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The Social Life of Paper in Edinburgh c.1770 – c.1820

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Declaration

I confirm that the following thesis has been composed by me, and is completely my own work. This thesis grew out of an essay I submitted towards the degree of MSc at the University of Edinburgh in the 2008-9 academic year titled 'The Social Life of Paper'.

Claire L. Friend   31st March 2016

Abstract

Previous research on paper history has tended to be conducted from an economic perspective and/or as part of the field of book history within a broadly literary framework. This has resulted in understandings of paper history being book-centric and focused on production. We now have a great deal of knowledge about the physical process of hand paper-making, a good knowledge of the actors involved and where in the country paper was manufactured, but there is still very little scholarly discussion of the people, processes and practices associated with paper outside of the mill.

Taking inspiration from eighteenth-century 'it-narratives', this thesis takes a holistic approach to the paper trade – loosely based around the framework of social life theory as expounded by Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff. It encompasses a case study of the rag-collection and paper-wholesale operations of a single Edinburgh firm, a wider examination of paper-retailing in Edinburgh, a look at the ownership of desks in Edinburgh alongside a consideration of advice and instruction relating to desk-use, and closes with an examination of the papers owned by a notable Edinburgh family. The first three chapters consider the scope of the Edinburgh paper trade. Moving through distinct stages in the life of paper, these chapters begin with an account of the Edinburgh rag-trade. Business records relating to the Balerno Company's rag-buying operations reveal an active and organised network with connections to a variety of trades. Continuing the focus on the Balerno Company, the second chapter considers the company as paper-wholesalers. It demonstrates that the driving force behind their operations was not the supply of paper for the booktrade but rather the provision of wrapping papers for the purposes of commerce. Using advertisements in local newspapers the third chapter looks at the reach of paper-selling beyond the booktrades. The final two chapters move gradually from the commercial to the personal. Chapter four considers the presentation of desk-use in penmanship manuals and the evidence of desk-ownership in confirmation inventories. Both of which are suggestive of a growing mercantile interest in desk furniture. Finally, this thesis closes by looking at the paper archives of the Innes family of Stow in order to examine the extent to which the findings of previous chapters is reflected in the collection, retention and use of papers across two generations of this family.

Overall, this thesis demonstrates the value of adopting an inclusive approach to the study of paper history, as doing so opens up a multifaceted world of paper. Paper history has tended to be understood as the history of writing and printing paper sold by booksellers and stationers. The social life approach allows connections to be made between materials, artefacts and trades; to gain a fuller understanding of the role paper played in people's lives.

Lay Summary

Prior to the mid-nineteenth-century paper was mainly made by hand from reconstituted linen rags. Previous research on paper history has been conducted within a broadly literary framework. This has resulted in understandings of paper history being book-centric and focused on production. There is a great deal of knowledge about the physical process of hand paper-making, a good knowledge of the people involved and where in Britain paper was manufactured, but there is still very little scholarly discussion of the people, processes and practices associated with paper outside of the mill.

Taking inspiration from eighteenth-century fictions which personified paper, this thesis takes a holistic approach to the paper trade – loosely based around the notion that objects have "social lives". The concept of object lives stems from an anthropological approach, which examined things in a similar way to examining people, by looking at how their lives began, how they progressed and what made them important. Using business records this thesis begins by considering paper's origins as rags through the lens of one of Edinburgh's preeminent papermaking companies. The same company is the focus of the second chapter on paper wholesale. The third chapter considers paper retail, and the adverts placed by sellers of paper in Edinburgh newspapers. The fourth chapter examines the way people were instructed in writing by contemporary manuals and the desks people in Edinburgh sat at to do such writing. The last chapter is based on the archive of an Edinburgh family and the many ways in which they used paper.

Overall, this thesis demonstrates the value of adopting an inclusive approach to the study of paper history, as doing so opens up a multifaceted world of paper. Paper history has tended to be understood as the history of writing and printing paper sold by booksellers and stationers. The social life approach allows connections to be made between materials, artefacts and trades; to gain a fuller understanding of the role paper played in people's lives.

Note on Spelling and Grammar

Original spelling and grammar has been retained in quotes. Unless otherwise stated all emphasis is original.

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List of Abbreviations

BBTI British Book Trade Index

NRS National Records of Scotland

NLS National Library of Scotland

OED Oxford English Dictionary

RBS Royal Bank of Scotland

SBTI Scottish Book Trade Index

Introduction

> Now, it is natural enough, while we read any composition, to turn our thoughts (especially on reading a passage that strikes us forcibly in any light) towards its author; and if known either by person, history, or report, to advert to many things respecting his life, fortunes, and character. Thus it happened with me on the present occasion; and I found my ideas suddenly drawn from the sermon in my hand, and (in their vagabond way) hurrying over the birth, parentage, education, and situation of its reverend penman.
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> Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' (1779).

The period between roughly 1770 and 1820 represents the latter part of the boom years for British handmade paper manufacture. It is generally agreed that from around the 1740s Britain was able to provide the lion's share of its need for rags, and had the skilled workforce and equipment to produce approximately enough paper to meet its own requirements. Experiments with wood pulp paper began in 1801, and from around that time machines were beginning to replace men in the mills. By mid-nineteenth-century most paper would be machine made and increasingly it was not made from old linen rags.[1] These particular dates also correspond to the supposed initiation of Edinburgh's Balerno Papermaking Company, which features strongly in this thesis. Handmade linen paper was chosen as the subject of this thesis for several reasons. Firstly it is a commodity which fits neatly into the notion of a social life of things. Social life theory examines objects from the stance that they have histories analogous to human beings, examining the way in which they moved through and participated in society. Linen paper is an excellent candidate for this type of study as it was related to a myriad of social activities. Additionally, as it was made from old rags, linen paper was a commodity formed entirely out of another commodity which had itself already undergone a cycle of exchange. Furthermore, both linen and paper were subject to being changed, altered, and turned into a variety of commodities by a range of people. But what makes eighteenth-century handmade linen paper such an extraordinary material to study from this perspective is that eighteenth-century writers recognised these things about their paper and composed narratives about it long before twentieth-century anthropologists coined the "social life of things".

The study of paper requires limits, not least because it was so ubiquitous. As well as setting those limits in terms of period, this thesis is also bounded by Edinburgh as its main geographical focus. It is also mostly concerned with paper as a thing, rather than the content

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[1] British Association of Paper Historians, "The History of Papermaking in the United Kingdom" <http://baph.org.uk/ukpaperhistory.html>. [13/09/12].

of paper. It necessarily leaves out more than it contains, and has been organised by considering snapshots in the life of paper at key moments in its existence: the pre-history of paper in the form of rags, paper wholesale, paper retail, domestic paper and the desk, and finally the extant papers of a prominent Edinburgh family.

Technological advances and environmental concerns have recently brought our use of paper into popular focus. Yet, the tone surrounding discussions of paper has changed over the last few years. Newspapers have reported that "the eBook arrived in roughly 2009," and ever since there has been a lively public debate on the battle between e-paper and tree-paper.[2] The development of e-paper was initially seen to herald the end of the physical book, the closure of libraries and an increase in e-book sales led journalists to decry the end of the book at least as far back as 1992.[3] It is a debate which still rages. The young reportedly do not feel the need for paper.[4] Teaching cursive handwriting is being phased out in Finish schools and replaced with typing skills (though despite apocalyptic headlines, children will still be taught how to form print letters).[5] To counter this apparent progress towards digital media, neuroscience has suggested that handwriting, rather than typing, has important cognitive benefits.[6] Academics have been called upon to offer their opinions in national newspapers, with scholars such as Naomi S. Baron and Anne Mangen discussing their research into the effects of digital versus print reading.[7] Umberto Eco and Jean-Claude Carriere's lively discussions in *This is Not the End of the Book* were first published in 2011, and by 2015 we were being told that "eBooks have actually stimulated the market for print".[8] Then, in October of that year Waterstones stopped selling its e-readers in its shops, as sales of paper-

