

The Women's Print History Project

Down the Rabbit Hole: Researching Women in the Book Trades Spotlight Series [Spotlight Introduction]

Authored by Kate Moffatt

Edited by Michelle Levy and Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

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Kate Moffatt

This post is part of our [Down the Rabbit Hole: Researching Women in the Book Trades Spotlight Series](#), which will run through August 2022. This series seeks to make transparent some of our team’s research processes, evidential challenges, and editorial choices while finding and creating data for women in the book trades.

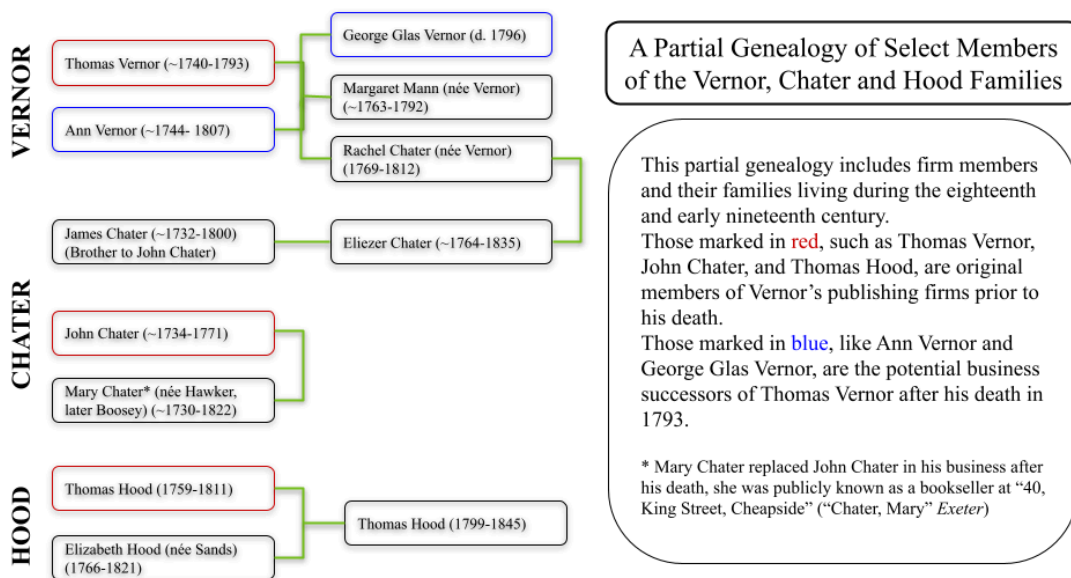


Figure 1. “A partial genealogy of select members of the Vernor, Chater, and Hood families.” Belle Eist, 2022.

At the time of this August 2022 Spotlight Series, the WPHP has more than 22,000 titles; 14,000 of those have been researched, edited and verified and are visible to the public. Of these 14,000 titles, just over 2,100 were published, printed, or sold by a firm run by a woman. But these numbers are far from complete or representative of the number of titles women in the book trades produced during the period our database covers, 1700 to 1836, and there are a few reasons for this.

First, the number of title records in the WPHP is always in flux: as we continue checking titles (like those from our recent inclusion of books from the American Antiquarian Society, which we are in the process of verifying for our title records) we often find further new editions to add.

Second, finding women in the book trades presents numerous obstacles. Because firms of the period are not infrequently listed in imprints and colophons with only an initial or a last name to distinguish them from their peers, discovering the gender of, for example, “A. Reilly,” (Alice Reilly, Dublin printer) requires additional research in firm-specific resources like the *Exeter Working Papers*, *British Book Trade Index*, *Scottish Book Trade Index*, or *Dictionary of Working Members of the Dublin Book Trade*. And many other women do not appear in imprints and colophons at all, with evidence of their involvement in a firm—including running it—at best hidden in the records of their male relatives or associates, who are often far more visible in our resources.

And third, our database seeks to capture all books that a woman helped to produce between 1700 and 1836, and this includes works published, printed, or sold by a woman. So when we do find a woman-run firm, we want to include in the database all works that she published, printed, or sold—something we do not do for firms in the WPHP that are run solely by men. As it turns out, some of these women were *quite* prolific, and have more than a thousand titles attached to them in sources like the ESTC. In addition to some of the women we have already identified as being this productive—including a number we cover in this Series, like Ann Vernor, Anne Dodd, and Agnes Campbell—we are constantly discovering more women in the trades with extensive catalogues. The volume of labour required to find women in the trades, and then bring all of their works into the WPHP is, quite frankly, massive; and so the extent to which we are capturing or not capturing data for women publishers, printers, and booksellers in the WPHP is unknown but certainly sizable, and is something we are working to correct. As with our initial underestimates about the quantity of books authored and otherwise contributed to by women, we find that when we start looking for books made by women, the evidence quickly mounts and becomes overwhelming.

Our *Down the Rabbit Hole: Researching Women in the Book Trades Spotlight Series* will introduce a number of women-run firms included in the WPHP, and in the process of doing so, seeks to make transparent some of the work that we do to recover and include them, the editing choices that must be made, and the particular challenges we face.

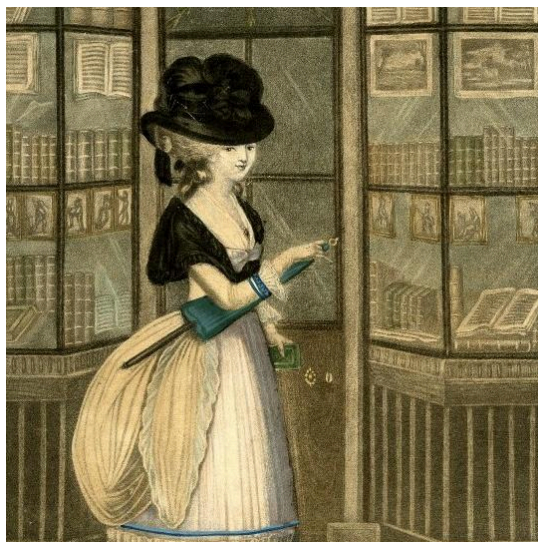
On August 5, Kate Ozment’s Spotlight, “[What Does it Mean to Publish? A Messy Accounting of Anne Dodd](#),” takes us into the early eighteenth century with Anne Dodd to think about the ways in which definitions of roles in the book trades—publisher, bookseller, printer—were not as static as they may now appear, and indeed meant something quite different than they did in the later eighteenth century.

On August 12, Sara Penn will untangle the publications, businesses and rivalries of the women in the Farley family in Bristol—Elizabeth Farley, Sarah Farley, and Hester Farley—in “[The Farley Family, their Feud, and the Bristol Print Trade](#).”

On August 19, we’ll delve into the position of the “King’s and Queen’s Printer” in Scotland with Julianna Wagar’s Spotlight “[A Royal Printer: Agnes Campbell in Scotland's Book Trade](#)” on Agnes Campbell, Lady Roseburn, the successful business woman behind the “Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson” imprint.

On August 26, Amanda Law’s Spotlight, “[Printed \(Bound, Published, and Sold\) by Jane Aitken](#),” explores the findings that can be made by studying imprints at scale. What do we learn when we examine hundreds of imprints—the very kind of research the WPHP was designed to facilitate?

On September 2, Belle Eist will take us deep into the research rabbit hole of discovering Ann Vernor’s identity and involvement in the Vernor and Hood, and Vernor, Hood and Sharpe firms with “[Hidden in the Imprints: Introducing Ann Vernor, Bookseller and Publisher, Active 1793–1807](#).”



The Women's Print History Project

What Does it Mean to Publish? A Messy Accounting of Anne Dodd [Spotlight]

Authored by Kate Ozment

Edited by Michelle Levy, Kate Moffatt, and Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Ozment, Kate. "What Does it Mean to Publish? A Messy Accounting of Anne Dodd." *The Women's Print History Project*, 5 August 2022, <https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/111>.

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What Does it Mean to Publish? A Messy Accounting of Anne Dodd

Kate Ozment

This post is part of our *Down the Rabbit Hole: Researching Women in the Book Trades* Spotlight Series, which will run through August 2022. This series seeks to make transparent some of our team's research processes, evidential challenges, and editorial choices while finding and creating data for women in the book trades.

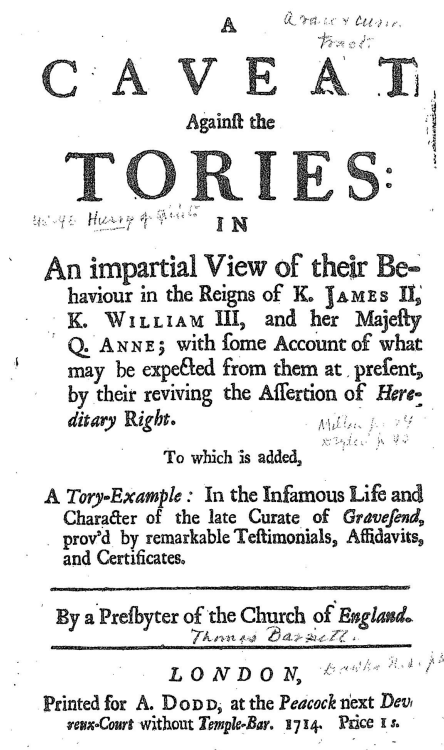


Figure 1. An Image of A Caveat Against the Tories, published 1714. ECCO.

If you search for “A. Dodd” and “Mrs. Dodd” as a publisher in the *English Short Title Catalogue*, it will return 844 records, ranging from 1712 to 1756. These names denote the careers of two women: **Anne Dodd**, who lived from 1685 to 1739, and her daughter, also **Anne Dodd**, who died in 1757. In this spotlight, I will briefly detail the Dodds’ careers as two of the best-known women in the English book trades in the eighteenth century before touching on how their lives and work create some messiness for the contemporary bibliographer trying to code their labour into a database with fixed data fields and user expectations. Hopefully this look at the messy ways we are accounting for the work of the Dodds and their contemporaries like Elizabeth Nutt can make visible the interpretive choices of something that seems quite innocuous: how we characterize the relationship of these women-run firms to the titles they appear on.

Like many women in the English book trades, Anne Dodd Sr. worked with her husband, Nathaniel Dodd, who was also a stationer, from their marriage in 1711 until his death in 1723. While court records indicate that Nathaniel Dodd was involved in running the business, it was almost always Anne Dodd's name that appeared on imprints, indicating she had substantial control (Treadwell, ODNB). The Dodd family shop at the Peacock near Temple Bar was the "the best-known pamphlet shop in London" (Treadwell, ODNB), although they also sold periodicals, ballads, and a variety of other printed works including poems, plays, and novels. Their investment in cheaper and topical works of politics and satire might (and occasionally did) result in arrests and, consequently, a few stints in prison. Much of what we know about the Dodds is through their relationship to canonical male authors like Alexander Pope, notorious booksellers like Edmund Curll, and the work of book trade historian Michael Treadwell. Treadwell's work on publishing practices in the early eighteenth century underpins this article significantly, and his **research notes** are digitized and hosted through Trent University.

Working with the Dodds has a few challenges, some of which the WPHP team are familiar with and some we are grappling with for the first time. The most obvious challenge is one of volume: it will take quite a few hands to account for their nearly 850 records, and that process is ongoing. Secondly, these records are dense as the Dodds relied on extensive networks of tradespeople to publish. These networks are sometimes informally referred to as *congers*, referencing a specific association that formed in 1719 called The Printing Conger. According to John Nichols, the Conger included publishers like **Rebecca Bonwicke**, who was of the "respectable" sort (340). While the Dodds were not in the Printing Conger, they did have their own networks which frequently included other women like Elizabeth Nutt and Elizabeth Cooke, as we see with *True Character of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield* (1739). These associations would offset financial risks, as each member would take part of a run of a periodical, for example. It would also signal to buyers that like your favourite weekly magazine, a title could be had at major pamphlet shops all over town, not just in one place. The challenge for WPHP team members is that every imprint needs multiple firm records, and when we see a "Mrs." (or a woman's name) in the imprint we give the person extra attention, so we sometimes spend an hour on a single title.

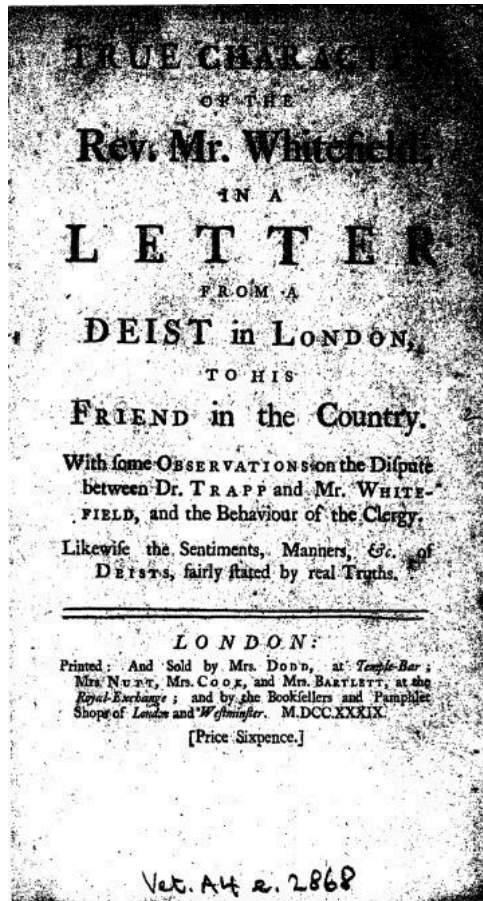


Figure 2. An image of *True Character of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield*, printed 1739. ECCO.

The most significant challenge we face, however, is a conceptual one: how to characterize the relationships the Dodds have to the imprint records we are working with. Typically the Dodds use language we associate with retail, or being a bookseller. Booksellers are one of three roles we assign firms in the database; the others are publisher and printer. But there is a separation between what being a bookseller denoted in the 1600s up to around 1760 and what it meant to readers slightly later in the century.

When I first began working with eighteenth-century books, I assumed that publisher meant someone who was responsible for the book financially—this is almost always what is meant in later eighteenth-century imprints, and it is the contemporary meaning, too. Publishers like Penguin or Hachette pay the author, editors, designers, and other staff to produce a book, and in turn they stand to make the most money if the book sells. The distinction between publisher and bookseller, while it could overlap in the later part of the century, nevertheless identifies clearly differentiated roles. In my mind and in the mind of many late eighteenth-century readers, the division of roles would likely be denoted as the following:

Table 1. Late Eighteenth-Century Associations.

Role	Labour	Language in Imprints
Publisher	Finance; wholesale; may also do retail	Printed for; Printed for and Sold by (if also owned shop)
Printer	Physical replication; may also do retail	Printed by; Printed by and Sold by (if also owned shop)
Bookseller	Retail; wholesale	Sold by; Can be Found at

Near the end of the century, imprint language—as seen in the right of the table above—indicates with decent reliability who is performing different jobs in the book’s publication process. This is the understanding that the WPHP team uses to help us connect firms to title records. In addition to these examples, we might see alternate financing information such as “Printed for the Author,” which we mark as “self-published.”

However, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, what labour imprint language signifies is much more difficult to parse with certainty, and the roles we align with responsibilities in a book’s production shift from the divisions in the above chart. The easiest part is identifying printers, whose role is blissfully stable; it signifies the same labour from the 1500s to the early 1900s and only really changes when “printer” begins to stand in as a machine in the twentieth century. Publishers and booksellers are where things get dicey.

