

ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIS
AND
THE GLASGOW PRESS

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ROBERT FOULIS

From a Medallion by James Tassie in Scottish National Portrait Gallery

ROBERT & ANDREW FOULIS

AND THE GLASGOW PRESS

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE GLASGOW ACADEMY OF
THE FINE ARTS

BY

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GLASGOW

JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS

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PREFACE

WHEN the late Mr. David Robertson had completed the publication of the second edition of *Glasgow Past and Present*, it occurred to him that a reprint of the Views of Glasgow executed in The Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts would form a suitable companion volume. He applied to the Earl of Home for the loan of the set of Views in the library at Douglas Castle, which was readily granted ; I supplied one or two that were wanting, and he then had the whole reproduced by Messrs. Waterston of Edinburgh. Mr. Robertson asked me to write an Introduction to the projected volume, and, with some hesitation, I agreed to do so. He himself bestowed much time and pains in preparing descriptive explanations of the Views.

I had long been interested in the work of the Foulis Brothers, and had acquired some interesting Foulis items at the sale of the libraries of David Laing and of John Whitefoord Mackenzie. Mr. William James Duncan was an old friend and I applied to him for information as to the material he had in hand in the preparation of his *Notices and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow*, but at the lapse of more than fifty years he could not remember from whom he had obtained it. I was fortunate, however, in obtaining access to the Buchan letters which Mr. Duncan had used, and to others which I think he had not seen ; I also picked up a number of Buchan papers which were in the market, and some of Professor Simson's correspondence. I examined the Minute Books of the Barbers Incorporation, the records of the University, the register of deeds and the register of testaments of the Commissariat of Glasgow, various manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Glasgow University library. From these and other sources I drew up an account of the Foulis Press and of the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts, which seemed to be sufficient for the purpose in view. Mr. Robertson was, however, anxious that

it should be extended, so as to include a history of literature, art, and science in Glasgow. This was a much more formidable undertaking, and it made slow progress. I suggested to him the advisability of proceeding with what more immediately related to the volume of plates, as the larger project would entail much delay. His fancy, however, was for the latter, and I did my best to carry it out, but it was unfinished when he died, and my papers were then laid aside.

It was hoped that the Earl of Rosebery would open the Foulis Exhibition of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society, in April last, but his Lordship found that he was unable to do so, and the duty devolved upon me. The time was short, and for an introductory Address I abridged the account which I had formerly written, and had it printed, so that it might be distributed at the meeting, but the illustrations could not be got ready in time, and this was not done. As the immediate occasion was past, it was thought that it might be more useful to restore what had been struck out, and the present paper is practically what was prepared fully five and twenty years ago. Certain details regarding the artists trained in the Academy have been omitted, and advantage has been taken of such additional information as has become available in the meantime. My aim has been to give a connected account of the work of Robert Foulis as a printer, and of his efforts to establish and carry on the Academy of the Fine Arts, of his surroundings, and of those with whom he was associated.

I have to thank the Reverend W. J. Couper, Mr. William Stewart, and Mr. J. C. Ewing for reading the proof-sheets, and for several valuable suggestions.

DAVID MURRAY.

13 FITZROY PLACE,
GLASGOW, *25th June, 1913.*

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIS AND THE GLASGOW PRESS	
EARLY LIFE	I
VISIT TO ENGLAND AND FRANCE	4
ROBERT FOULIS AS BOOKSELLER	6
ROBERT FOULIS AS PUBLISHER	8
ROBERT FOULIS AS PRINTER	9
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS	10
ROBERT FOULIS AS UNIVERSITY PRINTER	16
TYPE FOUNDING IN GLASGOW	18
THE PRESS OF R. & A. FOULIS	22
THE PRINTING HOUSE	25
SOME NOTABLE BOOKS	26
INFLUENCE OF THE FOULIS PRESS	30
PROGRESS OF GLASGOW	32
THE LITERARY SOCIETY IN GLASGOW COLLEGE	36
THE PARLIAMENT OF OCEANA	38
LIVRES DE LUXE	40
LETTERED PROPERTY	41
LOCAL PUBLISHING	51
THE GLASGOW ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS	
ROBERT FOULIS AND THE FINE ARTS	57
PURCHASE OF PICTURES	58
THE UNIVERSITY AND THE ACADEMY	64
THE EQUIPMENT OF THE ACADEMY	71

	PAGE
THE GLASGOW ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS— <i>continued</i>	
ADVICE OF FRIENDS	73
PROGRESS OF THE ACADEMY	75
ASSISTANCE	78
WORK OF THE ACADEMY	79
PATRONAGE OF THE ACADEMY	82
STUDENTS OF THE ACADEMY	85
EXHIBITION OF PICTURES	89
FINANCIAL TROUBLE	90
RECLAMATION OF PEAT MOSS	93
SOME NOTABLE VISITORS	94
DEATH OF THE BROTHERS	98
THE CHARACTER OF ROBERT FOULIS	103
HIS CIRCLE	107
PORTRAITS OF FOULIS	113
 A NEW GENERATION	
FAMILY OF ROBERT FOULIS	115
ANDREW FOULIS, YOUNGER	116
 THE END	
ROBERT FOULIS' ESTATE	127
ACHIEVEMENT	130
 INDEX	133

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FOULIS From a medallion in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery	<i>Frontispiece</i>
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE COLLEGE OF GLASGOW AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY From Slezer's <i>Theatrum Scotiae</i> , 1693	8
TITLE-PAGE OF THE <i>Glasgow Courant</i> , 1715 From copy in the University Library	16
PLAN OF THE COLLEGE AREA, 1778 From M'Arthur's four-sheet map	21
PART OF PAGE OF THE HOMER OF 1756	28
LETTER ROBERT FOULIS TO DR. WARBURTON	44
ARCHIBALD INGRAM Monument in the Merchants' House of Glasgow	64
INTERIOR OF THE PAINTING ROOM OF THE ACADEMY From a Print of a painting by David Allan; see p. 86	68
COLLEGE ENTRY IN 1756 From a Print by Robert Paul executed in the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts	88
CARICATURE PORTRAIT OF ANDREW FOULIS, 1775 From Print by Captain Topham	92
TITLE-PAGE OF ORDERS FOR GARRISON AND CAMP DUTIES With autograph of Lord Cardross	108
SPECIMEN OF MESSRS. TILLOCH AND FOULIS' GREEK STEREOTYPE	120
SIGNATURES OF ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIS AND ANDREW FOULIS YOUNGER	132

Robert and Andrew Foulis
and
The Glasgow Press

WHEN the Bibliographical Society of Glasgow was established last year, it was thought that it would stimulate interest in bibliographical work if the Society were to promote an exhibition that would illustrate the work of the great Glasgow printers, Robert and Andrew Foulis. It seemed appropriate that it should be held within the precincts of the University which had provided the brothers with a home, and had at every stage fostered and encouraged their efforts. The University Court most kindly acceded to the request, and we are now assembled within the walls of this ancient seat of learning to inaugurate the exhibition.

EARLY LIFE

Robert Foulis was born at Glasgow upon 20th April, 1707, a few days before the Union; his brother Andrew five years later. Their father was Andrew Faulls, a maltman of Glasgow who kept a small change-house on the west side of the High Street, above the Tolbooth; their mother was Marion Paterson, a woman distinguished for her good sense and great piety.

Glasgow was then a small country town of some 12,000 inhabi-

tants, noted for its charm and sweetness, and indebted for such importance as it possessed to its University, its Commissariat and Regality courts. "The town of Glasgow," says an English traveller of the day, "though not so big, nor so rich, yet to all seems a much sweeter and more delightful place than Edinburgh." "It is," says another, "the beautifullest little city I have seen in Britain." A third describes it as "the most elegantly built city of its size in Europe." A Dutch traveller reports that its situation is so lovely, so fertile, and so agreeable that it is commonly called "the Paradise of Scotland."

In 1720 Robert Foulis, or as he then wrote his name Fauls or Faulds, was apprenticed to the trade of a barber. His master was Alexander Leggat, a prominent member of the craft, doubtless that barber Leggat who, M'Ure informs us, had his house on the south side of the Gallowgait. His term of service was five years and two years thereafter for meat and fee, as required by the Letter of Guildry. On 9th June, 1726, his indenture having then six months to run, he applied for leave to enter freeman. This was granted upon terms, but he did not avail himself of the permission, and postponed his application until the expiry of his service in November following. His essay was a tie wig and natural wig, which were made to the satisfaction of the essay masters; and having been found "qualified to serve his Majesty's Lieges," and having produced his burgess ticket, he was, upon 12th January, 1727, admitted freeman of the Incorporation and gave his oath *de fidei*.

He seems at once to have put up his sign, and hung out his bason, as a master barber, for upon 13th February, 1727, John Faulds was bound his apprentice. This was his younger brother, who, in due time, became freeman and remained faithful to the calling, having been frequently a Deacons Master and a Trades Master, and in 1749 Deacon of the craft. He seems likewise to have followed his father's calling, as, in various family deeds of later date, he is styled "maltman, barber, and wigmaker."

When Francis Hutcheson was called to Glasgow in 1730, as successor to Gerschom Carmichael, Robert Faulls was a practising barber, but he enrolled himself, as one of his students, in his first class. The professor, being impressed by his ability and sympathising with his thirst for knowledge, encouraged him in the pursuit of learning. Robert Wodrow of Eastwood (1679-1734) records that Hutcheson had "many, not scholars in the rest of the classes, who wait on his privat classes, severall tradesmen and youths in the toun." Faulls attended the professor's lectures for several sessions, so that there can be little doubt that he was one of those referred to. During his spare hours he devoted himself to the study of the classics, attended several other University classes, and was employed by Dr. Hutcheson "in assisting young gentlemen in the study of moral philosophy." He had the further advantage of intercourse with the professor, whose conversation, we are told, was "various, cheerful, and animated to a high degree, and was not only an agreeable entertainment, but very instructive and improving." When James Duncan, in 1734, published *Miscellany Poems*, by Jean Adam,—to whom is attributed the song "There's nae luck about the house,"—"Robert Faulls in Glasgow" appeared amongst the subscribers.

Andrew received a more regular education than Robert. He became a student of Humanity under Professor Andrew Rosse in 1727, and, after he had finished his University course, taught Greek, Latin, and French in Glasgow for some years. Both brothers were ardent students. They occupied rooms in the College and their lamp often burned far into the night as they pored over their books.

Robert Faulls was one of the essay masters of Robert Paull, who was admitted freeman of the Barber craft on 22nd June, 1727, but he does not seem to have taken an active part in the affairs of the Incorporation. As he was dependent upon his own exertions, he no doubt applied himself to his business, and was able to lay by something for future use. Be this as it may, he was still working at his trade as late as 1737, when his brother John became a freeman.

At this date he is still called "Faulls," but sometime within the next year he and Andrew changed it to the more aristocratic "Foulis" (pron. Fowls). John, on the other hand, adhered to the original name for many years, but latterly he appears as "Foulis" or "Fowlis."

At the beginning of the University session 1737-38 an anonymous pamphlet was circulated in the college and the city, stating that Professor Hutcheson taught many dangerous errors. His old students were indignant at the charges made against this eminent man, and in 1738 published *A Vindication of Mr. Hutcheson from the calumnious aspersions of a late pamphlet*. Amongst the signatories were Robert Foulis and Andrew Foulis.

VISIT TO ENGLAND AND FRANCE

In the summer of 1738 the brothers, "having met with some misfortunes by death of friends with whom they were connected," resolved to make a tour in England and on the Continent.

Robert and Andrew Foulis first visited Oxford and some other places of interest in England, and then passed over to France. They had letters of introduction to the Chevalier Ramsay, a native of Ayr, through whose influence they had access to the best public libraries in Paris, and whose kindness they repaid by publishing in 1741 his *Plan of Education for a young Prince*, and, in 1748, his *Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*.

The attention of the University had been directed to the importance of the records of the Roman Catholic see of Glasgow, which were in the custody of the Scots College at Paris, and the Senate commissioned Robert Foulis to obtain copies of the more important documents. In this he was successful, and the correspondence which passed gives us a glimpse of the two brothers themselves. When writing to the University, on 22nd October, 1738, the Fathers of the College say :

"We cannot finish this letter without assuring you that no persons seemed to be more fitted, every-way, towards

reviving a correspondence betwixt your university and us, than the two Messrs Foulis, whom we find young gentlemen of great genius and capacity, of a most social temper, and improved in learning beyond their age : and we owe to them that justice to assure you that we have seen none of the young gentlemen of our country make better use of their time, during their short abode in these parts, and of all their moments, towards all persons and exercises that might improve them, to be able one day to do honour to your University, and make a good figure in the learned world."

In private letters of Father Thomas Innes to Mr. James Edgar, secretary to 'the Chevalier de St. George, some additional particulars are disclosed. They dined at the College once a week regularly, and sometimes oftener, while the Fathers occasionally drank tea with them. "They set off chiefly for the Belles-Lettres and seem to design to be Professors of that, in the University of Glasgo, or perhaps to be governors or tutors to young noblemen, for which last employment they seem to be very well cut out, in their own way, having very good parts and talents, very moderate, and making morality their chief study and application, and in that they seem to have made good progress already, according to their notions of it."

Both brothers, says the writer of an unsigned letter—a brother or a sister—"were a good deal affected with the Bibliomania," and spent what money they had in buying books. These they sold before leaving home, and made some considerable purchases abroad, mostly Greek and Latin classics, and when they left Paris in October, 1738, they brought with them six or seven hogsheads of books.

These purchases they disposed of to advantage, and in 1739 they once more went abroad, and remained for several months on the Continent, and again made an investment in books. It was at this time that Robert Foulis became acquainted with Dr. James Douglas, whom he was able to assist in forming his collection of editions of Horace.

Another remarkable journey was made from Glasgow to London

in 1739, that of Tobias Smollett immortalised in *Roderick Random*. The hero of that journey was the famous Strap, the young barber who could quote Latin to order. Strap has been identified with various Glasgow men, but it seems not improbable that the person whom the novelist had in his mind was Robert Foulis. Smollett had lived in Glasgow for several years, had attended the University, and must have known the barber-scholar and his brother the student and tutor. Robert Foulis was sedate and solemn, and somewhat pedantic, not very worldly-wise, and not averse to air his learning. "Notwithstanding the sincerity of his disposition and manners, he was," says Dr. James Wodrow of Stevenston (1730-1810), "rather underrated in the opinion of us thoughtless students," and was probably an object of Smollett's caustic wit; and seems to be ready-made to the master's hand. Strap is not a portrait, and the character is so drawn as to prevent identification. There is, however, just enough to suggest Robert Foulis with some features, probably borrowed from his brother Andrew, and certainly more than there is to identify Mr. Roger Potion with Mr. John Gordon, or Mr. Lancelot Crab with Mr. George Thomson, the victim of many of Smollett's practical jokes. It does not follow that if Foulis was the original of Strap, Smollett intended to disparage him. Mr. Roger Potion is not an admirable character, but in *Humphry Clinker* Smollett pays a high compliment to Mr. John Gordon, his prototype.

ROBERT FOULIS AS BOOKSELLER

In the spring of 1740 the brothers made another journey to London and sold their latest purchases made in France. "The disposing of this collection gave them an opportunity of knowing more fully the various opinions of men of letters in London, and what they liked and disliked in editions." After the sale, they returned to Glasgow, and spent the summer "in retirement in the College," engaged in the work of translation, "but did not bring it to perfection."

The Professors had long held that it would be to their advantage

that they should have a University bookseller, who would undertake to search for and provide important works in the best editions, and no doubt encouraged the enterprise of the two young men; and, with their approval, Robert Foulis, in 1741, established himself as a bookseller in premises within the College. Only six years earlier, the city had been "judged too narrow for two booksellers at a time," but Glasgow was growing rapidly in population and in wealth, and Foulis had found a ready market for his continental purchases. In 1741 he advertised in the *Glasgow Journal* "a variety of scarce and valuable editions of the classics and books proper for the Grammar School and University"; and in 1744 issued "A Catalogue of Books lately imported from France, containing the scarcest and most elegant editions of the Greek and Roman authors, printed by the Aldi, Juntae, the Stephens, Turnebus, Vascosan, the Morells, etc." Amongst them were the Byzantine Historians, the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom, and the Elzevir edition of Cicero.

Robert was subsequently joined in business by his brother Andrew, who took the active charge of the retail department. They kept a large stock of well-chosen books, English and foreign, old and new, and continued their bookselling trade till the end of their days. For many years a Committee of Professors was appointed to make purchases from their shelves for the University library. The bookshop was a pleasant lounge and meeting place for students and others interested in books and literature, and it was here that William Richardson (1743-1814), afterwards Professor of Humanity, to whom we are indebted for various particulars regarding the brothers, first made their acquaintance in 1757 or 1758.

Like other booksellers of the day, they had auctions of books in the evenings. This was Andrew's part of the business, but Robert occasionally presided. After announcing the title of the book to be bid for, the latter sometimes added "an extemporaneous harangue upon its merits," and at another time he would make the gift of a volume to a poor student. This was not Andrew's method, who was

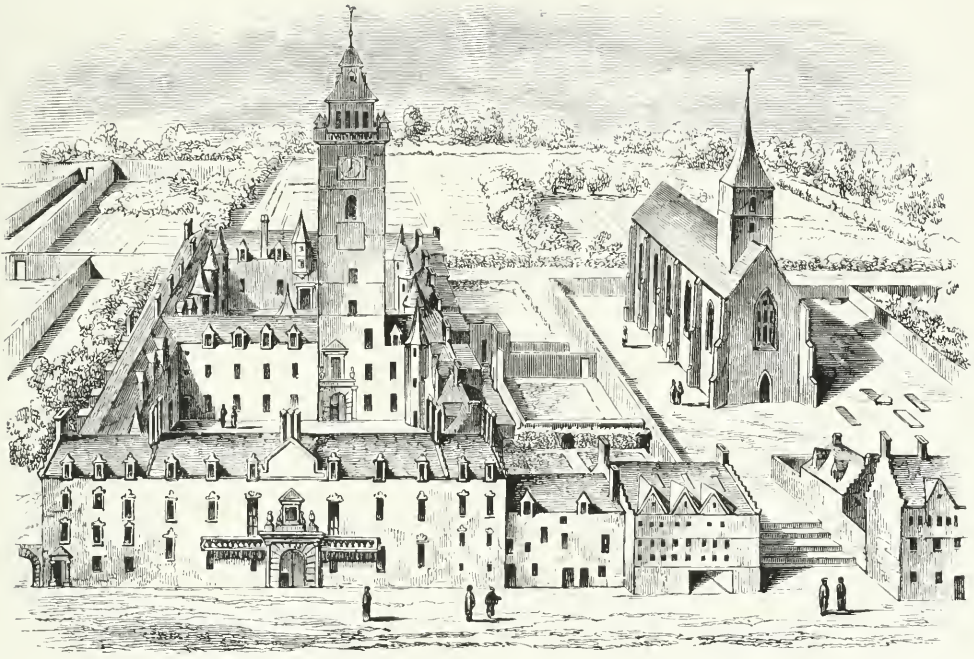
fain to displace his brother when for a time he had gained possession of the rostrum : " Come down, Robin ! that place and that business are not for you."

These auctions were held in the Old Coffee House, on the west side of the Saltmarket, at the corner of the Trongate. As an example, there is in the Exhibition : " A Catalogue of the Library of the Reverend Mr. Alexander Campbell, late minister of the gospel at Inverary ; which begins to be sold by auction at R. and A. Foulis's Auction-Room. In the Old Coffee-House." Glasgow, 1765, 4to.

Almost all booksellers had auction sales. Thus, Andrew Stalker advertises a sale to begin on 23rd November, 1756, from four to eight in the evening " of curious and valuable books consisting in part of the libraries of three worthy clergymen lately deceased," of which he issued a printed catalogue.

ROBERT FOULIS AS PUBLISHER

Having established himself as a bookseller, Robert Foulis next turned publisher. His first venture, according to his own list, was an edition of Cicero, *De natura Deorum*—a work on which he used to discourse to the Fathers of the Scots College—and the second was Phaedrus. These were issued in 1741, and in the same year he published a sermon, *On the Temper, Character and Duty of a Minister of the Gospel*, preached at the opening of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr by William Leechman (1706-85), minister of Beith, shortly to become Professor of Divinity, and later Principal of the University, and *A Plan of Education* by the Chevalier Ramsay, already referred to. Foulis had no press of his own, and had to depend upon others: but was evidently resolved to produce good work and to put Glasgow printing upon a higher level than it had hitherto reached. The Cicero was printed *ex typis academicis*, in the style of similar works issued from the same press in 1732 and 1733, and is a creditable piece of work, and, according to Dibdin, is " equally neat and correct." Phaedrus was printed by Robert Urie & Company, who



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE COLLEGE OF GLASGOW

At the end of the Seventeenth Century

had then their printing-house in the Gallowgait, and is also well done. These books were intended primarily for school and college use, but Robert Foulis had in view to provide books fit to be placed in a library. Copies of both books were issued on large and fine paper, and in the British Museum there is a copy of Phaedrus on vellum, in a characteristic Scottish binding of red morocco gold tooled, presumably a presentation copy to some encourager of his venture.

In 1742 Terence was published. It, too, was printed by Urie, and was issued in three forms: (1) for R. Urie & Company themselves; (2) for Robert Foulis; and (3) for Alexander Carlile, a bookseller in Glasgow, with the imprint *Typis Alexandri Carlile*. It is well printed, on good paper, and is in the same type as that used for the Cicero of the preceding year. Forty copies were thrown off on large paper for collectors. The Duke of Portland's copy from his Fullarton House library is now in the British Museum.

ROBERT FOULIS AS PRINTER

Foulis now resolved to become printer, and in 1742 issued several books from his own press, amongst others Juvenal, printed entirely in italic type, the *Metaphysicae Synopsis*, and the *Philosophia Moralis* of his old teacher Francis Hutcheson, the former in the character of the Cicero and Phaedrus of 1741, the latter in a type of fuller body, similar to that used by the University Press in 1732 and 1733, but more openly set. In 1743 he was in a position to publish a list of seventeen "books printed and sold by Robert Foulis, bookseller in Glasgow."

In 1743 he applied for the office of University Printer, and on 31st March he received the appointment, upon condition "that he shall not use the designation of University printer without allowance from the University meeting in any Books, excepting those of ancient authors." The University did not stipulate for a copy of the books printed at the Press, and, curiously, few of them were added to the library. There is now a large and representative collec-

tion of Foulis books in the library, but most of these came with the library of the late Mr. William Euing and other collections. The University duplicates were then presented to the Mitchell Library.

On 4th April Robert Foulis published Demetrius Phalereus, *De elocutione*, an excellent piece of work, and the first Greek book printed in Glasgow. It was evidently printed before he received his appointment, and it was, presumably, the essay-piece which he had submitted to the University as evidence of his skill.

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Many attempts had been made by the University to establish a press of their own, but with indifferent success.

David Dickson, Professor of Theology in the University (1640-42), entrusted his *Expositio analytica omnium apostolicarum Epistolarum* to George Anderson, Glasgow's first printer, who published it in 1640, but as a private, not as an official printer. When, however, Dickson's successor, Gilbert Burnet (Professor 1669-74) published his *Vindication of the authority . . . of the Church and State in Scotland*, in 1673, Robert Sanders who printed it, styled himself, "Printer to the City and University," it may be on the ground that the author was a University man. *A Declaratioun of the Generall Convention of Yreland*, printed at Dublin, was "reimprinted at Glasgow by Andro Andersone, prentar to the Toun and Colledge," in 1660. In the preceding year he had printed the graduation *Theses* to be disputed under the presidency of Robert Areskine, with the imprint "Glasguae, Excudebat Andreas Andersonus, urbis et academiae Typographus." Probably he assumed the title because he was printing on behalf of the University, without any formal appointment, and retained it. He takes no title in his edition of the Gaelic version of the *Shorter Catechism*, Glasgow, 1659. In 1675, having returned to Edinburgh, he printed the *Theses* to be disputed in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, under the presidency of Alexander Cockburn, styling himself *typographus Regius*.

Robert Sanders, the elder, was one of the most active of our Glasgow printers, and, as the only printer in the West of Scotland, was occasionally employed by the Privy Council for printing Proclamations and other official documents, and, having acquired a share in Anderson's patent, took the title "One of his Majesties Printers." In 1672, and, as we have seen in 1673, he describes himself as "Printer to the City and to the University," but whether he had authority for this from the University does not appear. In 1674 he printed the St. Andrews graduation *Theses*, to be disputed under the presidency of his brother, Professor William Sanders, and gives as imprint: "*GLASCVÆ, Ex typographéo Roberti Sanders, Urbis & Academiae typographi.*" The imprint on Kirkwood's *Grammatica facilis*, also printed in 1674, is similar. In other books, issued from 1675 to 1678, and in his *New Prognostication* for 1681 and for 1682 he uses the same title, but in some school books in 1691 and in the *Theses* of 1693 and other books of that year, he describes himself as "unus e typographis Regiis," probably as the superior title.

Robert Sanders was succeeded by his son, of the same name, in 1694, who in 1697 printed an edition of Toldervy's *The Foot out of the Snare*, in which he describes himself as University printer.

The Graduation *Theses* of 1698, disputed under the presidency of John Law, and those of 1699 and 1707, disputed under the presidency of Gerschom Carmichael, were printed by him as University Printer. He likewise printed, but not in an official capacity, those of the next year, when John Loudon presided.

In 1713—the year in which James Watson's *History of the Art of Printing* was published, and in which the Oxford University press was removed to the first Clarendon Building—the University drew up a scheme for establishing a bookseller's shop and a printing press within their precincts, and had sundry communings with Thomas Harvie, a student of divinity, for providing, in three or four years, presses and type, but these came to nothing. They put on record that the consideration of being obliged to go to Edinburgh in order to get one sheet right printed, showed the urgency of having a press

of their own: probably on the suggestion of Professor Andrew Rosse. In April, 1710, he had delivered a public address upon Latin literature, with reference to the art of translation and a proposed new edition of Terence. This *Exercitatio academica*, along with an interesting Appendix in English, was printed at Edinburgh next year by James Watson, with a long list of *Errata*.

In the latter part of 1714 Principal Stirling "vir doctissimus, pietate ac meritis gravissimus," commenced negotiations with Donald Govan, younger, a merchant in Glasgow, and an old student, for setting up a press, but while these were pending, two University printers, James Hart and Hugh Brown, came unexpectedly upon the scene. A *Conference betwixt Mr. John Steele and Mr. John Adamson* was "printed by James Hart, in the University, 1714," and three pieces were printed in the same year, "by Hugh Brown, Printer to the University," or by Hugh Brown "in the University of Glasgow." These were (1) *Gratulatio Britannica ob exoptatum & pergratum Adventum . . . Georgij . . . regis, in Britanniam;* (2) *The last words of Mr. Donald Cargill, when on the Scaffold;* and (3) *The Jacobite Curse*. He was in such haste to get out the last that he misspelt his own name, and the title-page of the first issue is distinguished by the uncouth word Huhg. In a third issue the title is *Jacobite's Curse*. Curate Calder points out, in his rejoinder, that the quotation from Virgil on the title-page is printed, so as not to scan.

The author of the *Gratulatio*, it would appear from a note by Robert Wodrow, was the Reverend James Clark, M.A., Minister of the Tron Kirk, who a few years before had so vigorously opposed the Union. On the Fast-day, then appointed by the Commission of Assembly, after preaching an eloquent and impassioned sermon upon the dangers of the land, he closed with the exhortation, "Arise, therefore, and be doing, and the Lord be with you." The church emptied in a twinkling, the drums were beat, the people gathered, and took possession of the town for several days. "The warm gentleman from the pulpit," says Defoe, "put the match to the gunpowder." Times were changed. Glasgow was enthusiastic for

King George, and the minister of the Tron was again expressing the popular sentiment. *A Congratulatory Poem upon the Coronation of his Majesty King George* was also hawked about the streets. The name of the author does not appear, but it was probably also by Mr. Clark.

The University took no notice of this publication, or of *The last words of Mr. Donald Cargill*; but on 6th December, 1714, they inserted an advertisement in the Edinburgh newspapers disclaiming Brown and the *Jacobite Curse*, and stating, "that he printed the pamphlet without the knowledge of Mr. Govan: tho' he was only employed by him and not by the University." The pamphlet it would appear was written by William Wright, minister of Kilmarnock, and the advertisement drew a curious letter, dated 21st December, from that gentleman, professing to be "written on behalf of the author," and addressed to Principal Stirling. After referring to the advertisement, and suggesting that it was a reflection upon the author and not upon the printer of the pamphlet, he says:

"In the meantime he begs leave to complain of such a publication without advertisement, especiallie seeing the pamphlet was printed near three months ago, and all the copies were sold of y^t Edition, and a 2^d too, seeing also it was sold openly in y^r Citie, yea in y^r Church in the face of your Provincial Synod, and neither they nor any of y^{or} learned bodie did then publickly censure it. October the author thinks had been ane fitter season. Rev'nd Sir, if the Author had not been possessed of a deep Veneration of your self and a profound respect for the professors and honor of a universitie where he had the hapiness of near nine or ten years Education he had taken the libertie you have given your selves of inserting also his advertisement in the Gazette, in contrariety to yours, seeing he is persuaded Hew Brown has in sundrie Books printed by him designed himself printer to the universitie, and you did not before this disclaim it. Besides the Author is persuaded Mr. Govan has a bad Memorie, if it be truth you have published in relation to him."

The University closed with Govan early in the year 1715. He was appointed University Printer for seven years, and there were assigned to him two chambers, a cellar and a garret, within the College. He, on the other hand, undertook to provide two printing presses, with skilled workmen, and sufficient founts of type, including Greek characters and enough Hebrew and Chaldee type to print a small grammar. This condition was evidently desired by Charles Morthland, the Professor (1709-45) of Oriental Languages, described by Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk as "master of his business."

Govan was a merchant, not a printer, and seems to have had difficulty in obtaining, or at least in retaining, workmen; his appointment was not a success, and few books bear his imprint. As a man engaged in commercial pursuits, he apparently thought that a newspaper would be useful, and issued, from the "Printing House in the College," the earliest publication of the kind in Glasgow, *The Glasgow Courant*, later *The West-Country Intelligencer*, with interlaced and reversed capitals "*D.S.*" upon the title page. Begun upon 11th November, 1715, it came to a close with No. 67 upon 1st May, 1716. The *Dissertatio philosophica de Summi Numinis existentia* of John Sherman, which appeared in 1716, was a respectable piece of printing, and compares not unfavourably with the *Theses* of Bernard Webb and of James Wright printed by R. and A. Foulis in 1752 and 1761. On the other hand, Gerschom Carmichael's edition of Puffendorf, *De Officio Hominis et Civis*, as produced by Govan in 1718, was one of the worst printed books which ever appeared in Glasgow. The press seems to have collapsed by the end of 1719. On the death, in 1720, of William Jameson, Lecturer, or, as he was styled, Professor of Civil History, Andrew Rosse published a Memorial pointing out the usefulness of the chair, protesting against its suppression, and suggesting that it should be associated with the Chair of Humanity. The Memorial bears no printer's name, but looks like Glasgow work. When Professor Morthland's Hebrew Grammar was ready for the press, in 1721, the printing was entrusted to James Duncan, printer to the City. In the preceding year, 1720,

James and William Duncan printed Jameson's *Spicilegia Antiquitatum Ægypti*, in which a good deal of Greek, Hebrew and Chaldee type is used; and it may be that this type was actually got by Govan, in terms of his contract, and subsequently transferred to the Duncans. The first book printed in Scotland in Hebrew characters had, however, been produced in Glasgow in 1644, when George Anderson printed John Row's Hebrew Grammar.

The efforts of the University to establish a press had been unsuccessful, but they resolved to try again. Alexander Carmichael, a son of Gerschom Carmichael, had been in business for some years as a bookseller in Glasgow, and in 1730 appears as a printer within the College under the style of "Mr. Alexander Carmichael & Company," and, under this title, printed a second edition of *Believers' Mortification of sin by the Spirit*, by his much persecuted grandfather of the same name, the minister of Pettinain. He must have obtained formal recognition as University printer, seeing that in the same year Francis Hutcheson's Inaugural Oration was published *typis academicis*, and in a style worthy of the University.

In 1732 there were printed at the University press for Andrew Stalker, the well-known Glasgow bookseller, and formerly partner of Carmichael, three works of Cicero, and a fourth in 1733 for Stalker and Gavin Hamilton of Edinburgh. These were for school and college use—the three earlier, being part of the Philosophical works, were employed as text-books by Hutcheson—and were well executed and on good paper.

The University press seems once more to have lapsed, as in 1734 Mr. Alexander Carmichael, Alexander Miller, John, James and Mrs. Brown were printing in company, and nothing is said of their doing so in the College. Mrs. Brown's name disappears in 1735, and those of John and James in 1736, the firm becoming then "Alexander Carmichael and Alexander Miller." There was, however, a press in the College, as in 1737 certain works of Isaac Ambrose—"the most meditative Puritan of Lancashire"—were printed in Glasgow College "for James Cullen, preacher, Archibald Ingram,

James Dechman, John Hamilton, and John Glasford, merchants in Glasgow." There is no information as to who carried on the press, but in an Advertisement, issued with the book, reference is made to Alexander Miller, bookseller in the Saltmarket of Glasgow, and in the summer of next year accommodation was provided within the College for Alexander Miller, printer—no doubt the same person—who, it appears, was already working there. In that and the following year Miller printed "in Glasgow College" a few religious works, excerpts from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and *Verses sacred to the memory of the Hon. Alexander Stewart Master of Garlies, By a young Student of the University*. The Master had been a student for some years, and the verses have been attributed to Professor Moor, on the authority of Professor Richardson, and also to the Hon. Patrick Boyle, son of Lord Boyle, and grandson of the Earl of Glasgow. They are dedicated to Mr. Boyle, presumably an elder brother who was likewise a student in the University.