[2] Philip Jones, 'Long live the e-book, it's a champion of the printed word'. *The Guardian* 7th January 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jan/07/ebook-printed-word-reader-e-reader>. [29/01/2016].
[3] Robert Coover, 'The End of Books'. *The New York Times* 21st June 1992 <https://www.nytimes.com/books/98/09/27/specials/coover-end.html.> [29/01/16]; Sam Leith, 'Is This the End for Books?' *The Guardian* 14th August 2011 <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/aug/14/kindle-books>. [29/01/16]; Louise Grey, 'Is it the End of the Book as Libraries Close and e-books Take Over?' *The Telegraph* 8th February 2013 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/9855941/Is-it-the-end-of-the-book-as-libraries-close-and-e-books-take-over.html>.
[4] Joel Golby, 'Pens are dead. Paper is dead. Handwriting is a relic'. *The Guardian* 30th October 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/oct/30/bic-teenagers-pens-dead-paper-handwriting-relic>. [29/01/16].
[5] BBC, 'Finland: Typing takes over as handwriting lessons end'. 21st November 2014 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-30146160 Helen Russell, 'Signing off: Finnish schools phase out handwriting lessons'. *The Guardian* 31st July 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/31/finnish-schools-phase-out-handwriting-classes-keyboard-skills-finland>. [29/01/16].
[6] Anne Chemin, 'Handwriting vs typing: is the pen still mightier than the keyboard?' *The Guardian* 16th December 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/science/2014/dec/16/cognitive-benefits-handwriting-decline-typing>. [29/01/16].
[7] Naomi S. Baron, 'The case against the kindle'. *Washington Post* <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/01/12/the-case-against-kindle-why-reading-paper-books-is-better-for-your-mind-and-body/>. [29/01/16]; Anne Mangen, 'Readers absorb less on kindles than on paper, study finds'. *The Guardian* 19th August 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/aug/19/readers-absorb-less-kindles-paper-study-plot-ereader-digitisation>. [29/01/16].
[8] Robert McCrum, 'Print survives as new literature is born'. *The Guardian* 27th December 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/dec/27/new-literature-on-way?CMP=fb_gu>. [29/01/16].

books rose.[9] Similarly, Amazon, the online-king and original promoter of e-publishing, has recently opened a physical bookstore selling paper-books and is reportedly planning to open several hundred more.[10] Paper is also about to replace vellum as the medium of the British Government for storing official copies of its laws. Archival paper will supersede Calf-skin in April 2016.[11]

Amid this zeitgeist a number of popular and scholarly works on the subject of paper have recently been published. Notably, the majority of these have been conducted by literary scholars, individuals interested in the current milieu of changes to paper technology. Invariably they rely heavily on textual analysis of fictions for their readings of paper history. This work is guided, to a greater or lesser extent, by the fields of book history and bibliography, and the work tends to examine the ways in which writers presented paper in their works. In a different, though related vein, there exists a body of research mostly undertaken from the 1950s to 1970s in which economic historians undertook to rediscover the technologies and methods employed in hand papermaking. Papermaking processes are vital to an understanding of the consideration of paper use, particularly if use is to be considered as part of a cycle as in social life studies. It is with this in mind that I will now turn to a brief exploration of the hand papermaking process in the eighteenth-century.

Twentieth-Century Paper Histories – Studies in Papermaking

Dard Hunter, Richard Hills, A.H. Shorter, and D.C. Coleman are the most oft-cited authorities on paper making in the early modern period. The following account of paper manufacture is aggregated mainly from their monographs with the addition of material by Alastair Thomson, who wrote specifically about Scotland.

The process began with what are generally described as rags. Although usually referred to as linen, a proportion of rags used in paper manufacture came from other sources. Hemp based articles may have been used, including rope, netting, sails, sacking, and bagging.[12] Scholarly disagreement exists as to whether cotton was also a major component of rag-paper.[13] In any

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[9] Nicola Slawson, 'Waterstones stop selling kindle as booksales surge'. *The Guardian* 6th October 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/oct/06/waterstones-stop-selling-kindle-book-sales-surge >. [29/01/16].

[10] Graham Ruddick, 'Amazon begins new chapter with opening of first physical bookstore.' *The Guardian* 3rd November 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/nov/03/amazon-books-seattle-store-opened-university-village>. [29/01/16]; Reuters, *The Telegraph* <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/amazon/12137396/Amazon-planning-to-open-400-physical-bookshops.html [3rd February 2016].

[11] Rowena Mason, 'UK to stop printing laws on vellum to save £80,000 a year.' *The Guardian* 10th February 2016 <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/10/uk-to-stop-printing-laws-on-vellum-to-save-80000-a-year?CMP=fb_gu>. [11/02/16].

[12] D. C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 106-108; A.H. Shorter, *Paper Making in the British Isles: An Historical and Geographical Study* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971), 14.

[13] Coleman suggests not (*British Paper Industry*, 106-8), whereas Dard Hunter suggests that cotton was used from the thirteenth-century: Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (London: Pleiades Books, 1967), 312. Allan Stevenson survey's C.M. Briquet's findings on this topic in: 'Briquet and the Future of Paper Studies' in C. M. Briquet, *Collection of Works and Documents Illustrating the History of Paper: IV*

case the best quality paper, white writing paper, could only be made from white linen and spring or well water.[14] Other types of paper, including wrapping-, and various types of board, could be made from lesser quality raw materials and also did not require the clean water of wells and springs.

Received wisdom states that the people who collected rags for sale were the dregs of society. Coleman suggested that interceding between these vagabonds and the paper mills were merchants.[15] Although Coleman believed that these merchants employed women and children to separate the rags they bought into different types suitable for making different kinds of paper, other scholars have stated that this sorting was carried out at the mills.[16] In the mills each sorter worked at a table on which a knife was vertically mounted. The rags were cut into four-inch squares, before being thrown into one of six boxes, dependent upon the grade of the material. Grading was determined by colour, type, and wear, and was vital to the process. More worn materials required less processing at the next stage of the procedure, and the different spinning and weaving techniques used to construct the fibre also affected the final paper product.[17] Different mills used different combinations of fibres, keeping their own recipes a closely guarded secret.[18]

At around this point in the process, it was necessary to wash the rags, before leaving them to 'sweat', or ferment, for between four or five days in order to gain a reliable consistency for papermaking. Philip Gaskell stated that this sweating took place before the rags were sorted and cut, whereas Leonard Rosenbland suggested after.[19] Whether the female and young workers cut-up wet or dry materials, it is usually stated that it was also they who undertook the removal of dirt from the rags. So ingrained was this dirt that the workers used knives to scrape it from the rags. The process was generally considered unpleasant and it was believed that processing rags for papermaking left workers at risk of contagious disease.[20] After fermentation the resulting 'half-stuff' was transferred to wooden mortars and pulped by iron-tipped wooden 'stampers,' driven by water-power.[21] This process was repeated two or three times, interspersed with time for further rotting, and water was also driven through the

Briquet's Opuscula, The Complete Works of C.M. Briquet Without Les Filigranes, edited by E.J. Labarre, (Hilversum, Netherlands: Paper Publications Society, 1955) 98.

[14] Shorter, *Paper Making*, 13-14.

[15] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 167.

[16] See for examples: Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 151, 167; Leonard Rosenbland, 'Becoming Competitive: England's Papermaking Apprenticeship, 1700-1800', in *The Mindful Hand: Inquiry and Invention From the Late Renaissance to Early Industrialisation*, ed. Lisa Roberts, et al., (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2007), 382-3; Richard Hills, *Papermaking* (London: The Athlone Press, 1988), 54.

[17] Hills, *Papermaking*, 56, 130.

[18] Ibid., 56.

[19] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, (Dover, Delaware: Oak Knoll, 2007), 57; Rosenband, 'Becoming Competitive', 382-3.

[20] Hills, *Papermaking*, 56.