According to Treadwell, in the early part of the century, selling and financing were collapsed under a single role: the bookseller. The idea that a publisher was distinct as an entity that “cause[s] books to be printed and distributed for sale” had not yet developed (“London Trade Publishers” 99). Instead, then, those who advertised themselves as booksellers were not just selling books, but “any one who engaged in any one, or any combination, of three activities, now generally separate, which we designate as wholesale and retail bookselling and publishing” (Treadwell, “London Trade Publishers” 99). In addition to selling books as wholesale and retail, booksellers could and often did hold copyright, which was established when a book was registered with the Stationers Company. Authors’ intellectual property rights at this point are vague, as copyright heavily favoured tradespeople until closer to the end of the century (see Ross and Rose). In sum, then, almost everyone on early eighteenth-century imprints would identify as an author, bookseller, or printer.

So, publishers as a concept just didn’t exist yet? That would make this simpler. But of course, there *is* a small group of people referred to as publishers. They just did not perform the roles described in the above chart of financing books, as that was being done by booksellers. Instead, publishers were in the distribution wing of the book trades and generally did not own copyright (Treadwell, “London Trade Publishers”). They would put their names on imprints and wholesale or retail them, concealing copyright owners and other labourers. Publishers would take on the risk of “owning” an imprint for a fee, and their service included both deliberately obscuring ownership and offering an

“established marketing network” (Raven 172). To help keep the distinction straight for modern readers, D. F. McKenzie and subsequent scholars use the phrase trade publisher to characterise this specific function in book trade distribution. I’ll take up that phrasing now to clarify that we’re not talking about general publishing.

Trade publishing is one aspect of distribution, so let’s take a moment to clarify what that means before we go back to the case of the Dodds. Distribution is by far the messiest aspect of the book trades because it functions differently from printers and booksellers who have the Stationers Company, a guild, as oversight. Less oversight for distributors means less documentation, and, Lisa Maruca argues, distribution is the aspect of book trades that is the most permeable to women as a consequence (111). To sell a book, you did not have to have an apprenticeship, nor enough capital to be able to finance a book that might not return profits for years, if ever. Maruca notes that you might not even have to be literate—just enough maths for bookkeeping and the ability to remember what it is you are selling.

Despite scholarship’s overall lesser attention to it, distribution was a very important aspect of the book trades. After all, if your intent is to have the public read a book, it matters quite a bit that the public actually gets its hands on it. While my focus is on distributors who leave their names on imprints since that is what the WPHP tracks, there are far more labourers in distribution (many of them women and children) whose names we do not know because they sold objects without marking them. Sometimes we find them advertising in periodicals in the *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection* or in an aside from another book tradesperson’s records, but more often than not, they are on the fringes of book history. As a great example of this history, see Joad Raymond’s account of mercuries.

Back to the Dodds: as distributors, they would sell books others had printed and financed. Sometimes this involved claiming the book to obscure copyright ownership, or trade publishing, and sometimes they would simply sell a book outright. The Dodds appear in far more search hits in the Burney Newspapers Collection, which records advertisements of book sales, than in the ESTC, which records imprints, so the WPHP is only going to account for a portion of the Dodds’ wider distribution career. Identifying when trade publishers’ imprints signal that they are acting in that role always requires additional research. Here are two examples, both from court cases because additional legal documentation provides confirmation on copyright ownership that is not always possible.

First, we’ll look at (my favourite scandal writer) *Delarivier Manley*, who wrote the political satire *Secret memoirs and manners of several persons of quality, of both sexes. From the new Atalantis, an island in the Mediterranean*. John Barber purchased the copyright and published it beginning in 1709, using the trade publishers *James Woodward* and *John Morphew* to obfuscate his ownership and legal liability. Barber’s name is nowhere on the imprint, and neither was Manley’s as it was published anonymously.

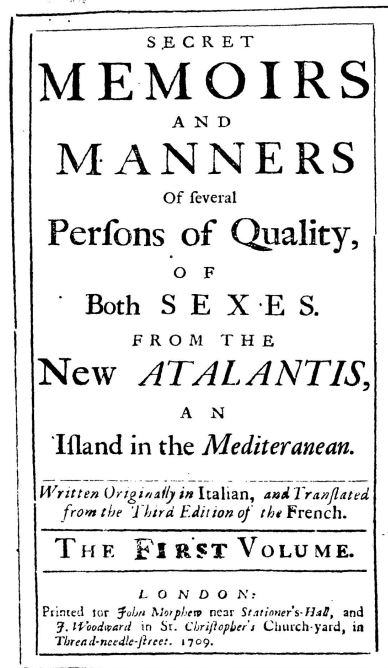


Figure 3. An image of Delarivier Manley's *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality*, published 1709. ECCO.

When the book had its anticipated effect of irritating some rather powerful aristocrats (specifically **Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough**), Morphew and Woodward were arrested first as their names were on the imprint. Manley and Barber were arrested shortly after, presumably because Woodward and Morphew revealed who owned and wrote the book. Rachel Carnell's excellent sleuthing located the court records and confirmed Manley and Barber's ties to the book, not any information on the book itself or other advertisements. (However, I should note that Manley's authorship had been assumed for a long time due to subsequent publications.)

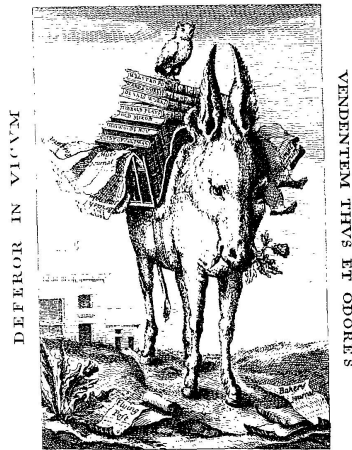
Similarly to Woodward and Morphew, the Dodds' interactions with the courts illuminate an interesting history of what information imprints convey. The most well-researched incident involved **Alexander Pope's** *The Dunciad*, as its publication history has fascinated more than 200 years of book trade historians and bibliographers. Anne Dodd Sr.'s name appears on initial editions in 1728, although it was **James Bettenham** who entered the presumed first edition in the Stationers Register (Vander Meulen). I am unable to reliably say whether or not Dodd's name was used with her knowledge. Scholarship regularly refers to the 1728 Dodd imprints as jokes or "fakes," which is confusing. Are they fakes because Dodd wasn't involved? That would seem like a fair word to use, if so, but I have not found satisfactory evidence that Dodd was not the trade publisher.

More often, articles imply that they are fakes because she wasn't the copyright owner, as Bettenham nominally claimed ownership of the title. These characterizations seem to misunderstand that trade publishing was a common practice that hardly equals the negative association of fakery. For contrast, no one to my knowledge has labelled the Woodward and Morphew imprint a "fake" because Barber owned it (and while I can't say yet that gender plays a role in that

distinction, I would not be surprised if further research uncovers a divide in how trade publishers are characterised along gendered lines). Trade publishing is a convenience for tradespeople and authors who, for many reasons, did not want to publicly own every work they wrote or produced.

In 1729, an equally messy but different edition of *The Dunciad* also bearing a version of Dodd's name ended with her in court and gives us some additional perspective. **Lawton Gilliver** seems to have purchased the copyright to *The Dunciad* (from who and exactly when, I cannot easily summarise) in 1729 and used his holding to sue other publishers and printers for infringement. The imprint of an accused piracy reads "Printed for A. Dob," a typo meant to reference Anne Dodd Sr.

THE
DUNCIAD,
VARIORVM.
WITH THE
PROLEGOMENA of SCRIBLERUS.



L O N D O N.

Printed for A. D O B . 1729.

Figure 4. An image of Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad Variorum*, published 1729. ECCO.

Gilliver's suit included the defendants stating Dodd had no tie to the book: "Anne Dodd neither then had nor now hath any right to Title to the said Copy nor any Share whatsoever in the property thereof and that her name was put to the said Quart Edition of the said Book without her Privity Knowledge or Consent and that she never Sold or Disposed of the said Books" (qtd in Sutherland, 351). Dodd later affirmed this fact with an affidavit but did not elaborate on whether or not she distributed the 1728 editions that also bear her name. While I do hold space for the possibility Dodd may not have been wholly truthful—in this same period, noted political writer **Eliza Haywood** was arrested for seditious libel and claimed she never wrote anything political (King 1)—if we accept this version of events,

Dodd was pulled in for something she did not publish rather than something she did. If she had helped publish a pirated book, like Woodward and Morpew she would have gotten in legal trouble along with the defendants.

Dodd's reputation as a trade publisher and pamphlet seller made her name currency for scandal literature. If the 1728 imprints are a "fake," in the sense she wasn't the trade publisher, it is certainly because she was so ubiquitous that her name was chosen and carried over onto the 1729 edition. But secondly, her disavowal of work on a 1729 edition does not preclude that she acted as trade publisher on the 1728 editions. Publishers distribute one edition of a book but not another with regularity, and one can imagine a plethora of reasons Dodd might want to keep mum unless under oath to respond to the 1728 publications. Why invite trouble by tying oneself to a public scandal? While trade publishing was often innocuous, it did run the risk of arrests and court cases, and Dodd's tailored response to only the 1729 edition might be evidence of business acumen more than the disavowal of the 1728 editions that it is often read as.

As you can see with these examples, the chart used above to parse imprint language for labour divisions and assign corresponding roles is not a useful way to reflect the relationship of a tradesperson to a title in the early part of the century. Imprints during this period are often misleading, making it appear that books are moving through channels they are not. On top of this, as the example with *The Dunciad* shows, imprint language is unstable. Trade publishers will use "printed for," "printed by," "printed and sold by" and "sold by" indiscriminately, although the last two are the most common, as we see with *A Short View of the Conduct of the King of Sweden* (1717).

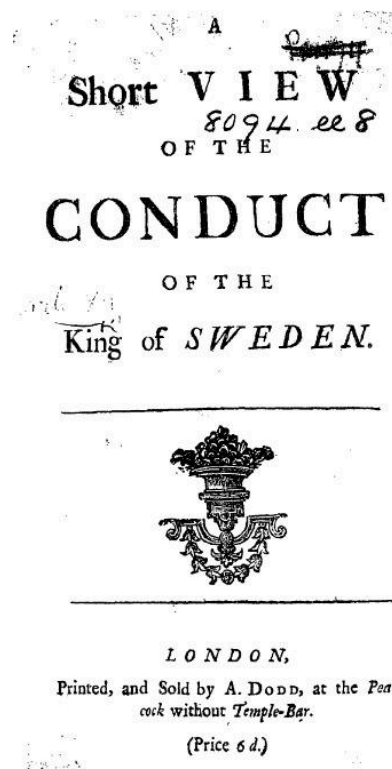


Figure 5. An image of *Short View of the Conduct of the King of Sweden*, published 1717. ECCO.

The comma after “printed” indicates, to me, that the book was printed by an entity purposefully omitted from the imprint and separately sold by Dodd. This is relatively straightforward, but others are not. The Dodds will not infrequently use language like “printed for,” visible on *A Caveat Against the Tories* (1714). Our above chart would direct us to assign Dodd the role of publisher in the popular sense, as a finance and copyright owner.

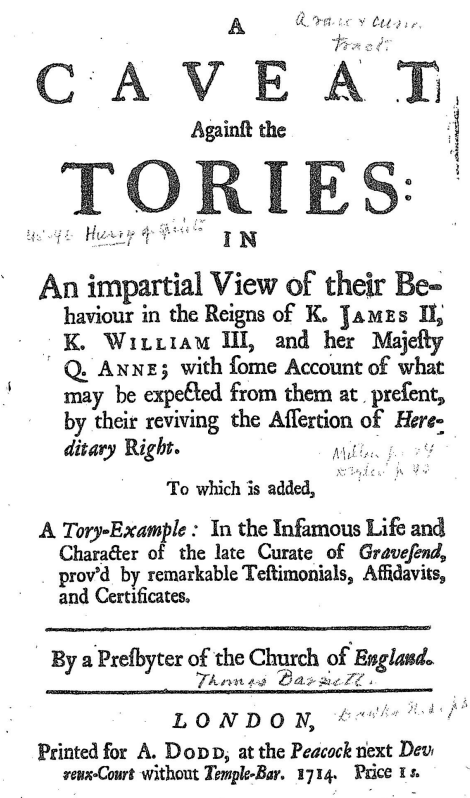


Figure 6. An Image of *A Caveat Against the Tories*, published 1714. ECCO.

However, that is almost certainly not the case here. Treadwell argues that “Printed for” is the least reliable indicator of book trade labour: “the ‘printed for’ form, being the norm, seems to have been resorted to automatically by the printer in the absence of specific directions to the contrary. Accordingly . . . nothing can safely be concluded from the form ‘printed for’ in the absence of other evidence” (“London Trade Publishers” 116). If we accept Treadwell’s arguments, then, Dodd likely owned no copyright in either of these examples and was acting as a distributor. This is part of a constellation of reasons that imprint language is an unreliable indicator of labour roles in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. While I have offered two accounts where court cases clarify ownership to some degree, since suits are relatively rare and are not always conclusive, we will never know for certain the exact relationship of the Dodds to most of these titles, other than they were involved in some way—even if only by reputation.

With all this in mind, you can imagine the difficulty I faced when asked what role I should choose to connect the Dodds to their imprints. Available roles are bookseller, publisher, and printer, and these have been applied previously in the WPHP with a late century understanding of what labour they signify since the first data included is from 1750

to 1830. However, as you now know, in the early part of the century imprint language was applied differently and inconsistently. An early eighteenth-century chart would look something like this:

Table 2. Early Eighteenth-Century Associations.

Role	Labour	Language in Imprints
Bookseller	Finance; wholesale; retail	Printed for; Printed for and Sold By
Printer	Physical replication; may also do retail	Printed by; Printed by and Sold by (if also owned a shop)
Trade Publisher	Claims imprints; wholesale; retail	Printed for; Printed for and Sold by; Printed by; Printed by and Sold by; Sold by; Can be Found at
Mercury or Other Distributors	Retail	Sold by; Can be Found at; no marks on imprint

This is not exactly clear cut for editors, much less users. Since users are searching for a set of roles that is not differentiated by decade, editors have to be consistent with how they are used across the database. The typical user for the WPHP is likely going to have late century assumptions since those are more or less the same as our current usages.

All projects must balance the expectations of the user and findability with precision and historical accuracy, so with the Dodds' imprints (and those of other trade publishers), we have chosen to go with clarity for users and have indicated their relationship to imprints based on our contemporary understandings rather than early eighteenth-century ones. That is, when we parse imprints, we use divisions of labour in the first chart rather than the second chart. The bibliographer and book trade historian within me somewhat bristles at this decision. I'm marking Dodd rather often as a bookseller when she was pointedly not characterized as such in the period, and when I do mark her as a publisher, users understand it as a financier not a distributor. But, there is no perfect data model that can capture every nuance (although I dream). And as the second chart indicates, the slipperiness of imprints in the early part of the century means that there is not a simple solution to offer, nor existing research to back up every deviation from typical conceptions of what imprint language indicates.

As I work through hundreds of imprints associated with the Dodds and other women distributors from the early part of the century, quite a bit of my work has been unpacking how they are poorly characterized in book trade scholarship that heavily favours male copyright owners as the most valuable subjects. Maruca quite aptly argues that it is because distribution was more permeable to women and did not signal property ownership that it has been not taken as seriously by book trade historians who have largely focused on copyright and its holders (108–11). My short exposition of scholarship on the 1728 *Dunciad* editions is only one example I have run across. While Treadwell has

arguably done more work on Anne Dodd Sr. and other trade publishers than any other scholar, he nevertheless argues that her “success and renown should not, however, be confused with real importance in the publishing world, for she owned no copyrights and merely distributed those papers on which her name appeared” (ODNB).