In 1741 a reprint of Christopher Love's *Heaven's Glory; Hell's Terror* appeared with the imprint, "Glasgow-College, Printed by Alexander Miller." In the same year Cicero, *De natura Deorum*, was printed for Robert Foulis, *typis academicis*, as already mentioned.

ROBERT FOULIS AS UNIVERSITY PRINTER

Early in 1744 Robert Foulis published Pindar, and later the *Meditations* of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus in Greek and Latin. The Pindar is a good example of Greek printing, and "one of the most accurate of the Glasgow editions of the Greek classics." The other volume is dedicated by Robert Foulis, *academiae typographus*, to Dunbar Hamilton of Baldoon, afterwards Earl of Selkirk and Rutherglen, who had occupied rooms in the College for many years, living in the closest intimacy with James Moor, and enjoying the friendship of Hutcheson, "of whose philosophical opinions he retained through life a warm admiration." In the same year there was issued the famous Horace "diligenter emendatus et

Numb. 1.

T H E

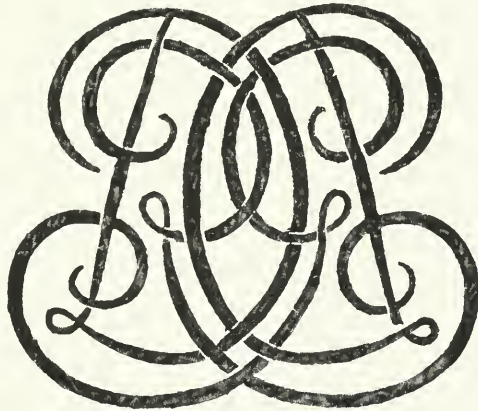
Glasgow Courant,

Containing the

O C C U R R E N C E S

Both at Home and Abroad:

From Friday November 11, to Monday November 14. 1715.



Glasgow, Printed for R. T. and are to be Sold at the
Printing House in the Colledge, and at the Post-
Office. 1715.

interpunctione nova saepius illustratus," on common and on fine paper, large and small. Although not immaculate, as it has been called, it is a pretty, well-printed book, particularly when on large paper, and ruled in red, but not one of the finest of the Foulis classics.

In this year the Greek text and Latin translation of the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, and the *Tabula* of Cebes were printed, along with some other small tracts of a similar character *in aedibus academicis*. This is a beautiful and accurate little volume, and was several times reprinted. The *Manual* of Epictetus and the *Table* of Cebes are not much in fashion now, but were at one time very popular. The *Table* was one of the easy prose text books used by Alexander Dunlop (1684-1747), Professor of Greek, "a very lively and witty man, and a famous Grecian, but a more famous punster," and "distinguished by his strong good sense and capacity for business." It was also a favourite with his pupil and successor Professor Moor.

To produce a handsome piece of typography the type must not only be well set, but it must be in itself well and gracefully formed, the paper must be sound, and the ink good. Foulis was particular as regards all these details. Writing some years later, when the publication of Plato was in view, Robert Foulis says, "I would have some researches for finding a better Ink than ordinary."

James Watson, writing in 1713, mentions that the Scottish printers of the day generally kept no corrector of the press, and this told greatly against their work. Foulis recognized the evil, and employed a professional press reader. Dr. Wodrow, in his reminiscences of the two brothers, mentions that "there was an obscure lad whose name I scarcely knew, then the overseer and corrector of their Press, to whose incessant and incredible attention and diligence Robert Foulis must have been unspeakably indebted for the correctness of many of his books." It is right to record that the person alluded to was John Fleming of Strathaven, a relation of the late Professor William Fleming, who entered the Greek class under Professor Dunlop in 1739.

Foulis was not a practical printer, but it is said that he spent some time in a printing office, in order to gain a knowledge of the art. If, however, as would seem to be the case, there was a press in the College, he must have had ample opportunity of picking up such information as an outsider can acquire ; and, seeing that the Cicero of 1741 was produced at the University press, immediately adjoining his own bookshop, it is not improbable that he took part in the work.

TYPE-FOUNDING IN GLASGOW

Type-founding had been practised in Glasgow as early as 1718, and although it seems to have been carried on during the next twenty years it made no progress in the way of improvement. The ordinary type used in Scotland, when Foulis began business as a printer, was mostly imported from Holland. His first Greek type he got probably in Oxford or in London.

In 1742 Alexander Wilson and John Bain established a letter foundry at St. Andrews. They succeeded beyond their expectations, and in 1744, in order to be in a more central place, and one in which they might have the opportunity of pushing their business in Ireland and America, they removed to Camlachie, then a small village about a mile east of Glasgow Cross. In 1747 Mr. Bain left Glasgow and settled in Dublin to cultivate the Irish connection. Two years later the partnership was dissolved ; and in 1748 Wilson was appointed type-founder to the University.

In the Exhibition there are shown by Messrs. Caslon & Co. of London, two Wilson hand moulds, with sample types cast from them, also some Wilson matrices.

There is in the British Museum (B. 729 (8)) a specimen book of the Wilson types, printed at Glasgow in 1772 ; and James Cleland in his *Annals of Glasgow*, reprints a later specimen.

Foulis early took advantage of Wilson's skill, and obtained various new founts of letters from him, while " the growing reputation of the University press gave additional scope to Mr. Wilson to

exert his abilities in producing fine type, and being allowed to follow his own judgment and taste, his talents as an artist became every year more conspicuous. Hitherto Caslon had stood at the head of English type founders, and although his types were very perfect they were now excelled by the Glasgow letter, which it has been said was 'by far the most beautiful of any yet invented.' It might be imagined that this was the sole reason for the beauty of the Foulis printing. But this is not so; the best type in the world will not make a good printer, and with such type a poor craftsman may turn out work that a balladmonger would be ashamed of. "It has not been unfrequently imagined," says Dr. Patrick Wilson, Alexander Wilson's son, "that the superiority of Messrs. Foulis editions of the *Classicks &c.* has depended much on the elegance and other good properties of the types furnished them from the Glasgow Foundry; but as far as this circumstance could contribute anything to their success it is well known that the late Dr. Wilson, as well as his sons, have, in justice to the Messrs. Foulis, wished it to be fully understood that every other printer, who applied to their Foundry, derived equal advantages by being served with Founts at their pleasure cast in the very same matrices with those used for the Messrs. Foulis's orders. The superior elegance therefore of Messrs. Foulis's editions, so far as that has been allowed, must have been owing chiefly to their ardour and skill in pursuing a great detail of experiments and contrivances connected with some improved construction of the Letter-press, the nature and due preparation of their paper, the quality of their ink and the peculiar condition of the Balls for distributing it over the forms; which particular tho' last mentioned is also of great importance to the delicacy of the impression, and far from being easily attainable. . . . They never made use of leads, reglets, or scabbards for extending the distances between the lines. Their founts were always cast 'long-bodied,' to such a degree as best suited for proper effect. In this way the justness and accuracy of the founts were preserved, which would have been marred by the introduction of scabbards."

According to family tradition, when the Messrs. Foulis visited Oxford in 1738, they were shown a manuscript of Aesop's Fables, which was reputed to be the writing upon which Robert Stephen modelled his Greek type. This, it is said, gave a hint to Robert Foulis, which he afterwards communicated to Wilson, who took every pains to produce a handsome character.

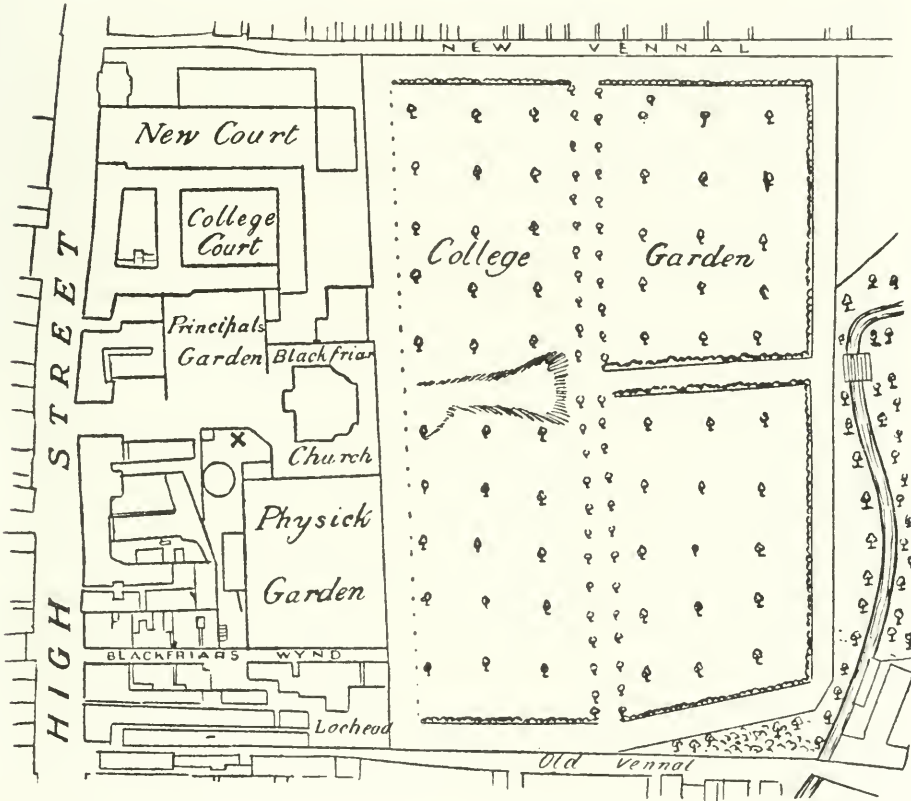
Robert Urie, as well as Robert Foulis, took advantage of Wilson's skill, and supplied himself with type from the new foundry. In 1744 he printed a handsome edition of the *Spectator* for Andrew Stalker and John Barry. In the Proposals for subscription it is stated that "the book will be printed in the same letter and size with the best London edition and on a beautiful and neat letter founded in Glasgow and purchased for this very design." This is perhaps the first book printed from Wilson's new type; and, as will presently appear, was one of those which sorely disturbed the London booksellers.

Through the influence of the Duke of Argyll a Chair of Practical Astronomy was founded in the University, and Alexander Wilson was appointed Professor in 1760. As the Observatory was in the College garden he found it inconvenient to have the type foundry at Camlachie and applied to the University for a site upon College property. This was agreed to, and in 1762 the foundry was transferred to a position on the south side of the College Open, otherwise College or Blackfriars Steps, as it was called, immediately to the west of the Physic garden, and opposite the Principal's garden, which was on the north side of the Open.

The plan here reproduced from John M'Arthur's four-sheet map of Glasgow of 1778, shows the Physic Garden; and the site of the foundry is marked with a X, as indicated on the plan of the College properties, submitted in 1827 to the University Commissioners, and on Martin's map of Glasgow of 1842.

Slezer's Bird's-eye view shows the College as it was at the end of the seventeenth century; and the engraving of the College Open, made by Robert Paul, in the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts,

to be afterwards referred to, represents the Open as it was in 1756 Excepting the trees it is very much as I remember it, in the late forties, when I attended the Blackfriars Church as a child, although the foundry had been closed several years earlier. The place was still unchanged when I was a student, and used to explore the long



narrow closes on both sides of the High Street and the Saltmarket. The type-foundry abutted on College Open, and had an access by Castlepens Close, and also by Blackfriars Wynd, afterwards known as East Regent Street, which for long formed an entrance to the College garden.

THE PRESS OF R. AND A. FOULIS

A second edition of Hutcheson's *Philosophia Moralis*, issued in 1745, with a dedication to the Students, bears to be printed by Robert Foulis. He was likewise the printer of Aeschylus, of Montgomery's *Cherrie and the Slac*, and other works in 1746, but the Theocritus of that year, and the quarto Homer of 1747 are by Robert and Andrew Foulis. Other books, however, published in 1747, and even in 1748, bear the imprint of Robert alone, while, on the *verso* of the last page of the second volume of the quarto Aeschylus of 1746, there is a list of books printed by R. and A. Foulis within the University premises.

It would appear, therefore, that towards the end of 1746, or perhaps in 1747, Robert assumed his brother Andrew as a partner, and henceforward they carried on the business of booksellers, literary auctioneers, and printers, under the style of Robert and Andrew Foulis. Their father died in July, 1742. Andrew Faulls was well-to-do; he owned a property on the south side of the Briggait, and another in St. Enoch Wynd. During his lifetime, he paid his two daughters their shares of his estate, in the shape of tocher or dowry, and at his death he bequeathed the remainder to his four sons, Robert, Andrew, John and James, equally amongst them. One of the daughters had received 500 and the other 1000 merks Scots, and it may be assumed that the share of each son would be estimated to be not less than the larger sum, or £56 sterling. Robert, Andrew and James took the Briggait property; John had that in St. Enoch Wynd. John was entrusted with the realization and distribution of the moveable estate, and in April, 1743, had an acknowledgment from his three brothers that he had faithfully performed the duty, in which he had the legal assistance of Peter Paterson, a noted practitioner of the day. The properties were not sold, so that no capital came into hand, but they no doubt yielded a small revenue. When, however, the Briggait property was put up to auction in November, 1782, the rental was only £10 and the

upset price was fixed at £65. In January, 1747, Robert was served heir-general to his father Andrew Foulis ; and in February, James Foulis, having resolved to go abroad, appointed his brother John his factor and commissioner in his absence. There was probably, therefore, some dealing with the family property, but whether it had anything to do with the partnership arrangement it is impossible to say.

In 1749 the Foulis edition of Cicero appeared, in twenty volumes duodecimo, and is even yet the most convenient for the pocket. "Have you seen the little Tully of Glasgow?" writes Dr. Warburton, shortly after its publication. "It is very elegant, possibly it may be correct." Apparently he had not tested it, and, at any rate, he was not much of a classical scholar. Dr. Harwood, however, attests that it "is very correctly printed"; and Renouard prefers its type to that of the Elzevirs. In the beginning of 1750 the Earl of Morton wrote to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke from Edinburgh, sending him some bottles of Tokay wine, and a copy of the Glasgow Cicero, with an inscription on the title-page. After thanking the Earl for the presents, Lord Hardwicke proceeds: "I shall with y^e greatest pleasure give y^e copy of y^e Glasgow Tully a suitable place in my library, not only as it does honour to y^e Scotch press, where they now print the most beautifully of any country in Europe; but as it will remain there a mark of that regard with which your lordship is pleased to honour me."

Year after year the firm issued a large number of books, some of them such as had hitherto been attempted only by an endowed press, and many of them of great beauty. The printers had every encouragement and assistance from the members of the University. George Rosse, professor of Humanity, a very exact scholar and "ever to be remembered with respect and regret," acted till his death, in 1754, as editor of their Latin classics. James Moor (1712-79), a profound Grecian and an excellent mathematician, at first University librarian, and afterwards professor of Greek, performed the like duty as regards the Greek classics. A fresh transla-

tion of the *Meditations* of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the first two books by Moor, and the remainder by Hutcheson, was published in 1742 by Robert Foulis, and, by anticipating, led to the abandonment of a translation which Dr. William Robertson, then a young man, was contemplating. Hutcheson and Leechman gave constant assistance and advice. The former, we are told by Mr. Samuel Kenrick of Bewdley, was "their able and generous friend and patron," and "no doubt afforded them pecuniary assistance as well as judicious advice in the choice of the books they were to publish." Moor, "très instruit et un fort honnête et fort galant homme," as he is styled by Capperonnier, seems to have had in view an edition of the works of Archimedes, but it did not proceed beyond the *Arenarius*—that curious anticipation of modern logarithms—which was printed by R. and A. Foulis, about 1751. A goodly number of copies of this were still in the stock of Alexander Hadden, the bookseller, in High Street, when I was a student. They also began preparations for the publication of a complete and splendid edition of the works of Plato, to be edited by Professor Moor, but, while much material was collected, the project never matured. It nevertheless continued to occupy the thoughts of both brothers, for as late as 19th November, 1764, they wrote, "We have lately got home a collation of the oldest Manuscripts of Plato in the Vatican." Their collections are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Dr. Robert Simson (1687-1768), professor of Mathematics, received both brothers into his Friday Club, and treated them on the most friendly footing. He edited for them the *Loci plani* of Apollonius of Perga, based on two MSS. in the King's library at Paris, which Moor had collated, and the work was published in 1749 in a handsome quarto, and dedicated to John, Earl of Bute. In 1756 they published Simson's edition of Euclid in Latin, and separately in English, both dedicated to George, Prince of Wales. These volumes are still sought after by collectors, and, in fine condition, bring a higher price now than on the day of publication.

THE PRINTING HOUSE

At first the printing-house was within the walls of the College, *in aedibus academicis*, but as business expanded it was necessary to find larger premises elsewhere. In December, 1747, Robert and Andrew Foulis purchased from the heirs portioners of Robert Selkrig, a well-known member of the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow, a tenement of land, "some years before burnt and then ruinous," on the west side of the High Street, with yard and pertinents, extending westwards to the common passage formerly known as Greyfriars Wynd and thereafter as Shuttle Street. The price paid was £47 10s. and the title was taken to the two brothers as joint owners equally between them. Thirty years earlier Robert Sanders the younger had his bookshop on the same side of the High Street, a little above the Grammar-School Wynd,—which in after years took the name Greyfriars Wynd. Whether this was the place purchased it is impossible to say, but at any rate it was near where Sanders' shop had been. As the tenement had been burned it was necessary to build in order to utilize the site, but the purchasers seem to have had doubts as to the expediency of doing so, for in 1750 they acquired from the Incorporation of Gardeners, at the price of twelve years' purchase, the second and third flats of the Trades tenement on the west side of Greyfriars Wynd, afterwards known as Shuttle Street, with certain rights as to building on the back area. This tenement had been built by the Incorporation in 1720. They had purchased, in 1705, "that great yard or orchard of old a manor place with yard or orchard belonging to the Minor Brethren or Franciscans" lying betwixt Craignaught and Ramshorn on the west, and the Greyfriars Wynd on the east. The land was bought as a building estate, and the tenement was no doubt built with the view of inducing others to follow their example.

The printing-house was put up for sale on 8th November, 1782, when it was purchased by the University. In 1792 they acquired the laigh or ground storey, and became owners of the whole tene-

ment. In 1816 they had a charter of Novodamus from the Incorporation of Gardeners, but the property seems to have disappeared in the formation of what is now College Street.

In 1830 the University purchased a site at the south-west corner of College Street and Shuttle Street on which they erected new chemical laboratories and class rooms. This they sold, in 1873, after the transference of the University buildings to Gilmorehill, when I purchased it for a client.

In 1765 an edition of John Willison's *Fair and Impartial Testimony* was "printed for and sold by John Finlay, wright at his house in *Shuttle Street*; and by Duncan Campbell, junior, gardner, at his house near the *Gallowgate* toll," but Finlay seems to have been merely a neighbour, with no connection with the printing-house.

SOME NOTABLE BOOKS

The great Homer, in double pica and all the majesty of a folio page, was produced by Robert and Andrew Foulis in 1756 and 1758, the *Iliad*, in two volumes, in the former, and the *Odyssey*, likewise in two volumes, in the latter year. For beauty as well as for accuracy, these splendid volumes can hardly be surpassed. Bishop Lowth could find but one single error, the omission of an "iota" subscribed to a dative. The large paper copies are magnificent; they are, it is said, "one of the finest monuments of Greek typography which our nation possesses." "As the eye is the organ of fancy," writes Gibbon, "I read Homer with more pleasure in the Glasgow edition. Through that fine medium, the poet's sense appears more beautiful and transparent." In the *Life of Winckelmann* it is stated that he never travelled without Homer: "his companion at every instant of his life"; and that the edition which he had with him on his last journey (in the course of which he died), was that of Foulis, "very elegantly printed at Glasgow, in 1756-58."

Many copies were specially bound in Glasgow under Robert Foulis' eye, and a few were ruled in red. Flaxman's subsequent

compositions from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are inserted in some copies as illustrations; one is in the Hamilton collection in the University library. The University presented copies of the Homer to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, now in possession of the Earl of Rosebery, Chancellor of the University; to George James, Duke of Hamilton; to Archibald, third Duke of Argyle, and other prominent men of the day. Charles, King of the two Sicilies, through the intervention of Professor Rouet, who was then in Italy, presented to the University four volumes of the *Antiquities of Herculaneum*; and in return the University in 1764 sent His Majesty the Glasgow Homer, handsomely bound. The Royal donor having become King of Spain, then ordered Michael Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis* to be presented to the University. In my younger days, some fifty years ago, I indulged in the study of Arabic, and, moved by James Harris' account of this famous catalogue, I borrowed it from the University library and found it full of interest. Unfortunately, however, only the first volume, published in 1760, was to be had; the second was not published until ten years later, and Glasgow was overlooked in its distribution. When the present exhibition was being organised, the Committee applied to King Alfonso for the loan of the Homer, but it is contrary to rule to allow any volume to leave the Royal library, and the request could not be acceded to. It was then ascertained that the second volume of Casiri's catalogue had not been presented; the King thereupon ordered that it should be bound in old Spanish morocco, and forwarded to Glasgow.

While the Homer is a triumph of art, it is deservedly so. Great thought, pains, and care were bestowed upon its production. The paper was carefully selected by Robert Foulis. "Alexander Wilson, "egregius ille typorum artifex," setting aside all other business, applied himself to designing and producing a new fount of Greek type which was superior to anything then to be found in any printing office. Every sheet was twice carefully read over and collated by the proof reader, who, on this occasion, was James Tweedie, a student of divinity. They were next read by

Andrew Foulis, and finally they were thrice gone over by the editors, Professor Moor and Professor Muirhead (1715-73), once by each separately, and then by both together.

Homer was followed in 1759 by Thucydides, and by Herodotus in 1761. These with Xenophon, including the *Hipparchicus*, were a series, in forty-one volumes, prepared by the publishers, "in order to render the reading of the Greek Historians more convenient for Gentlemen in active life." The type, they say, is the same "both in size and form, with the Capital Folio-editions of R. and H. Stephens." The volumes are in octavo, of a convenient size, and beautifully printed. The Greek is on one page and a Latin translation upon the opposite one, which enables "gentlemen in active life" to read the Greek text—at least of Herodotus and Xenophon—without much difficulty or hesitation. Dr. Harwood after praising the beauty and accuracy of these texts, adds, "Every friend of Greek literature would rejoice to see Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch's *Lives*, published in the same size, and in the same beautiful and correct manner." This, however, was no part of the scheme.

A war had broken out in North America in 1758, which resulted in the capture of Quebec. Professor Moor translated Tyrtæus, under the title, *Spartan Lessons; or the praise of Valour; in the verses of Tyrtæus; an ancient Athenian poet, adopted by the republic of Lacedaemon, and employed to inspire their youth with warlike sentiments*, which was published by Robert and Andrew Foulis in 1759, with this patriotic dedication:

"These Remains of ancient-Panegyric on martial spirit and personal valour; Of old the daily lessons of the Spartan youth; Are, with propriety Inscribed to the Young Gentlemen, lately bred at the University of Glasgow; at present, serving their country, as Officers of the Highland Battalions now in America."

There is an allusion to this in William Thom's *Donaldsoniad*,

Τ Ο Τ Η Σ

Ι Λ Ι Α Δ Ο Σ

Α Λ Φ Α.

ΜΗΝΙΝ ἄειδε, ΘΕΑ, Πηληϊάδεω ἈΧΙΛΛῆΟΣ

Οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε·

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμης ψυχὰς αἶδι προΐαψεν

Ἡρώων, αὐτὰς δ' ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν,

Οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι· Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή·

Ἐξ ἧ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διασέτην ἐρίσαντε

Ἀτρείδης τε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

Τίς τ' ἄρ' σφῶε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;

Λητῆς καὶ Διὸς υἱός· ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθείς

Νῆσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὥρσε κακὴν· ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί·

Οὐνεκα τὸν Χρῦσῆν ἠτίμησ' ἀρητῆρα

Ἀτρείδης· ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,

Λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,

published in 1763 :—" I remember in Mr. Hutcheson's Time, whun Words and Things baith war' gaen about the College like Peas and Groats, and a' the Lads tauked Philosophy then, just as forthily as the Hiland Lads tauk Greek now."

In 1754 R. and A. Foulis printed a small edition of the *Fabulae Aesopicae*, which was reprinted three years afterwards at the Clarendon press for James Fletcher, the Oxford bookseller, a correspondent of Robert Foulis. The title-page and preface of the reprint correspond exactly with the Glasgow edition, but the text is more openly set, having three lines fewer to a full page, and giving 118 pages as against 108 in the other. The Foulis is, however, much the prettier book.

In 1763 beautiful editions of *La Gierusalemme liberata*, of *Il Pastor fido* and of other Italian works were issued. One of these was *Discorso sopra le vicende della Letteratura*, by Carlo Denina (1731-1813), an Italian litterateur, who dwells on the influence of the lectures and writings of Francis Hutcheson.

Gray's *Poems* appeared in 1768, in quarto, " one of the most elegant pieces of printing," says Dr. Beattie, " that the Glasgow press or any other press has ever produced " ; and which gave great pleasure to the author. This was the first work in the Roman character which the firm had printed with so large type, and for the purpose Dr. Wilson cut a beautiful fount of double pica. A magnificent edition in folio of Milton's *Poems* was published in 1770, and this may be considered the last effort of the brothers as printers, for while they continued to print and issue many books till their deaths these were of a more common-place character, although the execution was as careful as before.

The Edinburgh Society for encouraging arts, sciences, manufactures and agriculture in Scotland awarded their silver medal to Messrs. Foulis in 1755 for their *Callimachus*, and in 1756 two silver medals for their Horace of 1756, and their folio *Iliad*, others in 1757 and 1758 for their *Odyssey* and the Minor works of Homer. David Garrick's copy of the Horace of 1756 is in the Exhibition.

The senate presented a number of the Foulis books to Dr. William Hunter (1718-83), which are now in his library along with the museum which he bequeathed to the University.

Robert Foulis never had much capital. In 1743 he had two small loans from Dr. John Stevenson, physician in Edinburgh, and had further advances next year. He or the firm again borrowed from the same source in 1744, 1749 and 1753. Dr. Stevenson seems to have had some interest with them in the publication of the Chevalier Ramsay's *Philosophical Principles of natural and Revealed religion*, in 1748, as the Messrs. Foulis oblige themselves "to sustain" the various loans "at clearing the expenses of Chevalier Ramsay's book." The debts were not, however, met as proposed and continued outstanding until the end of the chapter. It is to be feared, therefore, that while printing earned much credit for the brothers it brought in but little profit.

INFLUENCE OF THE FOULIS PRESS

The enthusiasm of Robert Foulis and the excellent work which he produced, inspired the trade in Glasgow with a desire for better things. Robert Urie maintained a friendly rivalry and produced some beautiful books. His Greek Testament of 1750 is superior to that of Ruddiman published in the same year, and to that of Robert and Andrew Foulis published in 1759. Urie informs us that he had used new type and had made every endeavour to produce a handsome piece of typography, and, in order to give beauty and elegance to the page, he had printed the text continuously and had not broken it up into verses, but had noted these upon the margin. Urie's edition of Sallust of 1749 is a little gem. In the Address to the Reader he explains that he had endeavoured to provide a perfect text and a beautiful book. He employed the most expert workmen, obtained a new fount of types, and used the best paper. The Foulises followed with another and similar edition in 1751, but Urie's is the better of the two. Both adopt

the text of Cort. In the Foulis edition the text is printed continuously, the chapters being indicated by the use of a capital letter at the beginning of its first word, and a small arabic figure in the margin, following Urie's plan in his Greek Testament. In Urie's Sallust the sentences begin with capital letters in the usual way, and the chapters are divided and marked with Roman figures. Foulis printed Locke's *Elements of Natural Philosophy* in 1751; Urie printed it again in 1758, in a more attractive form, with an engraved plate of the Copernican system. Urie's editions of Buchanan's *Psalms*, and of his *De jure regni apud Scotos*, and of the *Exercitationes Anatomicae* of Harvey,—whose portrait by Bemmell is in the University collection,—are also fine pieces of work.

But while Urie's books demonstrate his technical skill he did not attempt any great work. He produced no stately quarto or folio, and confined himself, as regards high class work, to pocket volumes. To a large extent he printed for the trade and produced what was in immediate demand by the general public. Many of these popular books, as, for instance, his edition of the *Spectator*, already mentioned, were well and tastefully printed.

Popular religious books, or, what librarians term, Works of practical Divinity, were for long badly printed on coarse and poor paper. In a Memoir by Rev. William Dunlop prefixed to an edition of *The Christian's Great Interest*, by William Guthrie, minister at Fenwick, printed at Edinburgh in 1720 and again in 1724, it is said:

“But tho' . . . it hath been frequently reprinted; yet most of the Editions hitherto published have been very defective, as to the Goodness of the Paper, the Beauty and Neatness of the Character, or the Correctness and Accuracy of the Printing; which are circumstances that have no small influence on the Pleasure, and sometimes on the Profit of reading any Composure. . . . These Inconveniences . . . were the Reasons which determined the Publisher of this Edition, to be at some Pains in furnishing the World with Copies of it, that should have some Measure of Exactness and Beauty.”

Whether this was aimed at Robert Sanders, the younger, our Glasgow printer, one cannot say, but it might have been, as he had printed what seems to have been the immediately preceding edition, in 1702, and that very badly. The Edinburgh editions were better, but left much to be desired.

A new edition was published at Glasgow in 1755, "printed for John Brown, Bookseller." The name of the printer is not disclosed, but the printing is excellent and the paper good, and shows that Foulis' example was bearing fruit. In 1756 John Bryce and David Paterson, printers and booksellers in Glasgow, issued a new edition of John Owen's *Φρόνημα τοῦ Πνεύματος, or, the Grace and Duty of being Spiritually minded*, of which some copies were "on a fine writing paper . . . neatly bound in calf, letter'd and gilt": followed by several other of his works in similar style. They are not particularly attractive, but they indicate that a well-printed book was something to be aimed at. In 1765 John Bryce published a new edition of *Joshua redivivus, or . . . Letters by Samuel Rutherford*. In an Advertisement he states that former editions "have been printed upon a very small type, and an extreme coarse paper." The present edition "he hopes from the largeness of the type, goodness of the paper, and elegancy of print, will do justice to the Author, be a credit to himself, and at the same time yield pleasure and satisfaction to the reader." The setting is rather close, but the book is a marked improvement upon previous editions. The publications relating to the Associate Synod were poorly printed, but their *Act . . . anent a Fast* in 1748, was printed in excellent style, and on good paper, apparently by Foulis.

PROGRESS OF GLASGOW

Robert Foulis was born just before the Union and died in 1776. During his lifetime a new world had opened upon Glasgow. "Glasgow," says an Italian tourist of the period, "is with reason considered as the second city of Scotland, for beauty, for vastness,

for wealth." Her population had grown from 12,000 to 43,000, her commerce extended to every land; her ships were on every sea. Ventures were entered upon, and carried out, which half a century before would have been laughed at as the dreams of madmen. Banks were founded; a post office was established, although until 1788, letters from London had to pass through Edinburgh; two weekly newspapers were published; clubs and coffee-houses were opened; music was cultivated; public concerts were given, and Italian singers were engaged to perform. A theatre was set up, and stage plays were acted. Intellectual life was stirring in all classes. Culture was added to learning; literature was studied and enjoyed; a taste for letters was diffused not only amongst the gentry and professional men, but also amongst merchants and traders.

In the University, a new school had arisen. John Loudon, the predecessor of Adam Smith, in the chair of Logic, lectured in Latin, and otherwise walked steadily in the old paths, until his death on 1st November, 1750. "We know," says an old student, "that lecturing in English had not reached the Logic Class in our time, when the formal and venerable Mess. John Loudon used, in solemn peripatetic step, to illustrate his own mysterious Compend and the still more metaphysical subtleties of De Vries." Francis Hutcheson "spoke Latin with more fluency and elegance than most men," but when he was called to the Chair of Moral Philosophy, in 1730, in succession to Gerschom Carmichael, "vir optimus doctissimus," he introduced lecturing in English, to a great extent threw overboard the scholastic philosophy and the practice of "dictates" and taught that philosophy out of which was to be developed "the Scottish School." His teaching was singularly suggestive and stimulating, while his lucid method, simple language and wealth of illustration did much to form the literary taste of the country. His pupil, Leechman, carried both his philosophy and his method into the domain of theology, interpreting its doctrines in a tolerant and liberal spirit, and expounding them in nervous and graceful language.

The narrow views of the older generation of Scottish preachers

were relaxed ; pulpit oratory was cultivated, and, as the memory of the bitter persecution of previous times waxed fainter, a regard for other branches of the Church than that by law established, and respect for other forms of church government than Presbyterianism began to be entertained. Books of all kinds, not only English, but Greek and Latin, Italian and French, were in demand, and found a ready market. In less than a score of years, Robert Urie and the brothers Foulis had put in circulation more English works in history, criticism, and the belles lettres, than had appeared in all Scotland during the seventeenth century, although all Scottish printers were much hampered, as will presently be explained, by what was believed to be the law of copyright. The *Spectator* and the *Tatler* had a very large sale in Glasgow, while parts of the works of Milton and Shakespeare, of Dryden and Pope, essays, plays and poems, followed each other in rapid succession. In 1755 R. and A. Foulis advertised a list of forty plays printed by them, of which nine were by Shakespeare.

Scottish literature was not overlooked. Several volumes of old Scots poems were reprinted, and the national taste demanded not fewer than three editions of the curious macaronic poem, *Polem-Middinia*, attributed to William Drummond of Hawthornden.

