explore the issues of research methodology, potential sources of data and data management for a larger research project investigating the lives, mobility and interaction of operative printers in the United Kingdom and the wider Anglophone world in the long nineteenth century. A pilot database had been developed to aid the capture, management and interrogation of the data relating to individuals, but the complexity of the issues thrown up by the range of the information sources in this region, their diversity, and of individual lives revealed in this study highlighted limitations of its current form. In addition to the well-understood issues around variant spellings and ascertaining whether the same individual or different ones with the same name are being referred to, other challenges emerged relating to the transient connection with the locality of some individuals, and the multiple instances of local membership for others. Further development work is needed to achieve a solution which is sufficiently flexible, expandable, robust and sustainable to allow for these variations. The use of geographic data would clarify the nature of the networks that existed in the printing trade, and would enable the visualisation of these networks and connections and enhance any future studies in this field.

As it stands this is the story of a single Scottish print economy, but it is clear that the working practices, trade structures and business models to be found in nineteenth century Dumfries were the same as those to be found in printing centres of a similar size throughout the United Kingdom. Further study would ascertain if this is indeed the case. There is also some evidence in the contemporary trade literature that for those print trade workers who moved between print economies, trade identity and trade links were the most significant factors. Operative printers referred to themselves collectively as 'the trade' and this sense of identity indeed operated on a transnational basis. Members

who were in good standing in other countries on the basis of their membership of a similar trade organisation were accepted into local trade organisations, and local printers on the move expected their own membership to be honoured in return.

This thesis has explored the print economy in one of Scotland's regions, and offers a range of insights into the scale and organisation of the printing industry in a regional print centre, undertaken over the course of the nineteenth century. The lives of individuals working in the printing offices illuminate work practices and the structures, interconnections and networks that enable operative printers to move around regions, through the British Isles and transnationally between such print centres.

The research has shed light on the operation, growth and spread of print-related businesses in a previously unexamined region of Scotland during the nineteenth century. In addition, the findings outlined here have demonstrated that patterns of work and mobility within the printing trade are more complex than previously thought, particularly that there was a much wider variation in the life experiences of operative printers than had previously been thought.

Appendix 1

Transcription of membership lists and meeting rolls

Contents

Notes

1. Names are transcribed as given, so one individual may appear with the name in varying forms, for example, John Wymess/John Wemyss.
2. The minute books are referenced as follows:

GD25/1: Dumfries Typographical Union, Minutes 1831-1839, including Register of Apprentices and Accounts
GD25/2 Minute Book of the Dumfries Typographical Society, 1839-1889
GD25/3 Minute Book of the Dumfries Typographical Society – 1890-1937

List 1: 1831-1832

‘The following are the list of office-bearers and other Members at the meeting, & comprising the Society now and in time coming’

1831	
William Paul, Preses	Thos Colquhoun, Sec
Died 4th December 1833	Struck off about 20th Feb 1834
1831	
John Veitch	Card granted June 17, 1833. Left his employment 11 June 1833
Joseph Warnock	Died 24th September 1832
William Millar	Card granted, 6th Augt 1832
James Pagan	Card granted 18th Janr 1839
Andrew Glendinning	Card granted 6th Novr 1833
John Muir	Left the town 13th April 1833
George Milligan	Left his employment – July 1834
Alexander Stewart	Card granted 18th Janr 1839
William Johnstone	
John Carruthers	Card granted 16th Novr 1833
James Ross	Card granted 16th Novr 1833
James Roddan	Card granted 27 Decr 1833
Robert Crawford	Card granted
Robert Johnstone	Struck off about 20th Feb 1833
Walter Easton	Card granted June 9, 1838
Thomas M'Donald	Left his employment June 1834
1832	
Robert Dunbar	Card granted 11th July 1832
Hugh Simpson	Card granted 4th April 1832
John Nelsons	Left the Business
James Smith, Times Office	
Edward M'Intyre	Struck off 8th September 1832
John Gordon	Card granted Janr 1837