Other scholars have pushed back against such remarks as biased and questioned why copyright is our measure of importance and significance. As Maruca and Raymond have identified, distribution may be gendered feminine, but arguably it is this very gendering—the fact that it is an activity associated with women—that has resulted in its diminishment in their time and ours. Why should “real importance in the publishing world” be associated exclusively with ownership of copyright? What is inherently unimportant about distribution as the means by which books, and the ideas they contain, circulate? Dodd was the public face of many of these books, and we should not simply dismiss that as lesser because she was not making as much money off the book as someone else, especially in a period that was dubious at best about women’s right to own money and property and locked copyright into roles that required formal apprenticeship. While there are many factors that go into evaluating something as less significant, we cannot disregard that gender and class have played into the lesser status that trade publishers, mercuries, and their associates have been accorded in book trade history.

Hopefully, by gathering more data on the Dodds, [Elizabeth Nutt](#), [Elizabeth Cooke](#), [Sarah Popping](#), and the other women trade publishers, we can reconsider the extent of their roles in the eighteenth-century book trades. With the wider digitization of records since Treadwell’s work in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as broader reevaluations of what counts as important, who knows what else of significance we might find.

Note: the late eighteenth-century chart was updated on 8/11/22 thanks to some helpful critique from Aaron Pratt.

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[Anne Dodd I](#) (firm)

[Anne Dodd II](#) (firm)

[Edmund Curll](#) (firm)

[Rebecca Bonwicke](#) (firm)

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[Manley, Delarivier](#) (person)

Secret memoirs and manners of several persons of quality, of both sexes. From the new Atalantis, an island in the Mediteranean (title)

[John Barber](#) (firm)

[James Woodward](#) (firm)

[John Morphew](#) (firm)

[Churchill, Sarah Churchill](#) (person)

[Pope, Alexander](#) (person)

James Bettenham (firm)
Lawton Gilliver (firm)
Haywood, Eliza (person)
A Short View of the Conduct of the King of Sweden (title)
A Caveat against the Tories (title)
Elizabeth Cooke (firm)
Elizabeth Nutt (firm)
Sarah Popping (firm)

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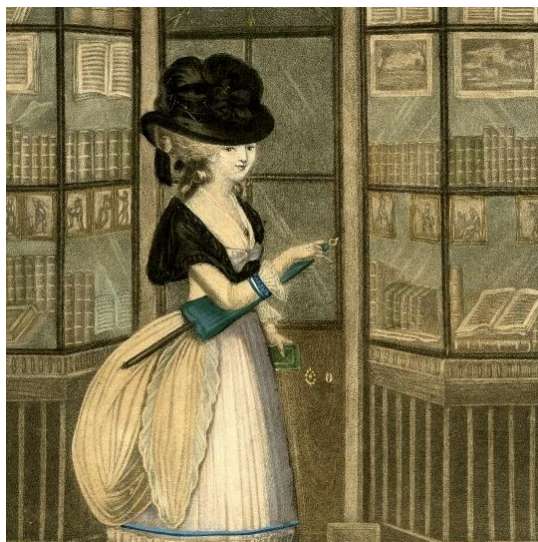
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The Women's Print History Project

The Farley Family, their Feud, and the British Print Trade [Spotlight]

Authored by Sara Penn

Edited by Michelle Levy, Kate Moffatt, and Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

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The Farley Family, their Feud, and the British Print Trade

Sara Penn

This post is part of our *Down the Rabbit Hole: Researching Women in the Book Trades* Spotlight Series, which will run through August 2022. This series seeks to make transparent some of the processes, challenges, and editorial choices our team has to make while falling down the inevitable rabbit holes involved in finding, and creating data for, women in the book trades.

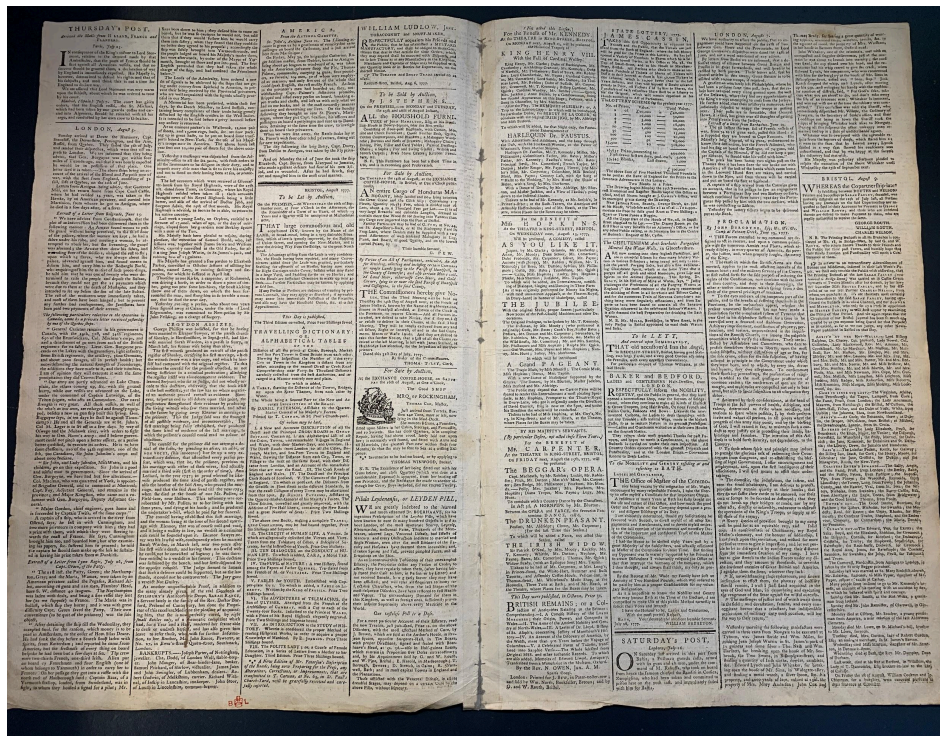


Figure 1. Contents of Sarah Farley's *Bristol Journal*, 1777. British Library.

Many of the women in the WPHP, including [Ann Sancho](#), [Ann Lemoine](#), and [Sarah Belzoni](#), to name a few, have been recovered because of scholarship on the work of their male associates and relations. More often than not, we find ourselves sifting through the biographical entries of men from our growing list of [Sources](#) trying to pin down the presence of the women so often mentioned in passing (if at all).

While recovering Elizabeth, Sarah, and Hester Farley as three Bristol-based publishers, printers, and booksellers generally found alongside a larger network of Farley men in the same trades, their contributions as individuals can also be traced to a fuller extent through specific print genres: newspapers and journals. My literary excavation of the Farleys began when I was offered the task of [spotlighting](#) Sarah Farley from the WPHP Project Manager and firms expert [Kate](#)

Moffatt who had recently encountered her entry in the *British Book Trade Index* (BBTI). Kate noticed that the BBTI listed Sarah as a possible cousin to Hester Farley—a familial tie confirmed by Victoria E.M. Gardner—piquing our interest. A further dive into the BBTI, ODNB, and even *Wikipedia* led me to Elizabeth Farley, aunt to Sarah and mother to Hester, who is briefly referenced as “taking over [her husband’s] newspaper” in the combined ODNB entry of the Farley men. Scholarship on Bristol-based newspapers and women’s labour aside from these sources provides a more vibrant story of the Farley women, in part due to their familial prominence, generational feuding, and, in Sarah’s case in particular, impact on the trade.

As the family tree I have created in figure 2 shows, the history of Elizabeth, Sarah, and Hester Farley can be traced back to their grandfather, Samuel Farley I. In founding what would become the *Farley’s Exeter Journal* in 1723 and the *Farley’s Bristol Newspaper* in 1725, he was “the first member of the family to be active in the newspaper trade” (ODNB). Samuel had three sons that would follow him in the family printing business: **Samuel II**, Edward II, and Felix. Samuel II and Edward took over the *Bristol Newspaper* and the *Exeter Journal*, respectively, after Samuel I died in 1730.

The Farley men were primarily known for “developing a newspaper press that became highly politicized in the south-west compared with local newspapers published in most other regions of eighteenth-century England” (ODNB). Although the Farleys were respected printers in their time, their familial history was bitter and complex. While Samuel II and Edward seemed to manage different branches of their family newspaper harmoniously, Samuel II and Felix’s relationship did not follow suit. In 1734 Samuel II changed the name of the family newspaper to *Sam. Farley’s Bristol Newspaper* while Felix established his own journal, also in Bristol. Their businesses were initially amicable despite their opposition and the brothers even formed a partnership from 1737 to 1741. According to the ODNB, Samuel II modified the newspaper title to the *Farley’s Bristol Journal* “probably to reflect the partnership between [them].”

After a decade of relocating, separation, and reuniting, their partnership quickly dissolved, and by 1752 the brothers “became rivals in the trade” (Latimer 292). Felix broke off from the business to initiate a rival journal under his own name, *Felix Farley’s Bristol Journal* in Small Street, while Samuel II continued to print *Farley’s Bristol Journal*, renamed the *Bristol Journal*, down the block in Castle Street. Felix wished to feature advertisements more prominently in his newspaper to the point where he, as John Latimer notes, “assured advertisers that his new *Journal* would extend farther than any other yet published in the city” (292). Although we may never know what started the quarrel between the brothers, it changed the face of the family forever.

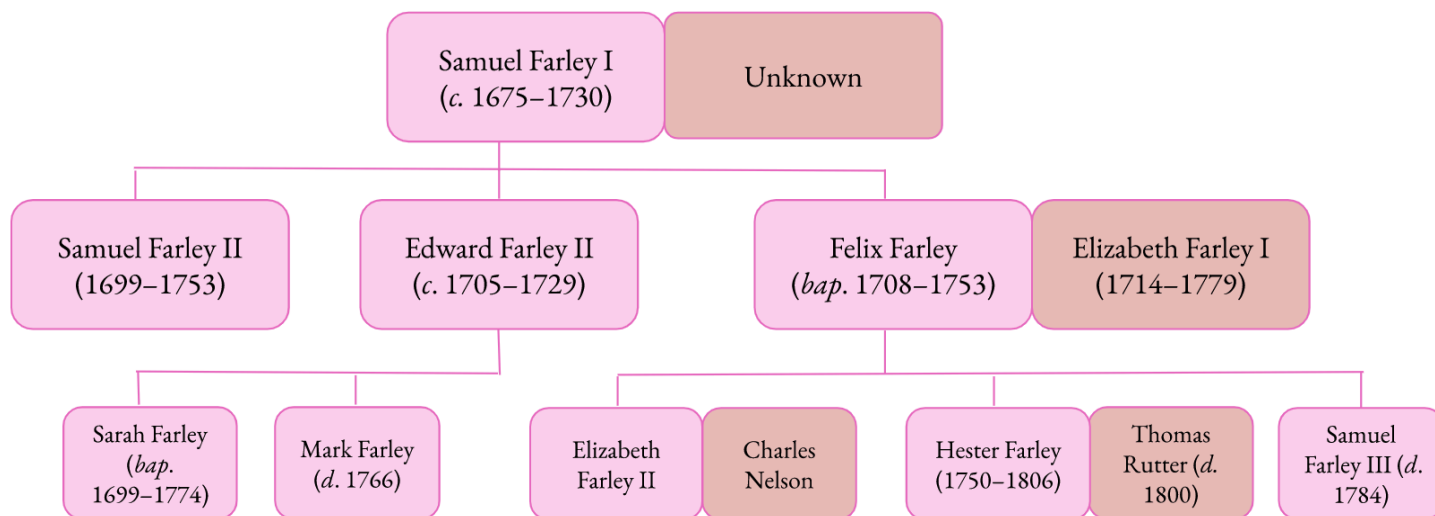


Figure 2. This Farley family tree amalgamates historical information drawn from the ODNB, Victoria E.M. Gardner’s “Appendix” in *The Business of News in England, 1760–1820*, and the “Biographical Appendix” in *The Letters of Charles Wesley*. Sara Penn, 2022.

When the estranged brothers died in 1753, both left their newspapers to their female next of kin. As Hannah Barker summarizes, “Felix left his business to his wife Elizabeth, while Samuel was succeeded by his niece, Sarah” (94). But it was not solely the newspaper business that was maintained by Elizabeth, Sarah, and later Elizabeth’s daughter and Sarah’s cousin, Hester; it appears that the tensions between the two businesses were also carried throughout three generations. “The two Farley newspapers,” Barker adds, “were run by women for the next twenty years, and continued to display a fierce commercial rivalry. As [John Latimer] noted, ‘neither of the papers showed any lack of vigour when conducted by the ladies’” (94).

Elizabeth, Sarah, and Hester primarily produced monthly newspapers and periodicals, genres that the **WPHP does not include**. Despite their newspaper specialty, each Farley woman contributed to a number of books, poems, and broadsides as printers, publishers, and booksellers during their takeover, **which we do include**. A closer look at the productions of each of the Farleys reveals that their histories are very much intertwined as a result of the antagonism of their businesses.

The new matriarch of the family, **Elizabeth Farley I** (1714–1779), acquired *Felix Farley’s Bristol Journal*, which she operated from 1753 to 1773 in Shakespear’s Head, Small Street, Bristol. She briefly partnered with her son, Samuel III, from 1753 to 1756 before he left to start his own newspaper in Bath. He returned after this endeavour failed and joined his mother once more from 1758 to 1760. Thomas Cooking was contracted as a partner in 1767 before taking over from Elizabeth fully from 1773 to 1787, when he died. According to an index of British newspapers, *Felix Farley’s Bristol Journal* eventually morphed into the *Bristol Times and Mirror*, among other titles, before its last issue in 1912 (“The Bristol Times and Mirror” 60).

As Bristol historian Madge Dresser writes, Elizabeth printed “at least 23 Methodist books [,] hymns and pamphlets between 1755 and 1765 including sermons by John Wesley and hymns by his brother Charles” (18). According to the

WPHP title records, she also printed and sold at least one edition of family friend Charles Wesley’s *Hymns and Sacred Poems* and at least two editions of Sophia Hume’s *A caution to such as observe days and times: to which is added, an address to magistrates, parents, masters of families, &c.* (figure 3). She worked semi-regularly with booksellers James Dodsley, George Kearsley, Thomas Davies, and John Almon, and collaborated with publisher John Walter at least once in 1767. It is unclear if Elizabeth operated from her own shop because her imprints do not include an address, although it is likely she continued to operate from Felix’s premises in Small Street.

Out of Elizabeth’s three children—Elizabeth II, Hester, and Samuel III—only her firstborn Elizabeth II seems to have removed herself entirely from the newspaper trade. Her niece-in-law Sarah, however, maintained the family legacy with flourish, while Hester joined the business for only a brief period of time before leaving behind the print trade.

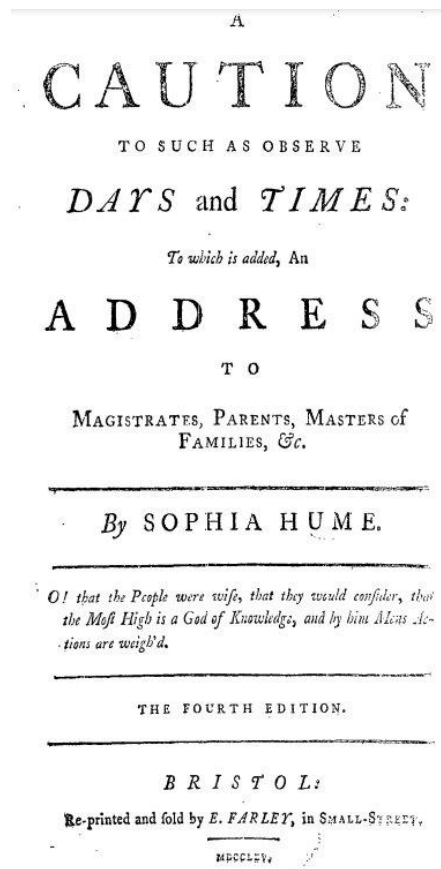


Figure 3. Fourth edition title page from a religious work printed and sold by Elizabeth Farley. ECCO.