[21] Shorter, *Paper Making*, 14.

half-stuff to carry away impurities.[22] It was stated that the production of white-paper required 36 hours beating, but brown- and brown-white only 12 hours.[23]

During the 1730s and 40s a machine was introduced which reduced the time needed for fermentation. Derived in Holland it became known as the 'Hollander'.[24] Instead of pounding the rags into a pulp, the Hollander was fitted with blades which shredded the rags more efficiently as it required less power than stampers. Initially British mill workers, apparently poorly trained in their use, drove the blades too quickly, flinging pulp out of the machine. But, the optimum method having been established, the Hollander was adopted in almost all English paper mills by 1750, and by 1797 only one mill was said to still be using stampers.[25] Although faster than the stampers, it was believed that the more efficient shredding action of the Hollander resulted in weaker paper.[26] Coleman cited the uptake of Hollanders in England as a contributing factor to the generally poorer quality of paper produced in Britain as opposed to France, where the Hollander took longer to be adopted. However, as the "only" major technical innovation to be seen in the period, it was also likely responsible for the increasing productivity of British mills over the course of the century.[27] It could be argued that although the Hollander was perhaps the most technical innovation, the introduction of heat to the process at several stages may also have helped speed up paper production.[28]

By the end of stamping or Hollanding the remaining pulp was called 'stuff' which was placed in a vat of water.[29] These vats were large, open tubs measuring about 1.6 x 0.8 meters, capable of containing around 1500 litres.[30] During the eighteenth-century a 'pistolet' was added to the vat, making the task of forming the sheets of paper quicker, "and possibly more pleasant" for the vatman, whose job it was to periodically agitate the stuff with a 'potching' stick, as well as to form the sheets of paper.[31] The pistolet was a copper drum, fitted into the side of the vat and heated by charcoal. Heating the stuff reduced its viscosity and made the water drain quicker during the forming of the sheet.[32] Another invention introduced during the century which also made the vatman's task easier, was the mechanical 'hog'. This hog replaced the need for manual stirring with the potching stick.[33] Both the pistolet and hog were likely adopted quite late in the century, probably around the mid-1790s.[34]

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[22] Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 57; Hills, *Papermaking*, 56.
[23] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 152.
[24] Rosenbland, 'Becoming Competitive', 389.
[25] Hills, *Papermaking*, 68.
[26] Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 57.
[27] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 110.
[28] Shorter, *Paper Making*, 14; Hills, *Papermaking*, 61, 68; Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 57.
[29] Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 57.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Shorter, *Paper Making*, 14.
[32] Hills, *Papermaking*, 68; Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 57.
[33] Hills, *Papermaking*, 68.
[34] Ibid.

To form each sheet the vatman dipped a sieve-like wire-mesh into the stuff. This was the 'mould' and was one of a pair; each of the same size, and bearing the same watermark and countermark (where these were used). Each pair of moulds shared a removable wooden rim, called a 'deckle', which the vatman attached to the mould he was using. He held the mould and deckle by their shortest sides, and dipped one long edge towards him about a third of the way into the stuff. As he scooped the mould back out of the stuff, he levelled it off to allow water to drain, before giving it a sideways shake in each direction to 'shut' the fibres together. The amount of stuff drawn out of the vat, and the effort of the shake determined the thickness and strength of the paper, meaning that the vatman had to be very skilled to produce a uniform ream of paper. He then removed the deckle, placing it to one side, and exchanged the full mould for an empty one with the coucher. As the vatman began his process again, the coucher turned the full mould over onto a piece of woollen felt slightly larger than the size of paper being made, of which he had a pile beside him rested on an easel. The rate at which the men worked meant that the coucher had to turn six or seven of these highly unstable sheets onto felt per minute.[35]

As the men continued they accumulated a pile of wet sheets of paper – each sandwiched between felts to stop the paper sticking to its neighbour and to soak up some of the excess water. This pile was called a 'post', and when the desired number of sheets had been formed the post was transferred to the standing press. It took five or six men to pull the press, squeezing out as much water as they could from the post, before the layman separated the sheets from the felts and pressed each sheet again. It was claimed that because this task was so delicate, it was "suitable only for people who have practiced it from an early age and not for uneducated, inexperienced country-folk".[36] The paper, at this stage called waterleaf, was then hung over ropes, covered with horse- or cow-hair to prevent staining, to dry.[37] Drying took place in a drying-loft, and from around 1787 these lofts were heated to speed up the process. It would seem that from 1795 a stove was a regular feature of paper mill drying lofts.[38]

The waterleaf was absorbent, so for writing and printing papers the next step in the process was sizing. Size was made by boiling vellum or leather scraps to form gelatine, into which handfuls of sheets were dipped in order to give them an impermeable coating. These then had to be pressed, dried, and pressed again. Writing papers also had to be smoothed, either by hammering or rubbing. Glazing hammers, as they were called, were replaced from around 1720 by glazing calendars. Early calendars were wooden, mangle-like machines, through which the paper passed either by itself, or between sheets of pasteboard alternated with

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[35] Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 58-59; Shorter, *Paper Making*, 14; Rosenbland, 'Becoming Competitive', 382-3.
[36] Rosenbland, 'Becoming Competitive', 383.
[37] Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 58-59; Shorter, *Paper Making*, 14; Rosenbland, 'Becoming Competitive', 382-3.
[38] Hills, *Papermaking*, 61.

heated sheets of copper or zinc. These wooden calendars were replaced by metal versions, which could be heated themselves, around 1800.[39]

In its finished state the paper was then checked for imperfections and sorted into bundles called "reams" and "quires", ready for sale. Again this was a job for the women and children, who folded each quire in half along its longer side, top and tailing each quire with less perfect quires, called "cassie" or "cording" quires, which were likely to be damaged in transit.[40]

This description is of course a generalisation, built up from slightly varying information in the major works on papermaking. Over the course of the century and probably in individual mills as well, the process changed and differed. The accounts of papermaking given in these works are also now rather dated, as the most recent of these studies was conducted by Hills; whose *Papermaking in Britain* was published in 1988. As Daven Chamberlain has noted in 2004, although these scholars are the doyens of the field their works are now in need of revision.[41] As Chamberlain found inaccuracies with Shorter's account, I have also encountered discrepancies between these authorities. Generally these faults can be attributed to a lack of citations for apparently obvious, or well-known, "facts". These include a 'shortage of rags' for papermaking which is cited as occurring in different periods in almost every history, and the common knowledge that rag-collectors were vagabonds. Another area in which these studies struggle to complete a full the understanding of the industry relates to price. Coleman best addresses this issue in an appendix to *The British Paper Industry*. He states that "the heterogeneous nature" of paper has prevented historians from reaching any definitive conclusions regarding a scale of costs for the period. Quality, size, and weight changed and multiplied over the century resulting in proliferate categorisation, and no fixed scale upon which to base a long-term price comparison. Additionally, as consumers rarely distinguished their purchases based upon the papermakers' categories, price appears in the records as relevant to individual consumers' notions of size and quality. Referring to Thorold Rogers and Beveridge's average price indices as "virtually useless", Coleman's own attempt to remedy this issue for the period 1700-81 he termed "plausible enough".[42] However, an attempt to define standard prices for paper does not take into account possibilities such as regional, and even local, variation.

This trade and manufacturing approach to the history of paper has tended to emphasise the march of progress, focusing on technological innovation and technical details. This might be due to the fact that paper studies have traditionally been allied to the fields of bibliography

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[39] Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 59; Hills, *Papermaking*, 62.
[40] Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 59; Shorter, *Paper Making*, 14.
[41] Daven Chamberlain, 'Notes on Inaccuracies in Shorter's *Paper Mills and Paper Makers*', *The Quarterly* 50 (2004): 33-34.
[42] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 353-355.

and book history. The knowledge garnered by the likes of Hunter, Hills, Shorter, Coleman et al. has generally been used to inform debate related to the book trades and the desire of bibliographers to know about the features of different types of paper that were used to make books. A social life approach takes a different tack, examining the relationship between people and things.

Social Life Studies

Most social life studies use *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* edited by Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff as their point of departure. The work is a collection of essays written by anthropologists and historians on the theme of the social exchange of material objects. The contributors use examples of the exchange of specific objects in order to illuminate the social politics of commodity exchange and the consequences of deviation from expected norms of exchange and use.

Appadurai's most original contribution to an established discourse is a reclassification of the term "commodity" to include anything which is exchanged, as opposed to the conventional anthropological interpretation which precluded items involved in non-monetary transactions. This expanded the remit of social life studies to include forms of exchange such as gift or barter. For Appadurai it was the process of commoditisation (through exchange) that was most revealing. He argued that the non-monetary value placed upon a thing by participants in an exchange, the setting of an exchange, and types of participants in an exchange of certain things, all illuminate the values and concerns of the society in which the exchange is taking place. However, Appadurai's expanded definition of commodity appears to be largely a synthesis of established theories of commodity and exchange. Most notably Appadurai draws upon Marcel Mauss, Jean Baudrillard, and Karl Marx.

