

## Embroidery to Enterprise: the Role of Women in the Book Trade of Early Modern Scotland

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THE USUAL PERCEPTION of women in the society of early modern Scotland encompasses the roles of wife and mother, ignoring responsibilities in wider economic and social development. To these 'traditional', dual familial roles we might add that of responsible widowhood. Thus the fate of the domestic and commercial estate of the husband must be managed to secure the future for offspring, to sustain the widow on her own account, and even to offer the prospect of a second marriage which might benefit surviving assets and relatives. For all commercial trades in the early modern period, from apothecaries to tenant farmers, we find this culture of inheritance – booksellers, bookbinders and printers were no different. In these commercial areas there is much evidence of independent decision making by wives and widows. It is ironic, therefore, that in order to test the hypothesis of the significance of women in the book trade the historian is forced to turn to family records, and in particular to the details of marriages, wills and testaments. A combination of male oriented contemporary record keeping, and similarly tainted modern historiography, makes it virtually impossible to shake off the effects of the ascendancy of male gender.

Scotland's early modern book trade was relatively deregulated and along Dutch rather than English lines. There was no Scottish equivalent of the Stationers' Company of London to restrict entry to the trade, and regulation under the government was devolved to the magistrates of the printing burghs – Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow. Burgh book trade regulation in Scotland, therefore, had a sophistication without parallel in England. In burgh manufacturing and retailing of books there were, of course, many participants – typesetters, editors, correctors, agents, patrons, publishers as well as bookseller and printer – and so confirmation of responsibility is extremely difficult. The lines of demarcation between master and apprentice are also hard to clarify. Agnes Campbell, the relict of Andrew Anderson, in trade from 1676 to 1716, had numerous apprentices and journeymen, and perhaps five presses at her peak.<sup>1</sup> There were no Stationers' regulations placing a limit of two to three presses per printer. It is impossible to ascertain the extent to which Campbell was directly responsible for the entire output of her presses and the quality of printing executed. Nevertheless, decisions taken to expedite publication

and sale would fall to the owner of the press or bookshop, whether male or female. The degree of ownership by women in book businesses of this period should then provide some guidance as to the significance of women in the book trade.

As well as their capital women brought their labour, as skilled individuals or as emergency support for their book merchant spouses, eldest sons, and fathers. For Scotland there is scant direct evidence of the involvement of women in the press room, but given the regulation of burgesses and apprentices in a masculine environment it is likely that 'family' female labour existed on an informal basis, with little or no remuneration and record keeping.<sup>2</sup> There were, naturally, some highly physical tasks in the print shop for which hardy women were capable,<sup>3</sup> although the likes of setting type, mixing inks, and correcting proofs were certainly not beyond the physical abilities of all. No physical qualifications need have applied to the trade of bookseller, and this acted as a greater encouragement for women booksellers in assisting the family, learning the trade and, in some cases, running their own business.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland there was a small band of skilled book women. *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* indicate that James V had a taste for fine bookbindings. The king's most astonishing commission was in 1538 to complete the binding and a cloth bag for his personal bible. This task involved the use of 'purpure welvet . . . sewing gold . . . purpure silk [and] crammesye (crimson) sating', and similar treatments were given to the 'mating bukes' of the king and queen in 1539. The key craftswoman for this work was the embroiderer Helen Ross who worked from 1538 to 1543. Sadly her bindings, and most tragically her magnificent bible, have not survived.<sup>4</sup> A tradition of exotic book binding continued into the reign of James VI, and the fine calligrapher Esther Inglis (1571–1624) may even have embroidered her own manuscript bindings, though she was never a commercial bookbinder.<sup>5</sup> Great skill could be submerged within the commercial book houses of the period. It was to the credit of Janet Kene, the widow of Andro Hart, that she and not the king's printer was chosen by the magistrates of Edinburgh to produce the special edition of poems *Εισοδία Musarum Edinensium in Carole* presented to Charles I to commemorate his coronation visit in 1633.<sup>6</sup> Women with the requisite management and technical abilities had some opportunities within the book trade.