Sarah Farley (d. 1774) is perhaps the most well-documented of the three Farley women. As the daughter of Edward and the niece of Samuel Farley II, Sarah managed the *Bristol Journal* from 1753 to 1774, around the same time that Elizabeth took over from Felix. Sarah’s brother Mark also joined the business until 1762. She initially ran the journal from Small Street (although there are no WPHP title records of this location) before relocating to Castle-Green.

Sarah also continued to uphold the rivalry between her uncles. In the same year of Samuel II's death in 1753, she “announced that [she would] give greater publicity to advertisements [and] they would be posted ‘in the most public places in the city’” (Latimer 293). As Sarah herself put it, she particularly targeted “the Exchange and the Tolzey, in the marketplace, and on the several city gates, and by men who carry the *Journal* into the country by Monday (two days after publication) to fix them up in the cities of Bath and Wells, and all the market towns” (qt. in Latimer 293). In other words, she not only took it upon herself to include more advertisements than her ‘rival’ uncle Felix wished, but she also devised a careful plan to scatter them as far across southern England as she could.

It is unclear how successful Sarah's plan was, but it certainly did not go unnoticed by Elizabeth, who also made a great effort to carry out Felix's wishes. In 1755, Elizabeth tricked Sarah “with publishing articles a month old” (Latimer 293), a gesture which her niece did not retaliate. Indeed, Sarah made an effort to keep the rivalry between the business only, while Elizabeth took a more personal approach and did not hesitate to directly vilify other papers and peoples in the press. In the same year, for example, Elizabeth publicly deemed a rival journal, the *Intelligencer*, as a “virulent party paper” and later “described the editor of the *Bristol Chronicle* as inauthentic and hasty” (Latimer 293). A fiery Tory supporter, she also launched a “campaign against the naturalization of Jews” and “also pursued an extravagantly-worded campaign against Whig corruption” during her tenure (Dresser 18). As a Quaker—likely with Whig leanings—Sarah did not share her aunt's political values, a factor that likely contributed to their long-standing rivalry.

Apart from the *Bristol Journal*, Sarah printed, published, and sold a variety of books including elegies, poems, dramas, and tragedies. As the WPHP entries show, she was particularly active in her final years in 1773 and 1774. Sarah was also remembered for her kind nature and “superior talents” in her time; as diarist Sarah Fox (née Champion) writes:

[Sarah] had been to us a near and very kind neighbour, and her benevolence and universal acquaintance rendered her removal a great loss and generally regretted. Men of distinguished abilities, of all ranks and descriptions, resorted to her house and were fond of her conversation. She succeeded her father or her uncle in the printing business, and it was not by education, but by superior talents that she emerged from obscurity. The poor bewailed her death as the loss of a benefactor. She was a single woman, but was at this time earnestly solicited to become a wife by her neighbour [the merchant] Wm. Green, whose entreaties had hitherto been unavailing. (qt. in Dresser 19)

According to the ODNB entry for the Farley family, “She never married but was prominent in local literary circles, Hannah More being among her friends.” She collaborated with [Thomas Cadell](#), [Thomas Carnan](#) and [Francis Newberry](#), and [W. Frederick](#) in her later career, and, less occasionally, with the likes of [Mary Deverall](#). She also published [several editions](#) of a pastoral drama “By a Young Lady.”

[Hester Farley](#) (1750–1806) inherited the *Bristol Journal* from her cousin Sarah in 1774. She seemed to have little interest in the newspaper since one year later she later sold the business to her brother-in-law, Charles Nelson, husband

of Elizabeth Farley II, and George and William Routh. Nelson and the Routh brothers, known as Rouths and Company, renamed the newspaper *Sarah Farley's Bristol Journal* in 1777, clearly seeking to exploit Sarah's name and influence (figure 4). It is unclear why Hester maintained the family business for so short a time, although Sarah likely bequeathed the *Bristol Journal* to Hester because she “was a friend of Susannah Wesley, Charles Wesley’s daughter, [and] seems have ended up as the second wife of Thomas Rutter a local Quaker brush manufacturer and preacher who had been a visitor to [Sarah’s] aunt’s home” (Dresser 20). The Farleys were close friends with the prominent and vocally religious Wesley family throughout their newspaper reign, and their recoverability is likely aided by their ties with them.

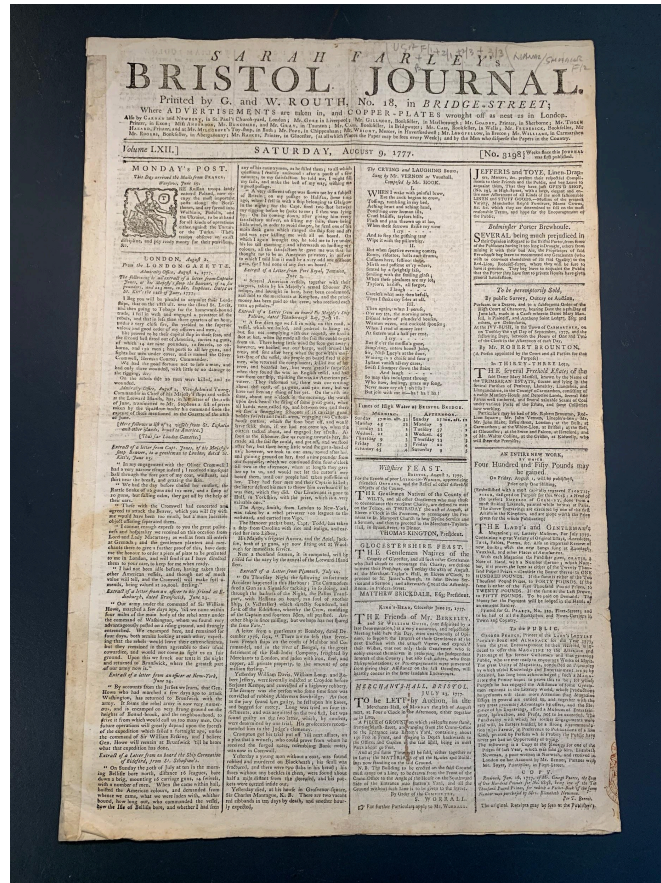


Figure 4. 9 August 1777 edition of Sarah Farley’s *Bristol Journal* as printed by the Routh brothers. [British Library](#).

While Sarah seemingly ended the Farley feud by bequeathing the newspaper to Hester, there was no shortage of animosity between other members of the print trade. As Latimer summarizes, “Sarah’s former foreman and clerk, annoyed at not being chosen as her successors, set up *Bonner and Middleton’s Bristol Journal* in August, 1774, so that there were three local papers [*Bristol Journals*] of the same name” (293). *Sarah Farley’s Bristol Journal* eventually came to a close at the end of the eighteenth century when its new owners could not maintain it.

According to a BBTI entry entitled “Mrs. Farley” and a study by C.Y. Ferdinand, Hester was also connected to the *Salisbury Journal*, a newspaper that Samuel I attempted to establish throughout his early career. However, she only

ever contributed to one issue in 1770 before marrying writer **Thomas Rutter** in 1780 and disappearing from the imprints altogether.

Details for: FARLEY, Mrs	
Name:	FARLEY, Mrs
County:	Gloucestershire
Town:	Bristol
Address(es):	None
Book Trades:	Printer, Newsagent/vendor/man/news agent
Non-Book Trade:	Not known
Trading Dates:	1770 - 1770
Biographical Dates:	1770 - 1770
Notes:	Agent for 'Salisbury Journal'. Possibly the same as or related to Hester Farley
Sources:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Ferdinand, Christine, 'The Salisbury Journal 1729-1785: a study of a provincial newspaper', DPhil. Thesis, Oxford University (1990)

Figure 5. “Mrs Farley” as recorded in the **BBTI**.

The WPHP includes a **Person** record called **Mrs. Farley**, although it is unclear who this elusive figure was as they did not sign the imprints or elsewhere with their first name, and the only title attributed to them is undigitized. As Kate and Kandice discuss in the **Season 3, Episode 1** of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, we regularly encounter incomplete forms of attribution that do not fully capture an author’s identity. While there are no records of Elizabeth or Sarah putting pen to paper, there are clues, however, that suggest that Mrs. Farley may be Hester. First, while Hester was as only ever recorded as a printer in her lifetime, she did edit at least one book. For example, she took Thomas’s last name when they married, and, years after his death, edited **a collection of his works** in 1803 under her married name, “Hester Rutter.” Rather than print and sell the work herself, she collaborated with **William Phillips**, who undertook these roles. Her editorial note at the end of the collection reveals that her husband was a “tender and affectionate Husband and Father, anxiously concerned that his beloved children might remember their Creator in the days of their youth, and not be ashamed of the cross of Christ” (27). It is unknown how many children they had or what their names were.

It is also entirely possible that Mrs. Farley is a woman unrelated to Hester, Sarah, or Elizabeth. Indeed, the only title attributed to Mrs. Farley in the WPHP is the **second edition of *Hymns and Reflections***, published (possibly) in 1835. If Hester was indeed involved with this book, it is likely a reprint given that she died in 1806. Further, the title was also produced in Birmingham and Hester was not known to live or work outside of Bristol during her lifetime.

While Elizabeth and Sarah are generally identifiable through their family, friends, and the newspaper trades more broadly, the printed traces of Hester’s work are not exposed in the same ways. Given how quickly she severed ties with *Sarah Farley’s Bristol Journal* and the *Salisbury Journal*, it is likely that her fleeting participation in the newspaper trade

largely affects her recoverability. The Bristol rather than London premises from which the Farley women printed, sold, and published also influences their traceability in the archives.

Largely hidden behind the contributions of their husbands, uncles, and the feuds that separated them, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Hester Farley render visible an enriching Bristol book history that spans twenty years and possibly further. As this spotlight has shown, women were not only active participants in the book trades, but they often undertook more than one role. While sources primarily point to the printing businesses of the Farley men, the Farley women further contributed to the book trade as printers, publishers, booksellers, and in Hester’s case, editors, as well. Alongside the other firms that will be discussed [in this spotlight series](#), the Farleys point us to only a portion of female-run businesses that deserve—and demand—our full attention.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the British Library staff for helping me track down the Farley newspapers.

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[“A Search for Firm Evidence: Uncovering Ann Sancho, Bookseller”](#) (spotlight by Kate Moffatt)

[“Ann Lemoine: England’s First Female Chapbook Publisher”](#) (spotlight by Sara Penn)

[“Sarah Belzoni’s \(Not So\) Trifling Account of Women in Egypt, Nubia and Syria”](#) (spotlight by Victoria DeHart)

[Sources](#) (Explore Sources)

[Spotlighting](#) (spotlights)

[Kate Moffatt](#) (Meet Our Team)

[British Book Trade Index](#) (source)

[Samuel Farley II](#) (firm)

[Project Methodology](#) (data model)

[Genres](#) (Explore Genres)

[Farley, Elizabeth I](#) (firm)

[Hymns and Sacred Poems](#) (title)

[Hume, Sophia](#) (person)

[A caution to such as observe days and times: to which is added, an address to magistrates, parents, masters of families, &c.](#)

(title)

[James Dodsley](#) (firm)

[George Kearsley](#) (firm)

[Thomas Davies](#) (firm)

[John Almon](#) (firm)

John Walter (firm)
Sarah Farley (firm,)
Thomas Cadell (firm)
Thomas Carnan and Francis Newberry (firm)
W. Frederick (firm)
Deverall, Mary (person)
A search after happiness: a pastoral. In three dialogues. By a young lady. (title)
Hester Farley (firm)
Rutter, Thomas (person)
Person (Explore Persons)
Farley, Mrs. (person)
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Hymns and Reflections (title)

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Further Reading

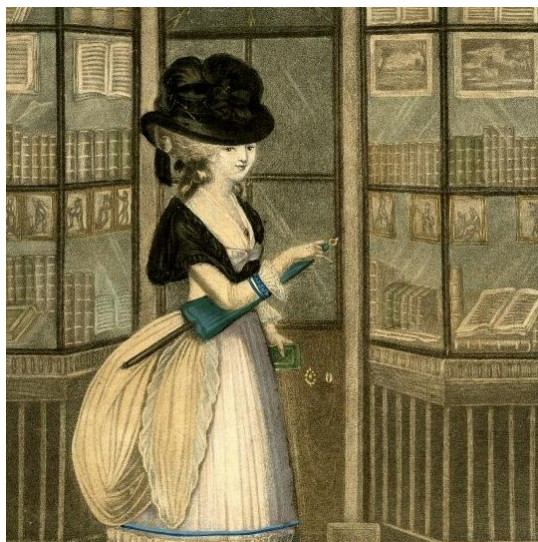
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The Women's Print History Project

A Royal Printer: Agnes Campbell in Scotland's Book Trade [Spotlight]

Authored by Julianna Wagar

Edited by Michelle Levy, Kate Moffatt, and Sara Penn

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Wagar, Julianna. "A Royal Printer: Agnes Campbell in Scotland's Book Trade." *The Women's Print History Project*, 19 August 2022, <https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/114>.

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A Royal Printer: Agnes Campbell in Scotland's Book Trade

Julianna Wagar

This post is part of our [Down the Rabbit Hole: Researching Women in the Book Trades](#) Spotlight Series, which will run through August 2022. This series seeks to make transparent some of the processes, challenges, and editorial choices our team has to make while falling down the inevitable rabbit holes involved in finding, and creating data for, women in the book trades.



Figure 1. Imprint from *The Principal acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*. ECCO.

For our “Down the Rabbit Hole: Researching Women in the Book Trades” spotlight series, I was particularly interested in researching a Scottish woman’s firm, and one of the most prolific women in the eighteenth-century Scottish book trades is [Agnes Campbell](#). [Campbell](#) worked as a printer for more than forty years, and for the majority of those years, held the position of the King’s and Queen’s Printer. Her career in this role began after she inherited the business from her husband, Andrew Anderson, who died in 1676. Now remembered as “The most wealthy, renowned and misunderstood of . . . successful [Scottish] women, Agnes Campbell, Lady Roseburn (1637–1716), symbolises both the possibilities for women and the condition of the Scottish book trade” (Mann 2). [Campbell](#)’s career is well-documented due to this enviable and highly visible position that was mainly occupied by men. Her legacy is more than the 800 works that she printed—it is also her success in maintaining this position as a woman after her husband died for the duration of what was left of their forty-one year patent.

Agnes Campbell was born in 1637 and baptised in Edinburgh on 1 September 1637, to Isobel Orr and James Campbell. In approximately 1635, Andrew Anderson, Campbell's eventual husband, was born to Isobel Aitcheson and George Anderson. His father was a very successful printer in Glasgow and later Edinburgh, but George Anderson died early in his career and his wife, Isobel, took over the business from 1648 to 1653. Andrew Anderson took over the business in 1653, and it was the beginning of a career that would span twenty-three years, accumulate £7,451 Scottish pounds of debt (ODNB), and end with his death in 1676. From 1653 to 1661, Anderson ran the family business under his own imprint; in 1663, he became the burgh and printer for the University of Edinburgh (ODNB). In 1671, Andrew Anderson was awarded the title of King's Printer, a highly sought after position which gave him the exclusive right to print political and religious texts, such as the Bible in Scotland, for the reigning King or Queen. Anderson's patent was for forty-one years. From 1676, the year of his passing, until 1712, however, Agnes Campbell managed this business.