Commerce began to be viewed in a broader light than formerly, and its principles to be better understood ; but it was nothing new here, as it was in England, if we are to accept the testimony of Dr. Johnson, "that a merchant should be a gentleman." Andrew Cochrane (1693-1777), the greatest of Glasgow's lord provosts, had established a club about 1740 for discussing questions relating to trade and kindred subjects, which flourished for many years. Glasgow merchants were consulted by statesmen on questions of national finance and commercial policy ; and Robert Foulis found it worth his while to reprint such works on Economics as those of Mun, of Law, and of Gee on *Trade and Navigation*, Sir William Petty's *Political Arithmetic* and Sir Joshua Child on Trade. It was in Glasgow, and as a Glasgow professor, that Adam Smith first promulgated those principles which he subsequently embodied in *The Wealth of Nations*,

and by which he became the founder of the science of Political Economy. It was from intercourse with such men as Provost Cochrane, Archibald Ingram, and John Glassford that he acquired that practical knowledge of the details of commerce which enabled him to formulate and illustrate the doctrines which he expounded.

Science and physical research were beginning to attract attention. The Newtonian philosophy was taught. A chemical laboratory was established in the University; philosophical instruments were more extensively used for teaching and experimental purposes; an Astronomical Observatory was erected in the College garden, and was equipped through the munificence of Alexander Macfarlane, brother of the antiquary, the Laird of Macfarlane. Mr. Macfarlane was a merchant in Jamaica, and seems not to have forgotten the motto of his family, *Astra castra, Numen lumen*. He was, on the testimony of Oltmanns, an excellent practical astronomer, and, dying in 1755, bequeathed the contents of his Observatory to the University in which he had received his education. It was in Glasgow that Simson restored and explained the ancient geometrical analysis. It was as a Glasgow professor that Cullen laid the foundations of that chemical philosophy which was elaborated and perfected by his successor Joseph Black. It was Black's teaching as to the nature of latent heat and of steam that enabled James Watt, while engaged as philosophical instrument maker to the University, to work out the theory of the steam engine, and to make it the mighty instrument it has become. Watt did not forget the University or the interests of science. "Entertaining a due sense of the many favours conferred upon me by the University of Glasgow," he writes in 1808, "I wish to leave them some memorial of my gratitude, and, at the same time, to excite a spirit of inquiry and exertion among the students of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry attending the College; which appears to me the more useful, as the very existence of Britain, as a nation, seems to me, in great measure, to depend upon her exertions in the sciences and arts"; and with this object he founded a University prize in these subjects.

THE LITERARY SOCIETY IN GLASGOW COLLEGE

The Literary Society in Glasgow College was founded, it is said, in January, 1752; but Professor Richardson states that Dr. Francis Hutcheson explained in the Society the works of Arrian; and as he died of fever in Ireland, in the summer of 1746, this would carry back its origin to an earlier date than that year. A series of extracts from the records of the Society, made by Professor Richardson himself, give January 10th, 1752, as the date of its first meeting. This, however, is not conclusive, as the volume of the Minutes commencing 2nd November, 1764, has the Laws of the Society prefixed, and might be taken for the first volume did we not know that there had been an earlier. Notwithstanding the terms of the Minute of 10th January, 1752, it is therefore possible that there was an earlier volume.

According to the regulations of 1752 the Society consisted of twelve members. Nine of these were in that year professors; but the membership was gradually enlarged and a greater number of outsiders was admitted. Amongst the original members were James Moor and George Rosse, Professors respectively of Greek and of Humanity; Professor Leechman; Hercules Lindsay (who, like Gerschom Carmichael, had studied at Leyden), Professor of Law, a sound lawyer and an excellent teacher, and who had amongst his students Alexander Wedderburn—afterwards Lord Chancellor, with the titles of Baron Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn—and John Millar, who became his successor and was one of the foremost jurists of his time; Adam Smith, Professor of Moral Philosophy, and William Cullen, Professor of Medicine; James Clow (who, on the resignation of Adam Smith, succeeded to the Chair of Logic, which Edmund Burke aimed at although he did not become a candidate), a man of great attainments as a scholar, and an excellent mathematician, but who has suffered from some disparaging remarks by the acrid William Thom; Robert Dick, M.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy—the friend of James Watt—a man of much greater scientific attainments than his noisy and combative successor John

Anderson, and the originator of the popular courses of lectures the credit for which has been erroneously attributed to Anderson. Amongst later members were Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics, William Rouet, another Leyden man, Professor of Ecclesiastical History; Robert or "Robin" Bogle, merchant, a relative of "Jupiter" Carlyle; William Crawford, another merchant, son-in-law of Provost Murdoch and the friend of Hamilton of Bangour, the poet; and Mr., later, Sir, John Dalrymple, Baronet of Cranston, Advocate, author of *An Essay towards a History of Feudal property*, and other works; William Mure of Caldwell, afterwards Baron Mure; David Hume; and George Muirhead, who succeeded Rosse in the chair of Humanity.

Robert Foulis and Professor John Anderson were elected members in 1753; Andrew Foulis, Dr. Alexander Wilson and Joseph Black in 1756.

James Buchanan became a member in 1757 or 1758. He had taught Professor Simson's mathematical class for some time during his illness, and was a candidate for the chair of Natural Philosophy on the death of Dr. Dick, which he missed by one vote, the successful candidate being John Anderson, at that time Professor of Oriental languages. On that chair thus becoming vacant it was bestowed upon Buchanan. He had lived at St. Andrews for some time as tutor to David Stewart Erskine, Lord Cardross, afterwards eleventh Earl of Buchan. Writing to his lordship from Glasgow, on 22nd February, 1758, he says:

"We have a literary Club here, chiefly consisting of the Masters [Professors] of the College, all of whom attend except Professor Simson, who inclines to subject himself to as little attendance as possible. Others are not excluded; At present, however, there are no other extraneous members, save the two Foulis's, Dr. Stevenson the Physician, and Mr. Wilson the Type-founder. There are no restrictions as to the scope of our Papers, and Essays are sometimes sent to us by correspondents at a distance."

Lord Cardross was himself elected a member in 1763, and, writing thirty years later, gives this further information :—“ The Literary Society gave origin to Dr. Adam Smith’s *Essay on Language*, to his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, in its prepared state, to Dr. Black’s papers on Magnesia, Latent Heat, and many other valuable performances. The Society still subsists but does not publish its Transactions.” It was still subsisting sixty years later.

Both Robert and Andrew Foulis submitted a number of interesting papers. Amongst those contributed by Robert were :—

“ Observations on the knowledge or science necessary to a Commercial Town or State.”

“ An account of the Chevalier Ramsay’s Principles of Universal Religion.”

“ On the establishments wanting in this University which are necessary to render Education more complete.”

Andrew discussed the questions :—

“ Would it be for the benefit of the public to diminish the number of capital punishments ? ”

“ In order to an equal representation of Property and People, ought not the power to be taken from decayed Burghs and given to those which have increased ? ”

He likewise wrote papers on the Egyptian Papyrus and other writing materials of the Ancients, and on some great Libraries among the Ancients.

THE PARLIAMENT OF OCEANA

One of the earliest debating societies in Scotland was the Parliament of Oceana, established in the University of Glasgow, by the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice (1742-93), son of the Earl of Shelburne, brother of the first Marquis of Lansdowne, and great grandson of the celebrated Sir William Petty (1623-87) the economist. After

leaving school he was sent to Glasgow to study under Adam Smith, Joseph Black, and John Millar. Of this society Claud Marshall, in later days a prominent lawyer and Dean of the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow (1804-12), was clerk or *Clericus Parliamenti*, as he styled himself. In 1769 the Earl of Buchan, then Lord Cardross, was admitted a member, and as this was his first literary honour he was much gratified. The Society, he says, "laid the foundations of good political principles among the students and people of the West of Scotland in general and of Glasgow in particular."

When William Thom narrated the trial of David Woodburn by the Rector's Court, in 1768, under the title "The Trial of a Student in the College of Clutha in the Kingdom of Oceana," he probably had the Society in mind, and may have been a member. Professor Clow wrote to Mr. Fitzmaurice on 30th May, 1777, with a presentation copy of Professor Simson's *Opera quaedam Reliqua*, which, he says, "I thought due to your acquaintance with the author and to the honour you did this University in the course of your studies here." After leaving Glasgow, Mr. Fitzmaurice went to Oxford to study law under Blackstone. Writing from Bath, on 10th January, 1763, he says, "I cannot but congratulate myself on the time I passed at Glasgow; tho' I much regret not having paid more attention to the civil law, for which I am now punished in the course of my law lectures at Oxford, which interest me more than I am able to express, and which will hereafter be a noble legacy to England." Mr. Fitzmaurice was for many years a member of the House of Commons. He married Mary, *suo jure* Countess of Orkney, and lived at Llewenny Hall in the county of Denbigh. An obituary notice, by a fellow-student at Glasgow—presumably the Earl of Buchan—appeared in the last volume of *The Bee*.

John Robison (1739-1805), eminent as a mathematician, and deeply interested in the philosophy of public economy and legislation—and one of the actors in the Woodburn incident—was no doubt a member, as well as William Windham, the celebrated statesman

(1750-1810), who, on leaving Eton in 1766, came to Glasgow to study these subjects under Smith and Millar.

LIVRES DE LUXE

Increase of wealth, the growth of culture, the development of taste, reflected themselves in printing and book-production. When Robert Foulis was born, there was no public in Scotland to support a printer whose object was not only to furnish sound literature, but to produce well-printed and handsome books ; at the lapse of fifty years, there was a large and increasing demand for such books. From the first he aimed at providing books suitable for collectors, and, as we have seen, there are large paper copies, and copies on vellum of the books printed for him in 1741 and 1742. Of nearly all the books he himself or the firm printed, there were copies on large and fine paper, and occasionally on vellum. There were, for instance, copies of the Cebes of 1747, of the Epictetus of 1748 and of the quarto Minucius Felix of 1750 on vellum, the last being specially printed for Bishop Sherlock. Robert Browning had a copy of the Epictetus of 1748 printed on linen. In many cases the type was over-run, and printed on a larger page. Thus, the Caesar of 1750 was issued in three forms, in 8vo, in 4to, and in folio. The small edition is in three volumes, and is distinct from the other two ; the latter, however, correspond line for line, but the folio page contains a greater number of lines than the quarto. Some copies of the folio are further ruled in red, according to the fashion of the day. The *Callimachus* of 1755 was also issued, both as a quarto and as a folio, and is particularly attractive in the larger form. It is dedicated to Robert Foulis's steady friend, the Hon. Charles Yorke (1722-70), as Solicitor-General of England, and cannot therefore have been published till near the close of the next year, although it was no doubt finished in 1755.

Of Pindar, Anacreon, and Epictetus they published *Editiones minimae*, or, as described in some of their lists, "32^s pure Greek," dainty little volumes, of which some copies were printed on satin.

Robert Foulis was as careful as regards the binding of his books

as he was of their printing. He had a binder's shop, and personally supervised the binding of many of the finer volumes. Reference has already been made to a beautifully-bound copy of *Phaedrus*. In the British Museum there are two copies of Simson's Apollonius of Perga handsomely bound in red morocco, richly and elaborately tooled in an intricate design, in the same style as *Phaedrus*, all being fine examples of Glasgow work of the middle of the eighteenth century. There is also in the Museum a copy of the duodecimo Pindar of 1754 in a rich crimson morocco binding, with floreated gilt tooling. Of a parcel of books sent to the Hon. Charles Yorke in 1765, two were "in red turkey gilt," the others in calf gilt. Professor Ferguson has the copy of *Callimachus* presented to Mr. Yorke by the printers, appropriately bound in red turkey gilt, which was Robert Foulis' favourite binding.

Miss Jean M. Foulis, of St. John, N.B., is in possession of a snuff-mull of polished Scotch pebble mounted in silver, with the inscription engraved upon the lid:—"To R. Foulis, Esq., from the Earl of Chatham, 1759." What was the occasion of the gift is not recorded, but it may have been in recognition of specimens of the Foulis press and binding. It was the University, not Foulis himself, who sent the Homer to Lord Chatham.

LETTERED PROPERTY

In going over the list of the Foulis publications one is struck by the preponderance of Greek and Latin classics, and the comparative unimportance of the books in English. What lay behind and brought this about was the law of copyright, or, as it was then known, lettered property.

Prior to the Union printing was in Scotland, as it was in most continental countries, deemed to be *inter regalia*, and the Sovereign was in use, upon request, to grant an exclusive licence to print a particular book during a limited period. In England, too, the Crown exercised a similar power, but the opinion was current that there was by common law a right of property in printed books, which

existed in perpetuity. In 1710, on "the petition of the booksellers and printers about the city of London," a copyright statute (8 Anne, c. 19)—the first of its kind—was passed, and made applicable to both England and Scotland. A copyright was granted to an author or his assignees for fourteen years, with a further term of the like duration, if he should be alive when the first expired, and provision was made for the recovery of penalties in the event of the right being infringed.

The first person, it is said, against whom the artillery of the Act was directed was Osborne, a bookseller in Pater Noster Row, London, for printing an edition of Shakespeare, but he defied the trade, threatened to print more of their proprietary books, and proceedings were dropped.

The next encounter was with the booksellers of Edinburgh and Glasgow. These had hitherto been little more than retailers to the great London booksellers, and had but scanty profits on their turnover. They accordingly resolved to strike out on a new course, and to print for themselves, and, as Alexander Donaldson, the redoubtable Edinburgh printer, puts it, they "soon arrived at a very considerable degree of perfection." Glasgow, he adds, "produced the finest Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics ever the World saw; and both there and at Edinburgh the Works of some of the best English Authors were printed with the greatest Elegance and Correctness." This, no doubt, refers to such works as the *Spectator* printed by Urie in 1744, and similar publications in Edinburgh. This, continues Donaldson, "the jealous Eyes of the London Booksellers could not long endure"; and they accordingly in 1744 took proceedings in the Court of Session against a large number of Scots printers, amongst whom was Andrew Stalker of Glasgow.

In one of the pleadings for the Edinburgh and Glasgow booksellers, dated 3rd December, 1744, it is said:

"The Art of Printing is daily improving in *Scotland*, at least in *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*; and the Defenders, picked out amongst a great many Booksellers, are they who are pushing on

this Branch of Commerce with all Vigour. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* The Art of Printing has been so long confined to *London*, that the Booksellers there begin to consider it as an exclusive Monopoly, which they alone are intitled to deal in. Many in Number are the little Arts and Stratagems used by the Pursuers, and, in particular, by *Mr. Millar*, a *Scotsman*, to crush this Manufacture in the Bud, and to discourage the *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow* Printers. This is the second Process [i.e. suit] carried on, still with the same View of distressing them. Finding them not intimidated with these Processes [i.e. suits], but growing rather more resolute under Oppression, the Pursuers are beginning to take more solid Measures to ruin the *Scots* Printers. Getting notice of a beautiful Edition of the *Spectator* printed in *Glasgow*, and proposed to be sold at eleven Shillings, which is three Shillings cheaper than ever this Book has been sold in *England*, the *Londoners* have sent down 1000 Copies, which they offer to sell at the Rate of ten Shillings and sixpence the Book. They can afford to throw away some Money; and they are willing to be at any Expence to beat down and ruin a Competitor."

The counsel for the London men was William Grant, afterwards Lord Prestongrange, and for the Edinburgh and Glasgow men, Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kames, the friend and correspondent of Professors Cullen, Black, and Thomas Reid.

The pursuers were unable to bring evidence by witnesses of any act transgressing the statute, and therefore restricted their claims to damages. The Court, however, decided, in 1748, that any proceedings upon the statute for penalties must be brought within three months of the committing of the alleged offence, that no action lay except for books entered at Stationers' Hall, and that an action for damages was not sustainable. An appeal was taken to the House of Lords, which was dismissed, in 1751, on the ground that the action was irrelevant. "Both plaintiffs and defendants," remarks Sir John Dalrymple, "resembled Fencers, with Skates on, treading upon Ice, as they both went farther than either of them intended."

Foulis was not concerned in these proceedings. Andrew Millar, who was so active on the other side, had been his agent in London when he first commenced printing. Professor Rouet was an intimate friend of Robert Foulis; he was also Millar's friend, and it was through him that, in 1758, the last purchased Robertson's *History of Scotland*. It is possible, therefore, that Foulis was purposely kept in the background. When proceedings were instituted he had not printed anything liable to attack, but during the course of the action he reprinted the *Guardian* in 1746, and the *Tatler* in 1747.

While not concerned in the legal proceedings, Foulis desired to print some standard English books. Urie had printed Pope's *Homer* in 1753, and Foulis contemplated an edition of his works. In 1754 he printed the *Miscellanies*, and was proceeding with the *Letters*, when Dr. Warburton intervened on the ground that the copyright of Pope's works belonged to him. Foulis was a man of peace and singularly fair-minded. He did not reply directly to Dr. Warburton, who had written to him, but addressed himself to Sir William Murray, the Attorney-General, later the Earl of Mansfield, and a great friend of Warburton, to whom he wrote :

“ Reverend Sir,

What I have to say in answer to yours I have done myself the honour to address to the Attorney General.

I am,

Your most obedt. Humble servt.,

ROBERT FOULIS.

Glasgow

27th Novr. 1754.”

In his letter to Sir William Murray, which is dated Glasgow, 20th December, 1754, he says :

“ I shall only beg leave to take notice that no Bookseller ever purchases the work of an author, without hopes of being indemnified by the first edition. Milton, or any English author,

Reverend Sir,

What I have to say in answer
to yours, I have done myself the honour to address to the
Attorney-General.

I am

Sir

Your most Obedt^t Humble Servant:
Robert Frouby

Glasgow }
for the 14th Nov 1754

could not only have been printed in Scotland until the Union of the Kingdoms, but even to the last Act of Queen Anne ; and at present they have a right to print what ever they are not forbid by that Act. As in Ireland they can print all without exception, I don't find that the best men among them make any scruple to encourage it ; and I know the most Learned and worthy men in this country think we do public service in reprinting whatever we can according to Law, that is any way calculated to do good.

* * * *

No part of Mr. Pope's Works are yet printed, but his Miscellanies, except half of the first Volume of his Letters, which I know by experience I can sell to young students and others who cannot afford to buy the works.

As I am entirely to be directed by you, if you order I will go on with the edition, which consists of a thousand copies, and oblige myself to give Dr. Warburton what proportion of the impression you approve, for his consent, but however you determine I beg it may be without any regard to my interest."

On 28th December, Sir William Murray wrote to Dr. Warburton, enclosing this letter and saying :

" I should be very sorry to have the question agitated first in Scotland, besides the great expense it may involve you in, and therefore I think you should consider his Behaviour as handsome, and close with him upon generous Terms for the Edition of 1000, taking an engagement that they will print no more, and the Title Page must shew it to be an Edition authorized by you."

How it was ultimately arranged does not appear. Sir William Murray was no stranger to Glasgow and her professors. He had acted as counsel for the University, and in this year they had conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.

The London booksellers still chafed under the decision of 1748,

and being much annoyed by the competition they experienced from Scottish editions of ordinary trade books, cast about for a remedy. In 1759 they entered into a scheme, as they described it, "for totally preventing the sale of Scotch and Irish books, which were first printed in England," and raised a large capital for carrying it into effect. They addressed a letter to the provincial booksellers in England offering to take over all Scotch books in sheets, which they had on hand, at cost, and to give the same value in English editions. A list of the Scotch books principally in circulation was given, amongst which were, the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, and *Guardian*, the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Prior, Parnell, and Gay, of Temple, Swift, and Barrow, *Hudibras*, *Gil Blas*, *The Turkish Spy*, *Fable of the Bees*, and *Travels of Cyrus*. They made no distinction as to the time when the books were first printed, and, in effect, claimed a perpetual monopoly. *Paradise Lost* was claimed as copyright, in virtue of an alleged assignment from Milton in 1667. *The Whole Duty of Man*, first published in 1657, was likewise claimed as copyright, although the author was unknown, and no one could say whether it had been written by a man or a woman.

Nothing daunted, the Edinburgh booksellers issued two editions of Pope's Works in 1764. Donaldson, carrying war into the enemy's camp, in the same year opened a bookshop in the Strand, two doors east from Norfolk Street, for the sale of cheap books. These were books beyond the copyright period, granted under the Act of Queen Anne and an extending Act of George II., and were sold at prices thirty to fifty per cent. under the usual London prices, and still with a profit to Donaldson. Whatever it was, it must have been considerable, and his methods of business must have been excellent, as he left £100,000 to his son, the founder of the great Hospital in Edinburgh which bears his name.

In 1766 Andrew Millar brought an action for breach of copyright against one Robert Taylor, in which the Court of King's Bench—presided over by Lord Mansfield—gave judgment in 1769 in favour of the plaintiff. The judges, with one exception, held that lettered

property rested on common law and existed in perpetuity, and that the Act of Queen Anne merely gave it an additional security by providing penalties in case of invasion.

With this decision before them, the London booksellers resolved to tackle Donaldson, and in 1771 fifteen of them filed a Bill in Chancery against him for printing in Scotland and publishing in London Thomson's *Sophonisba*. An injunction was granted, but on appeal was recalled by the House of Lords.

The booksellers next took proceedings in Scotland. One of their victims seems to have been Robert Urie, who, it is said, was "guilty of several piracies." Presumably he did not care to fight, and made terms, although all that he had done was to reprint books in which there was no copyright. "Such printers," says Lord Auchinleck, "the London booksellers term pirates, which," he adds, "is a cruel name."

When they turned their attention to Donaldson, they found a man of different metal. They brought an action against him in the Court of Session for having reprinted and published in Scotland Stackhouse's *History of the Bible*. There was no copyright in it under the Act of 1710, and the action was laid on the supposed common law right derived from the original publisher. The Court decided against this claim, and their judgment was upheld by the House of Lords in 1774. In giving judgment, Lord Auchinleck, after referring to the fact that the poems of Homer were preserved only by memory, added this interesting personal reminiscence: "The poem of Chevy-chace so much celebrated, and upon which we have a criticism by Mr. Addison was, in my remembrance, repeated by everybody."

James Boswell, it will be remembered, was of counsel for Donaldson in this case, which was frequently subject of conversation with Dr. Johnson. Donaldson was Boswell's first publisher, but when he wrote his *Account of Corsica and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli* he entrusted it to R. & A. Foulis, who printed it in 1768. Next year they printed for him a second edition of his *Corsica: A poetical*

Address, a small piece strangely overlooked by both bibliographers and biographers. Boswell had been a student in Glasgow in 1759-60 and knew Foulis. It was then that he became acquainted with Francis Gentleman, an Irish actor, engaged at Glasgow in the wooden theatre in the Castle-yard, who dedicated to him an edition of Southern's *Oroonoko*, which was printed by the Foulises in 1760, no doubt upon Boswell's introduction.

The Messrs. Foulis had published during a number of years a series of small pocket editions of parts of the more popular English authors, something like the cheap reprints of to-day. "There are two little books published by the Foulis," writes Dr. Johnson, "Telemachus and Collins' Poems, each a shilling; I would be glad to have them." Later, he again writes to Boswell, "I wish you would be vigilant and get me Graham's *Telemachus* that was printed at Glasgow, a very little book." *Telemachus, a Mask*, by the Rev. George Graham of Eton, was originally published in 1763, when it was reviewed by Johnson in the *Critical Review*, and was reprinted by the Foulises in 1767 in a much more convenient form than the original quarto. They printed a small edition of Collins' *Poems* in 1771, and again in 1775. At the end of the former they advertise a list of forty volumes of English poets at one shilling the volume.

When referring to the publication of Pope's works, Robert Foulis, as has been seen, said that he could sell parts to students and others who could not afford to buy the complete works. Between 1752 and 1757 he printed the plays of Shakespeare one by one, so that each could be had separately, which, when complete, formed sixteen volumes crown octavo. These were re-issued in 1766 in eight volumes uniformly dated, but still retaining the individual pagination and titles. While the hope of making a market by the cheapness of the books was no doubt present to his mind, the plan of individual production may have been resorted to, as a method of avoiding the claim of copyright made by the London booksellers. It was not new, for as far back as 1731 Ruddiman of Edinburgh had printed at least

one play in this form, and separate plays printed by Tonson had been hawked in London still earlier.

Mr. Jaggard, of Stratford-on-Avon, in his recent *Shakespeare Bibliography*, when speaking of the Foulis edition of 1752-57, says: "This first Scottish edition of the poet has eluded all previous bibliographers and the chief public collections of the poet." It is, however, well known to Glasgow collectors and can hardly be classed as a scarce book. An edition, edited by Dr. Hugh Blair, was published at Edinburgh in 1753, in eight volumes, but Mr. Jaggard will not allow it precedence of the Glasgow one.

Both brothers were much interested in the copyright question. In 1766 Andrew read a paper on Literary Property before the Literary Society; and in 1770, Robert, at two meetings of the Society, discussed the question, "What would be the probable consequence of departing from the present law with regard to Literary Property and making that property perpetual?"

The judgment of the House of Lords was a severe blow to the London booksellers. According to the *Annual Register* of the day, it implied a loss of about £200,000. They at once therefore presented a petition to the House of Commons, in which they referred to that decision, and stated that "they will be great losers for former involuntary misapprehensions of the law, and praying for relief." The petition was referred to a Committee, counsel were heard, and ultimately a Bill to modify the law was brought in and passed on 27th May, 1774. It then went to the House of Lords, where second reading was put off for two months, that is, it proceeded no further.

In view of the petition of the London booksellers, a Memorial to the House of Commons was drawn up by the Printers and Booksellers of Glasgow, presenting the other side of the question. This Robert Foulis was authorised to sign on behalf of the Memorialists. So far as can be gathered from the Journals of the House, it was never presented, but it was printed and evidently circulated, and may

have been submitted to the Committee who considered the Bill, and not therefore noticed in the Journals. It is a carefully prepared document, and gives an interesting summary of the history of book-selling and printing in Scotland.

To the copyright action we are indirectly indebted for one of the masterpieces of English literature, Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*. The "Trade" still continued to dine once a month at the Shakespeare Tavern, and at one of these meetings it was resolved to print an edition of the English poets and to ask Dr. Johnson to write a concise account of the life of each author, which he agreed to do. Edward Dilly explains the origin of the enterprise in a letter to Boswell in 1777: "The first cause that gave rise to this undertaking . . . was owing to the little trifling edition of the Poets, printing by the Martins at Edinburgh, and to be sold by Bell in London. Upon examining the volumes which were printed, the type was found to be so extremely small, that many persons could not read them; not only this inconvenience attended it, but the inaccuracy of the press was very conspicuous. These reasons, as well as the idea of an invasion of what we call our Literary Property, induced the London booksellers to print an elegant and accurate edition of all the English poets of reputation, from Chaucer to the present time." The first edition of the series was published at London 1779-81. The Foulis edition of the English poets, in shilling volumes, above referred to, although not expressly prepared for the London market, no doubt contributed to the alarm felt by the booksellers. Captain Edward Topham was not particularly complimentary to Scotland, but praises the Edinburgh edition of the Poets, "which with the addition of a very handsome binding, amounts only to eighteen pence a volume."

Notwithstanding the quantity of reprints said to have been put upon the market by Scotch printers, such books are somewhat rare, and may be ranked amongst those which French cataloguers describe as "difficiles à trouver." It may be that the efforts of the Londoners to get rid of them may to some extent account for this. Burning was

one of the orthodox causes recognised by the old bibliographers as accounting for the rarity of certain books.

It was not only English books that were sold cheaper by the Scots than by the English booksellers, but, as explained by Gough in a letter to Tyson, modern imported French books were to be had cheaper in Scotland than in London.

LOCAL PUBLISHING

London was the great centre of the bookselling trade, and books which were expected to have a general circulation were published there. Books issued from a local press had many difficulties to contend with. The *Philosophical Principles of natural and revealed Religion*, although printed and published by Foulis, was also issued in London with a fresh imprint. The classics, and such works as Simson's Euclid, intended for students and scholars, were on a different footing. Most of the original works published by Foulis were either of this character or were intended for local readers.

Simson's Euclid is perhaps the most popular edition of the Greek geometer ever published, and it is curious to read the remarks of Lord Kames upon it at the time of its first publication. His Lordship was a friend of Professor Cullen and others at Glasgow, and was regarded, in his day, as a dictator of letters, but he was not always very happy in his appreciations. Writing to Cullen in March, 1758, he says :

“ I took a touch at Simson's Euclid before I left the town, and am much dissatisfied with it. There is no genius displayed in it, though he had a fair opportunity. Euclid is rendered intricate and uncomfortable by his attempting to demonstrate propositions that are self-evident, and this, a capital error, is never once rectified. I read several demonstrations, not one step of which is more evident than the very proposition itself, which is the subject of the demonstration. This is a cruel

oppression upon novices and which by all means ought to be avoided. In short, the old man is fond of money, and wants to pick pockets. I dislike such an attempt, and therefore wish to be rid of the copy you gave me, which I left at Edinburgh.”

One of the Foulis books of a local character was a small volume, published in 1749, *Poems on Several Occasions*. These were the poems of William Hamilton of Bangour, sent to the press by his friends when he was living abroad, on account of his participation in the rising of 1745, the preface being written by Adam Smith. In 1758, after the author's death, a new edition was brought out with the author's name upon the title-page, and a dedication “To the memory of Mr. William Crawford.” The latter had been a member of the Literary Society.

When the second edition was under discussion, Sir John Dalrymple wrote to Robert Foulis upon the subject :

“I have changed my mind about the Dedication to Mr. Hamilton's Poems. I would have it stand, ‘the friend of William Hamilton,’ but I assent to your opinion to have something more to express Mr. Crawford's Character. I know none so able to do this as my friend Mr. Smith ; I beg it therefore earnestly that he will write the Inscription and with all the elegance & all the feelingness which he, above the rest of mankind, is able to express. This is a thing that touches me very nearly, and therefore I beg a particular answer as to what he says to it. The many happy and the many flattering hours which he has spent with Mr. Hamilton & Mr. Crawford makes me think that he will account his usual indolence a crime upon this occasion. I beg you will make my excuse for not wryting him this night about this. I consider wryting to you upon this head to be wryting to him.”

The dedication as adjusted and printed runs thus :

“To the memory of Mr. William Craufurd, merchant in Glasgow, the friend of Mr. Hamilton,

“Who to that exact frugality, that downright probity and

plainness of manners so suitable to his profession, joined a love of learning and of all the ingenious arts, an openness of hand and a generosity of heart that was free both from vanity and from weakness, and a magnanimity that could support under the prospect of approaching and unavoidable death, the most torturing pains of body with an unalterable cheerfulness of temper, and without once interrupting, even to his last hour, the most manly and the most vigorous activity in a variety of business,

“ This Edition, of the Works of a Gentleman, for whom he, who was candid and penetrating, circumspect and sincere, always expressed the highest and the most affectionate esteem, is inscribed by the Editors, as the only monument which it is in their power to raise of their veneration and of their regret.”

It has been said that Craufurd was himself a poet, and author of the song *Tweedside*, but this is a mistake.

Smollett's *Ode to Independence* was first published in Glasgow in 1773 under the editorship of Professor Richardson, who employed Messrs. Foulis to print it. A few copies only were thrown off, one of which is in the Exhibition. As explained in the preface, the professor slightly altered one of the lines.

Of works of a more general nature, there were several by Lord Hailes. The first of these was *Memorials and Letters relating to the history of Britain in the reign of James I.*, published in 1762, and dedicated to the Earl of Hardwicke, and in a second edition in 1766. John Bell of Antermony, as a near neighbour, entrusted his *Travels* to the Glasgow press, which were published in two vols. quarto, in 1763, by the Messrs. Foulis “ whose beautiful fount of type,” it is remarked, “ enhances the value of the book.” Instead of the usual table of Errata, there is, at the end of volume ii., “ Alterations by the Author.” Evidently the printer declined to accept responsibility.

Reference has been made to the edition of Plato which Foulis had hoped would be his *magnum opus*. Dr. William Hunter was an old friend, and it had been through Robert Foulis that he was

first introduced to Dr. James Douglas of London. Like other friends Hunter canvassed for the Plato :

“ I received first the English and then the Latin proposals for Plato ; and surely Messrs. Foulis must think me an odd fellow. I have not wrote them one word. But I have been puffing for them, and I have picked up some hints for them, which I reserved till I should give them the names of two or three subscribers. Dr. Duncan has kept every thing from me for more than a month, under pretence of shewing the proposals to some people of quality, who, I suppose, will do very little after all. My compliments to them all, and to all friends.”

So he writes to Cullen on 1st August, 1751.

Another project was an edition of Sydenham's Works. In a letter addressed to Dr. Cullen, in 1751, Dr. Hunter says : “ I see proposals for publishing Sydenham at Edinburgh :—An idle scheme I think ; a mere edition, it seems, for fourteen shillings. Pray have you dropt your scheme ? I had told your plan to Mr. Sydenham here, and two or three other people. Everybody approved of it. Everybody disapproves of the Edinburgh scheme. Let me soon know what you are to do in it. Pitcairn desires it.” To this inquiry, Dr. Cullen replied : “ I have not dropt my scheme with regard to Sydenham. It has been delayed partly on account of my hurry, and partly for the sake of a new type, which Mr. Wilson is now about. The Edinburgh edition will not do us much harm ; ours shall be a more splendid one ; and at the same time have other advantages.”

The scheme nevertheless did drop, probably on account of Cullen's transfer to Edinburgh.

Robert Foulis seems to have contemplated an English version of the works of Plato, but this did not proceed beyond the *Republic*, which was published in quarto in 1763. The translation, he mentions, “ was done by a clergyman of Fife of good reputation for Literature and of amiable sentiments and manners.” The clergyman was Hary Spens, D.D. (1713-87), parish minister of Wemyss.

The translation is described as faithful, "with an admirable discourse containing not only a general epitome of the Republic of Plato, but an accurate delineation of the characters, manners, and philosophy of the ancient Greeks." Foulis was hopeful to get his friend to proceed with some of the Dialogues, but nothing further was done. He had had expectations of other translations, as appears from an early advertisement: "The Printer gives this public notice, that the Translation of Antoninus, will be followed by another, of the Dissertations of Epictetus preserved by Arrian, and not yet in English. A considerable part of it is already finished; and the whole will ere long be published." It never, however, made its appearance. This might be explained by the death of Dr. Hutcheson, if he was the translator, and he, as will have been observed, is said to have expounded Arrian to the Literary Society; but part of the work on which Robert and Andrew Foulis engaged, when living in the College in the summer of 1740, was a translation of Arrian, and it may have been their own translation which was in contemplation.