Carry forward to Page …

List of Members of Society
Brought forward from Page 2

Thomas Webster	joined January 1833	Left the town April 1833
Robert Clay	joined December 1832	Left the town Feb 1833
Robert Smith	" 1 January 1833	Card granted May 1 1834
James Stewart	" January 1833	Card granted Oct 7, 1833
James Cochrane	" January 1833	Card granted 6 June 1838
Charles Hannay	" January 1833	Card granted 23 June 1841
Joseph Dickson	" January 1833	Left the town 1836
John Pagan	" January 1833	Left the town 1836
John McManus	" March 1833	Card granted 20th December 1838
Wm Millar	" 11 April 1833	Card granted 1st May 1834
Alexr Crosbie	" 13 May 1833	Card granted 14 Sept 1834
Edward McIntyre	readmitted April 1833	Left the town, October 27 1835
John Andrews	joined June 24 1833	Card granted 9 October 1833
William Saunders	joined Oct 1832	Left the town, July 1839
	and returned in Oct – card granted Feb 26 1840	
Henry Johnston	joined Dec 1832	Card granted June 24, 1840
David Anderson	" August 1833	
William Anderson	" November 2nd 1833	Card granted March 16 1840
Robert Johnstone	readmitted 19 Oct 1833	Card granted, December 7 1834
John Carruthers	rejoined Feb 1, 1834	Left the town, 1st May 1834
Robert McDowall	May 1 1834	Card granted December 1840
George Hay	May 10, 1834	Card granted October 27 1835
Robert Moffat	1st Dec 1833	Card granted Sept 28, 1840
Alexr Crosbie	(refunded 5/-)	Card granted 25 May 1835
James Smith	2 April 1835	Card granted 17th August 1839
Thomas Marshall	1 Jany 1835	Left the town January 1837
George Milligan	Readmitted 2nd April 1835 [struck through]	

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Cards granted from June 1842
Mr Thomas Anderson, June 1842, no 20
John Wright Pressman, 27th April/43, no 21
James Smith Compositor, 30th Dec/42 No 22

List of Members of Typographical Society
Continued from Page 2

Thomas McDonald	readmitted April 2, 1835	Left his employment without leave on May 7, 1834
Peter Gray	April 2, 1835	
James Roddan	Nov 1, 1834	Card granted May 7, 1836
David McAdam	1 May 1835	Card granted July 1837
Robert Johnstone	readmitted 1 May 1835	
William Craw	1 May 1835	
William Poole	1 May 1835	Certificate granted July 1835
William Millar	14 July 1835	Card granted April 26, 1836
Alexander Neil	Aug 29 1835	Card granted Dec 19 1835, Possessed of a current card
Thomas Anderson	May 16, 1835	Card granted, June 1842, No 20
John Hamilton	May 16 1835	
~~James Aitchison~~	~~Sept 5 1835~~	~~Left the profession~~
Alex. Crawford	July 9, 1835	Card granted 21st May 1841
~~Robert Robins~~	~~Oct 6 1835~~	
James Sheriffs	Oct 31, 1835	Left town, April 1840
Samuel Dalziel	Nov, 1835	Died, 1841
James Harrison Clarkson	March 15, 1836	Not possessed of a card, but thro' entire charity received full relief – Left good employment and absconded without refunding the money to the Society.
~~John Stoddart~~	~~April 8 1836~~	
Joseph Benson	April 16 1836	Left business 1 Sept 1838
John Stewart	April 20 1836	
James Watson	May 7 1836	
John Stodart	April 8 1836	Card granted 24 Nov 1836
Thomas Merry	26 Nov 1836	Card granted Oct 1837
William Porteous	15 Jan 1837	
Robert Anderson	1 Aug 1836	
James Johnstone	16 Sept 1836	Left for Stranraer, Dec 1842