The tracing of the activities of female book makers and sellers is, nevertheless, problematical. Recent Dutch and English studies of bibliographical history, such as those concerning the great female, bible printing dynasties of late seventeenth-century Amsterdam, and the key presses of female Puritanism in England from the 1630s to 1650s, point the way to the rigorous analysis required for Scotland.<sup>7</sup> From 1600 to

1750 perhaps up to thirty Scottish women were steeped in the professional book trade of their nation (see appendix). Women printers traded in the names of fathers, husbands and sons, although some booksellers did so under their own names. Before 1600, excluding the already mentioned Helen Ross, only Katherine Norwell, the widow of Thomas Bassandyne, who in the 1580s went on to join in businesses and matrimony with the printer Robert Smyth, could be included, although details of the Norwell-Smyth business activities are murky.<sup>8</sup> The provisional post-1600 check-list is dominated by widows, with the exceptions of Margaret Reid, daughter of the Edinburgh printer John Reid, senior (1680–1712), the daughters of the bookseller James Harrower (1638–51), and Janet Hunter (Mrs Brown), a co-printer with a number of partnerships of Glasgow printers in the 1730s who, along with the booksellers Martha Stevenson, Anne Edmonstoun and Jean Smith, traded before widowhood.<sup>9</sup>

Excluded from the list are a number of vague references for which no corroborative details are available to indicate the longevity or scale of trading. Although some bibliographers have adopted a ‘list all’ approach,<sup>10</sup> because not all book trade widows were certainly in trade omissions have been made. Included, however, are those widows or relatives who kept printing and bookselling businesses turning over for a short but quantifiable period prior to dismemberment by auction, sale as a going concern within the trade, before sons came of age, or until a suitable, swift and fortuitous second marriage was joined. Delays between a husband’s death and the registration of testaments provide evidence of continuity when assets were intact.

In the category of ‘seeking a second marriage’ was Beatrix Campbell, widow of the bookseller and printer Archibald Hislop (1670–78) and sister to Agnes Campbell, who maintained her husband’s bookselling business for at least twelve months following his death up to and after her marriage in 1679 to the ‘wryter’, turned stationer, Robert Currie. The Hislop press was, according to James Watson, sold off to John Cairns, while the Hislop children and the family bookselling business went on to suffer hereditary injustice and protracted litigation. Issobel Harring (Herron), widow of the printer Robert Bryson (1637–45) acted in a similar manner to Beatrix Campbell before her second and more prudent marriage to the printer Gideon Lithgow – she printed as the ‘Heirs of Robert Bryson’ in 1646.<sup>11</sup>

The recourse to litigation to protect rights and licences also acts as a useful guide to the trading maturity of these women, especially for those who could afford lawyers. The 1632 appeal of Janet Kene to the lords of exchequer against a twenty-year licence as Scotland’s royal printer granted to the Englishman Robert Young, indicates a single-mindedness

of purpose and an appreciation of legal process.<sup>12</sup> The litigious behaviour of Agnes Campbell and her husband is more frequently referred to by bibliographical historians.<sup>13</sup> Her lawyers were certainly very tenacious, pleading from bailie court to House of Lords to protect her patents and restrict the trade of others. Indeed, she mixed intimately in the legal circles of Edinburgh, and actually rented property to lawyers, including James Erskine, Lord Grange, a lord of session, which adds some novel colour to her relationship to the Edinburgh élite.<sup>14</sup>

This degree of independent action is also highlighted in the bold activities of Margaret Reid, daughter of the printer John Reid, senior. On the death of her father in August 1712, Margaret Reid took over the use of some of her father's type, acquired the printing office of Andrew Symson, who, Watson informs us, died about this time, and set up on her own. This appears to be the only example in the period of a Scottish woman setting up a printing press without the 'partnership' of a male, dead or alive, and may account for the anonymity of her printings. This seemingly unique book woman ended her known printing activity in dispute with the poet and bookseller Allan Ramsay. Her printing of one of his poems without prior permission led him to mock her in his 'Elegy on Lucky Read'.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, Margaret Reid, like Janet Kene and Agnes Campbell exhibited the qualities of a professional book merchant. Indeed, women participants, full-time and part-time, major or minor, while representing only perhaps ten per cent of all Scottish book traders in the early modern period, were a prominent, surprisingly numerous, yet only occasionally independent minority.<sup>16</sup> Such a proportion suggests women book traders were more common in Scotland than in England.

The marriage contract itself was, however, the point of conception for potential commercial activity. Marriages were frequently within the trade. In this respect the book trade was no different from others in the social mixture of peers and fellow craftsmen. Elizabeth Brown, daughter of the major Edinburgh printer, bookseller, bailie and council treasurer Thomas Brown (c.1658–1702), married the Edinburgh bookseller John Vallange (1691–1712). Thomas Brown's first wife was Marian Calderwood, probably a relative of the stationer John Calderwood (1676–82), and Brown himself entered into various bonds and deeds with his son-in-law and Agnes Campbell in the 1680s and 1690s. In addition, Campbell's eldest daughter Issobel married the Edinburgh bookseller William Cunningham in 1676 and, in an act mirrored many times in the book trade, enabled her husband to be made a burghess of Edinburgh in 1677 'by right of his spuse Issobel, daughter to umquhyle Andrew Anderson'.<sup>17</sup> Everywhere networks of family connections were complex and interwoven, and as a result many a bride, before marriage, will have been instilled with some experience of the mechanics of book

merchandising. The dowry of a 'burgess ticket' (the licence to trade as a burgess) must, in addition, have sweetened the marriage contract.