The translation of Antoninus attained a good deal of popularity. Writing to the Hon. Mr. Yorke, on 17th January, 1765, Robert Foulis says:

"I am just now printing, for the fourth time, a Translation of M. Antoninus, nine books of which were done by Mr. Hutcheson. That author has neither the sublime theories, nor composition, nor eloquence of Plato, and contains only written memorandums for the improvement of his own heart in submission to the will of Heaven, and in meekness and benignity towards men, in a contempt of all vain glory, in a delight in the direct energy of goodness, as he expresses it 'with remembrance of God,' and elsewhere, 'like the fruitful Vine that when it has brought forth its clusters does not stop to applaud itself.' So the good Emperor aim'd at the perfection of a perpetual train of virtuous action, without the allay of variety, and endeavoured to attain a constant peace and tranquillity of

mind by the purity of the bottom of his heart, by his banishing perpetually not only all unbenevolent but all superfluous thoughts, rejoicing not only in the particular virtues of his friends, but by an uncommon expansion and elevation of soul he piously and benevolently rejoiced in the happiness of universal nature."

The sentiments he so applauds were doubtless his own, and this summary of the author gives an insight into his own character and his views of life.

In 1756 Foulis printed Hierocles *Upon the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans*. This, however, was not an original translation, but a reprint of that by John Norris, originally published at Oxford in 1682. The book may have been required for college use. Thomas Craigie, who succeeded Francis Hutcheson in the chair of Moral Philosophy in 1746, did not prelect upon the Philosophical works of Cicero, at the forenoon meeting of his class, as Hutcheson had done, but took up some of the Neo-Platonists, and amongst others Hierocles. It is possible that Adam Smith may have continued this for some time and that it was in this connection that the book was now issued. The book was evidently in demand, as, in the same year, Urie reprinted Nicholas Rowe's translation, "for T. Merril, bookseller in Cambridge."

Craigie, who had been previously Professor of Hebrew at St. Andrews, was "a man of great learning and pleasing manners." "He lectured without papers, and much after the style of Hutcheson, but without his animation and feeling." He fell into ill-health, tried horse-back exercise without benefit, then went abroad for change, and died at Lisbon on 9th November, 1751. Robert Foulis no doubt heard his lectures on Hierocles, and must at least have discussed their philosophy with the professor; and it may have been a recollection of old days that induced him to give this reprint to the world. He had, indeed, given an earlier edition, in 1743, along with *The Judgment of Hercules*, by a student of Oxford, that is, William Shenstone.

The Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts

ROBERT FOULIS AND THE FINE ARTS

AS a printer, Robert Foulis had achieved success, and had carried the art to great perfection. But while he gave assiduous attention to printing, publishing, and book-selling, another scheme was ever present to his mind—the establishment in Glasgow of an Academy of the Fine Arts. When the two brothers made their first journey to the Continent, art, as well as books, engaged their attention. “In the years 1738 and 1739, having gone abroad, and resided for several months at each time at Paris, we had frequent opportunities of conversing with gentlemen of every liberal profession, and to observe the connection and mutual influence of the Arts and Sciences upon one another and upon Society. We had opportunities of observing the influence of invention in Drawing and Modelling on many manufactures. And ’tis obvious that whatever nation has the lead in fashions must previously have invention in drawing diffused, otherwise they can never rise above copying their neighbours.” Want of money, however, prevented their doing anything towards the fostering of art. Robert Foulis made a trip to France in 1743, and there endeavoured to arrange for an engraver to come to Glasgow, but the rising of 1745 put an end to his plans for the time. In 1745 he reprinted the *Conversations sur la connoissance de la peinture*, of Roger de Piles, published

anonymously at Paris in 1677. An intense interest in art seems to have taken possession of him, and the scheme of an Academy filled his thoughts, and was matured during the next few years.

PURCHASE OF PICTURES

In 1750 he lost his wife, Elizabeth Moor, sister of the Professor, and was prostrated with grief. He fell into a state of melancholy, which was increased shortly afterwards by the death of his eldest daughter Fanny, named after Dr. Francis Hutcheson. To relieve this melancholy, he went abroad in 1751 "in company with a younger brother, and spent near two years." This was James Foulis, who became a clergyman, and ultimately went to America. "Before this journey was undertaken, the scheme of an Academy had been pretty well digested, and often the subject of debate in private conversation." The death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1751, disappointed the hopes of those who had looked to him for the foundation of a Royal Academy in London, and Robert Foulis seems to have become more convinced than before that an Academy should be established in Glasgow. Dr. Francis Hutcheson, his earliest friend and most judicious adviser, was gone, having died in 1746; but there were many others who took a warm interest in his welfare, and who could judge of this new enterprise. It is doubtful whether he received any encouragement from them, and, on the contrary, they seem to have endeavoured to dissuade him from it. Be this as it may, he perfected the plan of his Academy, made arrangements for obtaining funds, and began in 1752 to purchase pictures. Amongst others, he acquired certain pictures which he believed had formerly belonged to Cardinal Richelieu. One of these was a Transfiguration by Raphael, "prior to the larger picture on the altar belonging to the monastery of Montorio in Rome." These pictures had been bought at the sale of the Cardinal's effects after his death by his Secretary, from whose son—then an old man—Robert Foulis purchased them.

Works of the old masters were in great demand at this time and were eagerly sought after, particularly if they could be traced to some great collection. Foote ridicules the fashionable craze in his comedy of *Taste* :

Puff. Oh ! but what pictures of yours are in the sale ?

Carminé. There's my Holy Family by Raphael : the Marriage in Cana by Reuben Rouge ; Tom Jackson's Teniers ; and for busts, Taylor's head without a nose from Herculeaneum.

* * * * *

Canto. That is a Moses in the bulrushes. The blended joy and grief in the figure of the sister in the corner, the distress and anxiety of the mother here, and the beauty and benevolence of Pharaoh's daughter, are circumstances happily imagined, and boldly express'd.

Bush. Lack-a-day, 'tis but a modern performance : the master is alive, and an Englishman.

Lord Dupe. Oh ! then I would not give it house-room.

The satire is, however, directed against the ignorance of fashionable society, not against picture collecting. Many copies passed for originals, but good and genuine pictures were to be had, as most of the great galleries of to-day testify.

While the works of the old masters were run after, they were not always recognized or appreciated. Winckelmann, writing in 1755, states " that not so long ago several capital pictures of Correggio were employed at Stockholm to stop the broken windows of the royal stables."

Foulis engaged a painter, an engraver, and a copperplate printer, and sent them to Glasgow in charge of his brother, and returned himself in 1753, with pictures which he had bought. His misfortunes in the Custom House at Rotterdam have been the means of preserving an account of himself, of his plans, and of his arrangements. A letter to Count Bentinck (*i.e.* William Bentinck of Rhoon in Holland

and of Terrington St. Clements, Norfolk (1704-74), Count of the Holy Roman Empire, son of the first Earl of Portland), dated from Paris 12th June, 1752, explains what happened :

“ My Lord,

The favour I received at Lyden by your Lordship's Influence emboldens me to presume still on your goodness. I have fallen into a misfortune innocently which requires such an Authority and generosity as yours to deliver me. To serve my country by propagating a relish for the finer Arts there, I projected a little Academy for painting, engraving, and in process of time for the Chief Arts that depend on Design, together with another for promoting the knowledge of Ancient Greek and Roman learning. Reflecting on the various means by which this might be effected, I was soon convinced that I had not any Title to propose it to great men, with any hopes of success, my own Stock being already very well employed in the printing of the Greek, Latin and modern Authors ; The only remaining expedient that occurred to me, was to consider how these Arts might be made sufficiently profitable to engage some Merchants to riske a part of their Stock in such a design. This I digested so well as to engage two Merchants of Spirit in Glasgow, whose names are Ingrham and Glassford both well known to Mr. Maclean [i.e. Archibald Maclaine, D.D. (1722-1804), a Glasgow student, minister of the Scots Church at the Hague] ; they have supplied me with money to purchase a Collection of pictures of all the Schools : A great part of these pictures I sent to Rotterdam by way of Rhoan directed for Mr. Dunlop Mercht. at Rotterdam to the care of Mr. Garvey Mercht. at Rhoan. As I was not aware that I had any duty to pay on their going out of the Country here, I sent no valuation, but upon Mr. Garvey's letting me know the necessity of a declaration, and a right of the Custom house to seize them, I sent him notice of the prime Coast, as near as possibly I could, rather

exceeding a little for security because no Sum of mony can counter ballance my Enthusiasticall Attachment to these pictures. In the mean time the Custom house at Rhoan lookt so far into them as to put a value on them themselves, according to which valuation they payed duty here. They were shipped for Rotterdam, and arrived there, by negligence of the factor at Rhoan, without any letter of Advice, or bill of loading, the boxes themselves were directed to Mr. Dunlop at Rotterdam. Upon the Ship Master's informing Mr. Dunlop he declined receiving them untill he received a letter of Advice with bill of loading and envoys. Had he lodged them in the Custom house untill he had received information of their value, no harm had happened: but upon his declining, and the Captain of the Vessel wanting to get quit of them, an intermeddling Broker, whose name I do not know, presumed to enter them without Mr. Dunlop's knowledge or mine, and without authority from any body, the Valuation he was pleased to put upon them, was thought far too little by the Custom house, and they have accordingly seized them for a fraudulent declaration, and are determined to keep the pictures, if they can, and leave me to pursue the Broker, an employment of all others, the most painfull. Had Mr. Dunlop, who is the person in Rotterdam who had ever any Orders from me made a fraudulent Declaration the contrary to my Orders, there possibly might be good political reasons for sustaining his Action for mine; but that that Broker's entry should be deemed mine appears to me to be not only cruel and unjust but so absurd in itself that I cannot believe that any such practice or custom can exist in any Civilised nation, much less where Trade and the law of Nature and Nations is understood better than any other Country. Good as my cause is, if your L-p do not help me I'm affraid I will come badly off. The Custom house Officers are in love with the pictures, and I know no Mercht. in Rotterdam, that has generosity and courage enough to disoblige them, by

shewing any zeal for doing me justice. I put the whole upon my Innocence and on my part if there appears the smallest fraud or the smallest intention of fraud, I am willing to suffer not only the loss of my pictures, but what goes still nearer my heart, the esteem and goodwill of my friends.

I must further observe to your L-p, that the gentlemen of the Custom house have as yet no legal or certain knowledgē whether the pictures are over valued or under valued by the Broker, because they are not a Staple Commodity, nor have they any fixed price but that of the affection of the buyer and seller, and before they can prove that they are undervalued they must prove it by my Oath as the only person who bought them and paid thim in various places and times. And when I am appealed to I am ready to make Oath that the entry made is not by my Order nor with my knowledge, and if in Consequence of this at your Lordships desire they declare the present entry nul and void, Mr. Dunlop will immediately will (*sic*) make a declaration in my name, or I will appear and make it my self.

I have already sent from this to Glasgow a Painter and a celebrated engraver whose name is Mr. Avline and likeways a printer en taille douse. I have got here a large Collection of fine drawings, a Collection of books on painting, prints after the great Masters of the different Italien Schools, a large collection of plates, many of which are Originals of Celebrated engravers, all of which I ought to direct immediately to Roterdam, but my present ill fortune damps me so much that I have not Courage to give any Orders about them till I know the issue of my pictures. I beg your Lordship will excuse the length and inaccuracy of this representation, which I presume to make you upon the knowledge I have of your generosity and love of the Arts, and entire Confidence in your Lordships particular protection on this Occasion. I take the liberty to offer my

most humble respects to my Lord Benting and Mr. Tavel and
am with Utmost Submission

My Lord

Your Lordships

Most Obedient and

most humble Servant

ROBERT FOULIS.

Paris 12 June 1752.”

The “two merchants of spirit in Glasgow,” who provided funds for the enterprise, were John Glassford of Dougalston (1715-83), a Virginia Don, and Archibald Ingram (1704-70), his brother-in-law, calico-printer and banker, Provost 1762-64, both of whom had been associated in the printing of Ambrose’s Works in 1737. John Campbell of Clathic, a prominent merchant, Provost 1784-86, and a well-known figure in Glasgow society, now joined with them in assisting Foulis.

In William Thom’s *Letter on the defects of an University Education*, dated Glasgow, Oct. 1761, we have this picture, which there can be little doubt applies to Archibald Ingram, who was Dean of Guild and President of the Merchants’ House of Glasgow, 30th September, 1760 to 5th October, 1762 :

“We have another gentleman in public office, who is also justly looked upon as a very extraordinary and happy genius. His skill in commerce is extensive : his invention of new branches of manufacture fertile ; his activity to promote them unwearied ; his generosity and public spirit are discerned and honoured by several of the nobility, and by many of the gentry and men of taste, who court his company : He is possessed of such accomplishments in science and taste, which, by a quick discernment, he saw the value of, and acquired, that he did not by a singular greatness of mind acknowledge the disadvantages of his education, hardly any body that converses with him would suspect

but that he had been conversant in literary contemplations from his earliest youth."

Archibald Ingram takes his place amongst the notable men who figure in *The Caldwell Papers* as correspondents of Baron Mure; and the beautiful monument to his memory in the Directors' room of the Merchants' House—one of the most graceful pieces of sculpture in the city—testifies to the appreciation in which he was held by those who knew him. The Royal Exchange, the meeting-place of his successors, the merchants of to-day, looks out upon the street which bears his name.

Smollett refers to John Glassford in *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* in 1766 :

" I moreover conversed with one Mr. G(la)ss(for)d, whom I take to be one of the greatest merchants in Europe. In the last war, he is said to have had at one time five and twenty ships with their cargoes, his own property, and to have traded for above half a million sterling a year."

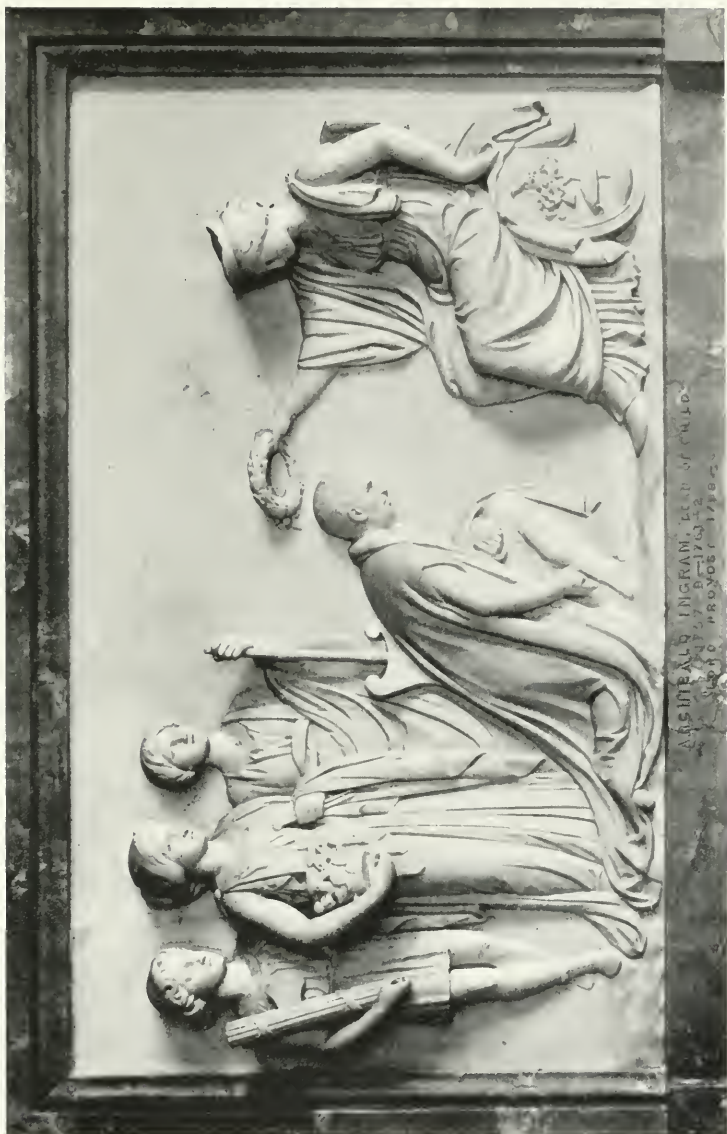
When in Holland, in addition to the assistance of Count Bentinck, Foulis had also the powerful aid of Colonel Joseph Yorke (1724-92), then British ambassador at the Hague. In London he had much attention from Lord Hardwicke, then Lord Chancellor, the father of the Colonel; and Lord Cathcart, Lord Erroll, Lord Cassillis, Lord Selkirk, and Mr. Campbell of Shawfield likewise helped him in various ways.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE ACADEMY

The University were prompt to acknowledge the services of Colonel Yorke, and conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. in recognition of his good offices on behalf of Robert Foulis.

" $\frac{7}{18}$ OCTR. N.S. 1752.

The Honourable Collonel York, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General, having done very



ARCHIBALD INGRAM

Monument in the Merchants' House of Glasgow

considerable good offices upon account of this University to Mr. Robert Foulis the University Printer, and the Principal with the concurrence of the Masters that were in town having addressed a letter of thanks to Coll. York on that account, there was now read the Collonel's letter to the Principal in return to his, which expresses the greatest warmth and zeal for the flourishing of the University; And the meeting being very sensible of Collonel York's great worth, and the particular regard he has shown to the University, Unanimously agreed to confer the Degree of Doctor of Laws upon him, and appoint Mr. Rosse and Mr. Moor to draw up a suitable Diploma for that purpose, which is appointed to be inclosed in a silver box with the University Arms engraved on it, and sent to the Collonel.

WILL. LEECHMAN, Dec. Fac.

ROB. SIMSON, Cl. Fac."

Three hundred and fifty pictures were released through Colonel Yorke's intervention, and, with another collection at Paris, were brought to London, where, in March, 1753, they were, through the influence of the Lord Chancellor, admitted duty free, and ultimately reached Glasgow in safety.

Writing to the Lord Chancellor on 16th March, 1753, while still in London, Foulis says :

" I am sensible of the impropriety of troubling your Lordship with many words, and, if I did, I should but very ill, and awkwardly express the grateful sentiments suitable to so great a favour : and the manner in which it has been conferr'd, in all respects so generous and disinterestedly that the honour it confers on the Design is equal to the benefaction itself ; as it not only contributes to give it a general and favourable attention from the public, but must add spirit, ardour, zeal, and hope to all who are employ'd or interested in this Enterprise.

If happily this small Attempt arises to the perfection intended, and gradually spreads over the Kingdom so as to

become of general service, this success must be chiefly ascribed to the Preservers of this Design from being frustrated by misfortunes."

The University took the Academy under their patronage and provided accommodation for it, as appears from the following minute of Faculty :

" 23 OCTOBER 1753.

A paper was presented from Mr. Robert Foulis containing Proposals for teaching designing in the University with the approbation and protection of the Masters, and under their conduct and special direction. And the Faculty approve of the same, and allow him to publish an advertisement of it in the News papers, and give him the use of the room under the north part of the new Library for a place in which to teach the Scholars."

The new library had been completed about nine years before, and stood at the east end of the College buildings, in what was known, in after years, as Museum Square. The library hall was a noble room with a handsome gallery. The building was erected, under the supervision of Professor Morthland, from funds presented by the Duke of Chandos, supplemented by the University.

The Academy was opened in the course of the year 1754. The advertisement, to which reference is made, was as follows :

"On Monday the first of December next at six in the evening will be opened, within the College of Glasgow, with the approbation and protection of the University, and subject to their special direction a school for the Art of Designing, to be taught by the Sieurs Avelin and Payien upon the same plan with the foreign Academies.

Each scholar entering for a month to pay half a Guinea, if for the whole Session of the College, a guinea and a half.

The utility of this attempt needs not to be proved to those who know that Designing is the foundation of all the

fine arts, necessary to the perfection of all ornamental manufactures, and indispensable in many important places both of the Navy and Army, and to mention its use in illustrating, what cannot be so well conveyed by words only, the Mechanical or Experimental Philosophy, and the Arts that depend upon them.

More particular notice will be given afterwards to the public of a plan that has been formed and provision made for giving gentlemen an opportunity to form a taste in the fine Arts by exhibiting to them specimens of the rise, progress, and variations of all the several schools, by drawings, pictures, prints, and antique figures or mouldings after them and also of teaching the practice of History Painting and Engraving on such easy terms as will give every young man of genius an opportunity of cultivating it without more expense than what is commonly necessary in the greatest part of mechanic trades.

Those who want to be informed more particularly may apply to Robert Foulis, printer to the University."

Robert Foulis more fully describes the work of the Academy in an advertisement in the *Glasgow Journal*, in the autumn of 1755.

Glasgow, August 30th. 1755.

WITH THE APPROBATION OF THE UNIVERSITY,
AND UNDER THE AUSPICE
OF SOME PERSONS OF THE FIRST DISTIN-
CTION.

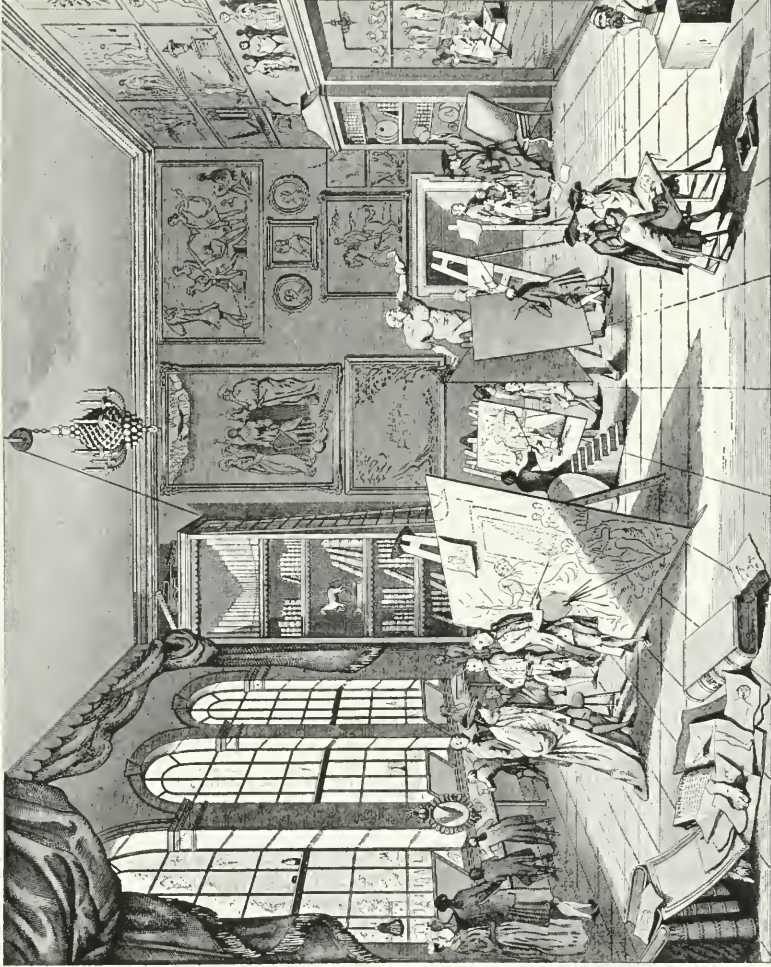
THE PUBLIC SCHOOL for the ART of DESIGN or DRAWING in all its branches, will be opened in the College, as formerly, on the 10th of November, next, at six in the evening. Besides the usual academical course, young gentlemen are instructed in drawing of *landscapes*, and whatever regards *architecture* and *ornaments* of every kind, with a view to render this ac-

complishment useful in the future business of their lives, whether they chance to be brought up in the army, navy, or apply themselves to the study of manufactures or arts. As this kind of knowledge is deservedly esteemed a part of liberal education, drawings, pictures, and prints of the principal masters in all the schools, will be regularly exhibited in order to form a true taste, and to give them a perfect idea of the use progress and perfection of the FINE ARTS and the peculiar excellencies that distinguish each school.

. Those who have made a sufficient progress will have an opportunity of drawing and modelling, not only after pictures and figures in plaister, but also after the life for the space of two hours every evening ; and such as choose to call upon Robert Foulis, Printer to the university at his house near the College of Glasgow, may see the proficiency that ten young pupils have already made in drawing, etching, engraving and painting, under the directors of this academy.

A contemporary painting by David Allan at Newhall House, and of date about 1760, shows a hall of the Library, the walls hung with pictures and lined with book-shelves, casts and models standing about, the pupils busied in various ways, and visitors inspecting their work. It is here reproduced, as it includes amongst the figures, Professor James Moor, and Robert and Andrew Foulis, as will presently be explained.

Of the association of the Academy with the University Lord Buchan says : The Messrs. Foulis “ naturally concluded that an Academy for the cultivation of the Fine Arts would, with great propriety and utility, be united to an University. From this union they hoped that a double benefit would be derived ; for, as learning is necessary to artists, so, a fine taste is necessary to complete a liberal education, nor should learned men be without a relish for



INTERIOR OF THE ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

From Print of a painting by David Allan

those arts, which have in all ages been deemed liberal and polite. Their situation as citizens of Glasgow and some other circumstances induced them to chuse that University as the place to carry their scheme into execution."

Alexander Campbell (1764-1824), musician and poet, who gave the earliest and, in some respects, the best account of the Academy, dwells upon the same subject :

" It will be recorded by future historians, in giving an account of the origin and progress of literature, art, and science in the British empire, that an Academy of the Fine Arts was established in the University of Glasgow fifteen years before the Royal Academy in Somerset House was opened.

* * * * *

Elated, as well they might be, with their success [as printers], a scheme, not less worthy of genius, though less profitable to speculation, presented in a point of view the most fascinating to the active spirit of these enterprising brothers. The prosperity of the empire at large seemed to them mighty and rapid in its advance. Witnessing the progress which polite literature and the sublime departments of science had made in the University in which they themselves flourished, and knowing that 'for those arts by which manufactures are embellished, and science is refined, to found an academy' belonged to Majesty alone ; yet these men, aspiring to the glory of being patrons of the fine arts in their native country, actually conceived the bold project of establishing an Academy for painting, engraving, modelling, moulding, etc., in the university of that rising, opulent, commercial city, Glasgow."

Foulis thus expresses his hopes and aims in a letter in 1758 to the Hon. Charles Yorke, one of his friends and patrons :

" My utmost ambition and hope is to bring the Fine Arts to such a degree of excellence, as to convince those who have it in their power to make a lasting establishment, that a seat

of the Sciences and Belles Lettres is the perfect nursery for the Fine Arts: particularly that the University of Glasgow, who are sensible of the intrinsic value of the Fine Arts, and the excellent uses to which they may be made subservient, both moral and political, would be a proper society to have the Academy under their inspection, and make it flourish in such a manner as to produce a noble and useful institution."

In providing the Academy with a home the Faculty did so upon the ground that Art was a University subject, and one to be encouraged by a University. This view continued long after the days of the Academy. James Denholm, a drawing master and artist, and author of a good *History of Glasgow*, had a class in the College for drawing and painting, and in 1819 a Lecturer on these subjects was included in the University staff.

The scope of the University teaching was much enlarged towards the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century. There were University lecturers on French and Italian, on Geography and on Elocution. I have *A Synopsis of a course of Elocution* (1786) by Henry Gray Macnab (1761-1822), who was for some time University lecturer on the subject, and in the Exhibition there is another of his publications also treating of the art of public speaking.

Dr. William Wight (1731-82) the versatile and erudite professor of history, besides prelecting on Ecclesiastical History, was in use to give an annual course of over one hundred lectures on the study of Civil History, which appears from the Syllabus or Heads of Lectures, printed by R. & A. Foulis in 1767 and again, in an improved form in 1772, to have been of an encyclopaedic description. Amongst other subjects he touched upon the Fine Arts. In the Syllabus of 1767, the ninety-third lecture was:

Rise and progress of the fine arts—age of Leo the tenth—causes why musick, painting, statuary and architecture attained to greater perfection in Italy than elsewhere.

This was somewhat expanded in 1772 and formed the subject of lectures eighty-six, eighty-seven and eighty-eight :

Revival of arts in Europe—Peculiar advantages of Italy with respect to the cultivation of the Fine Arts—Alteration of the military art during this period.

Architecture among the Saracens—The Gothic—The revival of the Grecian architecture, of the most celebrated artists, and the greatest works of this kind in modern times—Statuary—Sculpture—Engraving.

Revival of painting—Various branches of this art—Different schools of painting and their respective merit—Characters of the most eminent performers in the different nations of Europe—State of this art in modern times.

The treatment must necessarily have been slight, but it is of interest to know that, while the Academy was being carried on, something at least was being taught in the University of the history of art.

Shortly after Foulis had established his Academy in Glasgow a "Plan for an Academy" was published, of which an abstract appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and in the *Scots Magazine* of March, 1755. It was proposed "that some fine pictures, casts, bustoes, bas relievoes, intaglias, antiquity, history, architecture, drawings and paintings be purchased." This was Foulis' scheme, but while there were to be professors to deliver lectures on anatomy, geometry, perspective, architecture and other sciences, it is not explained what provision was intended to be made for practical teaching.

THE EQUIPMENT OF THE ACADEMY

The Academy provided competent teachers, and pictures, drawings, prints and models, and other necessary equipment for study and for teaching. Pupils were received and trained as apprentices.

"I receive no gratification," Robert Foulis explains, "from the

young men bred to be Artists in the Academy, but I give them wages from the beginning, so that they are taught on easier conditions than they would learn the ordinary mechanic trades. They also receive little rewards or prizes occasionally to stir them up to outdo themselves or their companions. These are proportioned to their condition and my ability."

"In the management of this institution," says Lord Buchan, "great attention was paid to the models given to the students for their study and imitation, and nothing was neglected that might tend to prevent their having anything to unlearn, when they should arrive at that degree of improvement, which qualified them to think, and judge for themselves."

As appears from the sale catalogue of 1776, the actual number of pictures in the Academy gallery was 553. From an analysis made by the late Mr. Gabriel Neil (1797-1862), the great masters were represented thus :

PICTURES.			PICTURES.		
Raphael - - -	39	Salvator Rosa - -	8		
Julio Romano - -	6	Titian - - -	22		
Leonardo da Vinci -	6	Paul Veronese - -	8		
M. Angelo Buonarotti	9	Bassano - - -	9		
Correggio - - -	16	Rubens - - -	36		
Annibale Caracci -	15	Vandyck - - -	30		
Guido - - -	31	Rembrandt - - -	8		
Andrea del Sarto -	7	N. Poussin - - -	10		
Carlo Maratti - -	10	Mignard - - -	6		
Spagnoletti - - -	2	Coypel - - -	5		

In addition, there were 94 pictures of the Italian, Flemish and French schools, consisting of landscapes, flower pieces, still life, and portraits.

Writing in 1772, Pennant says, "Messrs. Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers and booksellers to the University, have instituted an academy for painting and engraving ; and, like good citizens, zealous to promote the welfare and honour of their native place,

have, at vast expense, formed a most numerous collection of paintings from abroad, in order to form the taste of their *élèves*."

The staff of the Academy consisted of a Professor of Painting, an engraver, a copper-plate printer, and two experts for moulding and modelling and casting figures in plaster of Paris. These experts in moulding were two Italians of the name of Torrie. The Professor of Painting was M. Payien, a Frenchman. The engraver was François Antoine Aveline, son of Antoine Aveline, an engraver, and cousin and pupil of Pierre Aveline, another engraver, the most distinguished of the family, and an artist of note. François was an artist of only moderate ability. Born at Paris in 1718, he worked there for the booksellers and print-sellers until he accepted the Foulis engagement. The copper-plate printer was M. Doubois, another Frenchman. None of them could speak a word of English.

Things did not run smoothly. Robert Foulis mentions that he met with "disappointment in the choice of masters"; and Aveline must have left in about a year, as he was engraving in London in 1755. But Foulis rose, however, above all discouragement, and the enterprise was carried on with much spirit, and many pupils, some of whom afterwards gained world-wide distinction, were attracted to the Academy. Some were instructed in designing for manufacturers, others in drawing, painting, engraving, and modelling. The pupils drew in crayons, red and black chalk, in black lead, and with pen and ink: copies were taken from the casts, and new casts modelled and reproduced, and some busts were cut in stone.

To assist in making the Academy remunerative, Foulis had acquired a large number of engraved plates and casts, from which copies were taken with the view of being sold.

ADVICE OF FRIENDS

Adam Smith, who had a carefully cultivated taste for the Fine Arts, and Joseph Black seem to have interested themselves in the Academy and in the work that was carried on, but on the whole Robert Foulis received little encouragement in his design

from his friends. Some spoke plainly. Mr. William Sturrock—by mistake called Harrock by Mr. Duncan—a Glasgow graduate and an old acquaintance, then secretary of the Earl of Northumberland, writes from London on 26th December, 1753 :

“ My Lady will be glad to see your Prints when finished ; but I cannot help thinking that my Lord is of opinion, that a correct and well-printed Book would be more agreeable to us from your Press than anything else. These will ornament, and with great lustre too, as well as with real profit, the Libraries of Popes and Princes, while your Prints lye mouldering in a Dusty Corner. . . . We are overrun with Prints of all kinds ; but good Printing will be deem'd a novelty since the days of R. Stephens, who minded only one thing ; and pray consider, he lay under more disadvantages than you do now. Print for posterity and prosper.”