Agnes Campbell is now most commonly referred to as Agnes Campbell, her maiden name, in scholarship; however, throughout her life she was referred to by four names. When working with women, names can be vital for recovering both biographical and business information, and how they displayed themselves on the works they produced can sometimes tell us about their marital or class status. After marrying Andrew Anderson in 1656, Campbell is referred to as "Mrs. Anderson" or "the relict of Andrew Anderson," linking her back to her husband—and his patent—even after his death (Mann 133). "Mrs. Anderson" and "the relict of Andrew Anderson" both gesture to the fact that she holds this position due to Andrew Anderson's patent that was passed down to his wife and children. In fact, Agnes Campbell is never named on the title pages of her publications due to the legalities of that patent, which outlined that future imprints must be published under the "heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson" (Mann 137). Campbell is mainly referred to as "the relict of Andrew Anderson" after her patent expires in 1712 (ESTC). Campbell remarries in 1681 to Patrick Telfer; however, she is scarcely referred to as Mrs. Telfer, as they were estranged by 1690 (Mann 135). Her final name is Lady Roseburn, a title that highlights her wealth at the end of her life. Campbell obtained the lands of Roseburn, Dalry in 1704, due to her success in the book trade (ODNB). For this spotlight series, it is important to recognize the challenge of finding women in imprints, as their names often change with marriage or are referred to by their husband's titles, imprints, or names, like Campbell with Andrew Anderson and his position as the King's Printer. Part of working on women in the book trades is discovering the various names that women had or printed under in order to find the works they contributed to producing, and to establish as full a picture as possible of their work. In this spotlight, I will use her maiden name and the name she is most commonly remembered by, but not printed under, Campbell.



Figure 2. "Roseburn House." J. R. Russell, Edinburgh. <https://www.scotland.org.uk/guide/castles/roseburn-house>.

As referenced above, Agnes Campbell printed as the "heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson," and produced more than 800 works (ESTC) during her 36 years as the King's and Queen's Printer, which are still being added to the WPHP. The information of the Andersons patent is as follows:

King Charles the Second, the 12th of May, 1671. Granted a Patent to Andrew Anderson deceased, and his Assigness, to be His Majesties Printer in Scotland, with the Sole Power of Printing Bibles, New Testaments, all Acts of Parliament, and everything Published by Authority, for and during the Term of Forty one Years. (Baskett 1)

Anderson and Campbell were also "'Masters Directors and Regulators of his Majesties office of Printing' with power to police imports of books within the gift, to prevent printers setting up who had not served the appropriate apprenticeship to the art, and, subject to the Privy Council, had the 'privilege of secluding and debarring all others . . . [of the] freedoms and immunities' of trade" (137). Anderson was granted this position under Charles II, but the Andersons' forty-one year patent remained through the reign of James VI of Scotland and II in England (1685–1688), Mary II (1689–1694), William II in Scotland and III in England (1689–1702), and Anne, Queen of Great Britain (1702–1714).

The Anderson patent was cause for suspicion due to the length and "wide-ranging supervisory powers . . . [that] had no precedent in Scottish book history" (Mann 137). During the reign of James I, specifically between 1616 and 1620, the King's and Queen's Printer position in England was transferred from Robert Barker to John Bill and, finally, to Bonham Norton (Wakely and Rees 468). With Anderson's patent, on the other hand, the position was maintained by Andrew Anderson and Campbell alone for their entire forty-one year allotment. Previous Royal Printers relied on each other for help and money, often joining forces and working together (Wakely and Rees 468). In fact, Barker, Bill,

and Norton worked together despite competing against each other for the King's and Queen's Printer position (Wakely and Rees 468). Their teamwork may have been due to the Stationers' Company of England, which Mann highlights as inspiration for Scotland and their desire to establish a similar "society of printers" (Wakely and Rees 137); as Ian Gadd explains, the Stationers' Company of England was a "Guild of Stationers" who were "secured from outside competition" (Gadd). Thus, while the print trade in England was not without its own conflict, it held a different set of standards for their stationers, which Scotland sought to mirror.

While Barker, Bill, and Norton relied on each other for support, Campbell created a network of people through apprentices. Apprentices were used to train new people who may work their way up into a senior position, which "afforded opportunities for patronage or for establishing consolidating networks for obligation" (60). Agnes Campbell successfully networked her business in this fashion, and in just two years following Anderson's death she had "no less than sixteen apprentices" (Mann 13). These apprentices allowed her to grow her own business and teach her trade to up and coming printers in Edinburgh.

The majority of Campbell's publications that I have researched have been political materials that the King or Queen wanted to be documented, such as *An Account of the Glorious Victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough over the French* (1708). Political materials were a common publication for the King's and Queen's Printer, and would often be printed with short notice (Wakely and Rees 140). Royal proclamations specifically were quite short and followed a typical formula, ranging from one to three folio sheets printed on one side only (140–41). Many of Campbell's records in the ESTC are one page with a similar title and short paragraph below; this common format may have allowed them to print these works more efficiently. While we have no documentation of Campbell's print runs during her time as the King's and Queen's Printer that might provide a sense of just how many copies Campbell was producing, Wakely and Rees documented the print run for Robert Barker, the King's Printer in London under James I, and he printed anywhere from 500 to 1300 copies of royal proclamations (142).

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
Glorious Victory obtained by the Duke of
Marlborough over the *French*.

Windsor, July 5th, 1708.

THE Earl of *Stair* is just now Arrived here with the agreeable News from the Duke of *Marlborough* to Her Majesty, of an intire Victory obtained by his Grace over the *French* near *Audenard*, on *Wednesday* the 30th *June*. The Duke of *Marlborough* being Informed, That the *French* intended to Besiege *Audenard*, and to take Possession of a Camp, which had they done, would have Prevented the Dukes Relieving the Town; But his Grace Dispos'd his Army so, that he got Possession of that Camp, which the *French* thought to have got. This made the *French* take an other Rout, but the Duke Marched so Early on *Wednesday* Morning, that after a March of Five Leagues, he Past the River *Scheldt*, and Forced them to a Battel. The Action began to be Warm about 6 at Night, and lasted till it was Dark. We have taken and made Prisoners 7000 Common Men, 13 or 14 General Officers, and 70 Colours and Standards. The Action was mostly of the Foot, and it may be Reckoned that the *French* Infantry, are intirely Ruined. The Remains of their Army retired under *Ohent*. Its probable they may have a good deal of Difficulty to get Home from thence. The Loss on Our side is very inconsiderable, and no Body of Note Killed. The Queen ordered Publick Prayers at Five a Clock for this happy Victory.

Edinburgh, Printed by the Heirs and Successors of *Andrew Anderson*, Printer to the Queens most Excellent Majesty, *Anno* D O M. 1708.

Figure 3. Copy of an Act for securing the true Protestant religion, and Presbyterian government. ECCO.

Campbell also printed religious texts, and most particularly the Bible. She printed editions of the Bible and distributed them around Scotland and, up until 1681 when it was protested, England (Mann 139). This was a large source of money for Campbell; she printed at least three editions in 1679, 1673, and 1688 (Anderson 2). It is not stated how many Bibles were printed in each print run; however, in relation to Barker, Bill, and Norton's print run of the Bible in London, Wakely and Rees note that "as monopolists the King's Printers could not afford to run out of stock [of the Bible]. They had to be ready to supply the market but they also had to ensure that they did not lock up too much capital in wares waiting for customers" (166). Considering that Campbell was the sole printer of Bibles in Scotland, she would have understood the daily market and sales of the Bible and printed accordingly (166). She also printed many religious texts outside of the Bible, which were often related to reinforcing religious beliefs, such as the *Act for securing the true Protestant religion, and Presbyterian government* (1702).

While working as the King's and Queen's Printer was a large income for Campbell, she also worked as a book merchant in the years following her husband's death. Mann explains that "her printing and paper supply business had become the focal point for a large trading zone beyond Edinburgh, covering all the burghs of Scotland and reaching into Ireland. Stock and paper were supplied to the printers of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Belfast, and books to the booksellers of Londonderry, Belfast, Inverness, Dundee, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Kilmarnock, Dumfries, Newcastle and many other centres" (133–34). Mann adds that Campbell was also their paper provider; she was not only loaning money and obtaining interest, but she was making that money back immediately through her paper sales (134). Her

immense wealth is attributed to her “activities as a paper wholesaler - she held over £3000 worth of paper stock in 1716 - . . . but the key explanation was her wide geographical network of commercial customers and agents” (Mann 134). She had a large network of people to rely on, which is difficult to express in the WPHP database. Her networking was a significant aspect of her wealth, but is not as easily captured in our data as we do not collect the role of paper sellers. Thus, all of these business endeavours not only led to her success, but her ability to stand out and be remembered amongst the many male printers and publishers in Scotland. She was not only a woman printing for the King or Queen, she was a successful and wealthy businesswoman who deviated from her husband’s legacy and worked her way up the market.

However, while her legacy is one of success, her business was constantly being targeted and attacked by men who wanted to take over the lucrative position of the King’s or Queen’s Printer. In *A brief reply to the letter from Edinburgh, relating to the case of Mrs. Anderson, Her Majesty’s printer in Scotland* (1711/12), that is likely authored and printed by Campbell, she makes these attacks known and outlines exactly what her rivals, James Watson and Robert Freebairn, did to tarnish her name. She names them explicitly, writing, “Mr. Freebairn knowing his Case could not otherwise be supported, carried it on by heaping Slanders and abominable Forgeries, and suggesting infinite Scandalous Things upon Mrs. Anderson, both as to her Employment, her Principles, and the Management of her Affairs” (1).

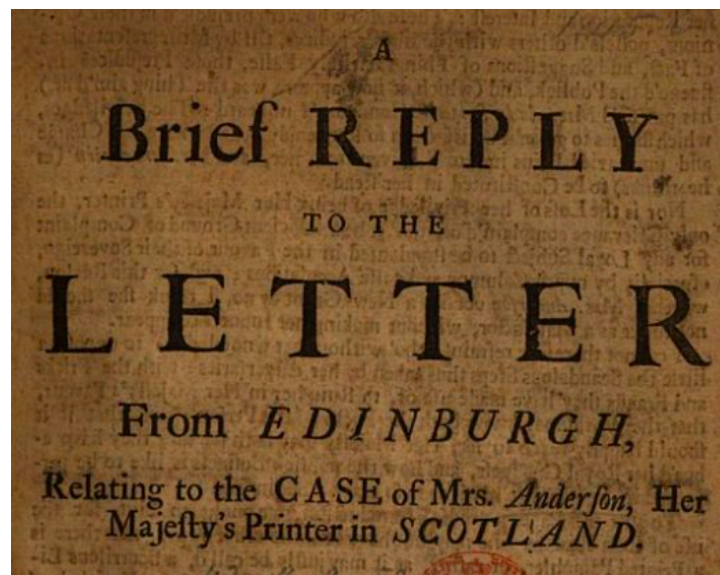


Figure 4. Title page from *A Brief Reply to the Letter from Edinburgh, Relating to the Case of Mrs. Anderson, Her Majesty’s Printer in Scotland*. *Google Books*.

Before March 1711, when Watson and Freebairn were to petition for the next King’s and Queen’s patent, they began to attack Campbell’s past work, attempting to permanently destroy her reputation. For example, they charged her with a purposeful error in her 1679 printing of the Bible. They believed that she “printed the Word ye for we . . . to support Presbyterian Principles” (3). Campbell defends her business, stating that their charge was “an abhorr’d Forgery and Cheat . . . by the same Party Malice that now rages” (3). Further, Watson and Freebairn switched the title page from

Campbell's Bible to a Dutch version, so that they "might load Mrs. Anderson's with the Errors of a Foreign Impression" (5). Campbell's entire career was under threat by Watson and Freebairn, who believed that the way to become the King's or Queen's Printer was by destroying the name of the current one. However, Campbell begins her *Brief Reply* with a statement of confidence:

Mrs. Anderson by her Agent here, defended herself against those Bullets shot in the Dark, as well as she might, and had the happiness to detect and expose some of those Slanders, very much to the Satisfaction of some Persons of Honour, who express'd their just Detestation of the Practice, as well as their Resentment at the Attempt made by Mr. Freebairn. (1)

While none of these charges held any legal merit and Campbell confidently rebuffed them, such a response also demonstrates that she was concerned with the consequences of their slander on her reputation, and the future of her printing press.

This *Brief Reply* was printed after the expiration of Campbell's patent as an attempt to repair her reputation by publicly challenging the attacks of Watson, Freebairn, and other printers in Edinburgh. Campbell herself notes that while people were inclined to believe her story, her patent was over with no opportunity to be renewed, and she had lost the public's interest in her: "those Prejudices influenc'd the Publick, and has procur'd Mrs. Anderson to be Condemn'd unheard; The Priviledges, which she has to general Satisfaction so long enjoy'd, and with great Charge and unwearied Pains improv'd, given from her, and Mr. Freebairn to be Constituted in her stead" (2). Indeed, considering that she was no longer their King's or Queen's Printer, the future of her business was of little consequence to them. Thus, Campbell printed this *Brief Reply* in order to share her story and convince the public that her name and business was well established and transpired under proper circumstances.

But this was not, fortunately, where Campbell's business met its end. In 1712, she was chosen to be the new printer to the Kirk, or the Church, of Scotland. In this position, she was permitted to print supplemental religious texts but not the Bible, as that was reserved for the new King's and Queen's printer (Mann 140). She flouted this law, however, and in 1713, was fined £500 sterling for continuing to print Bibles and other government papers (140). As mentioned above, Campbell was quite wealthy by this time and £500 sterling was not a career-ending fine. She paid it, and continued to work in her new position as the Kirk printer, foregoing the illegal printing of Bibles and instead producing the allowed supplemental religious documents, such as *Advice to communicants, for necessary preparation, and profitable improvement of the great and comfortable ordinance of the Lord's Supper: that therein true spiritual communion with Christ may be obtained, and the eternal enjoyment of God sealed* (1714).

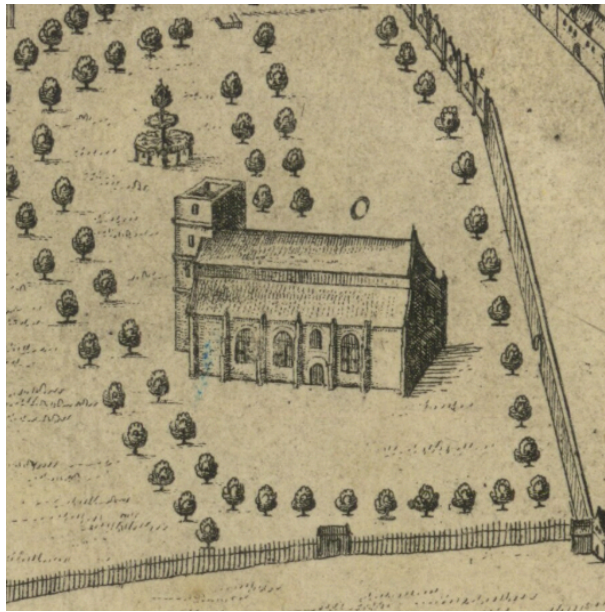


Figure 5. Greyfriars Kirk, 1647. *Wikipedia.*

Campbell was unable to enjoy her position for long, as she died in 1716 on the 24th of July with a fortune of £78,197 Scottish pounds for her children (ODNB). She was buried at Greyfriars Churchyard in Edinburgh three days later. Her business was passed down to her daughters and their husbands—the newest set of heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson. Very little information is recorded about their family business, but Campbell’s daughters, notably **Elizabeth** and **Issobell Anderson**, maintained the role of printer to the Kirk until around 1726. It is possible that **Elizabeth** and **Issobell** were involved before their mother passed away; when Campbell was charged and fined for illegally printing Bibles, the decree states that the Bibles were “printed by the said Agnes Campbell, her daughters, grandchildren, and the husbands as married” (Mann 135). Elizabeth and Issobell Anderson are scarcely documented, likely because they did not hold a prestigious position like their mother. The Anderson family history reveals the gaps missing within women’s histories and the unfortunate realities of women’s erasure. While Campbell is well-documented and significant to the history of Scotland’s book trade due to her role as King’s and Queen’s Printer, her daughters and the information Campbell passed down was forgotten.