Some wives, such as James Watson's widow Jean Smith with her second husband Thomas Heriot, and Anne Edmonstoun with George Stewart (1713-45), 'formally' worked with their spouses,<sup>18</sup> but such family co-operation was usually reserved for mothers and sons, especially after the death of the father left the son too young to run the business. Katherine Boyd sustained the bookbinding business of her dead husband John Gibson with her son David at least from 1600 to 1606.<sup>19</sup> In a more curious example of family responsibility Margaret Cuthbert, the widow of the Aberdeen printer John Forbes, the younger (1675-1704), continued the business from 1704 to 1710 by which, at her death, her daughter Margaret and son-in-law James Nicol were ready to take control.<sup>20</sup> The importance of maintaining the continuity of family ownership was seen as an essential objective, and even the recourse to second marriages did not lessen the ideal of continuing in trade for the benefit of the original family. The second marriages of Katherine Norwell, Beatrix Campbell, and Issobel Harring were all examples of attempts to continue trading through the commercial *mariage de convenence*.

Wedlock brought opportunity but the chief basis for the importance of women in the early modern book trade was inheritance, and this applied to estates of whatever size. The wealth of book traders could vary enormously ranging from the considerable wealth of merchants like Andro Hart, and Andrew Wilson, to the small bookbinders and chapmen living in the shadow of poverty. The contrasting legacies of the partners in Scotland's first bible printing, Thomas Bassandyne and Alexander Arbuthnot, provide a useful illustration. Bassandyne's widow Katherine Norwell inherited an estate of over £2000 Scots in 1577, while Arbuthnot's widow Agnes Pennycuik received an estate of only £100 in 1585. But limited prospects were even more common for provincial book traders, such as the meagre £50 estate left in 1673 to Janet Stevenson, widow of the Irvine bookseller Matthew Paton.<sup>21</sup> From humble legacies the prospects for women continuing to trade must have been relatively slim, and the most likely outcome was the transportation of remaining stock to Edinburgh for sale by auction.

The decision by widows to dispose of an estate through auction, or sale to other book merchants, was often necessitous. For pressing financial reasons Margaret Rowan, the wife of the printer John Ross (1574-80), was forced to sell her husband's materials and type to the publisher Henry Charteris, and similarly the brothers and sisters of Margaret Wallace, who pre-deceased her husband Robert Charteris (1600-1610), were compelled to realise the assets of the Charteris press and sell them to Andro Hart in 1610.<sup>22</sup> Another alternative, however, was the sale of only

part of the business, and typically this would involve selling the printing presses, type and press rooms while continuing the bookselling activity. Thus, in 1724, Jean Smith the widow of James Watson sold the presses and rights of her husband to John Mosman and William Brown, including Watson's part of the gift of king's printer, and then independently ran the family bookshop until in 1725 she went into marriage and partnership with Thomas Heriot.<sup>23</sup> Yet such assets could, of course, quickly lose their value if the beneficiaries neglected maintenance. The Edinburgh printer, bookseller and paper-mill owner John Moncur (1707–29) bequeathed to his wife Agnes Lathem book stock, three presses, a paper-mill and various annuities in 1729 but, by the time his will was proved in 1736, much of the unbound stock in the warehouse and shop had been 'eaten and destroyed by rats and other ways'. It was not, however, always necessary for widows to be actively in trade to profit from inherited assets. The arrangements contracted by Marie Johnson, widow to the Edinburgh bookseller John Porteous (1699–1700), have to be admired. Although *c.*1700 her husband's stock was sold to George Warrander and John Vallange, she contracted a share in their profits and took rental from them for the shop premises.<sup>24</sup>

Part of the inherited rights of widows and children were those related to copy patents and appointed offices. Heirs succeeded to the term of book licences, while over appointments the authorities were sympathetic to the claims of heirs over licensed offices, although official confirmation was required. It was particularly common for widowed mothers to seek to secure the rights in the name of young sons. The widow of George Anderson, for Andrew Anderson, in November 1647, and his widow Agnes Campbell, for James Anderson in 1676, obtained confirmation from local magistrates of the inherited right of their sons to be burgh printers.<sup>25</sup> Equally, when George Mosman (1669–1707), printer to the General Assembly, died in the winter of 1707–8, his widow Margaret Gibb was able to convince the church that she should and could continue as church printer. Agnes Campbell's renewed efforts to claim the right were dismissed in the face of heritable notions and a pious widow.<sup>26</sup> But in all these cases the key requirement was proof to the burgh, crown or clerical authorities that the widow controlled the material and skills necessary to carry out the office. Proof of competence was an effective weapon against potential attack based on gender, even though the threat was usually inferred rather than blatant as seen in the impatience of the government over the petitions of Janet Kene (1630s) and Agnes Campbell (1680s).