List of Members of Society
Continued from Page

Archd Campbell	4 Sep 1837	Card granted March 1838
George Fraser	1837	Left town 1 Sep 1838
Joseph Russell	25 Sept 1837	
Robert Reid	1 Janr 1838	Left the Profession Oct 1840
Archd McTurk	1 May 1838	Left the Profession 1839
James Anderson	21 August 1838	Left town, Dec 1 1838
W McDonald	8th August 1838	Card granted 19th Nov 1838
James Anderson	3 Sept 1838	Left the Profession 1839
Thomas Gibson	3 Sept 1838	
Thos McDonald	5 Nov 1838	Card granted on 2 October 1841
Robt Welch	19th Feb 1839	Card granted 16th Sept 1839. Re-entered and card granted 21st May 1841
Moses Wardrop		Expelled November 1840
Thos McLucky	20th Feb 1839	Left Profession, April 1842
Jas Brown	28th Feb 1839	
David Stewart	15th June 1839	Left town July 1837
John Sommers	21st August 1839	Deceased
W Ronald	18th Sept 1839	Left profession 1842
Adam Richardson	18th Sept 1839	
Robert Mundie	March 16 1840	
R Moffat	re-entered June 9	Left town and card granted July 1843
R McDowall	do June 16	Left town
John Wright	July 1841	Card granted
Robt Rigg	27 June 1840	Left town
David Wightman	27 Jan 1841	Left town
Thomas McKnight	19 April 1842	
James Bell	1 June 1842	
Thomas Currie	1840	
John Martin		
Samuel Welsh		
Charles Smith	Oct 1840	
Charles Balieff [?]		
James Haining		

List 5: late 1830s/early 1840s

1	Anderson David
2	Anderson, Wm
3	~~Cochrane, James~~
4	Crawford, Alex
5	Craw, W C
6	~~Easton, Walter~~
7	Hannay, Charles
8	Johnstone, Henry
9	Johstone, Robert
10	Johnstone, Wm
11	~~Merry, Thomas~~
12	Moffat, Robert
13	~~M'Adam, D~~
14	M'Dowall, Robert
15	~~McManuse, John~~
16	~~Pagan, James~~
17	Porteous, William
18	Saunders, William
19	Sherriff, James
20	Smith, James T.O.
21	Smith, James H.O.
22	~~Stewart, Alexander~~
23	Watson, James
24	Peter Gray
25	Saml Dalziel
26	John Hamilton
27	Thomas Hamilton
28	Thomas M'Dowall
29	Robert Walsh
20	Moses Wardrobe

List 6: late 1830s/early 1840s

William Porteous
David Anderson
William Johnstone
William C Craw
James Watson
Robert Johnstone
Robert Mundie
John Sommers
John Stewart
~~John Hamilton~~
Peter Gray
~~Robert Anderson~~
~~John Wright~~
Joseph Russell
Thomas Gibson
James Brown
Alexander Stewart
Adam Richardson
Alexander Cameron
~~Alexander Gordon~~
Robert McDowall
John Martin
Thomas Currie

List 7: 1840s

1 David Anderson X
2 William Anderson X
3 Alex Crawford
4 W C Craw
5 C Hannay
6 Henry Johnstone X
7 Robert Johnstone
8 William Johnstone X
9 Robert Moffat
10 Robert McDowall X
11 William Porteous
12 William S? [struck through]
13 James Sheriff
14 James Smith (Times office) X
15 James Smith (T?) X [struck through]
16 James Watson
17 Peter Gray X
18 Samuel Dalziel X
19 John Hamilton X
20 Thomas Anderson X
21 Thomas McDonald
22 Robert Welsh [struck through]
23 Moses Wardrope
24 David Stewart [struck through]
25 John Lowness

List 8: 1842

Cards granted

Mr Thomas Anderson, June 1842, No 20
John Wright, Pressman, 27 April /43, No 21
James Smith, Compositor, 30 December /42, No 22

List 9: 1843

List of Members

Alexander Stewart	29th Mar 1843	Left Town
Alexander Gordon	9th April 1843	Died
Alexander Cameron	7th April 1843	Card granted
Robert McDowall	re-entered 7 April 1843	
Thomas Currie	27th Feb 1840	
George Easton	March 1843	
William Herries	March 1843	
William Gibson	March 1843	
James Smith	21 Aug 1843	
William Pagan	18 Oct 1843	

January 24, 1845, meeting held
‘In terms of a circular from the Secretary of the late Dumfries Typographical Society […] for the purpose of forming a branch in Dumfries of the National Typographical Association’
Present: Wm Porteous, Courier Office
Alex Crosbie, Courier Office
Robt Mundie, Courier Office
Peter Gray, Courier Office
Alex Stewart, Herald Office
John Stewart, Herald Office
John Sommers, Herald Office
Jas Smith, Standard office
R M'Dowall, Standard office
Joseph Russell, Halliday's office.
Mr W Johnstone, Courier office, who adheres to the N T A, was unable to attend.