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Agnes Campbell (firm)

An Account of the Glorious Victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough over the French (title, first edition)

Act for securing the true Protestant religion, and Presbyterian government (title, first edition)

A brief reply to the letter from Edinburgh, relating to the case of Mrs. Anderson, Her Majesty’s printer in Scotland (title, first edition)

Advice to communicants, for necessary preparation, and profitable improvement of the great and comfortable ordinance of the Lord's Supper: that therein true spiritual communion with Christ may be obtained, and the eternal enjoyment of God sealed (title, second edition)

Anderson, Elizabeth (person)

Anderson, Issobell (person)

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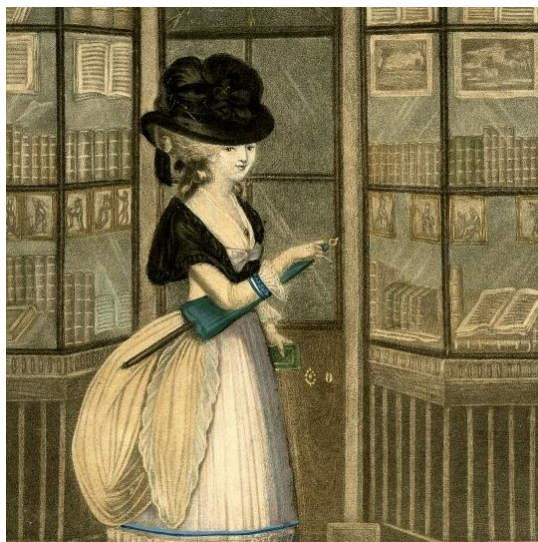
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The Women's Print History Project

Printed (Bound, Published, and Sold) by Jane Aitken [Spotlight]

Authored by Amanda Law

Edited by Michelle Levy, Kate Moffatt, and Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Law, Amanda. "Printed (Bound, Published, and Sold) by Jane Aitken." *The Women's Print History Project*, 26 August 2022, <https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/115>.

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Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council of Canada

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Printed (Bound, Published, and Sold) by Jane Aitken

Amanda Law

This post is part of our *Down the Rabbit Hole: Researching Women in the Book Trades* Spotlight Series, which will run through August 2022. This series seeks to make transparent some of the processes, challenges, and editorial choices our team has to make while falling down the inevitable rabbit holes involved in finding, and creating data for, women in the book trades.

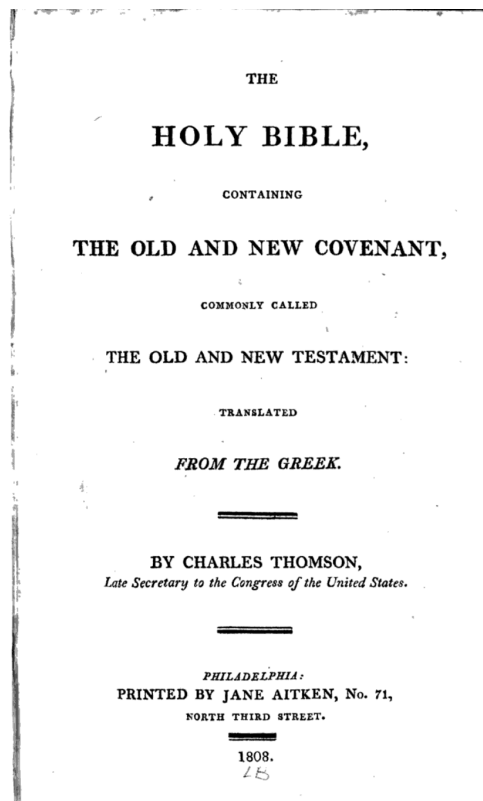


Figure 1. Charles Thomson. Title page of *The Holy Bible, containing The Old and New Covenant, commonly called The Old and New Testament: translated From the Greek*, 1808. *Google Books*.

Of the one hundred and sixteen titles the WPHP contains for American printer, publisher, bookseller, and bookbinder *Jane Aitken* (1764–1832), all but four contain imprints that identify Aitken as only the printer. While Aitken’s most common imprint—“Printed by Jane Aitken” followed by her address—provides us with information unavailable for many other women-run firms operating in the same period, specifically her full name and address, it does not supply the complete picture of Aitken’s labour behind each title. The four imprints that stand out identify Aitken as a publisher and bookseller, providing explicit evidence that she occupied these roles, and raising questions of what information is not visible when an imprint states only that a book was printed by Aitken.

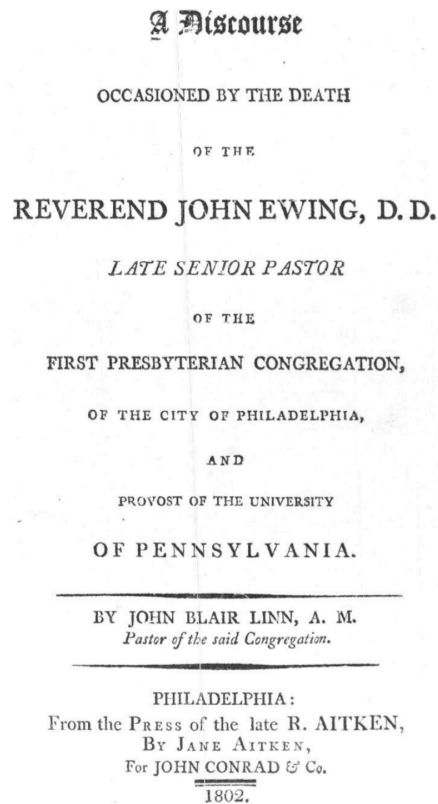


Figure 2. John Blair Linn. Title page of *A discourse occasioned by the death of the Reverend John Ewing, D.D.*, 1802. AAS.

At her first location, **No. 20 North Third Street, Philadelphia**, from where she operated her business between 1802 and 1805, Aitken worked under three imprints. Most often, she utilized the aforementioned “Printed by Jane Aitken,” but occasionally imprints appeared as “From the press of the late R. Aitken, By Jane Aitken,” such as in **Jon Blair Linn**’s 1802 *A discourse occasioned by the death of the Reverend John Ewing, D.D.* Aitken inherited the printing and bookbinding business from her father, **Robert Aitken**, after his death in 1802. In Scotland, where Jane Aitken was born, Robert Aitken ran a stationer’s shop and circulating library, and continued working as a bookseller, printer, and bookbinder after relocating with his family to Philadelphia in 1771. Despite the fact that there is no indication of her involvement in his imprints, it is assumed Jane Aitken must have been involved in her father’s business before she officially inherited it—though for how long and in what capacity is unclear. The American Philosophical Society notes that “based on her own proficiency and the similarity and continuity of bookbinding and printing styles sustained long after her father’s death, Aitken must have learned the bookbinding and printing trades at an early age” (Jane Aitken Papers). In addition, the APS’s “Jane Aitken Papers” contain letters and accounts regarding Robert Aitken’s business in Jane Aitken’s handwriting. She eventually stopped operating in association with her father’s name at her second location (No. 62 North Third Street)—the last title printed by Jane Aitken with the imprint “from the press of the late R. Aitken” is **James Janeway**’s *A Token for Children*, published in 1806.

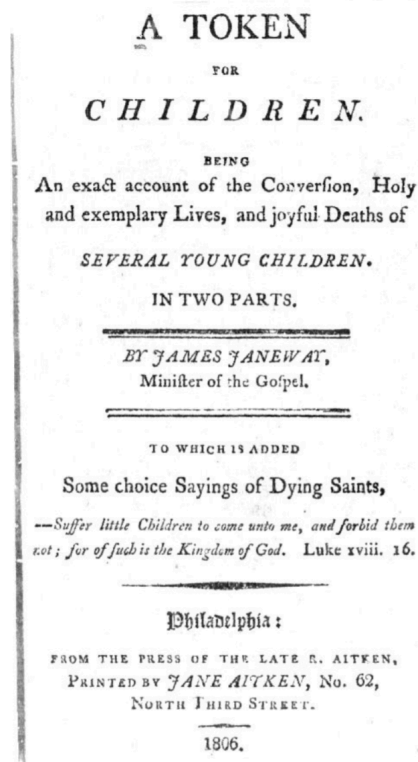


Figure 3. James Janeway. Title page of *A Token for Children*, 1806. [AAS](#).

The imprint that associates Aitken with her father, however, identifies Aitken as solely a printer. At No. 20 North Third Street, Aitken printed a single title that gestures to the other aspects of the book trade in which she was involved: the 1803 *Constitution of the Female Association of Philadelphia, for the Relief of Women and Children, in Reduced Circumstances*. This imprint reads “Printed by Jane Aitken, bookseller and stationer, No. 20, North Third Street.” Without this one title, a survey of Aitken’s early imprints would suggest that she was only a printer. This begs the question of whether Aitken sold all the books she printed, despite this going unmentioned in her imprints. Furthermore, was she also the publisher of the books with imprints that only name her as a printer, and that do not name any publishers? An advertisement in the 2 September 1803 issue of the *Aurora General Advertiser* suggests this could be the case. The advertisement reads “Just published, and for sale by Jane Aitken, No 20, North Third Street, *A Report of the case of the Commonwealth vs. Tench Coxe, Esq. in a motion on behalf of the Holland Company for a mandamus in the Supreme court.*” The imprint of this 1803 title—“Printed by Jane Aitken, no. 20, north Third Street”—does not indicate that she published and sold it. The roles the *Advertiser* assigns to Aitken are absent from the imprint, demonstrating that Aitken did much more work in the production and sale of her books than is captured in her imprint data.

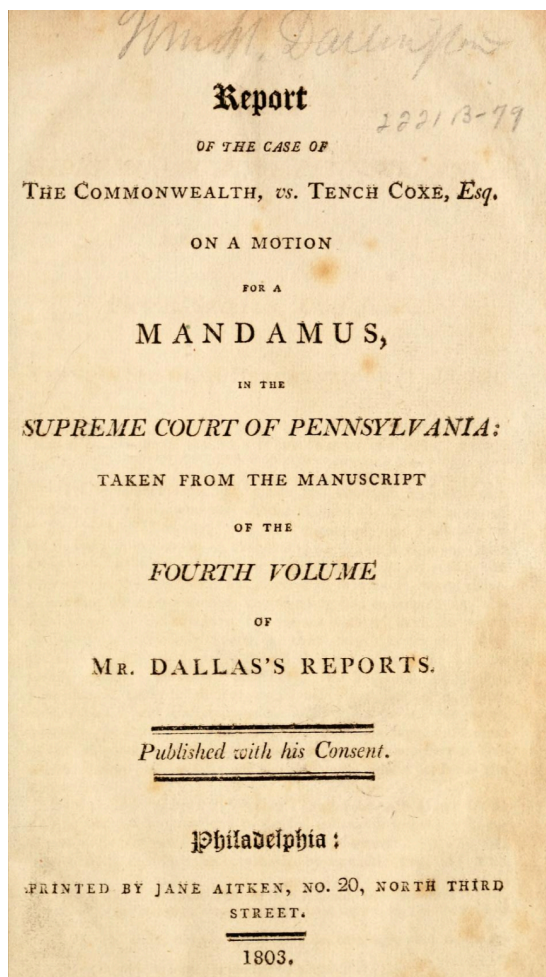


Figure 4. Alexander James Dallas. Title page of *Report of the case of The Commonwealth, vs. Tench Coxe, Esq. on a motion for a Mandamus, in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania*, 1803. [Internet Archive](#).

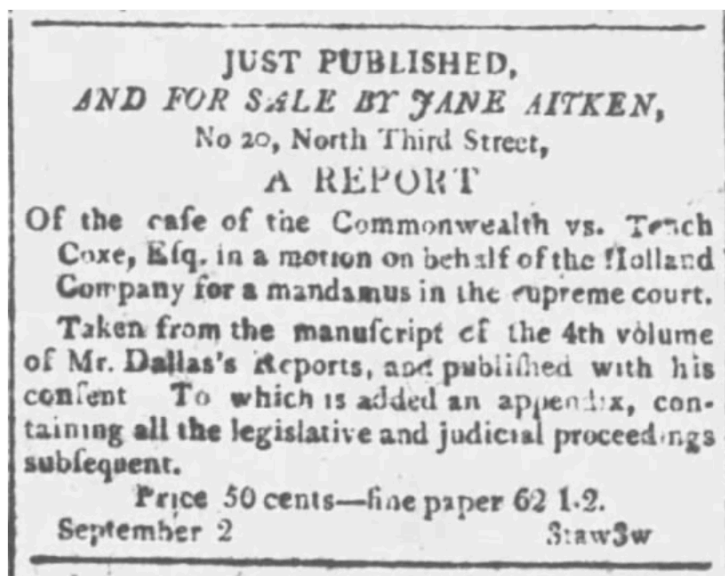


Figure 5. Advertisement in the September 2 issue of the *Aurora General Advertiser*, 1803. [Newspapers.com](#).

Aitken's three other unique imprints suggest similar patterns of data that are not visible in her regular imprints. She operated from her second location, **No. 62 North Third Street**, for a brief period from 1806 to 1807, and there, printed and sold *Catechismi Westmonasteriensis minoris* (1807) which has an imprint that states "Excudit Jana Aitken, apud quam prostat venale." This is the only title at this location which contains an imprint that indicates Aitken did more than print publications and that she sold them as well. The 10 February 1807 issue of the *Aurora General Advertiser* further establishes her role as a bookseller at this location by referring to her business as "Miss Jane Aitken's Book-store, No. 62, north Third street."