Mauss proposed that, contrary to what people tend to like to believe, gifts are invested with obligation.[43] An obligation to give on certain occasions, to accept gifts, to return gifts, and to be seen doing all of these things. His definition of gifts was not limited to physical objects, but included all forms of apparently disinterested exchange. For example hospitality is seen as the appropriate return 'gift' for a visit. It is obvious that Appadurai was also heavily influenced by Baudrillard, essentially reaching the same conclusions regarding the nature of value, and even using the same examples of the Kula system and the art auction.[44] Using the example of the practice of Kula, Appadurai examined how objects acquired social and cultural value by retaining an essence of the status of the person from which a thing was passed. Kula necklaces, made of shells, were passed from person to person, with some

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[43] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, Trans. Ian Cunnison (London: Cohen & West Ltd., 1969).
[44] Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin (New York: Telos Press, 1981). Compare to: Appadurai, 'Introduction', 3-63.

individuals adding shells to the necklace. A Kula owner's status was able to be increased by the possession of a Kula associated with another individual who was recognised by the tribes as exemplary. Using this example, Baudrillard stated that objects need both a *use* value and a *symbolic* value. Appadurai based much of his theorising on Baudrillard's arguments that objects acquire value not through their utilitarian qualities, but by their ability to signify. Marx provided an in-depth analysis of the term 'commodity', suggesting that commodities are things which are exchangeable for other things of equivalent 'use-value'. [45] In other words, a quantity of X is exchangeable for a quantity of Y (market conditions permitting). It is this essential premise that Appadurai modified when he suggested that gift and barter be included in forms of commodity exchange, as although they are not (necessarily) being exchanged for other items of an equal use-value (or indeed other *items* at all) the difference is made up by the intangible social benefits of gaining status etc. These intangible social benefits distinguish Appadurai's thesis from Marx's, although it would seem that Appadurai's "personification" of the 'social life of things' is related to Marx's description of commodities as a "society of things".

However, whereas Marx's work was abstract and theoretical, *The Social Life of Things* made commodity-theory methodological. It also acknowledged, through Igor Kopytoff's additional introductory essay, that Appadurai's thesis may not be applicable to all situations. Kopytoff disagreed with Appadurai regarding the essential commodification of all things, suggesting instead that the classification should be more finely stratified with objects becoming commodified at different points in their "careers".[46] Appadurai suggested that Kopytoff's approach was more suited to "specific objects", whereas his social life approach was more suited to "classes" of things analysed over a period of time or from a cultural outsider's point of view. To some degree this can be seen as academic posturing, as the two approaches essentially argue for the importance of examining exchange in material culture.

For the most part Kopytoff dealt with issues surrounding slavery as a way of understanding the distinction that Western societies make between commodity and person. However, he also offered a very straightforward explanation of his approach and a (very) brief summary of anthropological approaches to object biographies. This resulted in a set of questions which Kopytoff stated should be the basis of examination of the life of objects, just as they would be in the anthropological approach to peoples, namely:

- What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized?
- Where does the thing come from and who made it?

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[45] Karl Marx, 'Part One: Commodities and Money' in trans. Ben Fowkes *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I*, (England: Penguin, 1976), 125-244.

[46] Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff (eds.) *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: University Press, 1986), 64-91.

- What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things?
- What are recognized "ages" or periods in the thing's "life", and what are the cultural markers for them?
- How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?[47]

Linen paper's transmutability from fabric to rags and on to associated commodities allow for a variety of such interactions to be studied, adding a new dimension to both the study of paper history and the social life of things. Paper was a material fundamental to several important institutions conceived or significantly advanced during the later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries: publishing, national banking, the postal system, the popular press and the public museum and library, all relied on the exchange of paper. Additionally, many important new products of the period were inextricably linked to paper. These included tea, coffee and sugar; carrying a quantity of any of these was impossible without a container, and that container was paper. Leisure required cards for playing and visiting, wallpaper made its way into the homes of the rich, drawing was seen as an important accomplishment, and print-collecting was immensely popular. In contrast an "anti-social" life of paper also existed, in which the deviation from expected norms of paper use and circulation occurred. Theft is an obvious example, but the practice of 'Grangerising' (removing prints from other sources in order to extra-illustrate books) became a popular past-time, and the period is well known for its collecting fads – which included paper objects.[48]

The Social Life of Paper in Eighteenth-Century Literature

Fascinatingly, eighteenth-century writers appear to have been well aware of paper as a social object. Appearing to stem from an account published in *The Spectator* in 1712, the eighteenth-century saw a steady stream of fictional writings in which paper was the protagonist. The musings of Mr Spectator consider the "formal" and "material" benefits of the periodical. The formal benefits were said to be the intellectual advantages he suggests readers of his work enjoyed, the material benefits the consumption of a large quantity of paper.[49] Mr Spectator congratulated himself on the usefulness of his publication, as he reasoned that in its consumption of such a vast amount of paper it was not only making use out of a physical material which would be otherwise valueless – rags – but that he was also responsible for the occupation of "several hands [...] which are incapable of any other

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[47] Ibid., 66-67.

[48] The Old Bailey Online returns over two and a half thousand entries for acts of theft involving the key word "paper" between 1770 and 1820: *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <www.oldbaileyonline.org>., version 7.0, [25 September 2013]; William Noblet has written on the theft of paper for re-use in the grocery trades in 'Cheese, Stolen Paper and the London Book Trade', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 38, 3 (2014): 100-110. "Grangerising" is after James Granger. See: Lucy Peltz, 'Granger, James (*bap.* 1723, *d.* 1776)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, Sept 2014 [19 March 2016], Robert Wark has written on the subject: 'The Gentle Pastime of Extra-Illustrating Books', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 56, 2 (Spring, 1993).

[49] Anon., *The Spectator* 367 (1st May 1712), 735.

Employment". "In short, when I trace in my Mind a bundle of Rags to a Quire of *spectator* I find so many Hands employ'd in every Step they take thro' their whole Progress, that while I am writing a spectator I find myself providing bread for a multitude".[50] This "Progress" resulted in the rag-trade actually being described in terms of having a "Life" and the resulting paper was given vitality as kindling for Mr Spectator's pipe and as lining for his pie-dish, as well as his landlady's spice-wrapping, and wrapping for the whole neighbourhood's Christmas presents![51] Tracing the process further back Mr Spectator contemplated the "Changes" a piece of linen goes through in its life-cycle, imagining a lady's shift transforming into the paper of a love-note she receives, a "Beau" admiring some paper in his possession as he once did his cravat in a mirror, and a "Towel or a Napkin" being "raised from a Dung-hill" to become "the most valuable piece of Furniture in a Prince's Cabinet".[52] Worn-out Holland [i.e. linen], according to Mr Spectator, could "assume a new Whiteness more beautiful than their first" when turned into a sheet of paper.[53] This article can be thought of as a rudimentary theorising of the social life of paper, one which was built upon by successive writers who continued to make use of concepts such as whiteness, value and reconstitution in their accounts.

Poet Christopher Smart's work 'The Brocaded Gown and the Linen Rag: A Fable' appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of February 1754, as well as later on that year in the April edition of the *Scot's Magazine*.[54] Although the *Spectator* article discussed paper's life-cycle, Smart's poem is the earliest example I have encountered of the explicit personification of paper and its active involvement in the paper-making process. Published between his stint as a hack writer for Francis Newberry and his committal to St Luke's Hospital, Smart's narrative began with the unlikely meeting of a ladies gown – handed-down to her maid – and a piece of linen which had been used as a medicinal dressing by the maid. The poem opened with the gown insulting the rag, ridiculing it as "Vilely besmear'd" and a "thing of filth", but the majority of the narrative was comprised of the linen's scathing reply.[55] The rag proceeded to reason that it was in fact of greater value than the brocaded dress because of its ability to be transformed into something beautiful again, whereas the dress was constantly in a state of decay, able only to be dissected into a petticoat before at worst being consumed by fire, and at best withering away on the rubbish-heap where it would rot among rats.[56]

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[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Christopher Smart, 'The Brocaded Gown and the Linen Rag: A Fable', *The Gentleman's Magazine* 24 (1754), 89-90; Christopher Smart, 'The Brocaded Gown and the Linen Rag: A Fable', *The Scots Magazine* 16 (April 1754), 190. Unless otherwise stated *The Gentleman's Magazine* edition has been referred to.
[55] Ibid., 89.
[56] Ibid.