It was also reported from the different offices that Messrs R Johnstone, Herald office and James Watson, Standard Office had in unqualified terms refused to connect themselves with the National Association; that Mr W C Craw, Herald office, declined doing so at present; and that the apprentices, generally, who had been members of the former society were perfectly willing to join the present one.

February 7, 1845: The following is a list of the apprentices enrolled at this meeting:- John Martin, Samuel Welsh, and Charles Smith, Courier office; Thomas Gibson, and James Brown, Herald office; and Adam Richardson, and Thomas Currie Hallidays office.'

Register of apprentices
in Dumfries
Made up in terms of Bye Law 6 of Northern District, N T A

John Martin	Courier Office, entered	Feb 7, 1840
Charles Smith	" " "	Sept 28 1840
Saml Nelson	" " "	Sept 14, 1840
Chas Balieff	" " "	Mar 17, 1842
Jas Haining	" " "	June 20, 1842
Wm Pagan	" " "	Oct 18, 1843
Jas Brown	Herald " "	Feb 28 1839
Thos M'Knight	" " "	Apr 19, 1842
James Bell	" " "	June 1, 1842
David Anderson	" " "	Feb 17 1845
Geo M'Noc	" " "	Sept 29 1845
John Buchanan	Standard " "	Dec 25 1845
sent to trade		Nove 7 1840
T Carruthers	" " "	May 18 1844
J Irvine	" " "	Jan 12 1845
J Gibson	" " "	Mar 27, 1845
C Haining	" " "	Dec 1 1845
M Maxwell	" " "	Dec 20, 1845
A Richardson	Halliday's "	July 9, 1839
T Currie	" "	Feb 27 1840
Robt Rigg	Times Office "	
Robt Barton	Courier Office	Feb 1847
Geo M'Noc	"	Oct 1847

Special meeting 29 January 1847, which included the following:
‘ In giving intimation of the meeting, he had published the late finding of the District Board regarding the refusal to pay the double contribution, and recommended those members who were still minded to persist in non-payment to send in their resignations to the Treasurer "to prevent the accumulation of arrears".
A list of such members with arrears of subscriptions was ordered to be appended by the office-bearers, at the end of this minute’

List of members who have withdrawn from the Association with dates of secession and arrears of subscriptions, at those dates

Date of withdrawal	Name	Arrears [£ s d]
Mar 14, 1846	William Porteous, overseer, Courier office	none
Jan 30 1847	William Johnstone, compositor, Courier office	- 14 -
	Robert Mundie, pressman, Herlad office	- 14 -
	James Brown, compositor, Herald office	- 14 -
	James Smith, compositor, Standard office	- 16 -
	Thomas Gibson, compositor, Standard office	- 16 -
Feb 20, 1847	John Martin, compositor, Courier office	none

Signed: Robert M'Dowall, Joseph Russell, Peter Gray, February 20 1847

Special meeting, June 23 1848
Mr Welsh in chair. 'The meeting after expressing regret at the failure of the National Typographical Association, and consequently declaring itself no longer a branch of that body, resolved on re-constituting the Dumfries Typographical Society, adopting the printed rules of 1840'
[...]
'The following office-bearers were also elected, to hold their places till the General Annual Meeting in October next.'
Thos Currie, Pres and Treas
Robert M'Dowall, Secretary
Committee, The Pres, Sec, and Messrs Balieff and McKnight

List of Members of the Dumfries Typographical Society, Reconstituted June 23, 1848
Samuel Welsh
Thomas Currie
Charles Balieff
James Bell
James Hannay
William Harris
Thos M'Knight
Robert M'Dowall
The above members constituting the meeting were all entered on the roll from the above date.

List 14: 1858-1860

Meeting attendance roll covering meeting from 7 July 1858 to 29 February 1860

~~Walter Easton~~
James Smith
~~Robert McDowall~~
~~Neil Sharpe~~
~~John Martin~~
William Maxwell
~~William Anderson~~
~~George Howat~~
~~Thomas Little~~
William Wilkie
~~Samuel Weir~~
~~Alexander Ferguson~~
~~John Easton~~
~~David Moffat~~
David Halliday
~~Robert Siddons~~
~~William Macqueen~~
~~William Henderson~~
~~Robert Cuthbertson~~
John Gallacher
~~Robert Henderson~~
Dickson J
~~Alex Robertson~~
~~Gracie J~~
~~Grierson~~
~~Easton, J~~
William M'Kie or M'Kean[?]