Women contributed to fields political and religious as well as commercial. Across Scottish society political and religious controversies were certainly fuelled by print of ink as well as word of mouth, although the

general involvement of women in the dissemination of nonconformist literature is not immediately obvious. Again the key to understanding is the family. A continuous line of book merchants can be traced from the clerical subscription crisis of 1584-5 to the covenanting revolution of 1638-39 (see figure 1). The key individuals in this line were Andro Hart and his third wife Janet Kene, although the first book merchants to be involved in nonconformity from the 1580s were the brothers Edward and James Cathkin. Both were banished in the summer of 1584 for refusing to subscribe to James VI's Episcopalian policies, and both, along with Andro Hart, were among those arrested in the Edinburgh Presbyterian riots of December 1596. This was followed in June 1619 by the well-known investigation into the printing, importation and selling of David Calderwood's *Perth Assembly*. Hart and Lawson's houses and booths were searched and James Cathkin, happening to be in London, was interrogated by the king himself.<sup>27</sup> Little action was taken against these merchants although undoubtedly they had distributed Calderwood's works and much else of a Presbyterian flavour.

After James Cathkin died in 1631 his wife Janet Mayne, sister-in-law to Richard Lawson, continued bookselling until her death in 1639. Janet Kene, 'Widow Hart', printed with the aid of her sons until passing on the press to James Bryson in 1639, and on her death her bookshop appears to have passed to John Threipland who, to emphasise this remarkable network, had trained and worked for James Cathkin. Moreover, Janet's sister Margaret Kene married the printer John Wreittoun who had been operating a press from at least 1624.<sup>28</sup> There was clearly then an extensive range of book trade and nonconformist connections that led up to the revolution of 1638/9. When the Covenanting government required to explain its policies and actions to the parliament in England, and the wider world, it turned to the presses of Bryson and Wreittoun, along with numerous tracts imported from the presses of Amsterdam and Leiden from 1638 to 1640.<sup>29</sup> It was a flood of propaganda to date unparalleled in Scottish history. Meanwhile, this distinct book trading community was held together by the five families, Hart, Cathkin, Bryson, Kene and Mayne. The two sets of sisters, Mayne and Kene, connected the bookselling and printing branches of Edinburgh book commerce, and bridged the gap between the old Melvillian nonconformity and that of the National Covenant. These families were not revolutionary 'fifth columnists', yet the coincidence of political and social connections goes beyond links arising from normal trade intermarriage.

No credible account of female book merchants of this period can ignore the unique features relating to Agnes Campbell, Lady Roseburn, who in 1676 succeeded her husband Andrew Anderson as king's printer in Scotland. The redoubtable lady inherited not only the king's gift but



the remaining thirty-six years of its forty-one year licence, as well as unprecedented supervisory and monopoly powers over the Scottish press.<sup>30</sup> As a result 250 years of historiographical vilification have followed in her wake.

On the basis of scale her achievements were astonishing. She was by some distance the most wealthy Scottish book maker in the early modern period, with an estate valued at over £78000 Scots at her death in July 1716. This represented a miraculous turn around considering the financial circumstances of her husband who was in debt to the tune of £7451 in 1676.<sup>31</sup> That she was the largest printer in Edinburgh is not in doubt – in 1678 she had at least sixteen apprentices and journeymen.<sup>32</sup> Her printing and paper supply business had become the hub of a large trading zone beyond Edinburgh, and sweeping out to all the burghs of Scotland, into Ireland and the north of England. She clearly acquired stock, and had business dealings, with many of the major book makers of London. Just as remarkable is the extent to which she lent money to book traders, in Ireland as well as Scotland.<sup>33</sup>

Until the revisionism of John Fairley in the 1920s, bibliographical historians, with a mixture of antiquarianism and a modern dislike of monopoly, have condemned the Anderson press for poor quality printing, and a stifling and regressive grip on the book trade of the period. But the most damning criticism levelled at Agnes Campbell by Principal John Lee concerns her counterfeit bible printing of 1707. After years of complaint and protest about the damage to her trade done by English bibles entering Scotland, she printed an edition of her own with the imprint 'London, printed by Charles Bill'.<sup>34</sup> If the Scots wanted London bibles let them be printed in Edinburgh. This charge, more than any other, outrages John Fairley. He points to the cracked printing block of the page design which 'gives the game away' too blatantly; the fact that such an edition has not survived; that an elderly Mrs Anderson could not have policed all the output of her press, and that there was, in any case, no market available in England for such bibles. And yet, Agnes Campbell maintained her faculties into old age, even starting a paper-mill in 1709 and, after a twenty year campaign, at last became printer to the church in 1712. The production of false editions was also common, as with the numerous pirated and profitable almanac editions that circulated throughout Scotland after the Restoration.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the commercial attractions of printing such an edition in the year 1707 are fairly obvious.