In 1779 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' took the idea of paper-as-protagonist further than previous fictions.[57] It was also by far the longest, having been published over several issues of at least three different periodical papers. The tale began with the narrative frame of a country curate reading the latest sermon. In the London editions of the narrative this took place in a coffee-shop, whereas the Edinburgh edition relocated the action to a bookshop. The paper upon which the sermon was written literally spoke to the curate, relating its rather curious life. During part one the narration was taken up by a thistle magically transformed into flax after enviously admiring the other crop. In part two the narration was picked up by the flax, which was turned into linen which then narrated, and part three was the first in which the narrative voice was that of paper. In this section there were three kinds of paper, a 'whity brown', a fine paper and a gilt paper. After being made, the finest type of paper was transported to a Stationers' shop from where it was to be sold. It was purchased quickly after arriving in the shop, by a man who transported the paper tucked in-between layers of his clothing. The man turned out to be a writer, who sold the writings he has done on the paper to the editor of a "fashionable magazine". The whity-brown paper was used to wrap "a half-pennyworth of tobacco for a night-man, others soaked in brandy, and plaistered over the black eye of an hackney coachman, and a third portion of the pinned before a fat cook by way of a stomacher in a night cellar".[58] The gilt paper was bought by a Beau, who perfumed it and stored it in an ivory and rose-wood cabinet, before using it to write a love-note to a mistress. However, upon discovering that he was unfaithful she used the note as toilet paper! The same young man used some other gilt sheets to write witty verse, which was circulated among his friends, and subsequently appropriated by his servant who passed them off as his own. Once read, pieces of these poems were torn up to be used as hair-curlers, which – when finished with – were thrown down the privy.

Interestingly the narration went further than simply delineating various uses of paper, and made connections between the uses to which the paper was put when it was linen and its uses as paper. It stated that the piece of linen which was used as the tail of a kite then soared above the city as paper in a poet's garret, that the linen which was used as a plaister for venereal disease became an advertisement for a particular patent medicine and a shaving-

[57] Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (August, 1779), 355-358; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (September 1779), 395-398; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (October 1779), 448-452; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *The Gentleman's and London Magazine* (October 1779), 556-559; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *The Gentleman's and London Magazine* (November 1779), 609-611; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *The Gentleman's and London Magazine* (December 1779), 676-678; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *Weekly Magazine, or, Edinburgh Amusement* 46 (20th October, 1779), 78-80; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *Weekly Magazine, or, Edinburgh Amusement* 46 (27th October, 1779), 103-106; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *Weekly Magazine, or, Edinburgh Amusement* 46 (3rd November, 1779), 127-128; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *Weekly Magazine, or, Edinburgh Amusement* 46 (10th November, 1779), 152-153; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *Weekly Magazine, or, Edinburgh Amusement* 46 (17th November, 1779), 172-173. Unless otherwise specified the *London Magazine* edition has been referred to.
[58] Ibid., 450.

cloth was turned into an essay on "the use and abuse of beards".[59] Following this, the paper detailed its re-uses with equal irony. A "fast-day prayer" was used to line a mince-pie tin, a speech on the Cardinal Virtues was used to put stuffing into a Turkey "which had been a private bribe from a bawd to a greedy city justice", a pastoral rubbed grease off a gridiron, a chairman and a drayman quarrelled over a pint of porter which was removed from the fire using 'A Kind Warning to Christians'. Other pieces were re-used variously to wrap an Alderman's joint of meat; to shroud a dead kitten; to turn a comb into a musical instrument; to wrap snuff which was then kept in a woman's stays; as blotting paper by a Bishop and as a pattern for making a christening cap.[60] This wealth of information regarding various uses – and methods of use – of paper is one of the most revealing aspects of this narrative, as the re-use of paper is very difficult to study using artifactual evidence because so many re-uses involve the destruction of paper by accident or design.

In 1790 "A Poem on the Manufacture of Paper: Setting Forth the Great Utility Thereof, and the benefits derived therefrom to all mankind by this Noble Invention" by James Maxwell was published.[61] It was divided into two parts, the first of which was a re-rendering of the 1712 *Spectator* article - at times almost verbatim. The second part added to the first, being subtitled "Of the more extensive utility of paper" and was further subdivided into stanzas on "writing", "printing", "wrapping papers", "snuff boxes and buttons made of paper", "paper hangings", and "marbled paper, mazarine blue &c.". In these, Maxwell pondered the uses of printing paper, discussed who consumed different kinds of papers, marvelled at its physical properties, and celebrated advances in several branches of its manufacture. Writing paper was linked to personal assurances such as deeds, wills, treatises, bonds, and credit. Printing paper was revered for ensuring the spread of Christianity through the King James Bible. Wrapping paper, Maxwell stated, was associated with all classes of persons as it was used to wrap goods at every level of society. Paper hangings [i.e. wallpaper] were discussed in a similar way – as able to be made in several qualities according to the ability of the purchaser to pay. Snuff boxes and buttons made of paper were marvelled by Maxwell, as were marbled and decorated papers. There is a final part to Maxwell's poem – a conclusion in which he dealt with the taxation of paper. Similarly, "The White Rag", a short poem by the pseudonymous "Alchemy", raised the issue of taxation when it appeared in at least two periodical publications in 1818; first in the *Literary Gazette* in the August and then in the *Weekly Entertainer* in September.[62]

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[59] Ibid., 451.
[60] Ibid., 451.
[61] James Maxwell, 'A Poem on the Manufacture of Paper: Setting Forth the Great Utility Thereof, and the benefits derived therefrom to all mankind by this Noble Invention', quoted in *The Quarterly of the British Association of Paper Historians* 57 (February 2006), 44-48.
[62] Alchemy, 'The White Rag', *Literary Gazette* 2, 84 (29th August 1818), 556; 740.

Common features of these social life narratives demonstrate their authors' awareness regarding the various potential-uses of a piece of paper and with various methods of tangible exchange, which was transmitted into (or perhaps simply reaffirmed) public knowledge. The linen and paper in these narratives were sold, gifted and stolen at various points in their careers. Additionally the material possibilities were explored though various intangible exchanges: flax to linen, linen to linen-objects, linen-objects to paper and paper to paper-objects. These narratives also set up tensions between the abject and the pure. In 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' these tensions were expressed as a reduction in status from linen garment to linen rag, and a subsequent rise with the inherent possibility of paper (although this state was easily lost depending upon the use of the paper). The status of the rags in these narratives was aligned with the status of the people who worked with them, when linen fragments kept in a pile at the paper mill were sorted by women described as the "dirtiest wenches that ever disgraced the delicate sex".[63] However, after being turned into paper, the substance gained a "new whiteness more beautiful than the first".[64] Similarly "On the Manufacture of Paper" had explicitly drawn the readers' attention to the disparity between rags and paper:

> 'Tis pleasing to look back and take a view,
> What changes thus a linen rag goes through;
> Through all the num'rous hands here nam'd before,
> Altho' to tatter worn, all rent and tore.
> The finest piece of Holland after worn,
> To despicable rags all rent and torn;
> May yet assume a new and lovely face,
> And shine afresh with more peculiar grace,
> Than e'er it did when it was fresh and new,
> After the woful changes it comes through:
> Whiter and purer than it was before.[65]

From "despicable" to "pure" the transformation made at the paper mill appears quite profound.[66] "The Brocade Gown and the Linen Rag" referred to the "mill's refining motion" for turning rags into paper, while "The White Rag" also simplified the process: the rag "went to the mill/ That was moved by a stream,/ and came out a fair ream".[67] The absence of detail or information in these works lends itself to the positioning of paper as an elevated substance. The pseudonym "Alchemy" which can be associated with the chemical process by which paper was whitened, also hinted at a preternatural association with the transformation of vile rags to pure white paper. "The Brocaded Gown and the Linen Rag" made this transcendental imagery explicit. The rag in this poem was "refined" by the mill, having its "virgin purity" renewed by the action of the Medway's waters; before beginning a

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[63] Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', 448.
[64] Anon., *The Spectator* 367 (1712: May 1), 735.
[65] Maxwell, 'A Poem on the Manufacture of Paper', 45.
[66] Anon., *The Spectator* 367 (1712: May 1), 735.
[67] Smart, 'The Brocaded Gown and the Linen Rag', 90; Alchemy, 'The White Rag', 740.

"re-inform'd existence" in a "second life divine". In contrast, the rag's adversary – a dress – was left "burning": linking it to the sinner languishing in Hell.[68] This troupe of the resurrection of rags and their transubstantiation into paper, hark back to the *Spectator's* image of the rag "raised" from the rubbish-heap.