The Rt. Hon. Charles Townshend endeavoured to point out the difficulties involved in carrying out the scheme, and to persuade him to stop, but in vain. “ Not only the Duke of Argyle but all men of sense ” wished him “ more success in Printing than in Painting and Sculpture.” A few years later, Mr. Dalrymple, an old and tried friend, repeated advice which he had evidently given before. After pointing out that there was no enthusiasm for the Academy in the community, and that he need not look for any substantial support, he continues :

“ I do earnestly beseech you to retrench your Scheme and expence, instead of extending it upon the hopes of the good will of your countrymen ; for take my word for it again, very few of them give one farthing either for the fine arts or for you, and for that reason it is your duty in common sense to draw in your scheme, to sell off all superfluities, and to bring it into a mercantile affair as much as you can.”

To such kind suggestions and sound advice Foulis turned a deaf ear. His interest in the Academy and his enthusiasm for art remained unabated.

PROGRESS OF THE ACADEMY

In a letter written in 1756 Foulis says :

“ The Magazines of Vertù have not yet escaped the dangers of the seas, but those that have arrived answer the expectations of the public, so as to excite an universal curiosity. The Saint Cecilia supports his character as an original of Raphael, and the Carrying to the Tomb, an original by the same master, is one of the noblest pieces of painting I ever saw. The Duke of Hamilton having generously offered us the liberty of copying or engraving an[y] of his pictures, the painter is still there. He finished first a copy of the Supper of Emmaus by Titian, and his copy is esteemed a faithful and beautiful representation of the original. The next picture he attempted was the most celebrated picture in Scotland,—Daniel in the Den of Lions,—the size of life, an original picture by Rubens, for which it is said the family refused a thousand guineas. This picture, by reason of its great dimensions, cou’d not be copy’d without making a thoro’ trial of the abilities of the copyist, which oblig’d him to copy at a great distance from the original, and this is so well approv’d, that I have not heard one that have [has] seen it, that has not declared great satisfaction. It was finish’d few days ago, and placed up in the Duke[’s] gallery on his birthday. I have been assured by several that were present, that it gave universal satisfaction to a great company of nobility and gentry who were present. He has now begun to copy a picture of a Treaty between England and Germany or Flanders in queen Elizabeth’s time. This picture is not only valuable as a piece of painting, but as a piece of history, and [for] the portraits of so many celebrated persons, all whose names are on the picture. It belonged to the Earl of Sunderland, and was made a present of by him to the then Earl of Hamilton. The story is, that my Lord Sunderland gave him the choice of all his pictures ; not expecting that he wou’d have chosen that one, he offered him his choice of

any other two to part with it. The next we propose to copy in Hamilton is a portrait of the Earl of Danby by Vandyke : but before that is done, I am determined to have him return to Glasgow to work after nature and Raphael."

In the same letter, Foulis writes, "Our engraver is employ'd in doing a full-length picture of the Duke of Argyle : as it is large, —all done with the graver,—and a great deal of work in several parts of it, I don't expect to see it published before winter. If its appearance on paper be suitable to its appearance on copper, it will be a masterpiece." The duke had always befriended Foulis ; he admired his printing, and employed him in 1758 to print the catalogue of his library at Inveraray. This is a good piece of work and is bibliographically interesting, as indicating the character of a well-selected private library of the period. The duke, says Denina, "patronised the ingenious with a bounty worthy of himself, and paid particular attention to the university of Glasgow, which has since become one of the most renowned in Europe." He had been a student of the University for some time, and afterwards studied at Utrecht. In 1753 he presented Leupold's *Theatrum Machinarum*, in nine volumes folio, to the library, and thoughtfully proposed to send a manuscript translation from the High Dutch, "in order to render the book more generally useful."

The portrait was that by Allan Ramsay, which the Corporation had acquired in 1750, and which hung in the Council Hall. The engraving was not finished until the beginning of 1757, when it is thus announced in the *Glasgow Journal* of 24th January, 1757, and in the corresponding issue of the *Glasgow Courant* :

This day is published,

A PRINT of his Grace the Duke of ARGYLL ; engraved in the academy of Glasgow, from the full-length picture in the town-hall, painted by Mr. Ramsay. To be sold by R. and A. Foulis, price 4s.

Work must have been proceeding with great rapidity. There are announced on 14th February "A View from the south of the

Cathedral," and "A View of St. Andrew's church, from the battlement of the Town-house": a week later two other views of the Cathedral, the one from the north, and the second from the west: on 28th February "Penthesilea Queen of the Amazons wounded by Achilles, but defended by a Scythian attendant," engraved from the *Museum Florentinum*: and on 14th March "Diomedes and Glaucus embracing each other," also engraved from the *Museum Florentinum*. To this last advertisement there is added that there may be had in Messrs. R. and A. Foulis' shop "A variety of Figures, antient and modern, cast in the Plaster of Paris: among which are Demosthenes, Cicero, Livy, Antoninus, Faustus, Shakespear, Milton, Dryden, Prior, Newton, Pope."

To attract attention, and help the disposal of the stock a sale by auction was next tried:

"On Wednesday next the 27th of April, from twelve to two afternoon, at the auction-room of R. and A. Foulis in the Old Coffee-house, will be exposed to sale by way of Auction,

A Collection of Pictures, done in the academy at Glasgow consisting of History, Portraits of famous men, and Landskips, likewise a variety of Figures in Plaister of Paris."

Another auction was advertised for 11th May and a third for 25th May. It is to be feared that these sales were not successful.

Writing in February, 1764, Foulis says: "We have lately cast off a few setts of the principal prints we have engrav'd: They wou'd make a volume between 60 and 70 sheets of royal paper the full breadth of the sheet." This gives an indication of the work done. In addition there were prints taken from the copperplates purchased by Robert Foulis and belonging to the Academy.

Mr. Gabriel Neil calculated that the prints engraved in the Academy were 45 in number, besides 54 additional of the Gallery of Raphael and Raphael's Bible, that is in all 99. The prints, the plates of which were in possession of R. and A. Foulis, amounted to 902, while the statues comprised about 102 subjects, of which 15 were modelled in Glasgow.

On the dispersal of the contents of the Academy in 1779, it appears from the sale catalogue, that the then owners had been able to make up "three complete sets of the prints, done up in three books, amounting to 1,250 in number." Mr. Neil's estimate was therefore somewhat within the mark.

What appears to be a fragment of one of these volumes is in the Exhibition.

ASSISTANCE

The capital which Robert Foulis had obtained for carrying on his project was soon exhausted; and more money was required. The engravings, drawings and other works executed in the Academy could not be disposed of, and, as they accumulated, became dead stock. Andrew Foulis had originally nothing to do with the Academy, but became a partner on 21st February, 1758, presumably to assist the finance. At this juncture Mr. Dalrymple came to Robert Foulis' assistance and prepared *A Proposal for encouraging by subscription an Academy for painting and sculpture, now instituted at Glasgow*. This he printed and put in circulation without Foulis' knowledge, and had it reprinted in the *Scots Magazine* of January 1759. "A subscription was begun here last spring," says Foulis in a letter to Mr. Yorke, of date 15th September, 1758, "by Mr. Dalrymple, a warm promoter of great designs, and to whom I know it is a most agreeable circumstance that the present has the protection of your family. His Proposals which were made without my knowledge are well exprest, a copy of which I enclose." Writing long after, Mr. Kenrick of Bewdley, describes him as "the friend and protector of Robert Foulis," and says, he "set on foot a subscription to support this worthy patriot who had sacrificed so much for the honour of his country, and to extricate him from serious embarrassments into which his painting had involved him and his family."

Through the exertions of Mr. Dalrymple, William Cullen, and other friends a small sum was raised, but it was inadequate to extricate the enthusiastic projector from his difficulties.

Acting, no doubt, upon Mr. Dalrymple's suggestion, Foulis pre-

pared *A Catalogue of pictures, drawings, prints, statues and busts in plaister of Paris done in the Academy in the University of Glasgow*. It extends to 14 pages folio and has an engraved title page—executed in the Academy—which concludes with the notice “ In this Catalogue is inserted a collection of prints, the plates of which are the property of R. and A. Foulis. Published for the use of Subscribers.”

The pictures were 88 in number; and were copies of works purchased by Foulis on the continent, except three which were copies of pictures in the Hamilton Palace collection.

The original works were Views in Glasgow and neighbourhood. The drawings were 31 in number; most of them were copies, but some were originals.

The Prints were from the plates purchased by Robert Foulis, and embraced a vast variety of subjects, but were apparently of trifling value, the most of them being sold for 6d. each, many at 3d., and very few at more than 1s. In addition, there was a considerable collection from plates engraved in the Academy. The statues were all moulded at Glasgow, and several of them were modelled there.

WORK OF THE ACADEMY

The zeal with which Foulis sought to promote the study of art communicated itself in a slight degree to the citizens. Manufacturers applied to the Academy for designs and for engraved plates. The first plate executed in Scotland for calico printing was engraved by a pupil of the Academy. The engraved medals deposited under the four corners of the Macfarlane Observatory on 17th August, 1757, were probably prepared in the Academy. On 4th April, 1765, the Library Committee of the University was requested “ to bespeak a Copper plate of the University Arms, an impression of which is to be pasted on every Book.” This was no doubt got from the Academy. Art was talked about and discussed. Both Foulis and Professor Moor (who in this connection has been curiously confounded with Jacob More) read essays on the subject before the Literary Society of Glasgow.

Books upon Art were circulated. In 1755 R. & A. Foulis published Du Fresnoy, *Judgment of the Works of the Principal and Best Painters of the two last Ages*, and a little earlier Antoine Coypel, *Discours sur la Peinture*. Robert Urie in 1764 published a translation of Algarotti's *Essay on Painting*, and in 1766 a translation of Winkelman's *Reflections concerning the Imitation of the Grecian Artists in Painting and Sculpture*.

While there was a certain amount of interest in the Academy amongst the citizens there was little enthusiasm. Their attitude is touched off by Thom in reference to another matter: "We were convinced, from past observation, that our fellow-citizens pay no great regard to projects that have not an immediate tendency to increase their wealth. Such projects may, perhaps, at a time when trade happens to be dull, make a little noise among them for a day or two, but they are soon forgot, and leave no serious impressions on their minds."

Similar observations occur in a notice, in the *Scots Magazine* for 1757, of the Foulis Homer:

"If this impression had no other merit to recommend it than the improvement made in typography, that alone would be sufficient to intitle it to the patronage of the public; but we are sorry to observe, that the little encouragement given to the cultivation of arts and sciences, is not the least instance of the corruption and degeneracy of modern times.

If there was the smallest spark of national spirit among us, the liberal arts would not be so destitute of patrons as to fly abroad for protection. They who have no taste to relish them, would, if they loved their country, patronize them from political principles.

The higher perfection the arts attain in any country, the greater will be the demand for its particular productions. The nation that out-rivals its neighbours will become the mart of commerce; the ingenious and industrious will procure a comfortable subsistence; the inhabitants will multiply; and the kingdom increase in riches, and, consequently, in power."

The skill of the pupils was utilised in connection with the printing press. The edition of Callimachus, finished in 1755, has three full page engravings executed in the Academy. The book is a masterpiece of printing, but the illustrations are of no great merit, although they deserve recognition as amongst the first fruits of the new enterprise. In the same year the brothers published an edition of Addison's *Remarks on Italy*, and next year the Dublin Society's *Weekly Observations*. Both are illustrated, but whether the plates were engraved in the Academy is not recorded.

Reference has already been made to their very pretty editions of some of the Italian poets. In 1678 Daniel Elzevir of Amsterdam printed for Thomas Jolly of Paris dainty editions of the *Gierusalemme liberata* and *Aminta* of Tasso ; the *Adone* of Giovanni Battista Marini ; the *Pastor fido* of Guarini ; and the *Filli di Sciro* of Bonarelli, in thirteen volumes, 32mo, illustrated with plates by Sébastien le Clerc. Robert Foulis reprinted the series in 1753, 1763 and 1772. As the *Aminta* was published in 1753 before the engravers in the Academy were at work, the illustrations must have been printed from le Clerc's plates which Foulis had bought, probably in Paris, and brought home. The Glasgow edition is in duodecimo, and its letterpress is much superior to that of Elzevir. M. Édouard Meaume has dealt fully with those plates in his *Sébastien le Clerc*, and in his *Étude bibliographique sur les Livres illustrés par Sébastien le Clerc*. As given in Jolly's edition, they are in their second state.

Robert Foulis, in the *Memorial of the Printers and Booksellers of Glasgow*, of 25th April, 1774, tells how useful he found the Academy in preparing diagrams for mathematical books ; and at the same time enlarges on the work and results of the Academy.

“ The mathematical works of Dr. Simson, which have been printed and are printing here, could not have been executed in the manner he chose without the art of engraving in wood ; and there are others which could not have been executed without the art of engraving on copper. These two last arts are connected with the printing of linens and cottons, which are taxed so as to

bring a great revenue to the crown ; and such manufactures are numerous in this country ; it is consequently, the interest of government to encourage arts subservient to the wealth of the country, and the increase of the revenue. .

Yet the efforts made in this way, amidst great difficulties, could neither have subsisted as they have done for above twenty years, nor been undertaken, without the assistance afforded by the exercise of printing ; nor would that alone have done, without the assistance of opulent and generous protectors ; for the attempt was not confined to engraving in wood and copper, a drawing-school was established, where many gentlemen, some of whom have been remarkably distinguished, have laid the first foundations of that part of education. This year the first prize for history-painting in Rome was adjudged to a painter bred at this school."

PATRONAGE OF THE ACADEMY

Robert Foulis was very grateful to the Earl of Hardwicke for the trouble which Colonel Yorke had taken in obtaining the release of the pictures impounded at Rotterdam, and to himself for obtaining remission of duty on their entering this country. Accordingly, in July, 1758, he sent to him, through Mr. Wedderburn—afterwards Lord Loughborough—two pictures copied by students of the Academy. The Lord Chancellor immediately wrote in reply :

" I think myself so much obliged to you for it [the present] that I cannot help taking the first opportunity to return you my thanks, and to assure you of y^e pleasure I take in seeing the progress you have already made in your very patriotic and laudable undertaking, and of my sincere wishes that you may bring it to perfection for y^e public benefit of the country as well as your own particular advantage."

Having asked how he might suitably recognise the scholars to

whom he was indebted for their performances, Foulis in the course of his reply explains that the pictures were intended as a slight acknowledgment of his lordship's kindness, and adds :

“ Three hundred and fifty pictures were received and given me anew by your son, the King's minister at the Hague. The most of these with many others owe the easy terms of their admission to your Lordship's interest. Since this is the truth of the case, no performance the Academy can ever be capable of producing can properly be considered in any other light, than the becoming acknowledgments of a grateful mind without power.”

The great Homer had been dedicated to George, Prince of Wales, in 1756. In 1759 the Prince is understood to have made a tour in Scotland *incognito*, under the guidance of John, third Earl of Bute, his Groom of the Stole. They stayed for several days in Glasgow but how they spent their time is not recorded. The Earl had been an early and was a steady patron of Robert Foulis. It was no doubt through his intervention that the Prince had accepted the dedication of the Homer, and it is very probable that he would be taken to see the College, the Printing-House, and the Academy. If so, Robert Foulis had no knowledge of the character of his visitor. In 1762, he says, that from the commencement of the enterprise he had hoped to make it not unworthy of being known to the King ; and asks Mr. Yorke to see Lord Bute and ascertain whether he could get the King to accept copies made by his students of two pictures, one by Raphael and the other by Rubens, as specimens of the work done in the Academy.

Despite all the stir and talk the Academy languished. It was intended to be self-supporting. The staff was to be maintained by the produce of their own labours. The works of masters and pupils were intended for sale, but while they were visited and admired there was no market. Apart altogether from the fact that the enthusiasm for art of the people of Glasgow and of the neighbourhood

was less than that of the founder of the Academy, there were few picture-buyers in Glasgow. One of the things required by a picture-collector is wall-space on which to exhibit his purchases, but, when the Academy was set up, there were not many houses in Glasgow which possessed this requisite. Dr. Johnson, speaking of Glasgow in 1773, says, "The prosperity of its commerce appears by the greatness of many private houses, and a general appearance of wealth." These were, however, recent: until the year 1760 few "self-contained" houses had been built in Glasgow; the greater part of the wealthier inhabitants continued, till a much later period, to occupy flats which had generally only one reception room, although the statement by Mr. Dugald Bannatyne, that the family usually took their meals in a bedroom, is erroneous, as was long ago pointed out by Mr. Laurence Hill. It was impossible, therefore, that the citizens of Glasgow should be patrons of art, except to a limited extent. When Provost Arthur Connell, father of Sir John Connell, the great church lawyer, was dean of guild (1764-66), he lived on the third storey of a house on the south side of Bell's Wynd "consisting of four rooms, a kitchen and two garret rooms." The Countess of Glencairn lived in a flat in the Trongait. John Shortridge's tenement on the south side of Argyle Street, built about 1766, had one house on each flat of eight rooms and kitchen, several of the rooms being large and the roof high. This was the new order of things.

Portrait painting was the form in which art was most in demand, and the various exhibitions of portraits of Glasgow men and women, which have from time to time been held, show to how large an extent it was patronised. Of seventy-seven pictures sold by auction in Glasgow in 1702 fifty-four were portraits; at a sale in Edinburgh in 1705 the whole of the pictures, thirty in number, were portraits. Counsellor Pleydell's library, it will be remembered, "was hung with a portrait or two of Scottish characters of eminence by Jamieson, the Caledonian Vandyke." Sir John Dalrymple, writing in 1757, recommends that they should practise landscape painting in the Academy, as landscapes will sell best and "hit the present taste

of ornamenting a room, by which I mean, making it more ugly than it naturally is." In a commendatory notice of the Academy in the *Scots Magazine* of January, 1759, it is said, all that the proposal "requires is, that persons of condition should ornament their houses with the productions of this infant academy, at a less expence, than they can do by procuring pictures or busts of equal goodness from a foreign country."

Portraits were, however, in the ascendant. In 1778, two years after the Academy closed, "Mr. Cambuzzi, portrait painter from Venice, informed the Ladies and Gentlemen of Glasgow," by an advertisement in the *Glasgow Mercury*, "that he had arrived from London and lodged at Mr. Hutton's, Head of the Old Wynd, Tron-gate, where he gave attendance from 11 to 3," and invited them "to view the performances which he has finished since his arrival."

STUDENTS OF THE ACADEMY

Notwithstanding the various difficulties which Foulis had to encounter arising from opposition, indifference, and ignorance on the part of the public to whom he appealed, and from the want of funds, he prosecuted his scheme with vigour and with considerable success. Although not financially profitable the Academy provided training for many young men, several of whom rose to eminence in their profession. When noting the names of R. and A. Foulis, in his *Dictionary of Painters*, Mr. Redgrave adds: "Mention will be too frequently made in this work of eminent artists who studied in Foulis's Academy to permit of the omission of their names."

Amongst the more prominent students of the Academy were William Cochran (1738-85), "an eminent artist and a virtuous man" according to his epitaph in the Cathedral; "a modest artist," says Bryan, "who never exhibited his works, or put his name to them"; Archibald MacLauchlan, a native of Argyleshire, who, it is said, married a daughter of Robert Foulis; and David Allan (1744-96), the "Scottish Hogarth." Speaking of the latter,

Allan Cunningham says: "Much that he performed during his servitude was necessarily of a preliminary nature; yet he made such progress as enabled him, before he left the Academy, to sketch a picture in oil-colours, showing the interior of the painting-room, with the students at their tasks, and Foulis giving his instructions."

These three, along with two other pupils, James Maxwell and John Paxton (1725-80), were sent to Italy, at the expense of the Academy, to complete their education in art, which was part of the scheme in the "Plan for an Academy" in the *Gentleman's Magazine* before referred to. At Rome the Glasgow pupils were taken in charge by the well-known Gavin Hamilton, a Lanarkshire man—whose bust is in the Hunterian Museum—and the Abbé Grant. Cochran, who became apprentice in 1754, was the first that was sent, and Charles Yorke, at the request of Foulis, obtained a passage for him in a man-of-war and gave him letters of introduction. Cochran's portrait of Dr. Cullen is in the University collection, and that of Alexander Speirs of Elderslie is in the Merchants' House.

According to Redgrave, Alexander Runciman (1736-85), the historical painter, "studied for a time in Foulis's Academy at Glasgow," but this seems to be a mistake. Runciman and Allan both became masters in the Drawing School of the Board of Trustees in Edinburgh. The versatile George Walker, portrait painter, and water-colour artist (d. 1800), commemorated by Campbell, was also educated in the Glasgow Academy. He held the office of landscape-painter to the King, and some of his landscapes are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Of the engravers and modellers who laid the foundation of their studies at the Glasgow Academy, James Mitchell and William Buchanan were the best; Ralston is mentioned by Campbell, and John Lawson and William Jameson by Foulis.

Charles Cordiner, afterwards a student in the University, and minister of St. Andrew's episcopal chapel, Banff, studied in the Academy, and made some drawings which were engraved by Robert Paul, the most active of the students. Cordiner corresponded with

Gough and was patronised by Pennant. His *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland*, published at London in 1780, with 21 plates engraved by Peter Mazell, consisted of a series of letters addressed to Pennant. Some of his drawings were also engraved in *The Virtuoso's Museum*.

“The essays in landscapes,” says Foulis, “that were done by Robert Paul, a little before his death, have that simplicity which promises superior excellence. The view of the West Street, called the Trongate of Glasgow, is the most capital, as it is the last of his works, and was finished after his death by William Buchanan.” This is a fine view and gives an excellent idea of this fine street as it was at the accession of King George the Third. The other views of Glasgow and of places in the neighbourhood are interesting, as records of how our city looked to those who trod her streets a hundred and fifty years ago. It is probable that the painting of Bothwell Castle, in the Hunterian Museum, was done in the Academy. One of the Glasgow views by Robert Paul, “Prospect of the Entry to the Blackfryars Church at Glasgow,” is reproduced in order to show it as it was seen by Robert Foulis, by Leechman and Simson, by James Boswell and Lord Cardross, by George Whitefield and John Wesley, and the students who passed through it to the church, which was then used as the College chapel. Robert Paul may have been a son, or other relative of that Robert Paul who was Deacon of the Barber craft in 1745, and whose essay master Robert Foulis was in 1727.

James Tassie (1735-99), famed for his imitations of antique gems and medallions, having seen the Academy pictures, was seized with the desire to be himself an artist, and entered as a pupil. “Before leaving the Academy,” says Campbell, “he executed some excellent work, particularly busts of Livy and Cicero.” Amongst his medallions of Glasgow men were those of Robert Foulis, of Adam Smith, of Thomas Reid, Smith's successor in the chair of Moral Philosophy, of John Millar, the jurist, and David Dale, the philanthropist.

One John Tassie, or Tacie, was Deacon of the Barbers 1740-41;

another John Tassie was Burgh Treasurer 1754-55; and, a few years later, William Tassie was the foremost leather-breeches maker in the city; but whether any of them was related to the artist I cannot say.

When Lord Cardross was at Glasgow with his regiment in 1762, he matriculated as a student of the University, attended the lectures of Adam Smith and other professors, and found time to study in the Academy. In 1761 he had been on duty at Fort Augustus with his regiment, the 32nd Foot (Leighton's), in which he was lieutenant, and when there expected to be able to make a tour in the Hebrides. In this he was disappointed, but meeting with William Lilliman, of the Royal Engineers, then in garrison at Fort George, and finding that he was to make a similar tour, arranged with him to make two drawings of the remains of the cathedral of Iona. This, says Lord Cardross, "he kindly performed, and presented me with the drawings on his return, which I afterwards etched in the Academy at Glasgow. One of these solitary specimens of my needle is inserted with my account of the Island in the Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland," that is, the first volume of *Archaeologia Scotica*. Redgrave, after classing him as an *amateur*, and putting the dates of his birth and death out of joint, says, "that amongst his later works were some portraits, and that these and his etchings are respectable."

Raphael's Cartoons engraved by Mitchell and Buchanan, and published in 1773, is a very handsome book and was at one time much sought after. The Gallery of Raphael, or Raphael's Bible, engraved by Buchanan and published in 1770, is also a fine book and used also to bring a good price. Dr. William Hunter entrusted the engraving of some of the plates for his great work, *Anatomia Uteri humani gravidi*, to James Mitchell.

Richard Gough, the antiquary, made a tour in Scotland, in the course of which he visited the Academy, and made some very disparaging remarks regarding it, in a letter to his friend Michael Tyson, dated September 29, 1771:—"The collection of Pictures at Hamilton seems to be a good one, even if one regards only the



A. Prospect of the entry into the Blackfriars Church. *R. Paul del.*
Glasgow March 1st. 1756.

Portraits: But the Foulis's of Glasgow have so mis-named and mis-copied the best paintings, that one is quite disgusted with Scotch *vertù*. They have engraved a wretched view of Loch Lomond, which I have got for you, together with a set of Scotch Poems from their press." He was evidently writing in bad temper and with insufficient information. Only three of the Hamilton pictures were copied and these were not misnamed. Other travellers formed a better opinion of the copies. When James Coutts, M.P. for Edinburgh, visited the Academy in 1767 he paid fifty guineas for the Academy copy of Daniel in the Den of Lions, one of the Hamilton pictures, and purchased others at a cost of fifty guineas more.

EXHIBITION OF PICTURES

Writing in 1756, Foulis says: "I am determined . . . in the beginning of winter to expose all that is hitherto done to public view, in order to excite emulation, and to have some little prizes for drawing." He was always pleased to show the pictures, both those done in the Academy and the collection he had made abroad, and the citizens and strangers had many opportunities for seeing them.

On the occasion of the coronation of George III. and Queen Charlotte, on 22nd September, 1761, a number of the principal pictures belonging to the Academy were exhibited for inspection by the public. They were hung in the open air, upon the walls of the inner quadrangle of the College, while a bonfire blazed upon the High Street, according to the custom on such occasions. David Allan made a drawing of the scene, which was engraved, and has thus been preserved.

The pictures were also exhibited on the King's birthday. In the *Donaldsoniad* of 1763, reference is made to "the bonny show that we mak here wi' our pictures on his [the King's] birth day."

Mr. John Fleming, already mentioned as corrector of the Foulis Press, notes in his diary under date 4th June, 1770: "This day, Monday, the King's birthday was celebrated. The Pictures belonging

to the Messrs. Foulis in the Academy at Glasgow were exhibited in the Inner Court of the College. A great crowd went to see them." James Turner of Thrushgrove notes that the exhibitions ceased about 1775.

FINANCIAL TROUBLE

The chief difficulty in carrying on the Academy was want of funds. Lemoine remarked that "the literary genius of Greece and Rome had already produced to the Messieurs Foulis ample fortunes." This was very far from being the case. Money, as has been seen, had to be borrowed for the printing and publishing business, and it is doubtful whether it did more than pay its way. In his letter to Sir William Murray in 1754, Robert Foulis remarks, "Private profit is what I have too much undervalued in my other undertakings to regard it in the present circumstances." If there was a profit on the printing, it must have been comparatively small, and quite insufficient to support an establishment such as the Academy. There were hopes at one time that Government might give a grant towards the expenses, but the project came to nothing. "Lord Selkirk talked to me of a project," writes Sir John Dalrymple, "to get a Salary settled upon you by the Government: he spoke of this as if he had thought of it before hand, tho' like a man that did not care to speak of it unless he could speak of it with certainty. You will see him at passing & may talk to him. Further, in the way the Duke of Argyle speaks of you and with the spirit of Mr. Pitt's ministry I fancy the thing may not be quite an Idea."

In 1755 the University granted the Messrs. Foulis a loan on the security of the Printing Office and their adjoining property, and in the same year purchased from them the Clementine MS. of the Octateuch of the Septuagint, probably with the view of putting them in funds.

Although Ingram, Glassford and Campbell were styled partners in the Academy, they took comparatively little monetary risk in it, and, when Ingram died in 1770, their advances became payable, but

were not paid. The Messrs. Foulis then borrowed from any one who would lend. By the end of 1773 they had obtained loans of £1,350 ; in 1774 they began to get money on bills, and in that and the two succeeding years became indebted in this way to the amount of £446 10s. 8d. Their total borrowings in thirteen years amounted to a large sum.

Robert Foulis' whole time was occupied with the management of the Academy and the handling of its finances. His attention was thus diverted from his legitimate business, which languished and added to the embarrassments of the firm. "Some years ago the Printing-office at Glasgow," says Captain Edward Topham (1751-1820), a lively but rather flippant Englishman, who spent several months in Scotland, "was a formidable rival to that of Edinburgh : and had the two celebrated Printers there pursued their business they might have carried away the whole trade of Scotland to themselves. . . . During the rage of this fancy, [the Academy] they forgot their former business, and neglected an art which, from their editions of Homer and Milton, might have made them immortal, to run after paltry copies of good paintings, which they had been informed were originals.

"When I visited these gentlemen, I had heard of their Printing, but never of their Academy. It was in vain that I asked for books ; I had always a picture thrust into my hand ; and like Boniface, though they had nothing in print worth notice, they said they could shew me a delicate engraving. You may well imagine that this ambition has prevented their former success ; for though Poetry and Painting may be sister arts, I never heard that Painting and Printing were of the same family ; if they are, their interests have been very opposite."

Captain Topham could use his pencil as well as his pen, and made a caricature sketch of Andrew Foulis holding a book lettered "Homer," which was published by Matthew Darly of 39 Strand on 1st January, 1775. He made another of an Abyssinian Traveller, a full-length portrait of James Bruce walking bareheaded with his

hat under his arm, and holding his "Travels into Abyssinia by ——" It was also published by Darly on 9th December in the same year. Topham himself was the subject of several of the caricatures of the day.

The management of the bookselling and printing business devolved upon Andrew, who devoted himself to it, as an eye-witness records, with unwearied diligence and assiduity. "He held an auction three or four hours every evening in the Saltmarket, with printed catalogues, to raise money to pay his own and his brother's under-workmen, so that I believe there never was a more slavish labourer in any employment. At the same time he attended the shop alone."

Pressed for money and beset by claims upon all hands, the firm became remiss in meeting their engagements. "Foulis' conduct is unaccountable," writes George Paton in 1772. "I blush at the breach of promise and bad treatment:—What need I say? Many complain of the same style of them." A few years before a quarrel had broken out between them and Professor James Moor, whose sister Elizabeth, then dead, had been the first wife of Robert Foulis. Money was at the root of this, as of most family disputes. The professor had become indebted to the firm, and as security had pledged his library. When they themselves began to be pressed for funds, presumably they applied to Dr. Moor for payment of his debt, which he was unable to meet, and, as it would appear, they in consequence took possession of the library. He had a scholar's love for his books. He had chosen them with care and judgment, and had slowly and with considerable difficulty collected them during many years. He could not bear to part with them, and never forgave their seizure. He had a biting pen, and revenged himself by throwing off caustic epigrams upon his unfortunate brother-in-law. Trouble pressed upon him. His health gave way, and he became very irritable. His difficulties were great, and in his distress he blamed Robert Foulis for his misfortunes, but so far as can now be ascertained, unjustly. In 1766 he had to employ an assistant in teaching his class; next year his furniture was pointed



A. FOULIS.
The celebrated Printer at GLASGOW.
and by M. Darly, Jan^y 1. 1775. 39. Strand.

CARICATURE PORTRAIT OF ANDREW FOULIS

By E. Topham

Published by M. Darly, January 1, 1775

by a creditor, and two years afterwards he sold his collection of medals to the University for £32, to put him in funds. The collecting of medals was then in fashion. Francis Hutcheson had indulged in the pursuit, and his collection passed to Professor Alexander Dunlop, and then to the University, as appears in a Faculty Minute of 11th January, 1754.

RECLAMATION OF PEAT MOSS

The last effort of a bankrupt oftentimes is to plunge into some new business of which he is totally ignorant, in the vain hope of extricating himself from the difficulties which have overtaken him in the business which he knows. Such was the case of the Messrs. Foulis. As if bookselling, printing and publishing, and the management of the Academy were not sufficient to occupy their time and their energies, they betook themselves to land improvement. Their new project was that of converting peat moss into arable ground. For this purpose they purchased a hundred acres of Carnduff Moss in the parish of Avondale, and in 1772 more than forty acres of Flatt Moss in the parish of Glassford. For carrying their plan into execution they had a large sort of plough constructed, to be drawn by men, as the ground was too soft to bear the weight of horses, with which deep trenches were to be formed for draining and drying the moss. This implement was brought to Flatt Moss and put in motion by a number of men; but after drawing it for a short distance it came upon a stock of wood embedded in the moss. There it stuck and was abandoned. Nothing more was done towards the reclamation of Glassford Moss, and nothing at all was attempted for that of Avondale. The former was long known as "Foulis's Folly."

Of this project Dr. James Wodrow writes :

"Towards the end of his life Robert Foulis amused himself with bringing in some useless deep mossy ground, which he had purchased or taken a lease of, in the Parish of Mearns, about eight miles from Glasgow, by means of a plough, he invented, of

some singular construction. This also soon terminated in loss, which was to be expected, for I never heard of his having any peculiar mechanical or agricultural turn."

In 1761 and again in 1768 the firm published works on Agriculture; and on 8th November, 1777, Robert Foulis read a paper before the Literary Society, "On the improvement of Agriculture and at the same time diminishing the expense." The reclamation of peat bogs was one of the questions of the day, and much was being done for getting rid of the moss or for converting it into arable land. Apparently Foulis thought that he had hit upon a plan for carrying out such a scheme.

Principal Leechman had a farm at Auchenairn, on which he amused himself during the long vacation; Professor Richardson had a charming retreat at Croy, in the parish of Killearn; and when Professor Rouet returned from his continental travels, he purchased the estate of Auchendennan on the shores of Loch Lomond, and built himself a villa, which he called Belretiro, in memory of his sojourn in Italy, and lived the life of an agriculturist and improver. It may be that Robert Foulis hoped to divert his thoughts and invigorate himself by some country occupation, and solve a problem which at the time excited great public interest.

SOME NOTABLE VISITORS

Robert Foulis mentions that the Academy pictures "had been visited by many persons, both British and foreign." "Many who had seen them," he adds, "and who expected nothing in Glasgow of the kind, were not a little surprised on finding so many pictures of the first order of every school."