In Holland the production of bibles with false imprints was a major industry, and many Dutch printings of English bibles arrived in Scotland through Glasgow.<sup>36</sup> Why should Agnes Campbell not engage to some degree with this illicit trade? In 1684 the king's printers in England even admitted to the House of Lords that they had carried out similar acts of

falsification.<sup>37</sup> Agnes Campbell prosecuted through the courts whenever necessary, restricted the actions of competitors, and curtailed the freedom of her apprentices. She used her press to petition on her own behalf, and to manufacture illicit and false editions to hurt the competition and increase the profits of her house. Yet, in all of this she behaved in a manner not uncommon to contemporaries, and in a way that was copied, and sometimes surpassed, by her greatest opponent James Watson. Her only crime was commercial pragmatism.

The high profile of Campbell is, however, atypical and establishing the role of women in the early modern book trade requires considerable detective work. The need to look for the man before you find the woman is especially unfortunate. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that it is through the family that historiography locates these women and through their family ties that they entered the business of books. The small selection of women considered in this paper by no means represent the entire number of women traders in the period, and more names will be uncovered over time. In many respects the identified group of Scottish book women reflect the variety of the Scottish book trade as a whole. These were after all the wives and daughters of wealthy stationers, moderately comfortable printers and booksellers, small and large bookbinders, apprenticed printers and street traders and chapmen. Meanwhile, that journey from the crimson silks of the bindings of Helen Ross to the counterfeit bibles of Agnes Campbell seems a strange passage, but a suitable metaphor for the movement from the culture of craft to the exigencies of commerce. As female literacy expanded with that of men, women played a crucial role in the dynamics of the Scottish book trade. It is a role that should be recognised more widely.

## Appendix: A Provisional Check-list of the Major Women Book Traders, 1600-1750

Name	Activity	Trade	Spouse	SomeKey References
Katherine Boyd	1600-6(?22)	bookbinder	John Gibson	<i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii 222-3; cc8/8/51(Feb. 1623)
'widow Waldegrave'	1604	printer (Edinburgh/London)	Robert Waldegrave	McKerrow, <i>Dictionary of Printers, 1557-1640, 277-9</i>
Janet Kene	1621-42	printer (to 1639/ bookseller	Andro Hart	<i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii 249-9 (Hart testament), <i>ibid.</i> , 257-9 (Kene)
Agnes Mayne	1622-31?	bookseller	Richard Lawson	<i>Bann. Misc.</i> iii, 199-205; cc8/8/65(Mayne, Oct. 1651)
Janet Mayne	1631-39	bookseller	James Cathkin	<i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii 249-52 (Cathkin testament), <i>ibid.</i> , 253-4 for Mayne
Margaret Kene	1640-41?	printer/bookseller	John Weirittoun	<i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii 255-257. No books survive with her imprint.
Agnes Readick	1642-46	bookseller	James Bryson	Not mentioned in Bryson testament <i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii 259-62; see Plomer,
Issobel Harring	1645-6	printer/bookseller	Robert Bryson	<i>Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers 1641 to 1667, 37; Aldis, 110</i> and <i>Edin. Marriages, 99</i> (21 Dec., 1630)
Issobel Aitcheson	1648-53	printer(Glasgow/ Edinburgh	George Anderson	<i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii 263-269; Plomer, <i>Dictionary of the Booksellers and</i> <i>Printers 1642 to 1667, 37; Aldis, no. 1241.</i> Married Lithgow 1646; <i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii 279-281
Janet Patterson	1650-1	bookseller	James Harrower	International Geneology Index (IGI) 0.423.632, MacLehose, <i>Glasgow University Press, 20-31, G. Chalmers,</i> 'An Historical Account', 239-43
Marian & Jeannet Harrower	1651-54	booksellers	-----	cc8/67 (May 1654) and cc8/8/67 Aug.1654)
Elizabeth Mortimer	1654?	bookseller	Andrew Wilson	cc8/67 (May 1654) and cc8/8/67 Aug.1654)
Agnes Campbell	1676-1716	printer/ paper merchant	Andrew Anderson	<i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii 277-279
Beatrix Campbell	1678-82?	bookseller	Archibald Hislop	<i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii, 284-9; cc8/8/86(July, 1717) cc8/8/112.1;(Oct. 1748) for Anderson <i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii, 282-284 and cc8/8/75 (Aug.1676)
Christian Auld	1682-3	bookseller	John Calderwood	cc8/8/76 (July, 1679) and cc8/8/80; (June, 1697) CS 157/66/2; <i>Edin. Marriages, 169</i> (22. Sep. 1679)
				<i>Bann. Misc.</i> ii 289-292