The lack of detail regarding the papermaking process in these fictional works may play into the trope of reforming rags. However, there were plenty of factual writings on the subject which went into more detail. *The Universal Magazine* approached the subject twice, first in 1752 and again in 1762. "The Method of Making Paper" began with an account of the history of paper-making and geography of its spread, comparing British paper with its continental counterparts.[69] The article continued dispassionately describing in some detail the technicalities of the machinery used to make paper. Measurements and materials were minutely documented, for example "oval mortars made of well-seasoned oak about half a yard deep, with an iron plate at bottom an inch thick, eight inches broad, and thirty long". The piece was very technically specific: "in the middle is a washing-block with five holes in it", whereas the human involvement in the process was barely mentioned. The workers appeared only as "the maker [of paper]", "the coucher", "the strength of five or six men" to operate the press to squeeze the water out of the post of paper and as "hands" which smoothed and sized the paper. Nothing was said of rag-collection, the rags simply "arrive at the mill".[70]

Ten years later *The Universal Magazine* approached the subject of paper-making again.[71] This article was far more detailed and – after rehashing the same history – it began with the sorting of the rags. It described how women sat, two-by-two, on benches in a large room full of rags. Each of them had a knife which she used to cut out the seams from the fabric, as well as to scrape off the dirt. Like its forebear this article was fairly dispassionate and unlike the fictional narratives there was no sensationalism associated with dirt in this factual piece. As opposed to the earlier article this piece did not go into great technical details about the machinery. Instead there were details of the processing of the rags, the desirable qualities of rags and paper, and the method of turning rags into paper. Two months later a second part to this article was published. It dealt with the process from fermented rags to stuff, and again it was heavy on details of the process.[72] Each of the *Universal Magazine* articles was illustrated, with one image accompanying each of the earlier articles and several published with the latter.

[68] Smart, 'The Brocaded Gown and the Linen Rag', 90.
[69] Anon., 'The Method of Making Paper', *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* 10, 70 (1752: June), 124.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 113-117.
[72] Anon., 'A View and Description of a PAPER-MILL, and its implements: Being a Continuation of the ART of Manufacturing PAPER; begun in this Magazine for March last', *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* 30, 209 (May 1762), 260-261.

At least two publications were aimed at educating the young about paper making. *Evenings at Home* took the form of short "lessons" and discussions between a father and son. One of which was "The Manufacture of Paper". Unlike the *Universal Magazine* articles, this piece was loaded with emotive phrases, although the technical detail was almost as thorough. The opening statement set up a familiar dichotomy between rags and paper, which had also been evident in the fictional paper-as-protagonist pieces: "This delicate and beautiful substance is made from the meanest and most disgusting materials, from old rags, which have passed from one poor person to another, and at length have perhaps dropped in tatters from the child of the beggar. These are carefully picked up from dunghills, or brought from servants by Jews".[73] A myriad of machines were described working on the rags until the material was "restored to its original whiteness".[74] Different types of paper were discussed, including grey, white and brown as well as the latest technological innovation: "wove paper". Twenty-two years later the same topic was presented in a comparable text aimed at young women. By comparison the content in *The Complete Governess* was stark and void of detail, though still technically accurate. This particular account of papermaking was highly feminised, with domestic terminology taking the place of accurate papermaking terms. For example, instead of the watery rag mixture being given its correct name 'stuff', in *The Complete Governess* it was described as "thin starch or fine gruel". Whereas earlier, ostensibly male-oriented, publications described the waterleaf being pressed between felts, in *The Complete Governess* these were described as "blankets".[75] The text also harked back to the personified paper fictions, in that it took a self-referential tone; discussing the materiality of the book itself.

Ostensibly the guiding principle of *The Complete Governess* was to provide a solid, sensible grounding in the essentials of several subjects, "the ordinary books upon which are, from their great size and learned appearance, rather repulsive than inviting".[76] Although it might be argued that the process has been simplified as paper making was covered in the introductory matter (as opposed to forming part of the main body of the text as the other examples surveyed here had done) this in itself is instructive – for men and boys a thorough knowledge of how paper was made was part of their education, but for women it was simply 'introductory'. In all other accounts of paper-making there was an emphasis on dirt and disgust, rags and the ragged and the rag-collector rummaging through the Dung Hills; which was simply absent from this account for girls. In this version there was simply a "worn-out" dress, sold to the rag-merchant – a far more refined image. There was also no mention in this account of the fact that it was women who performed the cutting and sorting of the rags. Instead: "the rag-merchant takes it [the worn out dress] to the paper mills, where it is first

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[73] Anon., *Evenings at Home; or, The Juvenile Budget Opened. Consisting of A Variety of Miscellaneous Pieces, for the Instruction and Amusements of Young Persons. Vol II* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1793), 140.
[74] Ibid., 141.
[75] Anon., 'Review: *The Complete Governess*', *The Literary Chronicle* 7, 345 (24th December 1825), 822.
[76] Ibid.

torn to pieces".[77] Although no female workers were mentioned in *The Complete Governess* the male workers appeared in their relevant roles. This was a feminised and sanitised account of the papermaking process.

Contemporary literatures on papermaking demonstrate that there was public knowledge of the papermaking process which appears to have filtered down into accepted, and indeed expected, knowledge for young people and women towards the end of the long eighteenth-century. These texts also exhibit a collection of received-wisdom and of culturally-defined perceptions about the papermaking process, the people involved with it and consumers of paper. Authors do not create in a vacuum, they write as part of the social and cultural milieu of their times, however they are also prone to exaggeration and poetic licence. As archival evidence associated with paper and papermaking are examined in this thesis, the ideas and ideals espoused in both these literatures and in the literatures of subsequent scholarly analysis will be interrogated and examined through the lens of paper in Edinburgh between 1770 and 1820.

Twenty-First Century Paper Studies – Bookish Histories

Largely, recent studies of paper history have recognised their debt to both social life theory and the eighteenth-century literatures which appear to have prefigured them, though some have more in common with the twentieth-century economic histories. Paper as a topic was picked up by bibliographers in the twentieth-century. In what is generally termed 'descriptive bibliography' their work aimed, by and large, to utilise paper as a method of categorising and examining the physical properties of books, often considering paper as a means to dating books and identifying piracy.[78] Out of bibliography grew the allied field of book history, which considers the physical form of the book (often based on bibliographical principles), alongside its content. In recent years there have been several large-scale projects aimed at considering national (and international) book histories, each of which has included some work on paper history. The fifth volume of the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* includes John Bidwell's 'The Industrialisation of the Paper Trade'. Bidwell does an admirable job of updating earlier economic histories, suggesting a re-examination of Shorter's suggested average price of paper and characterising the history of paper at this time as a period of growth and improvement. He suggests that the early nineteenth-century saw papermakers able to build empires which afforded them "wealth rank and prestige" in comparison to eighteenth-century papermakers who could apparently only afford to run one

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[77] Ibid., 823.
[78] See, for examples: Robin Myers and Michael Harris, *Fakes and Frauds: varieties of Deception in Manuscript and Print* (Winchester: St Paul's Biographies, 1989); Allan Stevenson, *Observations on Paper as Evidence*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1961); Bidwell, John. 'The Study of Paper as Evidence, Artefact, and Commodity.' In *The Book Encompassed: Studies in Twentieth-Century Bibliography*, edited by Peter Davison, 69-82. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Dover, Delaware: Oak Knoll, 2007);

or two vats.[79] The History of the Book in Scotland project has produced four volumes. The most relevant to this thesis is Stephen Brown and Warren McDougall's *Enlightenment and Expansion*, in which Brown examined the history of paper in Scotland between 1701 and 1800. Whereas Bidwell perceived the history of paper in Britain to be growing in importance and capabilities, Brown's brief analysis covered little more than papermaking methods at the time and noted the existence of several Edinburgh papermakers.[80] At a mere four pages long this chapter is also significantly shorter than other sections of the volume, suggesting the need for more work on Scottish papermaking. It is indeed true that there are very few studies of Scottish paper. Alastair Thomson's monograph on the Scottish paper industry fits within the twentieth-century economic studies of paper. More recently Ewen Jardine has published articles on paper mills on the river Leven and Scottish-American connections, and Ying Yong Ding has published on the Cowan firm.[81] In addition there exists the Penicuik Papermaking Project. Initially this produced a website, but more recently a physical Penicuik Museum and Papermaking Heritage Centre has opened, which is now one of two UK paper museums in which visitors have the opportunity to make paper by hand.[82] Sarah Bromage, David Finklestein and Alastair McCleery have published a short book entitled *Papermaking on the Water of Leith*, in which local people shared accounts of their time working in some of Edinburgh's paper mills.[83] Additionally, Scotland has its own version of the British Book Trade Index (BBTI), called the Scottish Book Trade Index (SBTI), which – like its counterpart - includes paper makers.[84]