John Martin Honorary
~~Robert McDowall~~
James Smith
William Maxwell
William M'Kie
~~David Moffat~~
David Halliday
~~Douglas~~
~~Robert Siddons~~
~~Douglas~~
~~William Henderson~~
~~Thomas Little~~
~~John Connor [?]~~
Standling/Stardley[?]
~~Adam Richardson~~
~~Moses Wardrop~~
~~John Sharpe~~
~~Edward Henderson~~
John Gallacher
~~Robert Cuthbertson~~
John Dickson
~~Alexander Grierson~~
~~John Thomson~~
~~Joseph Wilson~~
~~John Sym[???]~~
~~David Robertson~~
Francis [????] Ague[?]
~~Robert Paterson~~
William Stewart
William Irving [????]
John Whitewright
William Allan
Robert Palmer
Thomas Watson
John Todd
George Stewart
~~Samuel Milligan~~
~~Jas[?] Hogg~~

other names (scattered):
Joseph Dickson
~~John Smith~~ W
~~Ed Flanagan, C~~

~~John P[??????], C~~

William Bland, C-D
H Maxwell
James

Neil Sharpe
Alex Charteris;
W Todd
William Cummins

List 16: 1862

Fines

	Jan 8 /62 Fines due	paid		April 9	pd
~~James Smith~~	6d		R M'Dowall	3d	3
David Halliday	6d		John Gallacher	3d	3
Robert Cuthbertson	6d	6	John Dickson	3d	3
~~John Gracie~~	5d				
Robert Porteous	3	3			
John Whitewright	3	3			
John Gallacher	3	3	)		
John Dickson	3	3	) 14 May		
John Whitewright	1½	1½	)		
John Gracie	3	3	)		

Annan (Observer)
Wm Irving (journeyman comp)
David Clark (pressman)

Castle-Douglas (Advertiser)
Henry Maxwell (journeyman comp)
William Bland (app)
Peter M'Kinnell (app)

John Martin	Courier	Honorary
Joseph Dickson	Standard	Honorary
William M'Kie	Herald	Honorary
James Smith	Standard	'unwell'
William Johnstone	Courier	'would be honorary'[?]
David Halliday	Courier	
John Gallacher	Standard	
John Dickson	Standard	
Nathan Stewart	Courier	
John Whitwright	Standard	
William Maxwell	Herald	
Francis Ireland	Herald	
William Allan	Courier	
Thomas Watson	Standard	
George B Stewart	Courier	
~~John Todd~~	~~Johnson's office~~	'unwell' apparently died end 1866/beg 1867
Neil Sharpe	Standard	
James Hardie	Courier	
Alexander Charteris	Standard	
William Todd	Standard	
William Cummings	Hallidays	
James Todd	Herald	
Robert Smith	Du????	
Thomas Hannabay		
Alexander McKnight		
Robert Mudie		
John Wemyss		

List 18: 1875-1876

John Dickson
John Gallacher
David Moffat
Walter Miller
David Lockerbie
David Johnstone
John Henry (left town)
James Hardie
James Smith
~~Duncan Thomson~~
Robert Bower
J B Easton (left town)
James M'Kay
William Cumming
John Wemyss
James Todd
William Fraser
John Connor
David Halliday
Robert Johnstone
Samuel Gladstone
David Kerr
Joseph Blackstone
Robert Patterson
William Dickie
William McMillan
David Sparkie

List 19: 1878-1879

Names and date of membership of the Members of the Branch

Standard Office

D Moffat	Jan 1853	
J Gallacher	Sept 1860	
J Dickson	Aug 1861	Dead
J Hardie	April 1865	
~~D Johnstone~~	~~3 Jan 1874~~	Left ?????y
D Kerr	July 1874	
J Black (app)	~~4 Jan 1874~~ 4th July 1873	

Herald office

~~W Cummings~~	~~1866~~	
J Todd	10th March 1845 [cld be 1865]	
John Wymess	1861	
J Connor	Nov 1872	
~~J P Gillies~~	~~May 1876~~	Left
~~Robert Paterson~~	~~26 Sept 1871~~	Left
~~R Thomson~~	~~28 Jan 1878~~	Left