Bessie Sheills	1684-9	bookseller(Glasgow)	John Andrew	cc9/7/44 (Jan.1684) and cc9/7/48 (Dec.1689)
Marton Bell	1692-1710	bookseller	John Johnstone	cc8/7/9 (Johnstone: Jan.1693) and cc8/8/84 (Bell, Sep.1710)
Mrs Beigle	1696	bookseller	-----	Plomer, <i>Booksellers and Printers, 1668-1725</i> , 28
Marie Johnston	1740-4(?)	bookseller	John Porteous	cc8/8/82 (Sep. 1704)
Margaret Cuthbert	1704-10	printer(Aberdeen)	John Forbes, ygr	Edmond, <i>Aberdeen Printers</i> , iv, lv-vii and Aberdeen Council Records (MSS), 58, 3 and 215-6
Margaret Gibb	1708-11	printer	George Mosman	SRO. ch1/1/18 Records of the General Assembly, 1702-8, 521. No testament for Mosman. For inventory see SRO.RD.2.9.2.no.1772, 870-872 (Nov.1707)
Martha Stevenson	1690-1732	bookseller	Alexander Ogston	cc8/8/85 (her son James Ogston, Aug. 1714), and cc8/8/100 (Stevenson, Jan. 1735); Grant, J. (ed.), <i>Seafield Correspondence from 1685 to 1708</i> , (SHS, 1912), 90, 95-6, 150.
Margaret Reid	1712-20	printer	-----	Plomer, <i>Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers 1668 to 1725</i> , 251; for her father, cc8/8/86 (May, 1716)
Agnes Knox	1716	news vendor (Glasgow)	Thomas Sheills	<i>Glasgow Recs</i> , 4, 603-4.(supplier of diurnals)
Jean Smith	1722-31	bookseller	James Watson, ygr	cc8/8/86 (Watson: Dec. 1722) and cc8/8/104 for testament of Anne Smith sister to Jean (Dec. 1740)
Janet Hunter	1722-35	printer(Glasgow)	James Brown	MacLehose, <i>Glasgow University Press</i> , 124; c 9/7/55 (Hunter, Nov. 1736)
Agnes Lathem	1729-35	printer, bookseller, paper maker	John Moncur	cc8/8/97 (Moncur testament, June, 1735).
Anne Edmonstoun	1734-44	bookseller	George Stewart	R.H. Carnie and R.P. Doig. 'Scottish Printers and Booksellers 1668-1775; a second supplement', <i>Studies in Bibliography</i> , xii. (1961-2), 115 and <i>Edm. Marriages</i> , 170 ('Anna')(1712)
Mary Cameron	1742	bookbinder/bookseller (Glasgow)	Alexander Miller	cc9/7/57(Sep.1742)
Susan Trail	1764	printer (Aberdeen)	James Chalmers	Aberdeen Council Records (MSS), 63, 20

Notes: The activity dates must be seen as best guesses based on bibliographical and testamentary evidence. Dates will alter as our knowledge improves