Between these grand overarching narratives and local micro-histories, paper has been gaining popular and scholarly interest. Within these works the notion of paper having a social life has not been missed. Indeed, since beginning this work I have become aware of other scholars using this trope, most notably Professor Lisa Gitleman who runs an undergraduate course in the department of English and Media and Communication at New York University with the title 'The Social Life of Paper'.[85] Gitleman's reading list demonstrates that her interest in the topic is wide-ranging in historical period and has literary leanings. It looks like a fascinating class. Her work in this area was recently

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[79] John Bidwell, 'The Industrialisation of the Paper Trade.' In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 5 1695-1830,* edited by Michael F. Suarez & Michael L. Turner, 200-217 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[80] Brown, Stephen W. 'Paper Manufacture'. In *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland volume 2 1701-1800,* edited by Stephen Brown and Warren McDougall, 61-64 (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

[81] See: Alastair G. Thomson, *The Paper Industry in Scotland 1590-1861* (Scottish Academic Press: Edinburgh, 1974); Ewan Jardine, 'A History of the Paper Mills on the River Leven', *Paper Technology* (2009), 6-7; Ewan Jardine, 'Scottish Papermakers and the First Fourdrinier Machines in America', *Paper History* 18 (2014), 29; Ying Yong Ding. "Alex. Cowan and Sons, Papermakers, Penicuik, 1779-1975: An Examination of Progress, Success, Takeover and Closure, with Some Theoretical Considerations." *The Quarterly of the British Association of Paper Historians* 78 (2011): 1-11.

[82] Penicuik Papermerking Project, <http://www.penicuikpapermaking.org/>. [19/02/16]. The other is Wooky Hole in Somerset.

[83] Sarah Bromage, David Finklestein and Alastair McCleery, *Papermaking on the Water of Leith*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996.

[84] SBTI, <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index>. [15/01/16].

[85] My interest in this area stems from an essay I wrote on my Master's degree.

published as a monograph entitled *Paper Knowledge: Towards a Media History of Documents*. Gitleman is, however, far from the first to use this notion of a social life to examine cultural and commercial product history. Alice Dolan has written on the social life of linen, juxtaposing the life-cycle of linen against that of its owners.[86] *The Social Life of Ink* by Ted Bishop was published in the same year as Professor Gitleman's work. Bishop begins with the contention that as "pixels have replaced pigment" it is time to examine the history of ink. He describes ink as a ubiquitous product, so universal that we fail to notice it. This is not a scholarly guide. Bishop's accessible style details his travels to ink factories and his clear passion for his subject. He ends by surmising that the very technology which was supposed to have replaced ink (i.e. computers) has actually enabled ink-enthusiasts to connect. Rather than seeing the end of ink, Bishop reasons that ink will become a niche product with a specialised market.[87]

In a similar vein Ian Sansom contends in *Paper: An Elegy* that the world we live in is totally and wholly reliant on paper and that far from a death of paper scenario, we are becoming more reliant on the substance. Sansom does not claim to be writing the history of paper, rather he sets out to "curate [his] own popular paper museum" which he defines as the enquiry into how people became attached to the substance we call paper and why our world is so full of the material. He attempts to distance paper from reading and writing, stating that these already have admirable written histories; which indeed they do. Sansom begins with papermaking, a whirlwind tour of the process from Japan to Britain, handmade to post-industrial machines. He moves onto trees, woodpulp paper and environmental concerns, before considering paper as a substance connected to travel – in forms such as maps, tickets and passports. He then covers books, banknotes, advertising, architects plans and wallpaper, high-art made of paper, board games, puzzles and playing cards, origami and silhouettes, and paper as an instrument of the state. Throughout all of these he interjects with his own biographical dealings with paper. Sansom is correct in asserting that his book is not a history, indeed he appears to work almost exclusively from secondary sources. His chapters deal with their themes chronologically, but overall he flits from one period to another (though mostly focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), placing most emphasis on the more popularly interesting and easily relatable aspects of paper use. Additionally, as a literary scholar, Sansom's book is unsurprisingly littered with literary references.[88] Another recent non-scholarly history of paper has been written by Nicholas Basbanes, an American journalist and self-confessed bibliophile, whose history of paper offers a wealth of fascinating details. His work is American in focus, as demonstrated by Basbanes factoids

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[86] Alice Dolan, 'The Fabric of Life, Time and Textiles in an Eighteenth-Century Plebeian Family Home' *Home Cultures, The Journal of Architecture, Design and Domestic Space* 11, 3 (2014): 353-374.
[87] Ted Bishop, *The Social Life of Ink: Culture, Wonder and Our Relationship with the Written Word* (Canada: Viking, 2014).
[88] Ian Sansom, *Paper: An Elegy* (London: Fourth Estate, 2013).

about U.S. Government secret papers being pulped to make pizza boxes, and references to the paper which fell from the Twin Towers. His work takes in a wide range of paper types and uses, but fails to fully interrogate any of them in a scholarly fashion. These last two works are notable for highlighting paper's zeitgeist – it's popularity demonstrating that this is a subject about which a wide range of people are currently interested.[89]

More scholarly examinations of the subject come in the form of three recent monographs. Christopher Flint's *The Appearance of Print in Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, Leah Price's *How to do Things With Books in Victorian Britain* and Christina Lupton's *Knowing Books: The Consciousness of Mediation in Eighteenth-Century Britain* are all more scholarly examinations of topics and themes found in Sansom's *Elegy*. Each is interested in a social life of books. Flint and Lupton's projects share many features, both considering self-referential literatures of the eighteenth-century. Lupton sets out to explore how literatures of the 1750s, 60s and 70s were self-referential. In relation to paper and this thesis she discusses both philosophical writings on the nature of paper and the it-narratives of the period, including 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper'. Like many writers on paper Lupton veers into discussing writing and reading rather than paper as a material substance. She uses the notion of "good paper" being a "social hieroglyph" which I think gives away her conflation of paper and words. Lupton devotes a fascinating chapter to the "Theory of Paper" in which she discusses Hume, Beattie and Locke as philosophers of paper. She examines their relative stances on the question of paper's ability to be representative, discussing Hume's argument for looking past the paper in deciding the value of a text, and Beattie's position that people looked to the paper itself. She sees Hume's argument as suggesting that when people read they received the words as disembodied from the paper on which they were conveyed, whereas Beattie felt that people paid too much attention to paper and drew their ideas about the quality of the words from the quality of the paper. Lupton discusses Beattie as having argued that paper portrayed certainty, at a time when historically paper often meant uncertainty. Forged bank notes were a particular concern at this time and as Lupton cites, Henry Home, Lord Kames, had recently published an experiment which demonstrated that if you placed a piece of white paper next to one which was whiter still the first no longer looked white, using paper to prove the uncertainty of human perception. However, several of Lupton's theories have been disproved by book historians, such as the notion that reading leaves no physical trace - when we know that readers kept details of their reading in common place books, for example, and the body of work on marginalia, as well as more recent studies which have employed scientific techniques.[90]

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[89] Nicholas Basbanes. *On Paper: The Everything of its Two-Thousand Year History*. (New York: Knopf, 2013).
[90] Lupton makes this assertion on page 85. Works which contradict it include: H. J. Jackson *Marginalia* (2002); William H Sher's *Used Books* (2010); Kathryn Rudy was even able to show the point at which readers of Medieval text fell asleep reading! Kathryn M. Rudy, "Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer." *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2, 1-2 (2010).