Courier Office [whole office struck through – check date it went out of business/merged]

D M'Connell	14th Oct 1872
S Gladstone	14th July 1873
W S Carnstoun	Aug 1876
John M'Veigh	July 1876
R Palmer	Jan 1878

Cards granted:

August 21 1879	Mr Palmer	No 156
Aug 21 1879	Mr John Learmont	No 155
June 1 1879	Robert Paterson	No 118

List 20: 1882

Cards issued:

May 27 1882	Robert Carradice (556)
October 28, 1882	D Johnston (614)
December 15th 1882	D H Lockerby (642)
December 15th 1882	J McKay (643)

Cards Lodged

June 5th 1882	Robert Carradice (556)
October 17th 1882	Aitken Wishart (607)

List 21: 1892

Members of the Dumfries Branch of the Scottish Typographical Association
Compiled March 28 1892

	Name	Age last B'day	Joined or re-joined Association	Joined or re-joined Branch
1	John Gallacher	51	September, 1860	September, 1860
2	James Todd	42	March 10, 1865	March 10, 1865
3	James Hardie	45	April, 1865	April, 1865
4	David Moffat	57	January, 1853	October, 1869
5	John Wemyss	41	July, 1867	August, 1873
6	Joseph Black	38	July, 1873	July, 1873
7	David J Kerr	37	January, 1874	January, 1874
8	Walter Miller	57	November 30, 1881	November 30, 1881
9	Aitken Wishart	33	March, 1880	October 16, 1882
10	James Wightman	31	January 27, 1883	January 27, 1883
11	John Liddle	31	April 9, 1883	April 9, 1883
12	Robert Connor	28	April 2, 1884	April 2, 1884
13	Robert Dickson	28	April 5, 1884	April 5, 1884
14	Neil Sharp	46	April 20, 1885	April 20, 1885
15	Robert Bower	41	May 9, 1885	May 9, 1885
16	John Connor	40	May 9, 1885	May 9, 1885
17	David Wilson	27	August 15, 1885	August 15, 1885
18	Alexander MacBean	33	May 1877	August 21, 1886
19	George Johnstone I	34	January 5, 1889	January 5, 1889
20	Richard Corney	24	April 5, 1889	April 5, 1889
21	John William Howat	22	July 6, 1889	July 6, 1889
22	George Johnstone II	24	September 28, 1889	September 28, 1889
23	James Newlands	21	January 4, 1890	January 4, 1890
24	William Dick	21	January 4, 1890	January 4, 1890
25	Robert Austin	26	September 10, 1887	January 31, 1890
26	George Hume	21	October 4, 1890	October 4, 1890
27	John Kleiser	24	November 8, 1890	November 8, 1890
28	Andrew S Hastings	26	December 12, 1885	December 12, 1885
29	Thomas Crosbie	31	February 2, 1881	February 2, 1881
30	Robert Gibson	20	January 3, 1891	January 3, 1891
31	Robert C Hastings[app]	19	July 4, 1891	July 4, 1891
32	Nixon Noble [app]	24	September 5, 1891	September 5, 1891
33	Robert M'Murdo[app]	20	September 12, 1891	September 12, 1891
34	James Armour	24	January 5, 1889	October 20, 1890
35	Robert Maxwell[app]	20	December 5, 1891	December 5, 1891
36	Richard Thomson	19	December 12, 1891	December 12, 1891
37	James Kelly	23	August 13, 1890	August 13, 1890
38	James Steel [app]	20	January 9, 1892	January 9, 1892
39	James Kirkpatrick	25	March 26, 1892	January 9, 1892

Appendix 2

Newspapers produced in Dumfries and Galloway in the nineteenth century

Sources: Ferguson (1984) and Urquhart (1980-1984)

1 Dumfries

1777-1823 *Dumfries Weekly Journal*

1823-1833 *Dumfries Weekly Journal & Nithsdale, Annandale & Galloway Advertiser*

1809-1884 *Dumfries & Galloway Courier*

1884-1939 *Dumfries & Galloway Courier & Herald*
(following amalgamation with the *Dumfries & Galloway Herald and Register*)