In June, 1757, John Wesley paid a visit to Glasgow, where he was the guest of Dr. John Gillies (1712-96), the active and evangelical minister of the College Church. In the afternoon of Friday, 3rd June, "we walked to the College and saw the new library, with the collection of pictures. Many of them are by Raphael, Rubens,

Van Dyck, and other eminent hands ; but they have not room to place them to advantage, their whole building being very small."

In August, 1764, Thomas Gray, the poet, visited Glasgow in the course of a short tour in Scotland, but only a bald note of what he saw has been preserved : " Glasgow, still on the Clyde, an elegant City. Roman inscriptions at the College. Mr. Foulis' Picture-Gallery. The Kirk was the ancient Cathedral, a noble Gothick Building, miserably spoil'd with Galleries & out of repair." Gray was a friend of Professor Wight, and already knew Foulis, of whom, as appears from a letter in 1763, he had a high opinion as a printer, and thought that the Glasgow press was equal in beauty to anything in Europe. Four years afterwards, when the Glasgow edition of his *Poems* was in hand, he writes, " I rejoice to be in the hands of Mr. Foulis, who has the laudable ambition of surpassing his predecessors the *Etiennes* and the *Elzevirs*, as well in literature, as in the proper art of his profession." The printing of the *Poems* turned out well, and Foulis presented the author with a copy of the folio *Homer*, " Mr. Foulis," says Gray, " is magnificent in his gratitude."

When we last met James Boswell he had just formed the acquaintance of Francis Gentleman, and had accepted a Dedication from him. It was from him, and at that time, that he had first heard of " Dictionary " Johnson. Boswell was now on terms of intimacy with Dr. Johnson, and had visited Corsica and become the friend of General Paoli. " The illustrious Corsican chief was all along resolved, since he arrived in Great Britain, to make a tour to Scotland, and visit James Boswell, Esq., who was the first gentleman of this country that visited Corsica, and whose writings made the brave Islanders and their General be properly known and esteemed over Europe." The plan could not be carried out until the autumn of 1771, when the General came to Scotland, accompanied by Count Burzynski, the Polish ambassador. After visiting Edinburgh and some other places they arrived at Glasgow on the evening of 5th September.

" On Friday, Sept. 6, they walked about and viewed the beautiful and flourishing city of Glasgow without being known.

But by the time they got to the university, the report went that General Paoli was in town ; and then every body was in motion, crowding to see him. Their Excellencies viewed the elegant printing and academy of painting, sculpture, etc. of the Scottish Stephani, the Mess. Foulis, who were transported with enthusiasm to see such visitors. The university was not sitting ; but there luckily happened to be there the Professors Moor, Muirhead, Anderson, Trail, Wilson, Reid, and Stevenson, who shewed the university to great advantage, and entertained their Excellencies, and a number of other gentlemen of distinction, with wine and sweet-meats in the library. The magistrates of Glasgow behaved with that dignity and propriety which might be expected from gentlemen of extensive commerce, and consequently enlarged minds ; gentlemen of great fortunes, and consequently independent spirits ; they considered it as an honour to their city to shew every mark of respect to so distinguished and truly estimable a personage as General Paoli, and to the representative of a crowned head."

They accordingly invited them to dinner, and after visiting Auchinleck, the visitors returned to Glasgow and were hospitably entertained at the Saracen's-head Inn—then presided over by the energetic Mrs. Graham—by Lord Provost Colin Dunlop, and the magistrates.

The account of their visit was evidently written by Boswell himself, and it is a curious coincidence that in the number of the *Scots Magazine*, in which it appears, there is an epigram on Mr. Francis Gentleman's alteration of some of Ben Jonson's plays :

Mark the commandments, Frank,

Go no further—

Is it not written,

Thou shalt do no murther ?

Two years later Dr. Johnson made his memorable tour in Scotland with Boswell. On 28th October, 1773, they arrived at Glasgow and put up at the Saracen's-head. "Here am I, an ENGLISH man,

sitting by a *coal* fire," said the doctor, as he reposed with a leg upon each side of the grate.

"Friday, October 29—The professors of the University being informed of our arrival, Dr. Stevenson, Dr. Reid, and Mr. Anderson breakfasted with us. Mr. Anderson accompanied us while Dr. Johnson viewed this beautiful city.

* * * * *

"We were received in the college by a number of the professors, who showed all due respect to Dr. Johnson; and then we paid a visit to the principal, Dr. Leechman, at his own house, where Dr. Johnson had the satisfaction of being told that his name had been gratefully celebrated in one of the parochial congregations in the Highlands, as the person to whose influence it was chiefly owing that the New Testament was allowed to be translated into the Erse language."

Although Boswell does not say so, there can be no doubt that they viewed the College, including the library, the Academy, the paintings and the printing-house.

"Professors Reid and Anderson, and the two Messieurs Foulis, the Elzevirs of Glasgow, dined and drank tea with us at our inn, after which the professors went away; and I, having a letter to write, left my fellow-traveller with Messieurs Foulis. Though good and ingenious men, they had that unsettled speculative mode of conversation which is offensive to a man regularly taught at an English school and university. I found that, instead of listening to the dictates of the Sage, they had teased him with questions and doubtful disputations. He came in a flutter to me, and desired I might come back again, for he could not bear these men. 'O ho! Sir, (said I,) you are flying to me for refuge!' He never, in any situation, was at a loss for a ready repartee. He answered, with quick vivacity, 'It is of two evils choosing the least.' I was delighted with this flash bursting from the cloud which hung upon his mind, closed my letter directly, and joined the company."

Situated as they were the brothers could have had little heart for lively conversation. Business cares were pressing upon them ; they had to raise money three times during that year, and again in 1774. One of the obligations incurred in the latter year was a bill for £126 9s. 5d. to John Fleming, portioner of Carnduff, probably a connection of their proof reader. Whether this money was for the peat moss enterprise or for the Academy does not appear. The Academy and the press had been engaged on *The Seven Cartoons of Raphael*, which was published in 1773, in folio.

In 1775 Mary Anne Hanway, the novelist, visited Glasgow. "This town [Glasgow] is a very good one, and ought to figure considerably in the history of modern Scotland ; the houses are well built, and the streets broad and well paved. There is an air of metropolitan dignity in it, (notwithstanding the cold look of the stone houses) which entitles it to a much greater share of the traveller's admiration, than even the capital of the country. . . . The college is a large handsome building ; it looks equally venerable and classical. The library is a very noble room with a gallery round it, supported by pillars ; there is likewise a very good collection of original pictures shown here, with which I was very agreeably entertained, though no virtuoso or connoisseur."

DEATH OF THE BROTHERS

A very sad and tragic event occurred in 1775. On 18th September Andrew Foulis took a friend to the Duke's Lodgings in Drygait, a favourite vantage-ground for viewing the city and surrounding country. "He was here attacked by an apoplectic fit, and died almost immediately. Robert was sent for and had the body conveyed to his house, though from the suddenness of the event he could hardly be persuaded that his brother was dead. He hung over the body when it was stretched out and called upon him again and again ; but Andrew could make no reply."

Deprived of his brother's assistance, oppressed with debt and

beset by the claims of creditors, Robert Foulis had no alternative but to close the Academy and to dispose of the collection of pictures. By these he set great store. He had purchased them as expressing the grace and beauty which dwelt in his own soul ; he had brought them with pains and difficulty to Glasgow ; he had watched over them for more than twenty years ; he knew every line and feature of each canvas, and was never weary of explaining their points and dwelling upon their merits. He believed that they had great pecuniary value, and that the proceeds of their sale would put him in a position to discharge his debts, and leave a surplus for his declining years and his family when he was gone.

The pictures were accordingly packed up and sent to London under the charge of Robert Dewar, one of his printers, who afterwards married his daughter Elizabeth. Foulis himself prepared an elaborate descriptive catalogue of the Collection, in three volumes, to which he prefixed an interesting preface containing some particulars regarding the Academy and the principal students, a work which is of interest as being the only book of which he was the author.

He arrived in London in the month of April, 1776. Before the pictures could be unpacked and made ready for sale, the season was too far advanced, and Christie, the auctioneer, " the most knowing judge in Britain," advised that the sale should be postponed. He pointed out that there were no buyers, that he ran the hazard of being offered half a crown for what he expected £20, and that the market was glutted ; and the first intention seems to have been to act upon this advice, but ultimately it was resolved to proceed ; the pictures were put on exhibition, and the sale went on. It turned out badly—very badly. After meeting charges, the net sum remaining to the unfortunate owner was, it is said, fifteen shillings.

It is needless to refer to the grief and disappointment of the worthy man. He had sacrificed what he prized most highly and loved most dearly. A callous and ignorant crowd had, in his view, taken his treasure without acknowledging its merits or its worth. He had parted with it and was a beggar. There is little wonder that he was

driven to the verge of despair. Dr. William Hunter, a fellow-student and lifelong friend, did everything in his power to support and comfort him, but in vain. He journeyed slowly back to Scotland a broken man. He reached Edinburgh, and, while in the act of preparing for his journey to Glasgow, suddenly expired on the 2nd June, 1776.

The close is touchingly told in a letter by Robert Dewar to Elizabeth Foulis :

“Edinburgh, June, 1776.

Could I write in a stile like yours, Madam, the relation of the sufferings of my honoured Master so justly dear to you, would, to use the words of Shakespeare, ‘harrow up your very Soul’; his memory will doubtless be dearer to you when you reflect upon the age and frailty of your venerable father, when he set out on such a journey in the midst of winter, principally for your sakes. Cheerful he was upon his journey, and happy in the expectation of returning to you again with wealth sufficient to make you all independent and comfortable. His affection for you was strongly expressed. Whenever he spoke of you his soul kindled. You cannot conceive the expression of his countenance when he drank ‘The health of all our friends at their fire-sides in Glasgow.’ When he wrote the first letter to you from Morpeth, does it not end abruptly? I looked up, repeating the last word I had written. He could then only say Farewell!—his eyes glistened, the tears ran down his cheek, and in all his letters, when he spoke of business, the words flowed free, but when he began to speak particularly of his family, he was at a loss, he durst not give way to the feelings of his heart; he seemed fearful to touch the string that so heavily vibrated.

‘My son, Andrew,’ continued he, ‘is about his twentieth year: I intended to have sent for him to have seen London while there myself, but I believe I will not now as things have turned out unhappily: he may perhaps come up next year, and

I hope with advantage.' Why, Madam, do you require of me to represent thus your affectionate aged parent, groaning under afflictions of body and mind, yet bearing all with the firmness of a Philosopher and the resignation of a Christian? Figure him to yourself in the midst of the storm, unable to gather heat in his bed, seized with a violent cough, which allowed him no rest, and an incessant diarrhoea which, in the midst of strangers, subjected him to exaggerated uneasiness.

During all this distress his mind was deeply depressed with the ill success of his affairs. He had tried every effort to make the exhibition of his Pictures succeed, but in vain. It had not been in his power to effect a sale of them until too late in the season, when he was advised by his friends not to risk it, on account of the ill success sales of that kind had met with, until next year. A number of his prints were sold, but, by their coming so late in the season, fetched very little money.

Your own imagination will best represent the anguish of his soul under all these circumstances. Alas! how humbling to him whose hopes had been so sanguine, whose estimate of his collection of pictures had been so high and had been attached to it for more than twenty years, and had daily seen in it new beauties.

The chaise is come to carry him from the place where he had suffered so much. Full of hope, vigorous, chearful and healthy when he arrived, he leaped from his chaise. Oh, what a contrast now! Disappointed, spiritless, all his hopes blasted, his health and strength gone, he is obliged to be supported into his carriage, his countenance pale as death, his eyes sunk in their sockets. My heart was breaking—I burst into tears. 'Why do you weep, Robin?' said he; 'I love you as my own son.' 'Ah, Sir,' replied I, 'my fears forebode that you will never more return to your family, that you will never be able to support the journey.' 'What makes you think so, Robin?' 'See!'—lifting his foot and placing it firmly on the ground—'I have

yet some strength. Fear not for me,' and repeating part of the twenty-third psalm, continued to say, 'Fear not, I trust we shall see them all again and yet be happy.' Can I represent him struggling from day to day with fatigue, pain and sickness, that he might take his last Farewell in the bosom of his family, that he might see you once more ere his eyes closed in death, that he might bless you before he yielded up the Ghost. Ah, no! Let the curtain drop on this last scene of his sufferings. They are now past, he is gone to that place where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

It had been Robert Foulis' turn to read a paper at the first meeting of the Literary Society in the winter of 1776, but, as it was thought that he might not return from London in time, another member agreed to take his place. When the meeting came, it fell to the substitute to express the sorrow of the members for the loss of their fellow.

"When I promised, a few months ago, to begin the business of the Society for the present session, I entertained expectations that the fulfilment of my engagement would not have been required of me. A venerable member was then living, though at that time absent from his home, never indeed to return, to whom that office would have fallen of course. He is no longer a member of this Society, or of any society of mortal men; he is gone whither all of us shall sooner or later follow, and happy may we deem our departure, if we leave behind us a name like his. I am well persuaded, indeed, that our remembering him on the present occasion will not be unpleasant. We have often seen him in this Society, entering with ardour into every ingenious and important discussion. But I say nothing of the gratitude due to him by every lover of true learning and of classical elegance. It is not my purpose to pronounce his panegyric, for his eulogy is established on a firmer foundation than any memorial of mine. As long as the luminaries of

Greece and of Rome are held in estimation, will his fame be remembered, and when *they* cease to be valued, who would choose to be named? (True, no doubt, ages have arisen in the history of mankind that give them no glory, but they were ages of darkness and had no glory to give.) Nor will I enumerate his virtues. I only mean to recall him to your remembrance, for surely he deserves well of us all. His public spirit embracing the welfare and improvement of this community, and indeed of the human kind, was accompanied, even in old age, with all the ardour of private affection, and all the enthusiasm of youthful friendship. Bending with years, and fully aware that a change in his mortal nature was fast approaching, and that he was no longer to have any concern in the affairs of men, he entered warmly into their interests, and preserved till his latest hour zealous wishes for their improvement. Few speak of the dead: they lie silent and forgotten. Yet it is no unbecoming exercise to renew the memory of a worthy friend. It is often no less profitable than the converse of the living, and often no less delightful. I trust that I have obtruded no disagreeable remembrances on my audience: at least for my part I have some claim for indulgence."

THE CHARACTER OF ROBERT FOULIS

The meeting of the Literary Society was presided over by Dr. Alexander Wilson; the speaker was Professor Richardson, who had lived with Foulis on the closest terms of intimacy for twenty years, and has left us this estimate of his character:—

"The first feature in Robert Foulis' character that particularly struck me, was the great liking he showed to converse on literary topics, and even with persons much younger than himself. This disposition appeared not only in occasional interviews but in his choosing to associate with them, and become a member of their Literary Clubs and Societies. This view of

his character, which appeared to me singular, was in my apprehension rendered particularly interesting by that unsuspecting goodwill and benignity of disposition with which it was intimately united. For, besides the gratification he had, and no doubt he had a great deal, in displaying his own sentiments and opinions on subjects of Taste, the Fine Arts, Literature, and even Theology, he likewise believed, and had reason to believe, that the knowledge he imparted, and the example he exhibited, might be useful to his juvenile auditors. It will readily occur that such dispositions & habits must have been prompted and induced by great fervour of mind, and, in truth, there was no inconsiderable share of enthusiasm, but unaccompanied with any peculiar impropriety, in his sentiments and even in his conduct. (Though he was ardent he was seldom incensed, and his eagerness, or rather earnestness, was never keen.) His good sense and natural flow of affection and complacency allayed at that period of his life every rising impulse of animosity ; so that every sudden displeasure he ever felt, such as may be incidental to persons of sensibility, was, in the calm of a benignant and forgiving temper, very soon and completely assuaged. Thus disposed and united, and being a warm admirer of the sublime and affecting representations presented by the Poet and the Painter, his religion was nearly allied to that of Fenelon, and his Philosophy was akin to the opinions as he supposed, of Plato, or the more intelligible Doctrines of Cicero. Such indeed were the sentiments which he often enforced in his discussions in those Literary and Philosophical Clubs and Societies in which he usually bore a part. He was rather below the middle size, yet perfectly well-proportioned, and his whole appearance indicated a strong and robust constitution. His complexion had not much colour, but was fair, and the habitual expression of his countenance was that of an amiable and good-hearted disposition."

The allusion to his presence at the students' societies is explained

by a passage in one of Mrs. Dewar's letters : " There is nothing in all my Father's life which interests me as much as his zeal and earnest endeavour to instil into the minds of the young Gentlemen at the College the first and noblest principles in the human heart. This he endeavoured to inspire them with not only at his own table, but for this purpose entered himself a member of a Society composed of young men at the College." He may have attended the debates of the Parliament of Oceana, under the presidency of Mr. Fitzmaurice.

Dr. James Wodrow of Stevenston, who entered the University as a student in 1741, was afterwards librarian, and resided in the College until 1753, writes thus to the Earl of Buchan :

" During this long academical attendance, you might justly expect something ; but the fact is my acquaintance with Robert Foulis was rather slight and general than intimate. I met him at times in company, was once or twice in [his] house. He was a retired, almost a recluse man. I never saw him in the library, very seldom in his own bookselling shop within the College, where I often was. The mercantile part of the business was left entirely to his brother Andrew, whose turn of mind was more suitable to it.

Robert, from what I could observe, appeared to be a man of original genius, of a very liberal enlarged mind, and of a most benevolent and disinterested spirit. His genius struck me as being rather of the Platonic than of the correct Aristotelian cast. I mean there was something sublime in his conceptions, darkened by a slight dash of mysticism, caught perhaps from some French Writers, he was said to be fond of, and which might appear greater than the reality from a degree of embarrassment he had in speaking. Of his relations, his education, his actual literary acquirements, the conduct of his business as a printer, with the direction and assistance which he received from others, I know almost nothing."

Some men attract and others repel us ; some fill us with distrust,

and others inspire us with confidence, we respect them and love them. What the subtle influence is that attracts or repels is not easy to determine, but none the less it exists. Robert Foulis was one of those who attracted men of many different temperaments and characters, of all classes, and of all stations. By all he was respected and esteemed. All the long line of professors from Hutcheson to Jardine—Leechman and Robert Simson, Adam Smith and Thomas Reid, Cullen and Joseph Black, John Millar and John Anderson, Richardson and Trail, “some of them,” says Lord Brougham, “the most eminent men of that, or indeed of any age,” were his warm friends and constant associates. Nothing can give a better idea of his character and worth than that he was respected and cherished by men such as Provost Ingram and John Glassford, by the Duke of Argyle (the most influential man in Scotland), and the Earl of Bute, by three Lords Chancellor—the Earl of Hardwicke, his brilliant son, Charles Yorke, and Lord Loughborough—by Baron Mure and Sir John Dalrymple, the Earl of Selkirk and the Earl of Cathcart.

With what tenderness Sir John Dalrymple endeavours to persuade him to moderate his scheme of the Academy; how delicately Mr. Sturrock hints that good printing would be a more lasting memorial than the encouragement of art. When Lord Chancellor Hardwicke wrote to thank him for the present of the two pictures, he drafted his letter and carefully revised its language. When Professor Rouet, a learned and accomplished man, living much in fashionable and in literary society, was abroad, he did not forget the printer, as one of the prominent men in the intellectual community he had left, and in his letters to Professor Robert Simson, has many allusions to—“Honest Robin” as he calls him. Writing from Warsaw on 13th November, 1760, he says: “Had I continued a member of y^r university, I believe I sh^d have been tempted to have gone on wth Honest Foulis in some of his Publick, I wish I could say Private, Schemes to adorn y^r university and indeed human nature.” In a letter from Tivoli, on 11th May, 1763, he says: “Remember me affectionately to all friends, particularly to y^r worthy Principal,

Messrs Clow and Anderson, Foulis &c., tell him W^m Cochran is very assiduous and a fine boy." Again from Rome, on 22nd June of the same year, "Cochrane and Paxton sometimes see me and inform me of all your welfares. Mr. Foulis has given very sensible and very proper instructions to Cochran."

The Earl of Buchan was a man of ability, a patriotic Scotsman, full of schemes for the good of his country; he was anxious to write its literary and artistic history, and was unwearied in collecting material for a projected work, *Anecdotes of Printing and Academical Literature at Glasgow*, which was to be sold for the benefit of the family of Robert Foulis. He had known him for twenty years and recognised in him a man of no ordinary character. His lordship had little insight, and was unable to discern what it was in Foulis that he respected and appreciated, but there was in the man that which compelled his admiration and esteem. He was conscious of the presence of greatness. It is to Lord Buchan's industry and to his collections for his projected work, that we are indebted for the greater part of what we know of Robert Foulis.

HIS CIRCLE

A paragraph from a manuscript chapter of Lord Buchan's autobiography gives us a glimpse of the University as it was in 1762, of the circle in which Foulis moved, and of the persons with whom he associated. The University had given him shelter for many years, and two others in the like position, James Watt and Alexander Wilson, are included in the group :

"This useful and pleasing journey succeeded to my long residence at Harrogate and I returned to my Military quarters at Edr. from whence with the Regiment I marched to Glasgow and prepared for a course of Civil Law with John Millar, Jurisprudence with Smith, and Chemistry with Black; and afterwards enjoyed their instructions with more advantage and delight than I am able to express. I lived as a boarder in the

house of Mrs Lindesay, the Widow of Dr. Hercules Lindesay the Professor of Law at Glasgow [Cecilia Murray, d. 19th June, 1809], where I had for messmates some very agreeable young men, among whom were Tronchin the son of Tronchin of Geneva Physician to the King of France, Robison, afterwards Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edr., then [formerly] a Tutor to the children of Admiral Knowles with whom he went to St. Petersburg.

But Adam Smith's lectures and conversation were my highest delight & comfort. With that wise and good man I read privately his Commentaries on the Law of Nature & Nations, and had access to those papers which, being in an imperfect state at the time of his death, he caused to be destroyed.

Delighted as I was with the knowledge I drew from Smith, his domestic virtues still more engaged my admiration and affection. To his aged Mother, to a Niece of hers and to all connected with him, his attentions, his tenderness and good manners were charming and made upon my mind and upon my heart an indelible impression. In the class of Joseph Black I took much delight and took notes of his lectures, as a subject for conversation with that learned Professor and his most intelligent pupils. Among these was William Ogilvie of the County of Moray, then destined for Professor of Philosophy in the University of Old Aberdeen, with whom I then contracted a friendly intercourse of literature that has continued to subsist to our mutual satisfaction. Mr. Watt also so well known by his ingenious improvements in mecanicks and the fine arts with Mr. Bolton of Birmingham, was another of my most intimate associates. In James Tassie I saw the rudiments of his future eminence, and fortune favoured me in permitting me to select those who were afterwards to do credit to my preference. It was at this time I turned my attention to Ethics and Theology. I attended the excellent lectures of Principal

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F R O M T H E Y E A R 1743.
T O T H E
C O N C L U S I O N O F T H E P E A C E
A T
A I X L A C H A P E L L E,
I N T H E Y E A R 1748.
&c. &c. &c.

Lundroff
Fort Augustus
July 8th 1761

G L A S G O W:
P R I N T E D B Y R O B E R T A N D A N D R E W F O U L I S
M.DCC.LXI.

Leechman and those of Dr. Wight on Ecclesiastical history and in both their families I diligently cultivated their conversation. Wight was a man of genius, of polite literature, and of singular sweetness and animation in his manner, with whom I delighted to range on the confines of Parnassus and to take him for my guide. In Leechman, then almost worn out with age, I found rather a rendezvous of Literature and learned men than the energy of an instructor. In Foulis's printing house and Academy of Drawing & painting; and in the foundry of printing types with the learned Dr. Wilson, Professor of Practical Astronomy, I found delightful employment of leisure.

During all this time I never missed a field day for military exercise or baulked a mounting of Guard, from whence, when relieved, it was my custom by necessity to go to Millar's law Lecture at seven in the morning with Sash, Gorget and Spontoon. This circumstance gave me particular pride & satisfaction, and I saw it had its consequences in the City and University."

Amongst the books in the Exhibition is his lordship's copy of *Extract of Orders and Regulations for Garrison and Camp Duties*, printed by R. and A. Foulis in quarto, in 1761, with his autograph signature upon the title-page. They printed another military work, *Military instructions for forming a Partisan, illustrated with Plans*, possibly on the suggestion of this enthusiastic officer and student.

When speaking of an earlier period, Lord Cardross gives some amusing pictures of Professor Simson, in which Robert Foulis, and some of the other professors figure :

" Robert Simson the Mathematician was a singular man. I was his scholar afterwards at Glasgow, and my Preceptor [James Buchanan, for some time assistant to Simson, and latterly Professor of Oriental Languages] succeeded him in his chair.

There are some curious or at least entertaining particulars

concerning him, which came to my knowledge when I was his scholar which I shall sett down in this place. He carried his Mathematical precision and ideas into the common accidents of life. He used to count his steps regularly all the way from his room in the Colledge to his Villa at [? to the village of] Anderston in the country. If he counted a greater number of steps than usual he accounted himself feeble, and took a Cordial, on his return.

He had a Bed-maker and admitted nobody to his room but by appointment; he took an Aloetic pill every week to keep his passages open, and Nitre if it heated him. He used to roll a lemon or orange in his hand when he was working out his problems and the lost propositions of Apollonius Pergeus. Some College Waggs once scaled his chamber window, and insinuating themselves unobserved stole away his orange or lemon, and replaced it with a Turnip. When the problem came out well solved, out came the Professor with his Eureka.—In the College Area he met with Foulis the Printer—‘Robin,’ said he, ‘Maun, what’s that in my haund?’ ‘Ou dear, Professor,’ said Robin, ‘what gars yee ausk me, Why, its a Neep.’ ‘A Turnip you Blockhead that’s impossible, for it was an orange I had in my hand when I was busy and I never had a Turnip in my room in my life.’

Next he meets Anderson, the Professor of Physicks, and then others, who confirm the identity of the Turnip. The Doctor then returns hence. At the next Club night’s meeting he gravely recounts this most wonderful metamorphosis.

At the Club, Leechman the professor of Divinity used to say Grace, and his seat was close by one of the windows of the room. He being one night absent, Simson who was in the Chair, addresses himself to the Gentleman who happened to sit in the same place. ‘Robin Foulis, say you the Grace, youre next the window.’

The most curious specimen of the Professor was exhibited

by a fictitious mendicant who came to his chamber door and told him a long melancholy story the burden of which applied to the Professor's own situation and family. After having heard him for some time he asked who his Father was, and the names and situations of his brothers all of which tallied precisely with the family of Simson, who bore the enumeration and description of them all, till he found no place left for himself when bursting into an explosion of passion he said, 'What, you Scoundrel, then you must be me my very self; Go, get you hence this moment or I will put you under the lash of the Beadle.' "

The beadle or *bedellus* of the day was John Bryce.

In the letter by Professor Clow to the Hon. Mr. Fitzmaurice, already quoted, he mentions that Dr. William Hunter had asked for some information for a notice of Professor Simson to be inserted in the *Biographia Britannica*, and adds: "I have sent it, but it is short and chiefly takes notice of his different works. His peculiarities which gave so much entertainment to his acquaintances would have no place there."

Professor Robison's admirable memoir of Simson is made all the more interesting by touching upon these peculiarities:

"Having in early life devoted himself to the restoration of the works of the ancient geometers, he studied them with unremitting attention; and, retiring from the promiscuous intercourse of the world, he contented himself with a small society of intimate friends, with whom he could lay aside every restraint of ceremony or reserve, and indulge in all the innocent frivolities of life. Every Friday evening was spent in a party at whist, in which he excelled, and took delight in instructing others, till increasing years made him less patient with the dulness of a scholar. The card-party was followed by an hour or two dedicated solely to playful conversation. In like manner, every Saturday he had a less select party to dinner at a house about a mile from town. The Doctor's long

life gave him occasion to see the *dramatis personae* of this little theatre several times completely changed, while he continued to give it a personal identity ; so that, without any design or wish of his own, it became, as it were, his own house and his own family, and went by his name. In this state did the present writer first see it, with Dr. Simson as its father and head, respected and beloved by every branch ; for, as it was for relaxation, and not for the enjoyment of his acknowledged superiority, that he continued this habit of his early youth ; and as his notions ' of a fine talk ' did not consist in the pleasure of having ' tossed and gored a good many to-day,' his companions were as much at their ease as he wished to be himself ; and it was no small part of their entertainment (and of his too), to smile at those innocent deviations from common forms and those mistakes with respect to life and manners, which an almost total retirement from the world, and incessant occupation in an abstract science, caused this venerable president frequently to exhibit. These are remembered with a more affecting regret, that they are now ' with the days that are past,' than the most pithy apophthegms, ushered in with an emphatical ' Why, Sir ! ' or ' No, Sir ! ' which precludes all reply. Dr. Simson never exerted his presidial authority, unless it were to check some infringement of good breeding, or anything that appeared unfriendly to religion or purity of manners ; for these he had the highest reverence. We have twice heard him sing (he had a fine voice and most accurate ear) some lines of a Latin hymn to the Divine Geometer, and each time the rapturous tear stood in his eye."

" Dr. Simson," says Lord Brougham, " loved to amuse his leisure hours, and unbend his mind in the relaxation of society ; and from the simplicity of his manners and the kindness of his disposition, as well as from his very universal information, he was ever a most welcome member of the circles which he frequented. . . . Notwithstanding his absent habits, he was an exceedingly good man

of business ; he filled the office of Clerk of the Faculty in the University for thirty years, and managed its financial and other concerns with great regularity and success. . . . His character was lofty and pure ; nothing could exceed his love of justice, and dislike of anything sordid or low ; nor could he ever bear to hear men reviling one another, and least of all, speaking evil of the absent or the dead."

Professor Simson was a man of the highest genius and the greatest master in modern times of the particular branch of mathematics which he cultivated. He was twenty years the senior of Robert Foulis, but admiring the elevation of his character and having the same aesthetic capacity, received him into his friendship, sympathised in his aims, and assisted his efforts. In Foulis there must have been sterling worth that commended him to a man of originality and power. Simson, like Dr. Johnson, lived in solitary rooms ; he enjoyed society ; he loved good conversation ; he had his club, and he chose his men. " It was his impressions of Simson," says Mr. Rae, " that first gave Adam Smith the idea that mathematicians possessed a specific amiability and happiness of disposition which placed them above the jealousies and vanities and intrigues of the lower world."

PORTRAITS OF FOULIS

There are three medallions of Robert Foulis. A copy of one of these is prefixed to Mr. Duncan's *Notices and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow*, and is reproduced on the title-page of the Exhibition catalogue. The original is in the possession of Miss Jean M. Foulis of St. John, N.B. The others are in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. A copy of one of these last forms the frontispiece to this paper.

Mrs. Dewar informed Lord Buchan in 1808, that there were two portraits of her father : one, in her possession, done when he was in France by a Mr. Alexander, the other in her sister's possession, done by a member of his own Academy. " Each of us," she

says, "thinks our own the best." What became of these portraits is not known. Mrs. Dewar adds, "I have also beside me a print representing the inside of the Academy, in which piece one of the figures [is] of my uncle Muir [that is Professor James Moor], and my father, and Uncle Andrew." This print is reproduced as before referred to.

James Moor was small of stature, and measles had deprived him of the sight of one eye. Robert Foulis was also a short man, but, as already mentioned, robust and well-proportioned. These particulars help to the identification of the three figures. Although Mrs. Dewar does not refer to it, a group in the print of the Exhibition in the inner Quadrangle of the College seems also to represent the two brothers and the professor.

A New Generation

FAMILY OF ROBERT FOULIS

Mrs. Dewar was the youngest of the five children of Elizabeth Moor, all of whom were daughters.

Robert Foulis' views regarding the education of women were in advance of those of his day. His opinion was that they should be taught something beyond the ordinary routine of education and of domestic occupations.

His two eldest daughters were trained in the Academy, and both practised the art of painting. Mrs. Dewar was taught drawing, and to read Latin and a little Greek, which she learnt from John Young, Moor's assistant and successor. She was likewise trained as a compositor in the printing office. Robert Dewar, her husband, was a favourite of Professor Anderson, and much esteemed by Professor Thomas Reid, Professor Richardson and Dr. Alexander Wilson. After the death of Robert Foulis, the last three, along with the two daughters of the late Professor Robert Dick, offered to advance him money to set up as a printer, and Mr. Wilson undertook to furnish him with types. He, however, met with an accident, from which he unfortunately died, at the early age of twenty-seven, after having been married little more than a year. There was one child of the marriage, a daughter, the only grandchild of Robert Foulis. She married John Thomson, a young engineer in the employment of Boulton and Watt, of Birmingham, and wrote a book, for which Mrs.

Dewar, about 1808, was anxious to obtain subscriptions. For more than a quarter of a century the University made an annual allowance towards the support of Mrs. Dewar.

ANDREW FOULIS, YOUNGER

Robert Foulis remarried a few years after the death of Elizabeth Moor. His wife was Euphan, daughter of William Boutcher or Butcher, (as the name is spelt by Foulis,) nurseryman, at Comely Gardens, and sister of William Boutcher, at Abbey Hill, Edinburgh, author of a *Treatise on Forest Trees*, which appeared at Edinburgh in 1775, and again in 1778, and amongst the subscribers to which were "Messrs. Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers to the University of Glasgow."

The elder Boutcher was also a nurseryman, and had carried on business for a few years in Glasgow, having, in 1751, taken a lease of the Little Hill of Tollcross, the modern Janefield, which he converted into a nursery-garden. He inserted a long advertisement in the *Glasgow Courant*, which shows him to have been a cautious man: "As his principal Servant is a stranger in the place, and so might give credit to improper persons, 'tis humbly hoped that none will take it amiss, if this Business, in the beginning, is carried on for Ready Money only." After a few years' experience he gave up the enterprise as unprofitable.