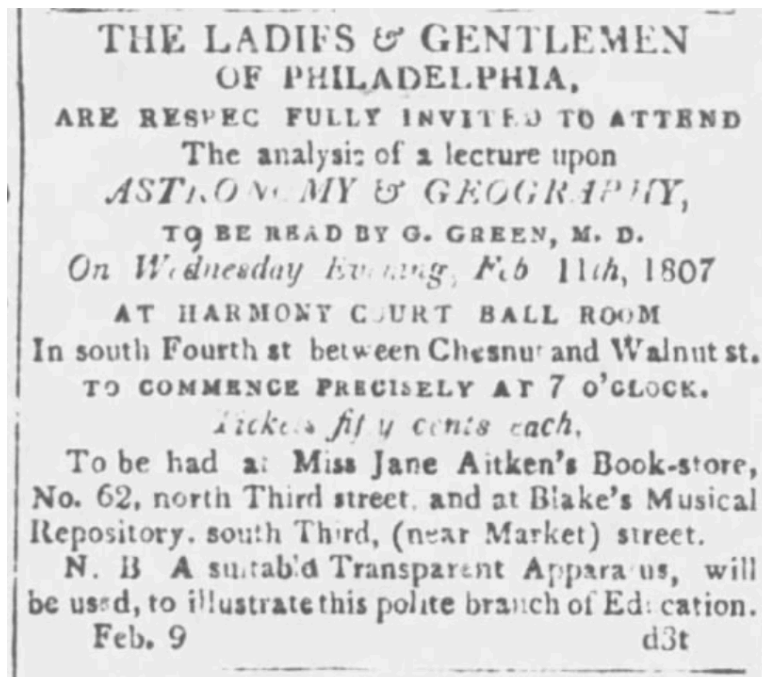


Figure 6. Advertisement in the February 10 issue of the *Aurora General Advertiser*, 1807. *Newspapers.com*.

At her last location, **No. 71 North Third Street**, where she worked from 1808 to 1813, she printed over half her titles. Here, Aitken printed one title with an imprint that attributed the printing and bookselling to herself, *An Investigation of the Conduct and Proceedings of the Commissioners of Insolvents and their Secretary* (1812) and an advertisement for *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture* (Vol. I, Vol. II) that named her as the book's publisher and bookseller. In the *Memoirs* itself, however, the imprint reads "Printed by Jane Aitken, No. 71, North Third Street." Taken altogether, these four unique imprints and advertisements suggest that Aitken was not only a printer, but often a bookseller and publisher as well.

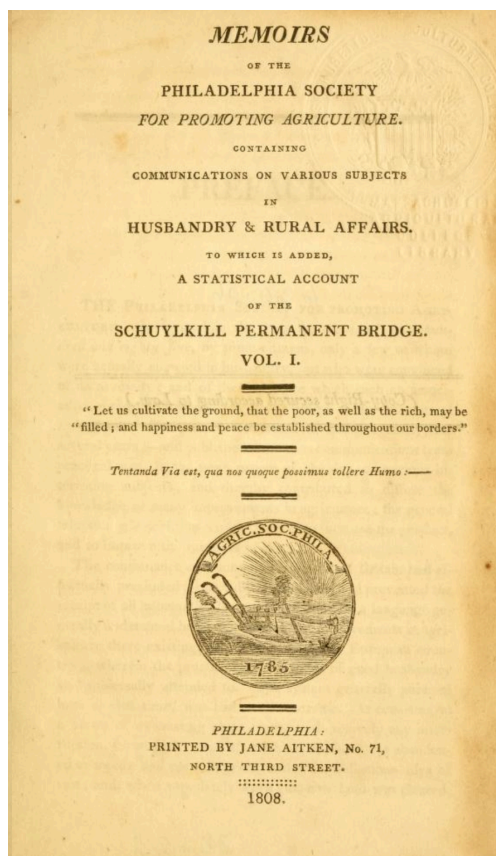


Figure 7. Title page of *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, Vol. I. 1808. *Internet Archive*.

Even more difficult to capture in our data is Aitken's extensive book binding work. The APS states that "[t]he extant bound editions of her work include some four hundred volumes for the American Philosophical Society, a number of author's presentation copies of her imprints and the first receipt ledger for the *Athenaeum* of Philadelphia."

Additionally, Carol M. Spawn, citing a letter from Aitken to Ebenezer Hazard dated 5 November 1804, observes that Aitken "sometimes had to depend entirely on her bookbinding for support" (26), despite being such a prolific printer. This information suggests that bookbinding was lucrative and may have constituted a significant portion of Aitken's business. The WPHP does not record bookbinding in our data because the digitizations we rely on to verify most of our titles do not include covers; nor are book binders identified in the imprint, as binding was often done after and apart from printing and selling. Binding is also copy-specific whereas we record our titles by edition. The American Antiquarian Society holds a copy of *The Book of Common Prayer* of which the binding is attributed to Aitken and the catalogue record of which can be viewed [here](#).

Analyzing Aitken's imprints demonstrates that while imprints are important for the information they can provide, they often do not supply the complete picture of a woman's involvement in the book trades. It is only by looking at all the imprints as well as external sources such as advertisements and the physical copies of books that we get a better idea of the full scope of Aitken's, and many other women's, labour.

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Thomson, Charles (person, author)

The Holy Bible, containing The Old and New Covenant, commonly called The Old and New Testament: translated From the Greek (title)

Aitken, Jane (person; printer, publisher, bookseller)

Jane Aitken [No. 20 North Third Street] (firm; printer, publisher, bookseller)

Linn, John Blair (person, author)

A discourse occasioned by the death of the Reverend John Ewing, D.D. (title)

Robert Aitken (firm; printer, bookseller)

Janeway, James (person, author)

A Token for Children (title)

Constitution of the Female Association of Philadelphia, for the Relief of Women and Children, in Reduced Circumstances (title)

Report of the case of The Commonwealth, vs. Tench Coxe, Esq. on a motion for a Mandamus, in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (title)

Dallas, Alexander James (person, author)

Jane Aitken [No. 62 North Third Street] (firm; printer, publisher, bookseller)

Catechismi Westmonasteriensis minoris (title)

Jane Aitken [No. 71 North Third Street] (firm; printer, publisher, bookseller)

An Investigation of the Conduct and Proceedings of the Commissioners of Insolvents and their Secretary (title)

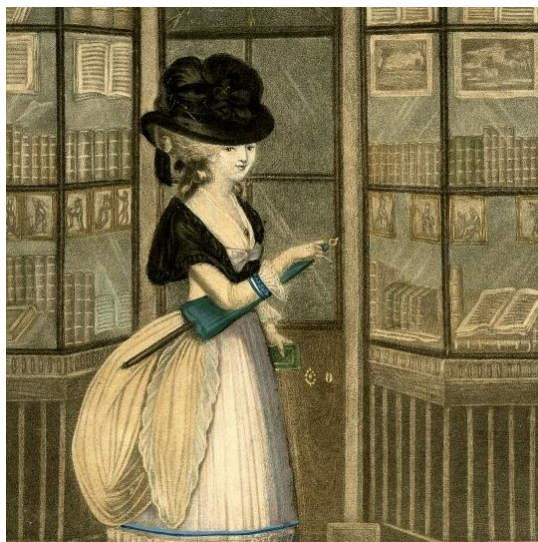
Agricultural memoirs (title, advertisement)

Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture [Vol. I, Vol. II] (title)

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The Women's Print History Project

Hidden in the Imprints: Introducing Ann Vernor, Bookseller and Publisher, Active 1793–1807 [Spotlight]

Authored by Isabella (Belle) Eist

Edited by Michelle Levy, Kandice Sharren, and Kate Moffatt

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Eist, Isabella. "Hidden in the Imprints: Introducing Ann Vernor, Bookseller and Publisher, Active 1793–1807." *The Women's Print History Project*, 2 September 2022, <https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/117>.

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Hidden in the Imprints: Introducing Ann Vernor, Bookseller and Publisher, Active 1793–1807

Isabelle (Belle) Eist

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ID	Name	Street Address	City	Start Date	End date
6795	Williams and Vernor	Ludgate Hill	London (GB)	1764	1764
4045	Thomas Vernor [Newgate]	31 Newgate Street	London (GB)	1766	1767
2732	John Chater and Thomas Vernor	Ludgate Hill	London (GB)	1767	
4046	Thomas Vernor [Ludgate Hill]	Ludgate Hill	London (GB)	1767	1767
4044	Marsh and Vernor	31 Newgate Street	London (GB)	1768	1768
4043	Thomas Vernor and Co. [Newgate]	31 Newgate Street	London (GB)	1769	1770
4042	Thomas Vernor and Co. [Bishopsgate]	86 Bishopsgate Street	London (GB)	1770	1770
4041	Thomas Vernor and Co. [St. Michael's Alley]	St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill	London (GB)	1771	1785
6799	Thomas Vernor [Fore]	Fore Street	London (GB)	1779	1784
1232	Thomas Vernor [Birchin Lane]	10 Birchin Lane, Cornhill	London (GB)	1786	1793
114	Thomas Vernor and Thomas Hood [Birchin Lane]	10 Birchin Lane, Cornhill	London (GB)	1793	1794
6116	Ann Vernor and Thomas Hood [Birchin Lane]	10 Birchin Lane, Cornhill	London (GB)	1794	1797
2731	Ann Vernor and Thomas Hood [Poultry]	31 Poultry	London (GB)	1797	1806
508	Ann Vernor, Thomas Hood, and Charles Sharpe	31 Poultry	London (GB)	1806	1812

Figure 1. A table of the firms involving Thomas and Ann Vernor in the WPHP. Firms that were added or edited to reflect Ann Vernor’s contributions are highlighted in blue (my emphasis).

When [Ann Vernor](#) died on 9 November 1807, *The Times* described her as the “relict of Mr. Thomas Vernor,” her husband, who had been well known around London as a publisher, bookseller, and owner of a circulating library prior to his death in 1793 (Exeter). This brief obituary failed to recognize Ann Vernor’s own involvement in the London book trades. Based on my research, Ann Vernor had taken over the running of the publishing house after her husband’s death, in 1793, and was active at two locations and with two male partners between 1794 and 1807 (see figure 1). Nevertheless today, Ann Vernor remains unknown, hidden in the historical record behind her husband’s shadow and obscured by ongoing assumptions that understand women in imprints as exceptionable. The process of finding Ann Vernor, gathering evidence for her involvement in the firms associated with her surname, and finally composing this spotlight, demanded research in the [familiar academic sources](#) we use for the WPHP and also some new ones, such as popular genealogical websites. With no scholarly source acknowledging Ann Vernor’s participation

in the firm, the first concrete steps to authenticating her work began with two disparate sources: one, an insurance record in Ann Vernor's name, preserved in the London Metropolitan Archives catalogue of policy registrations with the Royal and Sun Alliance insurance group and two, [Trevor Pickup's](#) research in *WikiTree*—essentially the *Wikipedia* of online genealogy tools—on prominent families associated with the Sandemanian Church, of which the Vernor family were members. A third critical piece of evidence, Thomas Vernor's [will](#), which specified his desire for Ann Vernor and Thomas Hood to carry on his “present business of a bookseller...in the same manner as late,” supplied further evidence for Ann Vernor's work in the firm (“Will of Thomas Vernor, Bookseller of Birch Lane, City of London”). Ultimately, less traditional academic sources, like *WikiTree*, that I would have previously sought out as a last resort while researching, provided the most extensive information available on Ann Vernor for evidence of her unacknowledged and hitherto unknown career.

Hidden Women and Dead Husbands

The road to discovering Ann Vernor's involvement in the book trades began with research I conducted on [Mary Susanna Pilkington](#), a writer of didactic children's literature who worked for over a decade as a writer and editor for the *Lady's Monthly Museum*, a magazine published by [Vernor, Hood, and \(later\) Sharpe](#) and written “By a society of ladies.” My focus on Pilkington, which brought about my first encounter with Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe's firm, began in WPHP Project Director Dr. Michelle Levy's Fall 2021 course, titled “[Eminent Women of the Long Eighteenth Century](#),” on the writers and artists featured in William Upcott's album of Eminent Women (see [Original Letters of Eminent Women](#) for more information on Dr. Levy's course and the Upcott album). Transcribing Pilkington's October 1810 [letter](#) to her publisher supplied a name, “Mr. Sharpe,” a firm category, “bookseller,” and a location, “Poultry,” providing ample data to take to the WPHP's [advanced firm search feature](#) for further information. Our firm records identified Pilkington's addressee as Charles Sharpe, the tertiary member in [Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe](#), a publishing and bookselling firm based in London. Without any forenames, we assumed, as had anyone who had considered the firm previously, that all three partners were men. Prior to locating evidence for Ann Vernor's partnership in the firm after 1793, references to the firm as “Messrs” in imprints (such as in the 1806 title, [The Anatomy of Melancholy](#); see figure 2) and in letters to the firm reinforced a conventional narrative that firm partners shifted largely through patrilineal succession if the deceased had a son of age to take over his place in the firm. In other words, we assumed that the Mr. Vernor mentioned in titles like this would have been Thomas or Ann Vernor's eldest son. During her visit to the British Library this summer, Dr. Michelle Levy examined Upcott's four collections of letters by “Distinguished Women” and shared her findings on how authors in communication with the firm addressed the publishers: typically using “Messrs” or “Misters.” Acknowledging that the firm members were addressed in this manner by both interested and returning writers suggests that Ann Vernor's work in the firm may not have been visible or known to the public, just as it was not visible in their imprints (*Original Letters collected by William Upcott of the London Institution. Distinguished Women*).

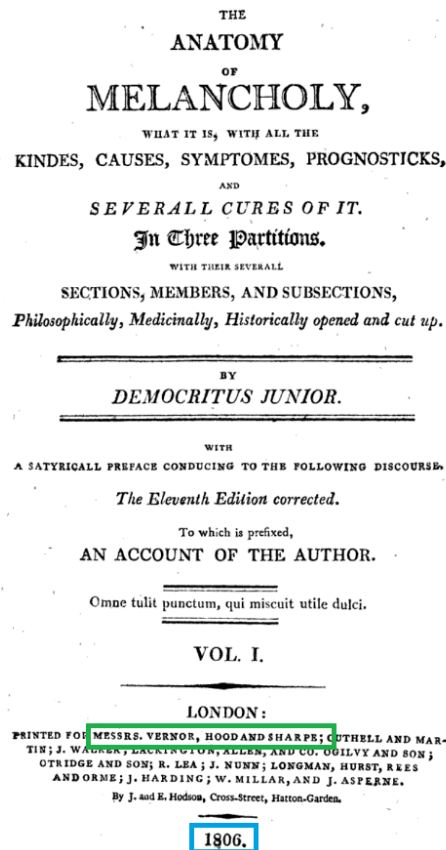


Figure 2. The imprint describes Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe as “Messrs” in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1806. *Google Books*.

In September 2021, when I began researching the Vernor family, the data we had in our firm records indicated that **Thomas Vernor and Thomas Hood**’s business partnership began in 1793, with the much younger Sharpe joining in 1806. At the time of the October 1810 letter I transcribed from Pilkington to Sharpe, Pilkington had been working with Vernor and Hood for twelve years on *The Lady’s Monthly Museum* and for eleven years as one of their published authors. I questioned why Pilkington would be communicating with Sharpe when she had an enduring business relationship with the more senior members of the firm; this line of questioning drew me to the *British Book Trade Index* and the *Exeter Working Papers in Book History*, two frequently consulted sources for the WPHP’s firm records. My research into Sharpe’s partners became relevant to the WPHP’s mission to spotlight unsung women in the book trades when **Thomas Vernor**’s record in the BBTI recorded his death as 1793, almost two decades *before Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe* filed for bankruptcy in 1812 and Vernor’s name finally ceased to appear in imprints. The only other Vernor listed in the BBTI was Thomas Vernor’s son, **George Glas Vernor**, who worked as an Apprentice of the Stationers’ Company but has no further information available about his work in the book trades. Following project manager Kate Moffatt’s lead in her 2020 spotlight, “**A Search for Firm Evidence: Uncovering Ann Sancho, Bookseller**,” I looked next to Ian Maxted’s *Exeter Working Papers in Book History* for hidden evidence of the unknown Vernor successor. Moffatt’s observation, “Finding women involved in the book trades requires us to read systematically through every entry of our various resources in an effort to find traces of women’s involvement,” holds true two years later: I found the first and only reference to a “Mrs. Vernor” at the end of several lengthy descriptions of Thomas

Vernor in *Exeter*. Though this reference merely included her short obituary as it appeared in *The Times* (quoted above, calling her the “relict of Mr. Thomas Vernor”), the absence of any evidence supporting her son’s involvement in the firm implied “Mrs. Vernor” was a worthy lead to pursue, though I could not yet discount the possibility that George inherited his father’s position.