1821-1824 *Dumfries-shire & Galloway Monthly Magazine*

1825-1826 *Dumfries Monthly Magazine*[1]

1833-1842 *Dumfries Time*s

1835-1843 *Dumfriesshire & Galloway Herald & Advertiser*

1843-1884 *Dumfriesshire & Galloway Herald & Register*

1884-1939 *Dumfries & Galloway Courier & Herald*
(following amalgamation with the *Dumfries & Galloway Courier*)

1843-20th century *Dumfries & Galloway Standard*

1857-1870 *Dumfries & Galloway Bulletin* [produced in Lockerbie from 1865]

1876-1889 *Dumfries & Galloway Review & South-Western Counties Advertiser* [later included in *Ayr Observer*, a special edition of *Ayrshire Argus & Express*]

[1] Apparently ‘a shilling periodical, octavo size’ of which eighteen issues were published, ‘printed for the proprietors by J McDiarmid & Co’.

2 Other towns in the region

Annan

Annandale Observer 1857-20th century

Castle Douglas

Galloway Express 1870-1873 (transferred to Kirkcudbright)

Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser & Galloway News 1858-20th century

Dalbeattie

S*tewartry Observer & Wigtownshire News* 1889-20th century

Kirkcudbright

Galloway Express 1870-1873 (transferred from Castle Douglas)

Kirkcudbright Stewartry Times 1860[?]-1875[?]

Langholm

Border Standard & Southern Advertiser 1881-1887 [title varies]

Eskdale & Liddesdale Advertiser 1848-20th century

Lockerbie

Annandale Herald & Southern Advertiser 1862-1873

Annandale Herald & Moffat News 1874-20th century

Moffat News & Times 1862-20th century

Moffat

Annandale Herald & Record 1862

Moffat Times & Annandale Observer 1875-1893

Newton Stewart

Galloway Gazette 1870-20th century

Stranraer

Galloway Post & County Advertiser 1859-1879[?]

Galloway Register & Stranraer Advertiser 1838-1846 [monthly from May 1845]

Wigtown Free Press 1843-20th century

Appendix 3

Dumfries print employers 1825-1896 (includes letterpress unless stated)

Sources used:

Dumfries Times 1835

Johnstone 1882

Kelly & Co (1872, 1880, 1896)

Pigot (1825, 1837)

Slater (1861)

Name & address	1825	1835	1837	1852	1861	1872	1880	1882	1896
Norman McLeod BRUCE, 26 Queensberry Square	Y								
William BURGESS, 117 High Street				Y[3]					
William CARSON, 86 English Street	Y[1]								
R & T CONNOR, 29 High Street									Y
COURIER office (printer), 8 Assembly Close								Y[2]	
William Carfrae CRAW, High Street			Y[3]	Y[3]	Y[3]				
CURRIE & Co, 130 High Street (1880)/22 & 24 King Street 1896*							Y	Y	Y
Walter EASTON, 153 High Street					Y				
Bryce GILLIES (copperplate engraver only), 89 High Street	Y	Y	Y						
Robert GILLIES (copperplate engraver only), Coffee Close; 4 Marchbank Terrace (1882)				Y				Y	
David HALLIDAY, Bank Street (1835), 113 High St/Old Council Chambers (1852)/115 High Street (1861)/2 Union Street (1872) [poss 5 1872]		Y	Y	Y	Y[6]	Y[5]	Y[5]		
Thomas HANNAVY, 78 & 15 High Street									Y
Thomas HARKNESS, 150 High Street				Y					
G HENDERSON & Co (newspaper proprietor), Midsteeple				Y[5]	Y[5]				
HERALD office, 8 Queen Street						Y[3]	Y[3]	Y[3]	
A & T HUNTER (bookseller, relief stamper), 142 High Street									Y
Thomas HUNTER & Co, 111 High Street									Y[3]
William JOHNSTON & Sons 'printers by atmospheric gas power', 36 Irish Street								Y	
Robert JOHNSTONE, 47 Castle Street (1861)/15 High Street (1872-1880)					Y	Y	Y		