Professor James Moor was a cousin-german of Euphan Boutcher, and in early life had been much attracted by her sister Magdalen. Robert Foulis' two wives were the daughters of two sisters. His second wife died in 1774, leaving two children, Andrew Foulis, the younger, who was about twenty years of age at his father's death, and a daughter Euphemia Foulis, who was younger.

On the death of Robert Foulis, his son Andrew carried on the business for some time, in ignorance that it was insolvent. The actual state of affairs soon, however, became apparent; claims were advertised for, and a meeting of creditors held, at which trustees

were appointed to take charge of and wind up the estate for behoof of the creditors, with James Duncan, bookseller in Glasgow, grandfather of the late Mr. William James Duncan (1811-85), author of *Notices and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow*, and Robert Chapman, printer in Glasgow, as their factors.

In these circumstances it was evident that Andrew Foulis was unable to continue the business without assistance. If he could obtain such assistance he expected to get the appointment of University printer ; and he accordingly entered into a partnership with James Spotiswood of Glenfernat, bookseller in Niddry's Wynd, Edinburgh, for a period of ten years from 30th June, 1777. Spotiswood was a man of many callings. He had at one time been a writer in Edinburgh ; he had now a large store farm in Perthshire of 4,500 acres, the management of which prevented his residing in Edinburgh more than half the year. We are likewise told that " he had been engaged in many law-suits and was not unacquainted with diligence." Foulis had obtained from the University a lease of the printing-house as from Whitsunday, 1777, at the moderate rent of £20 ; and had purchased the stock-in-trade, types, presses and other utensils of R. and A. Foulis, and another fount belonging to the College. These were to be brought into the partnership along with £1,000 to be contributed in cash by Spotiswood, one half of which was to be repayable by Foulis. Spotiswood had a paper mill at Penicuik, which he thought would be an assistance to the business, but Foulis had been purchasing his paper from Edward Collins, paper-maker at Dalmuir. On these arrangements being made, Andrew Foulis was, on 18th May, 1778, appointed University printer, and got the use of the rooms in the College formerly occupied by his father and his uncle.

A number of books—a reprint of the duodecimo edition of the English poets of 1771, some college text-books, and another edition of *Polemo-Middinia*—were issued, but before long disputes arose, and the partnership was dissolved on 9th March, 1781. All differences between the partners were left to the determination of

Professor John Millar and William Craig (1745-1813), advocate, son of William Craig, D.D. (1709-84), of St. Andrew's Church, who gave their award disposing of them on 25th May, 1784.

In the meantime, Foulis entered into a fresh partnership for fourteen years from 1st January, 1782, with Alexander Tilloch, Hugh Anderson and James Harvey, printers in Glasgow, under the style or firm of Andrew Foulis & Company.

During this period Andrew Foulis had as his apprentice (1782-87), John Mayne (1759-1836), the poet, author of "The Siller Gun," who published, in 1783, "Glasgow," a poem :

O ! Leechman, Hutcheson and Wight !
 Reid fu' of intellectual light !
 And Simson, as the morning bright !
 Your mem'ries here,
 Tho' gane to regions o' delight,
 Will aye be dear !

* * *

Here great Buchanan learnt to scan
 The verse that makes him mair than man !
 Cullen and Hunter here began
 Their first probations ;
 And Smith frae Glasgow form'd his plan,
 " The Wealth o' Nations."

Alexander Tilloch (1759-1825) was the second son of John Tilloch, tobacconist, treasurer (1769-70) and a magistrate (1770-71) of Glasgow. He studied at the University and was intended to follow his father's business, but became interested in printing, and supplied the capital for the new firm. They purchased from Foulis the types and printing material of the late firm, and took over the printing-house in Shuttle Street, at the price of £227. Foulis went to London and Paris for some time, leaving the management of the business in the hands of Tilloch and Anderson, Harvey having retired and assigned his interest to Tilloch. It ultimately proved unsuccessful and the partnership was dissolved in 1786, when Tilloch was found to be a large creditor.

In the proceedings in one of the numerous litigations, in which

the factious and self-opinioned Professor John Anderson involved his colleagues, Alexander Tilloch is referred to as "printer to the University," but he never held an independent appointment. Curiously, in that same action it appears that William M'Ilquham, then a lad of fourteen, afterwards the occupant of Professor Anderson's Chair, when he changed his name to Meikleham, was employed by him to address the libellous pamphlet of which complaint was made.

Under the award of 1784, Spotiswood was ordered to pay Foulis £178 and to relieve him of certain paper accounts due to Edward Collins. Foulis, on the other hand, having got the printing utensils, was ordered to pay the price of them as estimated by James Robertson and James Duncan, printers in Glasgow. Although on a balancing of accounts it was anticipated that there would be a sum due to Spotiswood, Foulis pressed for payment of his £178, got decree, gave a charge for payment, and having obtained letters of caption, placed them in the hands of a messenger-at-arms with instructions to poid Spotiswood's goods and to seize his person, which was carried out. According to Spotiswood, the messenger "with his *posse* seized upon the petitioner [*i.e.* Spotiswood] in a violent manner, dragged him through the streets like a felon in open daylight, exposed to the view of multitudes of men of business then assembled at the Cross, at 'change hours too; and upon a market-day, and who carried him in this ignominious manner to a spunging house." Spotiswood forthwith brought an action of damages against Foulis, his law agents in Glasgow and in Edinburgh, and against the messenger. This took, what nowadays seems the curious form of a criminal libel, the major proposition of which bore "that by the laws of this and every other well governed realm, the charging with horning, and carrying that diligence into execution by poiding, and apprehending the persons of any of the lieges, when the debt contained in said diligence is not due or where it is compensated, are offences of a very heinous nature, and the persons guilty or accessory thereto are liable in high damages." In his *Condescence*,

Spotiswood adds that "the character of a merchant is justly compared to that of a lady, as her existence depends entirely upon the preservation of it; and had it not happened fortunately for the pursuer that at this time he had very few goods upon credit he would have been inevitably ruined, as such a public disgrace would have undoubtedly brought a run of his creditors upon him." He accordingly claimed damages laid at £1,000. The Lord Ordinary assoilzied the defenders, but the Inner House took a different view and awarded damages.

Spotiswood next brought an action against the firm of Andrew Foulis & Company and individual partners to obtain interdict against the sale to them of the type and printing utensils, but in this he was unsuccessful, the Court holding that these belonged to Foulis and that Spotiswood was creditor merely for the price.

Andrew Foulis during his second partnership printed the British poets—Thomson, Pope, Parnell, Gray and Collins, Lyttleton and Hammond—in folio. Virgil was issued in the same style, and Adam Smith's copy with his bookplate is in the Exhibition. It will be remembered that he told Smellie, the printer, that he was "a beau in nothing but his books," and this copy shews how he covered them. Foulis also produced a handsome edition of Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, with aquatint illustrations by David Allan.

Tilloch had conceived the idea of stereotyping, but not having a technical knowledge of printing he was unable to work it out, and one of his objects in entering into partnership with Foulis was to have the advantage of his skill as a printer. They were ignorant of what had previously been done by Ged of Edinburgh (1690-1749), and laboured together to develop the idea. Foulis' visit to London and Paris was in connection with the subject; and in 1784 they took out a joint patent for England for "printing books from plates instead of moveable types," and others for Scotland and Ireland. The trade did not favour the plan, and they therefore confined their efforts to producing copies of "Penny Histories," of which great numbers were annually exported from Glasgow to America. Under

πλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ τῆδε, δῆλον ἦν. Τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτων, τὰ ὄπλα παραδίδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἠλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τὰς προφύλακας, ἐζήτην τὰς ἀρχοντας. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχῶν τότε τὰς τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν, εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι, κελεύειν τὰς κήρυκας περιμένειν, ἄχρις ἂν χολάσῃ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στρατεύμα, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὄρασθαι πάντη φάλαγγα πυκνὴν, τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῆ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τὰς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτός τε προῦλθε τὰς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔφρασεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἦσαν, ἠρώτα τί βούλοιντο. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν ἄνδρες, οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τὰ τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, καὶ

the firm of Alex. Tilloch and Company they issued in 1784 an edition of Gesner's *Death of Abel*. They also printed a stereotype edition of *The Economy of Human Life*, and, in Greek, of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. The former was popular in Glasgow; Urie having printed a pretty edition in 1769, and Alexander Adam a very inferior one in 1789 for "the booksellers in Great Britain, Ireland and America."

On his retiral from the printing business, Tilloch went to London, and as he was engaged with other matters nothing further was done with the stereotype patent, although the process had been found practicable and satisfactory.

Foulis continued the University press and printed a number of books. One of them was Aeschylus in folio, published in 1795, which is a beautiful piece of work, particularly when on large paper and with Flaxman's designs as illustrations. It is a book, too, with a history. Richard Porson had undertaken to edit an edition of Aeschylus for Payne of London, and it was arranged that it should be printed by Foulis. Porson sent Foulis some corrections on the text for an edition in octavo, and printing was commenced. Without waiting until Porson's revision was complete, and without his knowledge or consent, Foulis gave effect to the amendments he had received, and taking Stanley's text for the remainder printed off this edition, which Porson styled "the surreptitious folio," but which is nevertheless entered in booksellers' catalogues as "cum emendationibus et novis lectionibus à Porson." The Aeschylus was published shortly after the appearance of the first part of *The Pursuits of Literature* of Thomas James Mathias. It offered a congenial subject for his satire, and when he issued his next part he launched out in his most truculent style :

Though now some high imperial critics chafe,
To think not Aeschylus himself is safe,
Go to his text; revise, digest, compare,
With Porson's shrewdness, or with Valknaer's care;
Then let the learned page once quit your sight,
Some Scotch Greek swindling printer steals your right.

The *Pursuits* was said by George Steevens to be a peg to hang

notes on. One is duly hung on this passage, not altogether accurate, and in a very patronising tone as regards Porson.

The volume is printed with the fount of the Homer of 1756-58. When the partnership with Spotiswood was dissolved, Foulis took over a considerable quantity of Greek type, the larger portion of which was double pica. It looks as if he wished to find a use for this magnificent character, and printed off this edition for the purpose of exhibiting a fine piece of typography. In this he was successful. According to Adam Clarke, "Only 52 copies of this edition; and of the large paper only 11 copies are said to have been printed: they sell for £10 10s. And with the beautiful Designs of Flaxman, which are executed in all the taste and spirit of antiquity, £20." Ordinary copies sold at the time of publication at £3 3s. in boards, and it is a book which, in fine condition, still commands a good price. Renouard speaks of it as "si chère en France." Dibdin, speaking of Earl Spencer's copy, says: Flaxman's "designs were made for, and dedicated to the late Dowager Countess Spencer, . . .; and the copy of this edition, on large paper, in the library at Althorp,—which contains these drawings,—is beyond doubt one of the most splendid and interesting books in Europe." It is now in the John Rylands library at Manchester.

Part of the octavo edition had been printed in 1794, but it proceeded very slowly. For this, Porson occasionally, and Foulis more generally, was to blame. Much correspondence regarding it passed amongst Matthew Raine, Professor Dalzel of Edinburgh and Professor Young of Glasgow. Richard Heber and Professor Dalzel had many interviews with the printer, but to little purpose. Heber writes, on 2nd March, 1800, of "the *longa injuria* and *longae ambages*" of Foulis's conduct; and six years had still to pass before the book was published. It then appeared with the curious imprint: "Glasgae Excudebat Foulis 1794. Veneunt Londini Apud T. Payne: Payne and Mackinlay; Oxoniae Apud Jo. Cooke, 1806." There are copies on large paper, which Renouard says are scarce.

The University had a similar experience. When Archibald

Arthur (1744-97) was librarian (1774-97), he prepared a new catalogue of the library which it was resolved to print, and which was entrusted to the University printer. He had the work on hand for several years, and the manner in which he carried it on was cause of constant complaint, and arrestments were used against the moneys from time to time owing to him for the work. It was only in 1791 that the book was completed and published.

Foulis' behaviour did not better as time advanced. In addition, he had paid neither rent for the printing-house during all the time he had been in possession nor the price of the fount of types he had purchased. There was no alternative but to terminate his appointment, and on 10th June, 1795, when the appointment fell to be renewed, he was not re-elected. Legal proceedings had to be resorted to to recover possession of the printing-house, and of the apartments in the College which he occupied. He, on the other hand, made claims against the University, one of which was for class-books printed for them. All claims, *hinc inde*, were finally adjusted in April, 1796; the University paid Foulis £70 and he gave up possession.

In 1778 Andrew Foulis printed *Excerpta ex Luciani operibus*. In 1796 it was reprinted by James Mundell, as *academicus typographus*. This marks the change. "Andrew Foulis was," says Dr. Robert Anderson (1749-1830), writing in 1800, "a degenerate and unworthy son of the Elzevir of Scotland."

Dr. Wodrow, another contemporary, makes a similar statement: He "was the weak, and I am afraid the unworthy son of his worthy father Robert. The University out of friendship and gratitude to the father continued the son, as I have heard, for several years (with some assistance) as their printer, till at last they were obliged to dismiss him."

Andrew Foulis continued to print in Glasgow for a few years. His most important work was an edition of Euripides in ten volumes, octavo, some copies being on large paper, which he printed in 1797 for William Laing of Edinburgh and David Bremner of London. In 1795 he had printed the fifth edition of Professor Anderson's *Insti-*

tutes of Physics, and in 1800, when working in Edinburgh, reprinted in excellent style his *Observations upon Roman Antiquities between the Forth and Clyde*, originally contributed, in 1793, to Roy's *Military Antiquities*.

He was an expert and skilful printer, and resided for some time with the Earl of Stanhope to give him a practical knowledge of printing and to assist him in developing the art of stereotyping. Some time afterwards Foulis became involved in a litigation with William Blackwood, bookseller in Edinburgh, whom he had agreed to instruct in the process.

He was of a mercurial temperament, and seems to have interested himself in elocution, as indicated by the following advertisement in *The Glasgow Mercury* of 4th April, 1787 :

E L O C U T I O N .

On Monday next, the 9th of April, in the Tontine,

WILL COMMENCE A COURSE OF

R E A D I N G

AND

R E C I T A T I O N

IN PROSE AND VERSE,

Selected from the most

C E L E B R A T E D A U T H O R S ;

By A. FOULIS.

Ode on St. Cecilia's day, by DRYDEN.

A picture of conjugal felicity, from MILTON.

The birth of SHAKESPEARE, a cento.

Colin and Lucy, by TICKELL.

Madness, an ode, by PENROSE.

* * The pieces to be read each night will be announced some days previous to their delivery. The door will

open at half past six, and the speaking will commence at half past seven o'clock.

In the intervals of recitation, the company will be entertained with select pieces of the most approved music by the best performers. The room will be elegantly lighted, and no pains spared to make the entertainment as agreeable as possible.

N.B. Should these recitations be approved of, A. FOULIS proposes to deliver a course of LECTURES on the arts of READING and SPEAKING.

Tickets 2s. and 6d. each, may be had at the shop of A. FOULIS, and at the bar of the Tontine Coffee-house.

A similar advertisement appeared in next year's *Mercury*, 16th April, 1788, with a slight change of pieces, one of those now introduced being "The Wail of Elvina" by Professor Richardson, a new edition of whose poems he had printed in 1781.

Elocution, it will be remembered, was at this time a University subject, and was practised both in Latin and English; and in 1803 we had a Reciting Society in Glasgow. Andrew Foulis printed both of the books by Henry Gray Macnab, before referred to: they were "sold by him in the College." In May, 1772, F. J. Guion, an actor, gave readings of select pieces in Mr. Herron's large room, in the Black Bull Inn.

Andrew Foulis made up a title as heir to his father's Strathaven property, where, according to William Brown, writer in Glasgow, afterwards provost of Helensburgh, he lived for some time, in the year 1809, in a small wooden building which he erected, and to which he had brought a number of pictures, probably copies which had been made in the Academy.

He was something of an artist, and on his medallion of 1814 by Morrison, in the University museum, is described as "Pictor, Stereotyp. inventor, et Typographus Glasg." His want of success, it is said by his sister, was attributable not to want of ability but to

lack of application. He lived in Glasgow for some years, about 1824, and dealt in pictures for the market, as an assistant or partner with a Mr. Anderson of Aberdeen, "both of them cheating like horse jockies," says Mr. Walter Duncan of Craigmore, Rothesay (b. 1783). At this time he had his bust done, which was, in 1854, in possession of Mr. Walter Duncan who knew him well.

He died in the Poorhouse of Edinburgh in 1829. His sister Euphemia died, also at Edinburgh, in 1828.

"The vicissitudes of his life," says Gabriel Neil in the *Reformers' Gazette* of 22nd April, 1854, "in some of their incidents, resembling those of the famous printer, Henry Stephens or Stephanus, author of the 'Thesaurus or Dictionary of the Greek Language,' affirmed to be one of the most learned men that ever lived, who, after wandering through many places of Europe in quest sometimes of mere subsistence, falling sick in Lyons, died there in an almshouse in 1598. Misfortune, as by a species of entail, appears to have been also the companion of the lot of Andrew Foulis."

The End

ROBERT FOULIS' ESTATE

The trustees for the creditors of Robert Foulis and of R. and A. Foulis made up inventories of the estate and obtained valuations of the paintings, prints, drawings, statues and busts done in the Academy, the copper-plates and the moulds from William Cochran, the artist, and similar valuations of the other items from other persons.

Amongst the assets was "the Library of Books which belonged to Dr. James Moor, late Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow, as valued by the said James Duncan and Robert Chapman at £102 sterling," certainly a very modest valuation, judging from the later sale catalogue. The very first book mentioned in it, is a fine copy of the *editio princeps* of Homer, marked at £10. There were in all 2,724 lots, and amongst them there were some fine editions of the classics, and many good books in most departments of literature. There was an uncut copy on largest paper of the Foulis *Homer*, noted as "rare," and the identical copy used by James Tweedie, when correcting the press. It is interesting to observe that one of the books catalogued as "scarce" was (2,172) M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, but marked at the price of two shillings.

In 1777 the trustees made up a catalogue of the bookseller's stock and manuscripts, and also a catalogue of the stock of books

in quires, with the object of disposing of them by private treaty. The greater part of the quire stock, the prints done in the Academy, the copperplates, and Dr. Moor's library were ultimately purchased at the price of £2,580 by James Spotiswood, or by him and Andrew Foulis, by whom they were disposed of by auction in February, 1779.

The debts amounted to about £6,500; and the trustees were ultimately able to pay to the creditors a dividend of about 8s. 5d. per £.

The unfortunate sale of the Academy pictures in London was accountable for the deficiency. What the intrinsic value of these pictures was, it is impossible to say, but there is no reason to doubt that they were worth a great deal more than they realised. Professor Richardson stated, on an authority on which he felt disposed to rely, that a picture, sold for twenty-five pounds, afterwards brought five hundred. Two of them were subsequently purchased by the University—the Martyrdom of St. Catherine by Jean Cossiers, and the Carrying to the Tomb, attributed to Raphael—neither of which, it is now said, is of very high merit, although the latter was considered by Sir Henry Raeburn to have been the production, if not of Raphael himself at an early period, at least of one of his scholars; it is praised in *The Brougham* of 30th June, 1832—one of the numerous short-lived Glasgow periodicals of that stirring period.

The large number of pictures by great masters in the collection suggests that many of them must have been wrongly attributed. Of those pictures "attributed to the Divine Raffaele," says Dallaway, "there are few of our collections which does not boast one which, in fact, does not belong even to his worst scholar." These collections are not discredited by the presence of such pictures, and it does not follow that the Glasgow Academy collection was a poor one merely because it contained pictures that were not the work of the artists to whom they were attributed. The pictures were exhibited to the public for more than twenty years, and were seen by many competent judges and uniformly admired. Cochran, Paxton, and Allan were familiar with them; they were artists of repute, and knew a good picture from a poor copy, but none of them ever suggested that the

gallery in which they studied was a collection of indifferent works. When Archibald M'Lellan bequeathed his collection to the City of Glasgow it was received very coldly, and it was assumed that the pictures were worthless, simply because many of them were by old masters. It was subsequently ascertained that the greater part of the pictures are of real value, and they are now duly appreciated by the citizens. Robert Foulis was in the field three generations earlier. He had far better opportunities than M'Lellan; he had quite as good an eye and greater knowledge of art, and there is no reason to think that his collection was inferior to M'Lellan's; the probability is that it was better. Dr. William Hunter's collection is in Glasgow, and speaks for itself. There are many good works in it, and it is a question whether some of the pictures did not come from the Glasgow gallery. It would be strange if his friend Foulis should be so unfortunate as to obtain nothing but poor copies and indifferent pictures.

The catalogue prepared by Robert Foulis is wonderfully minute, and from it I should think that an expert could identify many of the pictures in various collections as having been at one time in Glasgow. For example, the description of the Mary Magdalene by Guido Reni in the M'Lellan collection corresponds exactly with that of the picture in the Foulis gallery. The Adoration of the Magi, in the same collection, ascribed by Sir Charles Robinson to Messina, seems remarkably like a corresponding picture in the Glasgow Academy, catalogued by Foulis as by an unknown artist, painted on wood, near the beginning of the restoration of painting (*Catalogue* ii. p. 42). Foulis set great store by his St. Cecilia of Raphael. It was copied in the Academy; and was likewise engraved by James Mitchell in 1766. There is a copy of the engraving in the Print Room of the British Museum, so that there cannot be much difficulty in identifying the original. Many of the other pictures in the collection were copied in the Academy; the originals and many of the copies are probably still extant.

The collection as a whole must have been far more valuable

than the result of the sale would indicate. Indeed there can be no question that many fine pictures were sacrificed.

ACHIEVEMENT

The Academy was an unfortunate venture from a commercial point of view, but it was a grand conception. It was planned on a great scale, and excellently organised, and was carried on for more than twenty years with amazing energy under enormous difficulties. Such a scheme nowadays would be possible only with the aid of a handsome endowment, or of a state or a municipal subvention ; but Robert Foulis undertook it practically single-handed, and achieved what must be considered a marked success. The formation of his gallery of paintings was a big undertaking, and their presence in Glasgow must have been a great educative influence. "Within the college," says the editor of Camden's *Britannia*, "is the printing-house of the two brothers Robert and Andrew Foulis, to whom the learned world owes many elegant and convenient editions of the Greek and Roman classics, and their native city has no small obligation for the Academy by them established for the arts of design and sculpture, though not attended with all the success they expected." Misfortune overtook the Academy, but not from any defect in plan or fault of management, but simply because the funds for carrying it on were inadequate, and the public did not give it the support that was expected. "The undertaking," Foulis remarks, "cannot, perhaps, be entirely justified upon the principles of the selfish system, if the pleasure that arises from endeavouring to do good be counted for nothing ; and if the consciousness of acting with benevolent meaning does not follow us to the other world. What has been already done makes it fully evident that the more the Arts are cultivated, they will become the more perfect and the more diffused." These were his last words upon the subject.

The gallery of paintings, the Academy, and almost all the work

that was done in it, have disappeared. On the other hand, the productions of the press of Robert and Andrew Foulis remain and can be judged of. Robert Foulis not only placed printing in Glasgow upon a wholly different footing from that which it had formerly occupied, but brought it to a perfection that had not hitherto been attained by any printer. He was a man of first-rate ability, with a philosophic turn of mind and an artistic temperament, of calm and steady purpose, great perseverance, unfailing patience, and excellent organising power and mastery of detail. He had clearly in view from the beginning the goal for which he strove. His first printing indicated his aims ; he moved step by step, until he was able to produce his great Homer, as splendid and noble a book as was ever issued from any press. His work lies before us now as fresh and beautiful as when it left his hands more than one hundred and fifty years ago, and is still a model for to-day. The University of Glasgow duly appreciated Robert Foulis ; and his press in turn shed lustre on the University. Looking upon the productions of his handicraft, and remembering what he attempted and what he achieved, we must regard him as one of the greatest artists and one of the most distinguished of the sons of Glasgow.

Robert Foulis
Andrew Foulis
And. Foulis &

INDEX

- Abbey Hill, Edinburgh, 116.
- Academy of the Fine Arts, 20, 57,
71, 75, 80, 83, 109.
plan, 60, 66, 67, 71, 106.
aims, 65, 69.
associated with the University, 66,
68, 69, 130.
work of, 71, 73, 76, 79, 81, 82, 113.
gallery, 72, 79, 94, 95, 97, 99,
128, 129, 130.
catalogue, 72, 99, 129.
staff, 62, 73, 83.
appeal for assistance, 78.
pictures, 82, 83, 89, 94, 95, 96, 113,
114, 128, 130.
students, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 99,
116, 124.
view of interior, 68, 86, 114.
visitors to, 88, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97,
98.
exhibition of pictures, 89.
close of the Academy, 99.
sale of the Academy Gallery, 72,
78, 99, 101, 129.
engravings, 76, 77, 101, 127, 128.
- Academy, Plan for an, 71, 86.
- Academy, Royal, 69.
- Adam, Alexander, 121.
- Adam, Jean, 3.
- Aeschylus, 22, 121, 122.
- Aesop, MS. of, 20.
edition of, 29.
- Agriculture, works on, published by
R. and A. Foulis, 94.
papers on, 94.
- Alexander, artist, 113.
- Allan, David, 68, 82, 85, 86, 89, 120,
128.
- Ambrose, Isaac, *Works*, 15, 63.
- American War, 28.
- Anacreon, 40.
- Anderson, Andrew, printer, 10.
- Anderson, George, printer, 10, 15.
- Anderson, Hugh, printer, 118.
- Anderson, John, professor, 37, 96,
97, 106, 107, 110, 115, 119, 123.
- Anderson, Robert, M.D., 123.
- Anderston, 110.
- Antoninus, Emperor, *Meditations*,
16, 24, 55.
- Apollonius of Perga, 24, 41.
- Archimedes, 24.
- Areskine, Robert, regent, 10.
- Argyle, Duke of, 20, 27, 74, 76, 90,
106.
library, 76.
portrait of, 76; Portrait engraved,
76.
- Argyle Street, 84.
- Arrian, 36, 55.
- Art, books on, 57, 79.
lectures on, in the University, 70,
71.
little enthusiasm for in Glasgow,
80, 83, 130.
- Arthur, Archibald, professor, 123.
- Associate Synod, 32.
- Astronomical Observatory, 35.
- Astronomy, Chair of, 20, 34, 35, 109.
- Auchendennan, 94.
- Auchenairn, 94.
- Auchinleck, 96.
- Auchinleck, Lord, 47, 96.
- Auctions of Books, 7, 8, 92.
- Aveline, F. A., engraver, 62, 73.
- Avondale, 93.
- Ayr, 4.
- Bain, John, type founder, 18.
- Bannatyne, Dugald, 84.
- Barber Craft, 2, 3, 87.
- Barrow's *Works*, 46.
- Barry, John, bookseller, 20.
- Beattie, James, 29.

- Bedellus, 111.
 Bell, John of Antermony, 53.
 Bell's Wynd, 84.
 Belretiro, 94.
 Bentinck, Count, 59, 64.
 Bibliographical Society of Glasgow, 1.
 Bibliographers, 48, 51.
 Bibliomania, 5.
 Binding, 9, 26, 27, 40, 41, 50.
Biographia Britannica, 111.
 Birmingham, 115.
 Black Bull Inn, 125.
 Black, Joseph, professor, 37, 38, 39,
 43, 73, 106, 107, 108.
 lectures, 108.
 Blackfriars Church, 20, 21, 87.
 Blackfriars Wynd, 21.
 Blackwood, William, bookseller and
 printer, 124.
 Bodleian library, 24.
 Bogle, Robert, merchant, 37.
 Book production, 40.
 Bookbinding in Glasgow, 9, 26, 27,
 40, 41.
 Books, handsome, 40.
 on vellum, 9, 40.
 on large paper, 9, 40.
 demand for books in Scotland, 40.
 Booksellers in Edinburgh, 42, 47,
 117, 123, 124.
 Booksellers in Glasgow, 49, 50.
 Barry, John, 20.
 Brown, John, 32.
 Bryce, John, 32.
 Carlile, Alexander, 9.
 Carmichael, Alexander, 15.
 Foulis, Andrew, younger, 125.
 Foulis, R. & A., 7.
 Foulis, Robert, 7.
 Hadden, Alexander, 24.
 Miller, Alexander, 16.
 Paterson, David, 32.
 Stalker, Andrew, 8, 15, 20, 42.
 Booksellers of London, 42, 43, 45,
 46, 47, 49, 50.
 combination against Scots, 46, 49.
 Bookselling in Glasgow, 7, 11, 32,
 49, 92, 105.
 in Scotland, 42, 51.
 Boswell, James, 47, 48, 87, 95, 96, 97.
 Boulton and Watt, 108, 115.
 Boutcher, Euphan, 116.
 Magdalen, 116.
 William, 116.
 William, younger, 116.
 Boyle, Hon. Patrick, 16.
 Lord, 16.
 Briggait, 22.
 British Museum, 9, 18, 41, 129.
 Brougham, Lord, 106, 112.
Brougham, The, 128.
 Brown, Hugh, printer, 12, 13.
 James, 15.
 John, 15, 32.
 Mrs., 15.
 William, 125.
 Browning, Robert, 40.
 Bruce, James, traveller, 91, 92.
 Bryan, Michael, 85.
 Bryce, John, bedellus, 111.
 printer, 32.
 Buchan, Earl of, 37, 38, 39, 68, 87,
 88, 105, 107, 109, 113.
 Buchanan, George, 118.
 Psalms, 31.
 Buchanan, James, professor, 37,
 109.
 Buchanan, William, engraver, 86,
 87, 88.
 Burke, Edmund, 36.
 Burnet, Gilbert, professor, 10.
 Burzynski, Count, Polish ambassa-
 dor, 95, 96.
 Butcher, *see* Boutcher.
 Bute, Earl of, 24, 83, 106.
 Caesar, 40.
 Calder, Robert, curate, 12.
Caldwell Papers, 64.
 Calico printing, 63, 81.
 Callimachus, 29, 40, 41, 81.
 Cambuzzi, portrait painter, 85.
 Camlachie, 18, 20.
 Campbell, Rev. Alexander, library,
 8.
 Alexander, author, 69, 86, 87.
 Duncan, gardener, 26.
 John of Clathie, 63, 90.
 of Shawfield, 64.
 Capperonnier, Jean, 24.
 Cardross, Lord, *see* Buchan, Earl
 of.
 Cargill, Donald, 12, 13.
 Carlile, Alexander, bookseller, 9.
 Carlyle, Rev. Alexander, minister,
 14, 37.
 Carmichael, Alexander, minister, 15.
 printer, 15.
 Carmichael, Gerschom, regent, 3,
 11, 14, 15, 33, 36.

- Carnduff Moss, 93, 98.
 Casiri, Michael, 27.
 Caslon & Co., 18, 19.
 Cassillis, Earl of, 64.
 Castlepens close, 21.
 Cathcart, Earl of, 64, 106.
 Cathedral of Glasgow, 77, 95.
 Cebes, 17, 40.
 Chaldee type, 14, 15.
 Chandos, Duke of, 66.
 Chapman, Robert, printer, 117, 127.
 Chatham, Earl of, 27, 41, 90.
 Cheap editions, 43, 48, 120.
 Chemical laboratory, 26, 35.
 Chemistry, 35.
Cherrie, The, and the Slae, 22.
Chevy Chase, 47.
 Child, Sir Joshua, 34.
 Cicero, *Works*, 7, 15, 23.
 De natura Deorum, 8, 16, 17.
 Philosophical works, 15.
 philosophy, 104.
 Clarendon press, 11, 29.
 Clark, James, minister, 12, 13.
 Clarke, Adam, bibliographer, 122.
 Classics, large number of the,
 printed by Foulis, 41, 130.
 Cleland, James, 18.
 Clerc, Sébastien le, 81.
 Closes, Glasgow, 21.
 Clow, James, professor, 36, 39, 107,
 111.
 Clubs and Societies, 24, 32, 34, 104,
 125.
 Cochran, William, artist, 85, 86, 107,
 126, 128.
 Cochrane, Andrew, provost, 34.
 Cockburn, Alexander, St. Andrews,
 10.
 Coffee House, The old, 8.
 Tontine, 125.
 Coffee houses in Glasgow, 32.
 College, 7, 15, 16, 25, 55, 95, 97, 98,
 105, 117, 123, 125.
 Church, 87, 94.
 Garden, 20, 21.
 Open, 20, 21.
 Quadrangle, 89, 90, 110, 114.
 residence in, 16, 55, 105, 110, 113.
 Collins, Edward, paper maker, 117,
 119.
 Collins' *Poems*, 48, 120.
 Comely Gardens, Edinburgh, 116.
 Commerce, 32, 34.
 Commissary Court, 2.
 Connell, Arthur, provost, 84.
 Connell, Sir John, 84.
Connoissance de la peinture, 57.
 Copies of great Masters, 59, 83.
 Copper-plates, purchase of, 62, 81.
 Copyright, *see* Literary property.
 Cordiner, Charles, artist and min-
 ister, 86, 87.
 Corrector of the press, 17, 27, 89, 98.
 Correggio, 59, 72.
Corsica, a poem by James Boswell,
 47.
 Cossiers, Jean, picture by, 128.
 Country life, 94.
 Coutts, James, M.P., 89.
 Craig, William, advocate, 118.
 Craig, William, D.D., 118.
 Craigie, Thomas, professor, 56.
 Craignought, 25.
 Crawford, William, merchant, 37,
 52, 53.
 Criminal libel used for private not
 public purposes, 119.
 Croy, Killearn, 94.
 Cullen, William, professor, 35, 36,
 43, 51, 54, 78, 86, 106, 118.
 Cunningham, Allan, 86.
Cyrus, Travels of, 46.
 Dale, David, 87.
 Dalmuir, paper mill at, 117.
 Dalrymple, Sir John, 37, 43, 74, 78,
 84, 90, 106.
 Dalzel, Andrew, professor, 122.
 Damages sued for by way of criminal
 libel, 119.
 Darly, Matthew, 91, 92.
 Defoe, Daniel, 12.
 Demetrius Phalereus, 10.
 Denholm, James, 70.
 Denina, Carlo, 29, 76.
 Design, art of, 66.
 De Vries, G., 33.
 Dewar, Elizabeth, 99, 100, 105, 113,
 114, 115, 116.
 Robert, 99, 101, 115.
 Dibdin, T. F., 8, 121.
 Dick, Robert, professor, 36, 37, 115.
 Dickson, David, professor, 10.
 Diodorus Siculus, 28.
 Divinity, practical, 31.
 Donaldson, Alexander, printer in
 Edinburgh, 42, 46, 47.
Donaldsoniad, The, 28, 89.
 Doubois, copper-plate printer, 62, 73.