A Google search for “Thomas Vernor widow” yielded Mrs. Vernor’s first name, Ann, in a [personal blog post by Edward Pope](#) on his website *Ed Pope History*. Pope writes: “Thomas Vernor died in 1793 and was succeeded by his widow Ann” (Pope “Vernor”). The blog provided no sources for this claim, but Ann Vernor’s full name, combined in a Google search with keywords like “bookseller” and “publisher,” eventually led me to an insurance document held in the “Royal and Sun Alliance Insurance Group” collection at the *London Metropolitan Archives* that corroborates Ann Vernor’s partnership with Thomas Hood. The [insurance record](#), entitled “Insured: Ann Vernor and Thomas Hood, 31 Poultry, Booksellers,” was purchased from the [Sun Fire Office](#) on 5 July 1797, the same year the firm moved its operations from 10 Birchin Lane to 31 Poultry (see these firm addresses mapped in figure 3). Notably, Moffatt’s spotlight highlighted that the most definitive documentation for [Ann Sancho](#)’s work in the book trades was the insurance policy held by the Sun Fire Office, and it is fascinating that a key piece of evidence for Ann Vernor’s role in the business is an insurance agreement with the same firm. Though she does not appear in any scholarly research that mentions Thomas Vernor (or Thomas Hood, John Chater, or any other of Vernor’s earlier business partners) and did not include a first initial in any of the imprints, as Thomas Vernor customarily did (for example, of the 196 titles in the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* associated with Thomas Vernor before his death, 160 of these titles include his first initial in the imprint), this insurance policy verifies Ann Vernor’s position as the “Vernor” in “Vernor and Hood” at the Poultry address in 1797. Still, what remained to be seen after this discovery was the extent of her work in the firm during the first four years of their tenure at the Birchin Lane address and in the years following 1797.

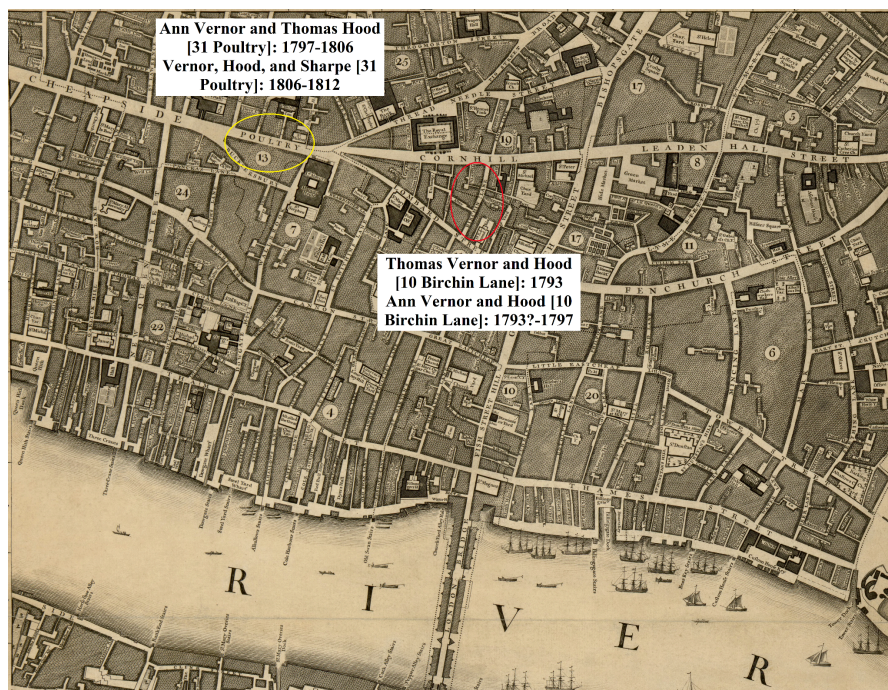


Figure 3. Highlighting Vernor and Hood’s addresses at 10 Birchin Lane and 31 Poultry (my emphasis) in John Rocque’s A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, with the contiguous buildings, 1746, sheet 2e. *Wikimedia Commons.*

WikiTree genealogist Trevor Pickup’s research centers around Nonconformists and Sandemanian Church members in London during the late eighteenth century; he has extensively investigated the genealogy of the Vernor family, who, alongside Vernor’s early business partner Chater, were well-known members and elders in the London Sandemanian Church [“Thomas Vernor (abt. 1740 - 1793)”]. Since June 2020, Pickup has added records for **Thomas Vernor** and **Ann Vernor**, and for their children, **George Glas Vernor**, Rachel Chater (née Vernor), and Margaret Mann (née Vernor). Though not a conventional scholarly source or a well-funded genealogy site, *WikiTree* is a valuable historical resource because it is accessible and demonstrates what history can look like when it is created *by* and *for* everyone. As a database that collects and compiles information from other databases, including sources posing steep financial barriers, the *WPHP* emulates this commitment to accessibility as a free resource working to reduce barriers to access in book history, literary studies, and women’s history. After a protracted and often convoluted research process as I unsuccessfully tried to validate Ann Vernor’s partnership in the firm using scholarly sources and databases, it was Pickup’s list of sources in *WikiTree* that directed me first to George Vernor’s **burial record** in the *England and Wales Non-Conformist Record Indexes*, logging his death in April 1796, and then to Thomas Vernor’s **will**, held in *The National Archives* and viewable online. George Vernor’s burial record proves he could not have been operating in the firm after 1796, but it is Thomas Vernor’s will that provides the principal evidence that Ann Vernor’s partnership with Thomas Hood directly followed Thomas Vernor’s death, as per his stated wishes in his will.

The Timeline and the Players: Authenticating Ann Vernor’s Involvement

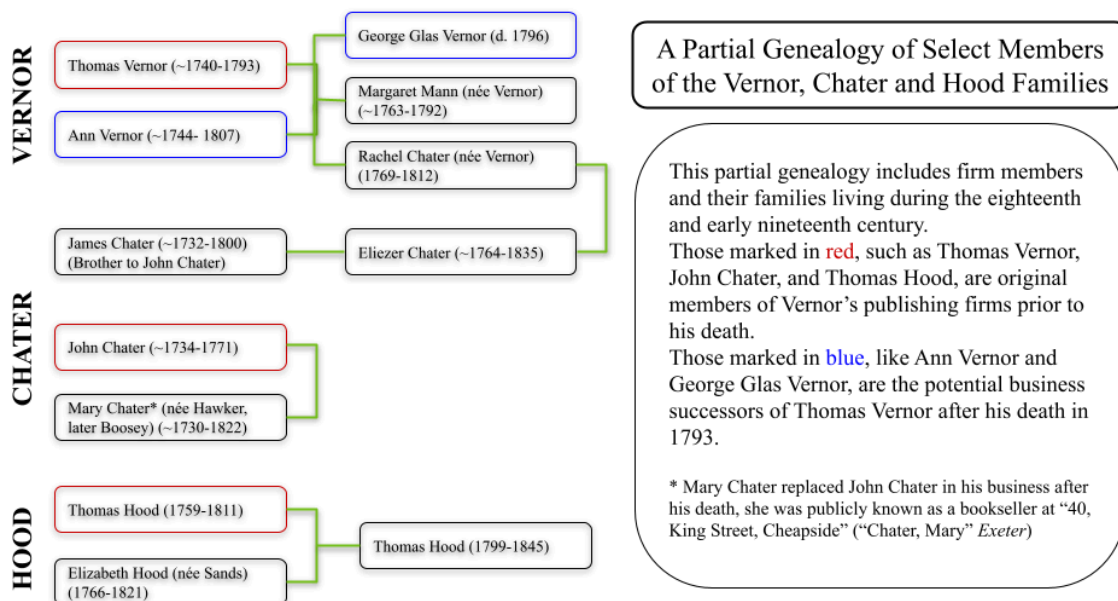


Figure 4. “A partial genealogy of select members of the Vernor, Chater, and Hood families.” Belle Eist, 2022.

Imprints and the BBTI suggest Thomas Hood (1759–1811) joined Vernor’s firm in 1793, when Vernor was still operating out of 10 Birchin Lane. Though Thomas Vernor and Thomas Hood’s official partnership lasted less than a year, Vernor’s will recognizes Hood as his partner and desires the continuation of the firm, stating “it is my will and desire that my present Business of a Bookseller now carried on in Birchin Lane be carried on by and between my said Executrix and Executors (as Trustees) and my partner Thomas Hood in the same manner as late” (“Will of Thomas Vernor”). His desire for the inclusion of his executrix, Ann Vernor, in the continuation of his firm suggests that her partnership with Thomas Hood began before Thomas Vernor’s death; this is the only way to interpret the expressed wish of Thomas Vernor that Hood and Ann Vernor carry on the business “in the same manner as late.” Indeed, he is unlikely to have entrusted her with the business had she not had previous experience running the firm.

Further evidence for Ann’s importance to the firm is found in another provision of his will. Both Ann Vernor and Thomas’s son-in-law, Eliezer Chater (nephew of Vernor’s late business partner; see figure 4 for an illustration of firm and family connections between the Hood, Vernor, and Chater families), were named executors, and Ann Vernor and George Glas Vernor (their eldest son) were named as beneficiaries. However, Thomas Vernor’s will stipulates his son was to receive “the sum of Eighty pounds per annum...as [Ann Vernor] may see [fit]” *only* “if the conduct of my said son shall prove commendable and satisfactory to my Executrix and Executors (but not otherwise) and he shall prove diligent which is to be judged by my Executrix and Executors” (“Will of Thomas Vernor”). Other sections of the will implied Thomas Vernor had concerns about George’s behaviour, character, and maturity, further indicating that George would not have been trusted with the management and co-ownership of the firm.

Vernor was buried in October of 1793, but he continued to appear in imprints through 1794, often denoted by his initials, “T. Vernor” (ECCO). In the *English Short Title Catalogue* and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, two titles published in 1793 highlight Thomas Vernor and Thomas Hood’s brief partnership in the imprints as “**T. Vernor and Hood, Birchin-Lane**” and only a single title from 1794 lists both of their first initials as “T. Vernor and J. Hood.” The otherwise infrequent use of initials after 1794 makes it difficult to ascertain what may have been Thomas Vernor’s work and what was Ann Vernor’s in the 1794 transition period within the firm after Thomas Vernor’s death in late 1793. Because there are a few titles published in 1794 with Thomas’s initial included in the imprint, it would be reasonable to assume that he had worked on a number of titles before his death that were published the next year, but this does not discount Ann Vernor’s involvement in the firm throughout 1794.

For over thirteen years, Ann Vernor worked alongside Hood and then Sharpe, who joined the firm (now **Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe**) in 1806 (WPHP). During this period, the firm published and sold over six hundred titles (the *English Short Title Catalogue* lists 653 titles where “Vernor” appears in the imprint between 1794 and 1807). These 653 titles are slowly being imported into the WPHP from the ESTC. Thomas Vernor’s practice of including his first initial died with him, and Ann Vernor signed only her married name in imprints; though the inclusion of an initial would not have revealed Ann Vernor’s gender, it would have officially acknowledged that Thomas Vernor had been

replaced, which may not have been a fact the firm wanted to make explicit. Amid two other firm members recognized only by their surname in imprints, the absence of Ann Vernor's initial should not discredit her presence in the business. Although Ann Vernor was not a visible woman in the imprints, conventional assumptions that book trade business partners were almost inevitably men—which I found myself falling into and had to work against in collecting evidence to disprove George Vernor's involvement as the oldest son—may impede recognition for women booksellers and publishers even more than the patriarchal landscape of eighteenth and nineteenth-century England, which may have led some women to omit gendered indicators for female firm members from their imprints.

Ann Vernor **died on 9 November 1807**, followed by Thomas Hood in 1811; Hood's son (also named Thomas Hood) was too young to replace his father in the firm at twelve years old, leaving Charles Sharpe as the only living member of Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe. The firm dissolved in 1812 when Sharpe went bankrupt, finally effacing the Vernor name from the imprints in *The Museum* and on titles the firm sold and published (see figure 5 for a review of the firm's timeline).

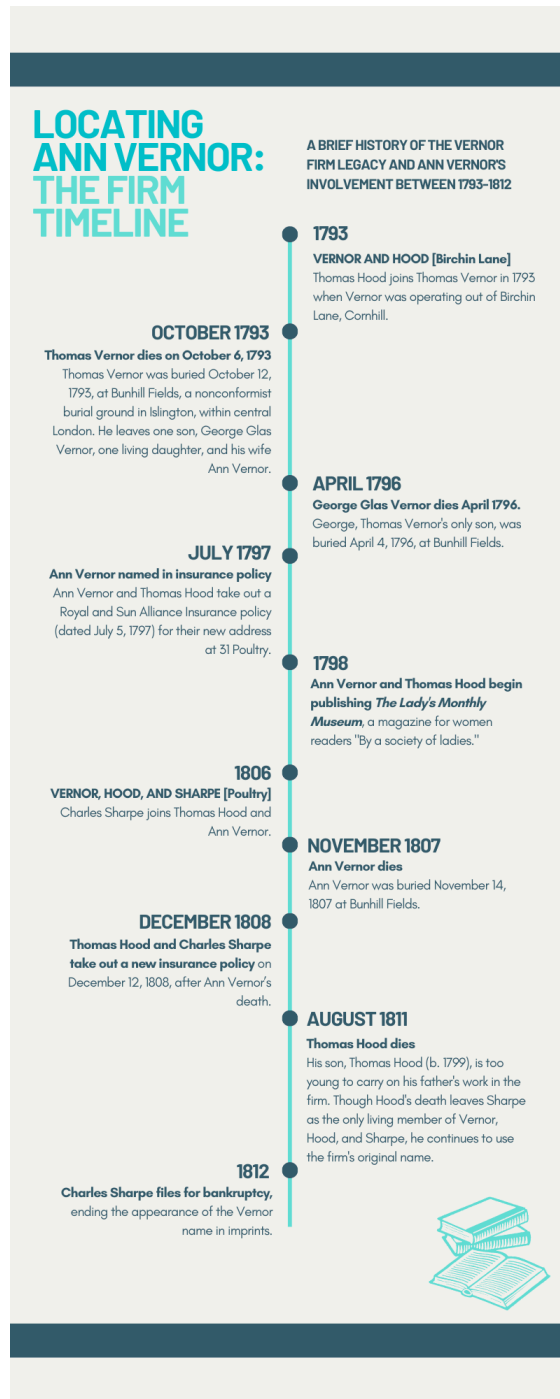


Figure 5. Belle Eist. "Locating Ann Vernor: The Firm Timeline." Belle Eist, 2022.

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Vernor, Ann (person, bookseller and publisher)

Pilkington, Mary (person, author)

Ann Vernor, Thomas Hood, and Charles Sharpe (firm, bookseller and publisher)

"A Search for Firm Evidence: Uncovering Ann Sancho, Bookseller" (spotlight by Kate Moffatt)

Thomas Vernor and Thomas Hood [Birchin Lane] (firm, bookseller and publisher)

Sancho, Ann (person, bookseller)

Ann Vernor and Thomas Hood [Birchin Lane] (firm, bookseller and publisher)

Ann Vernor and Thomas Hood [Poultry] (firm, bookseller and publisher)

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