## NOTES

1. John Fairley, *Agnes Campbell, Lady Roseburn: Relict of Andrew Anderson: A Contribution to the History of Printing in Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1925); James Watson, *The History of the Art of Printing* (1713), preface 10–24; George Chalmers, 'An Historical Account of Printing in Scotland' (c. 1825) National Library of Scotland [NLS], Adv. MSS. 17.1.16. fos 270r–276v.
2. R. A. Houston 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland, 1500–1800' in R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte eds. *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1989), mentions the 'manual labour' of bookselling and printing but does not discuss examples of female book traders.
3. Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683–4), eds. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (Oxford, 1962), 294–5, 318.
4. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* eds T. Dickson and J.B. Paul (13 vols, Edinburgh, 1877–1916), vii, 113; *ibid*, 142, 161. William Smith Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding 1432 to 1650* (Aberdeen, 1955), 18–20.
5. A.H. Scott-Elliot and Elspeth Yeo, 'Calligraphic Manuscripts of Esther Inglis (1571–1624): A Catalogue', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 84 (1990), 11–86 and NLS, MS 8874 which she may have helped bind. See also her portrait in this volume and her self-portrait in NLS, 8874, fo 4v.
6. H. G. Aldis, *A list of books printed in Scotland before 1700 including those printed furth of the realm of Scotland before 1700* (Edinburgh, 1904, reprinted 1970), no. 802.
7. P.G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de beurs: De geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart* (Amsterdam, 1987) and Maureen Bell, 'Hannah Allen and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business 1645–51', *Publishing History*, 26 (1989).
8. For testaments of Bassandyne, Norwell and Smyth see *The Bannatyne Miscellany* [Bann. Misc.] (3 vols, Bannatyne Club, 1827–55), ii 191–203; 218–221; 233–5 and summary; Robert Dickson and John P. Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing, 1507–1610* (Cambridge, 1890, reprint Amsterdam, 1975), 272–306, 475–484.
9. Reid: Henry R. Plomer ed. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), 251, for her father Scottish Record Office [SRO], Commissary Court Records [CC] CC8/8/86 (11 May, 1716), and my thanks to John Morris of the National Library for some additional details; Janet Hunter: James MacLehose, *The Glasgow University Press 1638–1931* (Glasgow, 1931), 124 and CC9/7/55 (15 Nov. 1736); Stevenson: CC8/8/85 (her son) and CC8/8/100 herself (20 January, 1735) and see also Rosalind K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080–1980* (1983), 155–6; Edmonstoun: R. H. Carnie & R. P. Doig, 'Scottish Printers and Booksellers 1668–1775: a second supplement', *Studies in Bibliography*, 12 (1961–2), 115 and *Edin. Marriages*, 170 ('Anna') (7 Dec., 1712); Smith: SRO, CC8/8/86 (Watson testament, 19 Dec., 1722) and CC8/8/104 for testament of Anne Smith sister to Jean (12 Dec., 1740).

10. For example Maureen Bell, 'Women in the English Book Trade, 1557-1700' *Leipziger Jahrbuch Buchgeschichte*, 16 (1996), 13-45.
11. John Grant, 'Archibald Hislop, Stationer, Edinburgh, 1668-1678', *Papers of Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 12 (1925), 35-51; SRO, CC8/8/76 (10, July 1679) and CC8/8/80 (8 June, 1697). Watson, *History of Printing*, 14. Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, *The Decisions of the Lords of Council and Session from June 6th 1678 to July 30th 1712* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1759-1761), i. 487 and SRO, Court of Session records [CS] 157/66/2. Issobel Haring: *Bann. Misc.* ii. 263 (testament Robert Bryson), *ibid*, 276 (testament Lithgow).
12. Robert and James Bryson, 'Information anent His Majestie's Printers in Scotland', *The Spottiswoode Miscellany* (2 vols, Spottiswoode Society, 1844-5) i, 299-300, William Cowan, 'Andro Hart and His Press', *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1896), no.12. 6, *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh [Edin Recs.]*, 1626-41 ed. M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1936) 109; *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland [APS]* eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes (12 vols., Edinburgh, 1814-75), v, 52.
13. Dr John Lee, *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1824), 160-169; G. Chalmers, 'Historical Account', fos 190r, 270r-276v; James Chalmers, MSS 'Materials' for 'An Historical Account of printing in Scotland from 1507 to 1707', (2 vols, c.1845); NLS, Adv.MSS 16.2.21 and 22. W. J. Couper, 'James Watson, King's Printer', *Scottish Historical Review*, [SHR] (1910), 253-8; Couper, 'The Pretender's Printer', *SHR*, 15 (1917), 107-10
14. For trade disputes see *Register of the Privy Council [RPC]* eds. J. H. Burton et al (14 vols, Edinburgh, 1877- ) iii, v. 141-2, ( March, 1677) *RPC*, iii, vi. 418-9 ( March, 1680). For disputes with apprentices *Fountainhall's Decisions*, i. 104; *RPC*, iii, vii. 3-4; *ibid* , 31-32; *RPC*, iii, viii. 250-51; Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs, 1661-1688*, (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1848), ii. 464-5. For lawyer contacts of Campbell see her full testament: SRO, CC8/8/86, fo 336r.
15. Plomer, *Booksellers and Printers 1668-1725*, 250-1, 258-9. Margaret was daughter to the elder John Reid and not widow of the younger as indicated by Plomer. SRO, CC8/8/86(11 May, 1716). Watson, *History of Printing*, 18.
16. Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland', 123.
17. SRO, CC8/8/82 and CC8/8/88 (Thomas Brown, 29 Nov., 1703 and 30 May, 1722), beneficiaries John Vallange and his son John; CC8/8/85 (John Vallange, 9 Apr., 1713); Marriage Brown to Marian Calderwood, *Edin. Marriages*, 93 ( 9 Oct., 1667); SRO, Register of Deeds [RD] 3/77. 297 (Recorded 23 July, 1692 but dated 1 June, 1683); Fairley, *Agnes Campbell*, 19.
18. R. B. McKerrow ed. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1557-1640* (Oxford, 1910), 272-3; SRO, CC8/8/88 (Watson, 19 Dec., 1722); no testament exists for Jean Smith but her sister Anne Smith's will was proved 12 Dec., 1740. SRO, CC8/8/104. Marriage Jean Smith to Heriot, *Edin. Marriages*, 504 (6 July, 1725); Carnie and Doig, 'Printers and Booksellers, 1668-1775', 115 and *Edin. Marriages*, 170 (7 Dec., 1712).