- Douglas, Dr. James, 5, 54.
 Drummond, William, of Hawthorn-
 den, 34.
 Dryden, John, *Works*, 34.
 Drygait, The, 98.
 Duke's Lodgings, The, 98.
 Duncan, James, *primus*, printer, 3,
 14, 15.
 secundus, 117, 119, 127.
 Duncan, Walter, 126.
 Duncan, William, 14, 15.
 Duncan, William James, 74, 113,
 117.
 Dunlop, Alexander, professor, 17,
 93.
 William, 31.
 Edgar, James, 5.
 Edinburgh, death of Robert Foulis
 at, 100.
 Edinburgh booksellers, 42, 47, 117,
 123.
 printers, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50,
 91
 Edinburgh, Drawing School of Board
 of Trustees, 86.
 Society for encouraging arts, 29.
 picture sales, 84.
 Education of women, 115.
 Elocution, 70, 124, 125.
 Elzevir, Daniel, 81.
 Elzevirs, The, 95.
 Elzevirs, The, of Glasgow, 97, 122.
 Elzevir Cicero, 7, 23.
 English authors, difficulty of re-
 printing in Scotland, 44.
 Engraving, art of, 60, 67, 68, 69, 71,
 72, 73, 76, 79, 82.
 as an aid to printing, 81.
 Engravings executed at the Aca-
 demy, 76, 77, 79, 81, 86, 87, 88.
 sale of, 76, 77, 127, 128.
 Epictetus, 17, 40, 55.
 Episcopalians, persecution by, 33.
 Errol, Earl of, 64.
 Essay piece, 2, 10.
 Estiennes, *see* Stephani.
 Etching, 68, 76, 88.
 Eton, 40, 48.
 Euclid, 24, 51.
 Euing, William, 10.
 Euripides, 123.
 Exhibition, Foulis, 1, 8, 18, 27, 29,
 53, 70, 109, 113, 120.
 Exhibition of pictures, 89.
Fable of the Bees, 46.
 Fair of Glasgow, 87.
 Fauls, Andrew, maltman, 1, 22
 Fauls, *see* Foulis.
 Female education, 115.
 Fenelon, 104.
 Ferguson, John, professor, 41.
 Finlay, John, wright, 26.
 Fitzmaurice, Hon. Thomas, 38, 39,
 105, 111.
 Flatt moss, 93.
 Flaxman, John, 26, 120, 122.
 Fleming, John, proof reader, 17, 89,
 98.
 Fleming, John of Carnduff, 98.
 Fleming, William, professor, 17.
 Fletcher, James, 29.
 Foote, Samuel, 59.
 Fort Augustus, 88.
 Fort George, 88.
 Foulis, Andrew, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 22, 28,
 37, 38, 49, 53, 55, 57, 68, 78, 85,
 92, 93, 96, 97, 105.
 caricature of, 91; death of, 98;
 portrait of, 68 114.
 Foulis, Andrew, younger, 100, 116,
 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123,
 124, 125, 126; medallion, 125.
 Foulis, Andrew, & Co., 118, 120.
 Foulis, Elizabeth, *see* Dewar.
 Foulis, Euphemia, 116, 126.
 Foulis, Fanny, 58.
 Foulis, James, 22, 58, 59.
 Foulis, Miss Jean M., 41, 113.
 Foulis, John, 3, 22.
 Foulis, Robert, birth, 1, 32, 40;
 barber, 2, 87; university student,
 3, 4; visits to England, 4; to
 France, 4, 57, 58, 65; at the
 Scots College, 4, 5; living in
 Glasgow College, 55; book-
 buying, 5; bookselling, 5, 6, 7,
 22, 105; underrated by students,
 6; publisher, 8, 51; printer, 9,
 19, 44; university printer, 9, 16,
 65, 67; printing house, 24, 25,
 90, 109; celebrity as a printer,
 29, 42, 95, 96, 97, 131; publica-
 tions, 8, 16, 17, 22, 23, 51;
 notable books, 26, 40, 74; books
 on Trade and Navigation, 34;
 assumes Andrew as partner, 22,
 78; attention to bookbinding,
 26, 40; want of capital, 29, 60,
 78, 90; financial difficulties, 90,

- 98; friends, 5, 20, 23, 24, 29, 30, 40, 41, 44, 52, 53, 55, 58, 60, 64, 73, 76, 78, 83, 95, 100, 103, 106, 107, 110, 129; relations with Professor Simson, 24, 110, 113; gift from Earl of Chatham, 41; letters by, 44, 55, 57, 60, 65, 69, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 82, 83, 89, 90, 94; member of the Literary Society, 37, 38, 79, 94, 102, 108; paper on Literary property, 49; memorial to the House of Commons, 49, 81.
- Robert Foulis and the Fine Arts, 57; published books on Art, 57, 80; purchase of pictures, 58, 62, 79, 83; catalogue of pictures, 72, 99, 129; purchase of books, prints and copper-plates, 62, 73, 79; troubles in Holland, 59; disappointments, 73; disregards advice of friends, 73; closes the Academy, 99; achievement, 130.
- death, 98, 102; appearance 104, 114; character, 44, 56, 101, 102, 103, 105, 109, 131; personality, 106, 131; religion, 102, 104, 105; medallion, 87, 113; portraits, 68, 113, 114; attends students' clubs, 103, 104; quarrel with Professor Moor, 92; land improvements, 93, 94; division of his estate, 127, 128; first wife, 58, 92, 114, 115; second wife, 116; family, 85, 99, 115, 116; son served heir, 124.
- Foulis, R. and A., 22, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 34, 40, 42, 44, 47, 48, 51, 70, 76, 77, 79, 109, 127, 131.
- Foulis Exhibition, *see* Exhibition.
- Foulis's Folly, 93.
- Franciscans, The, 25.
- Frederick, Prince of Wales, 58.
- French books, sale of, in Scotland, 34, 51.
- Friday Club, Simson's, 24, 110, 111.
- Gaelic New Testament, 97.
- Gallery, The Foulis, 72, 79, 94, 95, 97, 99, 128, 129, 130.
- Gallery, The Glasgow, 129.
- Garlies, Master of, 16.
- Garrick, David, 29.
- Gay's Works, 46.
- Ged, William, 120.
- Gee, Joshua, 34.
- Gentleman, Francis, 48, 95, 96.
- Gentleman's Magazine*, 71, 86.
- Gentlemen in active life, easy reading for, 28.
- as merchants, 34.
- Gentle Shepherd, The*, 120.
- Geometer, The Divine, 112.
- Geometry, ancient, 35.
- George I., accession, 12, 13.
- III., 82, 89.
- Prince of Wales, 24, 83.
- visit to Glasgow, 83.
- Gibbon, Edward, 26.
- Gierusalemme liberata*, 29, 81.
- Gil Blas*, 46.
- Gillies, John, minister, 94.
- Glasgow—in 1707, 1, 2; in 1760, 32; in 1764, 95; in 1771, 95; in 1773, 84, 97; in 1775, 98.
- the Paradise of Scotland, 2.
- Academy of the Fine Arts, *see* Academy.
- Argyle Street, 84.
- banks, 33.
- barber craft, 2, 3, 87.
- Bell's Wynd, 84.
- Black Bull Inn, 125.
- Blackfriars Church, 20, 21, 87.
- Blackfriars Open, 20, 21, 87.
- Briggait, 22.
- Castlepens Close, 21.
- Castle Yard, 48.
- Cathedral, 77, 95.
- closes, 21.
- clubs, 24, 33, 34.
- coffee-houses, 33.
- College Street, 26.
- Open, 20, 21.
- commerce, 33, 34.
- concerts, 33.
- courts of law, 2.
- Craignaught, 25.
- culture, 33.
- Drygait, The, 98.
- Duke's Lodgings, The, 98.
- Fair, The, 87.
- East Regent Street, 21.
- Exchange, 64.
- Franciscans, 25.
- Gallery of art, 129.
- Gallowgate, 1, 9, 26.
- Gardener craft, 25.
- Grammar School Wynd, 25.
- Greyfriars Wynd, 25.

- Glasgow—
 High Street, 21, 25, 89.
 hospitality, 96.
 houses, 84, 98.
 intellectual life, 33.
 Ingram Street, 64.
 Janefield, 116.
 loyalty, 12.
 maps of, 20.
 Merchants' House, 64, 86.
 Mitchell Library, 10.
 music, 33.
 Newspapers, 7, 14, 33, 67, 76, 85,
 116, 124, 125, 128.
 Old Coffee House, 8.
 Old Wynd, 85.
 Penny Histories, 120.
 picture buying, 84.
 population, 1, 33.
 portraits, 84, 85, 86.
 post office, 33.
 printing, 8.
 private houses, 84, 98.
 Procurators, Faculty of, 25, 39.
 progress of, 33, 84.
 Provosts, John Campbell, 63.
 Andrew Cochrane, 34, 35.
 Arthur Connell, 84.
 Colin Dunlop, 96.
 Archibald Ingram, 15, 35, 60,
 63, 64, 90, 106.
 Peter Murdoch, 37.
 Ramshorn, 25.
 Reciting Society, 125.
 records of the see, 4, 5.
 riot, 12.
 St. Andrew's Church, 118.
 St. Enoch Wynd, 22.
 Saltmarket, 16, 21, 92.
 Saracen's Head Inn, 96.
 Shuttle Street, 25, 26, 118.
 theatre, 33, 48.
 Tollcross, 116.
 Tontine Coffee House, 125.
 trade, 33.
 Tron Kirk, 12.
 Trongait, 84, 85, 87.
 Visitors—George, Prince of Wales,
 83; John Wesley, 87, 94; George
 Whitefield, 87; Thomas Gray,
 95; the Polish Ambassador, 95,
 96; General Paoli, 96; Dr.
 Johnson, 97; Mary Anne Han-
 way, 98.
 West Street, =Trongait, 87.
- Glassford, John, 16, 35, 60, 63, 64,
 90, 106.
 Glassford, Parish of, 93.
 Gordon, John, physician, 6.
 Gough, Richard, 51, 86, 88.
 Govan, Donald, printer, 12, 13, 14.
 Graham, George, of Eton, 48.
 Graham Mrs., of the Saracen's
 Head Inn, 96.
 Grant, Abbé, 86.
 Grant, William, Lord Preston-
 grange, 43.
 Gray's *Poems*, 29, 95, 120.
 Gray, Thomas, poet, 29, 97.
 visit to Glasgow, 97.
 Greek, Chair of, 16, 17, 23.
 Greek historians, 28.
 Greek Testament, 30.
 Greek type, 10, 14, 16, 26, 28, 122.
Guardian, The, 44, 46.
 Guion, F. J., actor, 125.
 Guthrie, William, minister at Fen-
 wick, 31.
- Hadden, Alexander, 24.
 Hague, The, Scots church at, 60.
 Hailes, Lord, 53.
 Hamilton, Duke of, 27, 75.
 Hamilton, Dunbar, 16.
 Hamilton, Gavin, 86.
 Hamilton, Sir William, 27.
 William of Bangour, 37, 52, 53.
 Hamilton Palace, 75, 79, 88, 89.
 Hammond's *Poems*, 120.
 Hanway, Mary Anne, 98.
 Hardwicke, Earl of, 23, 53, 64, 65,
 82, 106.
 Hart, James, printer, 12, 13.
 Harvey, James, printer, 118.
 Harvey, William, *Exercitationes
 anatomicae*, 31.
 portrait, 31.
 Harvie, Thomas, student, 11.
 Harwood, Edward, 23, 28.
 Heber, Richard, 122.
 Hebrew type, 14, 15.
Herculaneum, Antiquities of,
 secured for the University
 Library by Professor Rouet, 27.
 Herodotus, 27.
 Herron, Patrick, innkeeper, 125.
 Hierocles, 56.
 High Street, 21, 25, 89.
 Highland regiments, 28.

- Hill, Laurence, 84.
 History, Chair of Civil, 14.
 Ecclesiastical, 36.
 Greek, 28.
 Home, Henry, Lord Kames, 43, 51.
 Homer, 22, 26, 29, 80, 83, 91, 95,
 122, 127, 131.
 Editio princeps, 127.
 Horace, *Immaculate*, 16; of 1756,
 29.
 House accommodation in Glasgow,
 84.
Hudibras, 46.
 Humanity, Chair of, 14, 23, 36, 37.
 Hume, David, 37.
Humphrey Clincker, 64.
 Hunter, Dr. William, 30, 53, 54, 88,
 100, 111, 129.
 Hunterian Museum, 86.
 Hutcheson, Francis, 16, 24, 28, 36,
 55, 56, 58, 106, 118.
 appointed professor of moral philo-
 sophy, 3.
 attack on, 4.
 Inaugural oration, 15.
 his text books, 15.
 Latin style, 33.
 manner of lecturing, 33, 56.
 praised by Denina, 29.
 works, 9, 15, 21.
 collection of medals, 93.
 death of, 36.
- Impressions microscopiques, 40.
 Ingram, Archibald, provost, 15, 35,
 60, 63, 64, 90, 106.
 Ingram Street, 64.
 Innes, Thomas, 5.
 Instruments, astronomical, 35.
 for physical experiments, 34.
 Iona, 88.
 Italian poets, 29, 34, 81.
 singers, 33.
- Jacobite Curse, The*, 12, 13.
 Jaggard, William, 49.
 Jameson, William, professor of
 History, 14, 15.
 Jameson, William, engraver, 86.
 Jamesone, George, artist, 84.
 Janefield, 116.
 Jardine, George, professor, 106.
 Johnson, Samuel, 34, 47, 48, 50, 84,
 95, 96, 97, 113.
- Jolly, Thomas, of Paris, 81.
Judgment of Hercules, The, 56.
- Kames, Lord, 43, 51.
 Kenrick, Samuel of Bewdley, 24, 78.
 Killearn, 94.
 Kirkwood, James, grammarian, 11.
- Laing, William, bookseller, 123.
 Land improvement, 93, 94.
 Latin, lecturing in, 33.
 Law, John, regent, 11.
 Law, John, economist, 34.
 Leechman, William, professor, 8,
 24, 33, 36, 65, 87, 94, 97, 106,
 109, 110, 118.
 Leggat, Alexander, barber, 2.
 Lemoine, Henry, bookseller in Lon-
 don, 90.
 Lettered property, 41, *see* Literary
 property.
 Leupold, *Theatrum Machinarum*,
 76.
 Leyden, University of, 36, 37.
 Library, University, 7, 9, 27, 66, 86,
 94, 96, 97, 98, 105, 123.
 Bookplate, 79; Catalogue, 123.
 Althorp, 122.
 Euing, 10.
 Fullarton House, 9.
 Mitchell, 10.
 Dr. Moor's, 92, 127, 128.
 John Rylands, 122.
 Lilliman, William, 88
 Lindsay, Hercules, professor, 36,
 108.
- Linen, book printed on, 40.
 Literary property, 41, 49, 50.
 Literary Society, *The*, 36, 49, 52, 55,
 79, 94, 102, 103.
 Literature, 33.
 Little Hill of Tollcross, 116.
Lives of the Poets, 50.
 Livres de luxe, 40.
 Locke, *Natural Philosophy*, 31.
 Logic, Chair of, 33, 36.
 Lomond, Loch, 89, 94.
 London, booksellers, 42, 43, 45, 46,
 47, 49, 50.
 printers, 43.
 centre of bookselling trade, 51.
 Loudon, John, regent, 11, 33.
 Loughborough, Lord, 36, 82, 106.
 Lowth, Bishop, 26.

- Lucian, 123.
 Lyttleton's *Poems*, 120.
- Macfarlane, Alexander, 35.
 Laird of, 35.
 Observatory, 20, 35, 79.
- MacIlquham, William, 119.
- Maclaine, Archibald, of the Hague, 60.
- MacLauchlan, Archibald, 85.
- MacLellan, Archibald, 129.
- Macnab, Henry Gray, 70, 125.
- M'Ure, John, 2, 127.
- Mansfield, Earl of, 44, 45, 46, 90.
- Manuscripts, 90, 127.
- Marini, G. B., 81.
- Marshall, Claud, 39.
- Masters, Old, 58, 59.
- Mathias, T. J., 121.
- Maxwell, James, artist, 86.
- Mayne, John, 118.
- Mazell, Peter, 87.
- Meaume, Edouard, 81.
- Medallions by Tassie, 87, 113.
- Medals, Dr. Hutcheson's, 93.
 Dr. Moor's, 93.
- Meikleham, William, professor, 119.
- Memorial for the printers of Glasgow, 49, 81.
- Military books printed by R. & A. Foulis, 109.
- Millar, Andrew, bookseller, London, 43, 44, 46.
- Millar, John, professor, 36, 39, 40, 87, 106, 118.
- Miller, Alexander, printer, 15, 16.
- Milton's *Poems*, 29, 34, 44, 45, 46, 91.
- Minucius, Felix, 40.
- Mitchell, James, engraver, 86, 88, 129.
- Modelling, 68, 69, 73, 77, 79, 87, 126.
- Moor, Elizabeth, 58, 92, 114, 116.
- Moor, James, professor, 16, 23, 24, 28, 36, 65, 68, 79, 92, 96, 114, 116, 127.
 his library, 92, 127, 128.
 his medals, 93.
 likeness, 68, 114.
- Morthland, Charles, professor, 14, 66.
- Morton, Earl of, 23.
- Muirhead, George, professor, 28, 96.
- Mun, Thomas, 34.
- Mundell, James, printer, 123.
- Murdoch, Peter, provost, 37.
- Mure, William, baron of Exchequer, 37, 106.
- Murray, Cecilia (Mrs. Lindsay), 108.
- Murray, William, Lord Mansfield, 44, 45, 46, 90.
- Neil, Gabriel, 72, 77, 78, 126.
- Newspapers :
Brougham, The, 128.
Edinburgh Gazette, 13.
Glasgow Courant, 14, 76, 116.
Glasgow Journal, 7, 67, 76.
Glasgow Mercury, 85, 124, 125.
Reformers' Gazette, 126.
West Country Intelligencer, 14.
 See Glasgow.
- Newtonian philosophy, 35.
- Norris, John, 56.
- Northumberland, Earl of, 74.
- Observatory, 20, 35, 79.
- Oceana, Parliament of, 38, 105.
 Kingdom of, 39.
- Ogilvie, William, professor at Aberdeen, 108.
- Orkney, Countess of, 39.
- Oroonoko*, 48.
- Osborne, a bookseller, 42.
- Owen, John, 32.
- Oxford, 4, 19, 24, 29, 39.
- Paoli, Pascal, 47, 95, 96.
- Paper for printing, 17, 19, 27, 30, 31, used by Andrew Foulis, younger, 116.
- Paradise Lost*, 46.
- Paradise of Scotland, The, Glasgow, 2.
- Paris, 4, 57, 63.
- Parnell's *Works*, 46, 120.
- Pastor fido*, II, 29, 81.
- Paterson, David, bookseller, 32.
- Paterson, Marion, 1.
- Paterson, Peter, writer in Glasgow, 22.
- Paton, George, 92.
- Paul, Robert, artist, 20, 86, 87.
- Paull, Robert, barber, 3, 87.
- Paxton, John, artist, 86, 107, 128.
- Payien, artist, 62, 73.
- Peat moss, reclamation of, 93, 94.
- Penicuik, paper mill at, 117.
- Pennant, Thomas, 72, 87.

- Penny Histories, 120.
 Petty, Sir William, 34, 38.
 Phaedrus, 8, 41.
 Physic garden, The, 20, 21.
 Picture dealing, 126.
 Pictures, good, not always recognised, 59.
 Foulis purchased in Holland, 60, 65, 83.
 in the Academy, 72, 75, 79, 88, 94, 95, 97, 99, 128, 129.
 Exhibition of, 89, 128.
 painted in the Academy, 82, 83, 89.
 sale of the Academy pictures, 72, 78, 99, 101, 128, 130.
 Piles, Roger de, 57.
 Pindar, 16, 40, 41.
 Piracy, literary, 47.
 Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, 26, 41, 90.
 Plato, projected edition, 24, 53.
 English version, 54, 55.
 philosophy, 104, 105.
 Plays, printing of, 34.
 Pleydell, Counsellor, 84.
 Plough, improved, 93.
 Plutarch, 28.
 Poets, English, in duodecimo, 48, 50, 117.
 in quarto, 29.
 in folio, 29, 120.
Polemo-Middinia, 34, 117.
 Polish ambassador in Glasgow, 95, 96.
 Pope, Alexander, *Works*, 34, 44, 45, 46, 48, 120.
 Porson, Richard, 121, 122.
 Portland, Duke of, 9.
 Portrait painting, 84, 85, 86, 113.
 Portraits of Robert Foulis, 113.
 Presbyterians, persecution of the, 34.
 Prestongrange, Lord, 43.
 Printers, Edinburgh :
 Blackwood, William, 124.
 Donaldson, Alexander, 42, 47.
 Ged, William, 119.
 Martins, 50.
 Ruddiman, Walter, 48.
 Smellie, William, 120.
 Watson, James, 11, 12, 17.
 Printers, Glasgow :
 Adam, Alexander, 121.
 Anderson, Andrew, 10.
 Anderson, George, 10, 14.
 Anderson, Hugh, 118.
 Printers, Glasgow :
 Brown, Hugh, 12, 13.
 James, 15.
 John, 15.
 Mrs., 15.
 Bryce and Paterson, 32.
 Carmichael, Alexander, 15.
 Chapman, Robert, 117, 127.
 Duncan, James, *primus*, 3, 14.
 secundus, 117, 119, 127.
 William, 14.
 Foulis, Andrew, younger, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126.
 Foulis, R. & A., *see* Foulis.
 Foulis, Robert, 9, 33.
 Govan, Donald, 12, 13, 14.
 Hart, James, 12.
 Harvey, James, 118.
 Miller, Alexander, 15.
 Mundell, James, 123.
 Robertson, James, 119.
 Sanders, Robert, 10, 11.
 Sanders, Robert, younger, 10, 11, 25, 31.
 Stephen, Robert, 29.
 Tilloch, Alexander, 118, 119, 120, 121.
 Tilloch, Alexander, & Co., 121.
 University press, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 23, 117, 119, 123.
 Urie, Robert, 16, 20, 30, 31, 34, 42, 44, 47, 56, 80, 121.
 Urie, Robert & Co., 8, 9.
 Printers of Glasgow, Memorial for, 49, 81.
 Printing, *inter regalia*, 41.
 Scots, 11, 17, 42, 48.
 fine, 42.
 influence of good, 30, 32.
 Printing house, The, 14, 25, 83, 90, 109, 117, 118, 123.
 Prints executed in the Academy, 79.
 Prior's *Works*, 46.
 Procurators, Faculty of, 25, 39.
 Puffendorf, Samuel, 14.
 Pulpit oratory, 33.
Pursuits of Literature, The, 121, 122.
 Quebec, capture of, 28.
 Rae, John, 113.
 Raeburn, Sir Henry, 128.
 Raine, Matthew, 122.
 Ralston, engraver, 86.
 Ramsay, Allan, artist, 76.

- Ramsay, Allan, poet, 120.
 Ramsay, Chevalier, 4, 8, 30, 38, 51.
 Ramshorn lands, 25.
 Raphael, pictures by, 58, 59, 72, 75, 76, 77, 83, 88, 94, 128, 129.
 Raphael's Bible, 77, 88.
 Cartoons, 98.
 Gallery, 77, 88.
 Reciting Society, 125.
 Redgrave, Samuel, 85, 86.
 Regality Court, 2.
 Regiment, Highland, 28.
 Leighton's (32nd.), 88.
 Royal Engineers, 88.
 Reid, Thomas, professor, 43, 87, 96, 97, 106, 115.
 Reni, Guido, 72, 129.
 Renouard, A. A., 23, 122.
 Richardson, William, professor, 16, 36, 53, 94, 103, 115.
 Richelieu, Cardinal, 58.
 Robertson, James, printer, 119.
 Robertson, William, historian, 24, 44.
 Robison, John, professor, 39, 108, 111.
 Robinson, Sir Charles, 129.
Roderick Random, 6.
 Rome, Academy students at, 82, 86, 107.
 Professor Rouet at, 107.
 Rosebery, Earl of, 27.
 Rosse, Andrew, professor, 3, 11, 14.
 George, professor, 23, 36, 37, 65.
 Rosslyn, Earl of, *see* Loughborough.
 Rotterdam, 59, 60, 61, 62, 82.
 Rouen, 61.
 Rouet, William, professor, 27, 37, 44, 94, 106, 107.
 Row, John, *Hebrew Grammar*, 15.
 Rowe, Nicholas, 56.
 Rubens, pictures by, 72, 83, 94.
 Ruddiman, Walter, 30, 48.
 Runciman, Alexander, 86.
 Rutherford, Samuel, 32.
- Saint Andrews, 10, 11, 18, 37, 56.
 Saint Enoch Wynd, 22.
 Saint Leonard's College, 10.
 Saint Luke's, Gold medal of, 82.
 Sallust, 30.
 Saltmarket, 16, 21, 92.
 Sanders, Robert, 10, 11.
 Sanders, Robert, younger, 10, 11, 25, 31.
- Sanders, William, St. Andrews, 11.
 Scotland, law of, 41.
 Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 114.
 Scots College, Paris, 4, 5, 8.
Scots Magazine, 71, 78, 80, 85, 96.
 Scots poems printed by Foulis, 34, 89, 117.
 Selkirk, Earl of, 16, 64, 90, 106.
 Selkirk, Robert, 25.
 Shakespeare bibliography, 49.
 Shakespeare, *Works*, 34, 42, 46, 48, 49.
 Foulis' edition, 48, 49.
 Shenstone, William, 56.
 Sherlock, Bishop, 40.
 Sherman, John, 14.
 Shortridge, John, 84.
 Shuttle Street, 25, 26, 118.
 Sicilies, King of the two, 27.
Siller Gun, The, 118.
 Simson, Robert, professor, 24, 37, 39, 41, 51, 65, 81, 87, 106, 110, described, 109, 111, 112.
 Clerk of Faculty, 65, 113.
 Smellie, William, printer, 120.
 Smith, Adam, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 52, 73, 87, 88, 106, 107, 108, 118, 120.
 papers destroyed, 108.
 Smollett, Tobias, 6, 53, 64.
 Societies and Clubs, 24, 32, 34, 104, 125.
Sophonisba, 47.
 Spain, Alfonso, King of, 27.
Spectator, The, 20, 31, 34, 42, 43, 46.
 Speirs, Alexander, of Elderslie, 86.
 Spencer, Earl, 121.
 Spens, Harry, 54.
 Spotswood, James, 117, 119, 120, 128.
 Stackhouse, *History of the Bible*, 47.
 Stalker, Andrew, bookseller, 8, 15, 20, 42.
 Stanhope, Earl, 124.
 Stevens, George, 122.
 Stephani, The, 7, 20, 95, 96, 126.
 Stephani, The Scottish, 96.
 Stereotyping by Tilloch and Foulis, 120, 123, 125.
 Stevenson, Alexander, M.D., professor, 37, 96, 97.

- Stevenson, Dr. John, of Edinburgh, 30.
- Stewart, Alexander, Master of Gallies, 16.
- Stirling, Principal, 12, 13.
- Stockholm, 59.
- Strathaven property, 93, 94, 125.
- Students' clubs and societies, 38, 103, 104, 105.
- Students distinguished at the University, 16, 35, 36, 39, 48, 76, 88, 100, 107, 108.
- Sturrock, William, 74, 106.
- Sunderland, Earl of, 75.
- Swift's *Works*, 46.
- Sydenham, projected edition of, 54.
- Tacie, John, *see* Tassie.
- Tassie, James, artist, 87, 108.
- Tassie, John, burgh treasurer, 87.
- Tassie, John, deacon of the barbers, 87.
- Tassie, William, leather-breeches maker, 88.
- Tasso, Torquato, 29, 81.
- Taste*, a comedy, 59.
- Tatler, The*, 34, 44, 46.
- Telemachus, A Mask*, 48.
- Temple's *Works*, 46.
- Terence, 9.
projected edition by Professor Rosse, 11.
- Theocritus, 22.
- Theology, teaching of, 33.
- Theses, graduation, 10, 11, 14.
- Thom, William, 28, 36, 39, 63, 80.
- Thomson, George, physician, 6.
- Thomson, John, married granddaughter of Robert Foulis, 115.
- Thomson's *Poems*, 47, 120.
- Thucydides, 27.
- Tilloch, Alexander, 118, 119, 120, 121.
- Tilloch, Alexander, & Co., 121.
- Tilloch, John, tobacconist, 118.
- Titian, pictures by, 72, 75.
- Toldervy, John, 11.
- Tollcross, 116.
- Tontine Coffee House, 125.
- Topham, Edward, captain, 50, 91.
- Torrie, moulder, 73.
- Townshend, Rt. Hon. Charles, 74.
- Trade and commerce, 34.
- Trade, The = The London Booksellers, 50.
- Trail, William, professor, 96, 106.
- Tronchin, Francis Lewis, student, 108.
- Théodore, professor at Geneva, 108.
- Trongait, 84, 85, 87.
- Tully, the Glasgow, 23.
- Turkish Spy, The*, 46.
- Turner, James, of Thrushgrove, 90.
- Tweedie, James, 27, 127.
- Type, Double pica, 26, 29, 122.
Chaldee, 14, 15.
Hebrew, 14, 15.
Greek, 10, 14, 18, 26, 28, 122.
Roman, 29.
- Type-founding, 18, 109.
- Type-setting, 19.
- Typography, 19, 23, 30, 39.
- Tyrtaeus, 28.
- University, 1, 64, 107.
new school, 33, 34.
Academy of the Fine Arts, 66, 68, 69, 130.
Arms, 65.
art, a University subject, 70, 71.
astronomy, 20, 34, 109.
bedellus, 111.
books and manuscripts, purchase of, 7, 90.
bookseller, 7, 11, 125.
chapel, 87.
chemical building, 26.
chemistry, 35, 107.
disputes, 118.
elocution, 70, 125.
experimental science, 34, 35.
Faculty, 64, 93, 113.
French language and literature, 70.
garden, 20, 21.
geography, 70.
graduates, honorary, 45, 64, 65.
history, chair of civil, 14.
chair of ecclesiastical, 37, 109;
course of lectures, 70, 71.
hospitality, 96.
humanity, chair of, 14, 23, 36, 37.
Italian language and literature, 70.
jurisprudence, 39, 107.
law, chair of, 36, 39, 107.
lecturing in Latin, 33.
library, 7, 9, 27, 66, 86, 94, 96, 97, 98, 105, 123.

- University :
 library building, 66, 86, 98.
 Literary Society, *see* Literary Society.
 litigation, 118, 123.
 loan to Messrs. Foulis, 90.
 logic class, 33, 36.
 medals, purchase of, 93.
 moral philosophy, chair of, 36, 50, 108.
 museum, 29, 93, 95.
 natural philosophy, chair of, 36, 119.
 observatory, 20, 35, 79.
 oriental languages, chair of, 14, 37, 109.
 physic garden, 20, 21.
 physical science, 34, 35.
 portraits, 31.
 press, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 23, 117, 119, 123.
 printing house, 14, 24, 83, 90, 100, 117, 118, 123.
 Rector's court, 39.
 Roman inscriptions, 95.
 scheme for bookseller and printer, 11.
 Senate room, 86.
 students, distinguished, 16, 35, 36, 39, 48, 76, 88, 100, 107, 108.
 text books, 9, 17, 117, 123.
 theses, 10, 11, 14.
 type foundry, 18, 21, 109.
 Watt prize, 35.
 Urie, Robert, 16, 20, 30, 31, 34, 42, 44, 47, 56, 80, 121.
 Urie, Robert, & Co., 8, 9.
 Vandyke, 72, 77, 95.
 Vandyke, the Caledonian, 84.
 Vellum, books on, 9, 40.
 Virgil, 120.
 Visitors to the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts, 88, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98.
 Walker, George, artist, 86.
 Warburton, Dr. William, 23, 44, 45.
 Watson, James, printer, Edinburgh, 11, 12, 17.
 Watt, James, 35, 36, 107, 108, 115.
 Webb, Bernard, student, 14.
 Wedderburn, Alexander, Lord Loughborough, 36, 82, 106.
 Wesley, John, 87, 94.
 West Street, = Trongait, 87.
 Whitefield, George, 87.
Whole Duty of Man, 46.
 Wight, William, professor, 70, 95, 109, 118.
 Willison, John, 26.
 Wilson, Alexander, type-founder and professor, 18, 19, 27, 29, 37, 96, 103, 107, 109, 115.
 Wilson, Patrick, 19.
 Winckelmann, J. J., 26, 59, 80.
 Windham, William, 39.
 Wodrow, James, 6, 17, 93, 105, 123.
 Wodrow, Robert, 3, 12.
 Women, education of, 115.
 Woodburn, Colonel John, 39.
 Wright, James, student, 14.
 Wright, William, minister, 13.
 Xenophon, 28, 121.
 Yorke, Hon. Charles, 40, 41, 55, 78, 86, 106.
 Yorke, Hon. Joseph, Colonel, 64, 82, 83.
 Young, John, professor, 115, 122.

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