Name & address	1825	1835	1837	1852	1861	1872	1880	1882	1896
John M'DIARMID & Co, 117 High Street	Y[2]	Y[2]	Y[2]	Y[2]					
W R M'DIARMID & Co, 17 Assembly Street					Y[2]				
M'DIARMID & MITCHELL, 6 & 8 Assembly Street						Y[2]			
Isabella McLAUCHLAN, 34 High Street	Y								
John MARTIN, 29 High Street (& stationer 1882)						Y	Y	Y	
James MAXWELL, 99 High Street (1880)/95 & 97 High Street (1896)**							Y	Y	Y
MILLER & MITCHELL, 87 & 89 High Street									Y[7]
Donald MITCHELL, 6 & 8 Assembly Street							Y[2]		
Robert PALMER, Long Close, 54 High Street (& copperplate printer)		Y[4]							
Thomas ROBERT, Church Crescent (copperplate printer)		Y							
STANDARD office, 113 High Street								Y	
Joseph STODDART, 28 Plainstones		Y							
Robert WALLACE & Co, Long Close, High St			Y[4]						
	5	6	5	6	6	5	7	8	7

1. Printer of the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*
2. Printer of the *Dumfries Courier*
3. Printer of the *Dumfries-shire & Galloway Herald & Advertiser*
4. Printer of the *Dumfries Times*
5. Printer of the *Dumfries & Galloway Standard*
6. Printer of the *Dumfries & Galloway Bulletin*
7. Printer of the *Dumfries & Galloway Courier & Herald*

* Also lithographer, music, numerical & photographic printer in 1896.

** In 1880, listed as 'relief stamper & wholesale stationer'. Additional sectors listed in 1896: account book maker, bookbinder, bookseller, machine ruler & lithographer, music, numerical & photographic printer.

Appendix 4

Glossary

Chapel: workplace organisation involving all the journeymen in a printing office; later in the century, it came to mean the union organisation within a single business.

Colporteur: book pedlar, especially in rural areas.

Engraving: a block or plate into which a design has been cut by use of a tool, or with acid.

Established wage: the standard rate paid for the full working week, irrespective of the amount of work completed.

Fair office: a printing business where the ratio of apprentices to journeymen is within that approved by the local typographical society or union, and which paid the 'established' rate of wages.

Impression: the pressure applied to printing surface which has been covered with paper, in order to reproduce that text or image.

Journeyman: a compositor or pressman/machine-man who has been trained for a full seven-year apprenticeship in a printing office, and usually able to undertake both roles if required.

Letterpress: a raised printing surface mainly for the reproduction of text, in the nineteenth century created mainly by the placing together of individual pieces of type.

Lithography: planographic printing process, based on the repulsion between oil and water, and invented at the beginning of the nineteenth century; the image to be reproduced is drawn on the surface of a treated stone or plate, and the surfaces to be kept clear of the oil-based inks are treated with water.

Jobbing: printing for business or individuals, including letterheads, forms, posters, business cards. 'Anything not considered a book, periodical, newspaper or specialist production such as a package' (Moran 1978, p.145).

Lift card: leave the town with a card or certificate stating that the individual is a time-served journeyman and has no arrears in their home typographical society or branch.

Lodge card: claim tramping benefit or membership of the local typographical society or union on the basis of membership a similar society/union elsewhere.

Master printer: owner of a printing business.

Rat: compositor or pressman/machine-man who works in a business considered ‘unfair’ by the local typographical society or union.

Stereotype: printing surface cast in a plaster of Paris or papier-mâché mould taken from a relief printing surface, usually letterpress; enabled longer printing runs because multiple copies of a single setting of a text could be made more quickly and cheaper, and also enabled reprints because the stereotype could be stored while the type was replaced (‘distributed’) for re-use.

Stop-cylinder: printing machine with the printing surface held in a flat bed which reciprocates, and the paper carried on a cylinder which revolves while the bed travels in one direction, to enable the transfer of the image to the paper, and then is held stationery while the bed returns to its original position.

Tramp: member of a typographical society or union who is moving from branch to branch in search of work; often known as ‘going on tramp’.

Turnover: apprentice who has not completed the full seven-year term of their apprenticeship before changing employer. This was only permitted by the typographical societies in cases where either the whole family were moving to a new area, or the original employer’s business had failed.

Unfair office: sometimes referred to as a ‘closed office’; a printing business in which either the rate of wages was lower than that agreed with the typographical society or union, or the number of apprentices was more than the ratio agreed.

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