19. SRO, CC8/8/51.
20. Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Council Records (MSS), lviii. 3 and 215-6. J. P. Edmond, *The Aberdeen Printers, 1620 to 1736* (4 vols, Aberdeen, 1884), iv. preface p. lvii
21. Andro Hart's estate (d. 1621): £19, 528 and Andrew Wilson's (d.1654): £15,424 *Bann. Misc. ii.* pp. 241-9 and 277-9; *Bann. Misc. ii.* 191-204, 207-8; SRO, CC9/7/41 (Paton, 23 April, 1674)
22. Dickson and Edmonds, *Scottish Printing, 1507-1610*, 349; McKerrow, *Printers and Booksellers 1557-1640*, 67.
23. John Lee, *Additional Memorial*, (Edinburgh, 1826), 105, 153; Plomer, *Booksellers and Printers, 1668-1725*, 54, 212.
24. SRO, CC8/8/97 (23 June, 1735). A. G. Thomson, *The Paper Industry in Scotland, 1590-1861* (Edinburgh, 1974), 129,153; SRO, CC8/8/82 (Porteous, 11 Sept., 1704).
25. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1630-62*, (Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1881) 126-7 (27 Nov., 1647); Edinburgh City Archives, Moses Bundles, 67, 3043 (22 June, 1676).
26. SRO, CH1/1/18, Records of the General Assembly, 1702-8, 521 (27 Apr., 1708).
27. *History of the Church of Scotland by Mr David Calderwood* (8 vols, Wodrow Society, 1842-9) iv, 78-9 and *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland* eds. J. Bain et al (13 vols, 1898-1969), vii, no.171; Calderwood, *History*, v, 510-2, 520-1; vii, 348-9; *ibid.*, 382-3 and *Bann. Misc. i*, 199-215 for Cathkin's account of his own interrogation; Calderwood, *History*, vii, 433-4 and 439-442.
28. McKerrow, *Printers and Booksellers 1557-1640*, 63-4; Kene testament: *Bann. Misc. ii*, 258 (Threipland a debtor); Plomer, *Booksellers and Printers 1641-47*, 180; Mayne testament: *Bann. Misc. ii*, 253-4 (Threipland described as 'servant'); Wreittoun testament: *Bann. Misc. ii*, 255-7 (25 June, 1641).
29. For example from these presses came *The Protestation of the Noblemen and Wariston's A short relation of the state of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wreittoun, 1638); *The Protestation of the General Assembly* (1638-1639), *the Remonstrance of the Nobility* (1639) and *Information from the Scottish nation to all . . . English* (1640), (James Bryson), and *Intentions of the Army of Scotland* (1640) (Robert Bryson)
30. She adopted the title Lady Roseburn from 1704 having acquired property to the north west of Edinburgh. APS, viii. 206-7. c.147. and Lee, *Memorials* appendix no. xxvii, 56-61. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos*, 156-7.
31. For testament extracts see *Bann. Misc. ii*, 284-9 and for the entirety and of her grandchildren SRO, CC8/8/86 (10 July, 1676) and 112.1. (28 Oct., 1748); for Andrew Anderson, *Bann. Misc. ii*, 282-284 and SRO, CC8/8/75 (18 Aug., 1676). Fairley, *Agnes Campbell*, 4-6; *ibid.*, 14-19. Agnes had at least eight children, most dying young, and the only son to reach adulthood, James, died in 1693.
32. RPC, iii, v. 441-2.
33. SRO, CC8/8/86, 333r-336v.
34. See the illustration of the title pages in this volume.

35. Lee, *Memorials* 160-3; Fairley, *Agnes Campbell*, 23-26.
36. For Dutch bibles imported through Glasgow in the 1670s see Gemeentearchief Amsterdam [GAA], Notarial Archive, GAA NA. 4779. 101-2 (8 and 15 Mar., 1679). J. W. Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (1952), 256-7. P.G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de beurs: De geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart* (Amsterdam, 1987), 110.
37. *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, vol.17. House of Lords i. 1678-85. no. 498. 274. Affidavit dated 5 July 1684.