Whereas Lupton's work feels as though it would have benefited from a greater knowledge of book history, Price appears to have made an attempt to employ the premise of book history and has attempted to relate content to context. Price's work grew out of her earlier contribution to *Bookish Histories*, in which she wrote about the need to find a way to separate reading from handling of texts.[91] *How to do Things With Books in Victorian Britain* is Price doing just that, and focuses on "Victorian representations and perceptions of, and fantasies and illusions about, the circulation of books, not the circulation of books itself". Although some of her work is concerned with how Victorians read or pretended to read their books, a large part is about the variety of other things Victorians did with books.[92] With a nod towards social life theory, Price argues that "even bibliographers need limits" and suggests the second-hand clothing market and forestry as possible boundaries in one direction and variously "the archive, the repository, the dumpster?" in the other.[93] Setting limits when taking a social life approach is problematic. Setting limits when discussing paper is equally tricky, as all scholars of paper history have noted. Price's limits are literary, Victorian and active. She examines the way books were handled, touched, passed around, broken, fixed and transformed. However, she is another literary scholar, making sense of books via the things written about them in fictions.

Lothar Muller is a German literary critic, whose work *White Magic* was translated into English in 2014. Muller explicitly recognises that his position as a literary critic and journalist with an interest in cultural studies will have influenced his work and produced a different picture to a study from a historical viewpoint. He begins by examining papermaking, focusing on paper's material form and considering it as a product of civilisation in direct opposition to rag-gatherers who were "the embodiments of the term "dirty work"". Then he looks at paper as a repository of information, with particular emphasis on the printing press as the "single most significant entity in the paper age" and finally he considers how paper has been internalised as a metaphorical resource. Muller has an interest in paper as a medium for words and images and is more interested in analog paper than electronic paper. Muller also notes how electronic paper aims to mimic analog paper (as did Sansom, who mused over the fact that given the opportunity to reinvent paper we have simply attempted to mimic it in electronic form).[94]

While these authors have undertaken wide-reaching studies of many types or uses of paper, several scholarly works have dealt with individual items or classes of items. Sarah Lloyd has applied social life theory to eighteenth-century tickets, Konstantin Dierks wrote about

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[91] Leah Price, 'Getting the Reading Out of It: Paper Recycling in Mayhew's London', in
Bookish Histories: Books, Literature, and Commercial Modernity, 1700–1900, edited by Ina
Ferris and Paul Keen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 148–66.
[92] Leah Price, *How to Do Thing with Books in Victorian Britain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
[93] Price, 'Getting the Reading Out of It', 19.
[94] Lothar Muller, *White Magic: The Age of Paper* Translated by Jessica Spengler (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014).

eighteenth-century stationery supplies and there has been enough work on bureaucratic paper for the appropriately named Ben Kafka to undertake a review of the state of the discipline for the journal *Book History*. Dierks surveyed newspaper advertisements from eighteenth-century Pennsylvania and looked at commercial dictionaries and promotional literature for evidence of people's attitudes towards stationery products. He found an increasing language of specialisation, and elitism in descriptions of stationery products as the century wore on. He suggests that prior to the early nineteenth-century social power was derived from being a competent writer, from being able to use pens and penknives and inks correctly. Dierks sees the situation change in the early nineteenth-century, when, he believes, social power began to be gained through the ownership of the correct materials. Dierks feels that it was no longer enough to be able to write, one needed to write with a particular type of pen, using a particular ink.[95]

Ownership and possession are also features of Lloyd's analysis of eighteenth-century tickets. Lloyd describes the emergence of the "phenomenon" of ticketing which emerged in the eighteenth-century. She describes the multiplicity of uses the ticket had, which went well beyond social uses such as entry to entertainments and included far more mundane instances of tracking and organising items. As well as being of interest for its specific examples of the social life of various types of ticket, Lloyd's article makes some important points regarding our ability to study the history of paper ephemera. She states that large scale digitisation projects, such as those of newspapers, have opened up a world to scholars who are able to search for apparently obscure items (such as tickets) in order to gain a greater sense of contemporaneous understanding of the item. On the other hand, projects such as ECCO have been "shaped by assumptions about print and its historical or literary significance" resulting in them focusing entirely on books and magazines.[96]

Kafka similarly notes that histories of paper and stationery "show a strong affinity for book history, despite our field's tendency to privilege texts that have been printed and bound". Kafka concluded that while the history of office paperwork has several admirable works it does not yet have a grand narrative. Many of the works Kafka cited were in French, where paper-studies long ago overtook British efforts. Published in 2009 Kafka appears to have been writing at a time of more pessimism in the book than present. He believed that that the main difference between the history of book and the history of paperwork is that while the future of books is uncertain, the future of paperwork is clear – it is becoming increasingly electronic.[97]

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[95] Konstantin Dierks, 'Letter Writing, Stationery Supplies, and Consumer Modernity in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World', *Early American Literature* 41, 3 (2006): 473-494.
[96] Sarah Lloyd, 'Ticketing the Eighteenth-Century. "A thing … never heard of before."' *Journal of Social History* 46, 4 (2013): 843-871.
[97] Ben Kafka, "Paperwork: The State of the Discipline." *Book History* 12 (2009): 340-353.

While not considering them as paper objects in their own right, there is a body of work on eighteenth-century consumption which utilises paper-things as evidence of cultural attitudes. Notably, John Brewer's chapter on 'Borrowing, Coping and Collecting' examines trade cards, tickets, prints and engravings within the context of publishing, opera and art to look at the ways these items helped to shape contemporary culture and taste. It is not the paper itself, of the fact that these items consist of paper that interests Brewer, but their status as objects of cultural capital which is associated with their content rather than their composition.[98] Amanda Vickery has published on wallpaper, devoting a chapter of her monograph *Behind Closed Doors, At Home in Georgian England* to the subject. Vickery is concerned with wallpaper and taste, the associations with various colours and patterns and how wallpaper played a part in helping to shape its owner's social position.[99] Various types of homemade art feature in Ann Bermingham's *Learning to Draw*: *Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* focuses on how art became an accomplishment. Bermingham covers an astonishing range of arts from military mapping to silhouetting, Japanning to landscape painting. In part one Bermingham discusses the seventeenth-century background to the titular 'polite and useful arts', before moving on in part two to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries; with the themes of gender, class, and education recurring throughout. Part two begins with the military necessity for maps leading to cartography being taught at military academies, and landscape watercolours becoming a craze amongst young men on the grand tour. Later, this education in drawing was transferred to charitable schools as a useful skill for future merchants and businessmen. The theme of the 'use' of art is continued by a section on fancy work, in which Bermingham discusses how paper-crafts came to be perceived as acceptable accomplishments for young women as their domestic role began to include beautifying the home. Finally, Bermingham discusses the nineteenth-century's development of mechanical reproduction and photography.[100]

Janet Mulin, Elizabeth Kim and A. Hyatt Mayor have all examined different types of cards. Mulin's work on playing cards takes a broadly social-life perspective, Gathering evidence from over 100 diaries, letters, and common place books; supplemented by novels and magazine articles aimed at this kind of person, she argues that the kind of sociability displayed during play was representative of their cultural norms and values. Unlike elite contemporaries who were criticised for their "disregard for the value of time and money", Mullin suggests that middling card-play was characterised by "restrained hours, limited stakes, [and] low-risk games", in much the same way as their professional and personal

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[98] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 341-391.
[99] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors, at Home in Georgian England* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 166-183.
[100] Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

dealings were conducted.[101] Kim's research looks at depictions of race on tradecards in the Heal and Banks collection at the British Museum. As might be expected, the cards most often bearing these images are advertising merchants and retailers of tea, coffee, sugar and tobacco. Arguing that these images served to endorse and proliferate racial stereotypes, Kim suggests that trade cards could "conceivably change hands a number of times, crisscrossing gender, class, and generational lines", leading to their "cumulative social impact".[102] Curator, Hyatt Mayor's short article is largely descriptive. Mayor states that the first calling card was probably used in France in 1673, and was printed on the back of a playing card. The use of playing cards appears to have continued for a time, and it would seem that playing-cards were also put to other uses, such as bookmarks, thank-you notes, and invitations to parties and funerals, again suggesting a diversion from their original use. Mayor notes that dog-earing calling cards became a popular practice among house-keepers, who used the turned corner to signify to their masters that the card had been delivered in person. As the practice of leaving a card trickled down through society, personalised cards were replaced with cards that could be bought in sheets, and names

A major feature of this thesis is that it considers rags as a step in the social life of paper. Considerations of rags for the eighteenth-century are scant, perhaps in part due to the concept of recycling not being in contemporary usage. Economic historian Donald Woodward made the case for pre-industrial recycling in 1985, but little work has been undertaken on the subject since. Woodward covered clothing, building materials, metals and a miscellany of other examples, which briefly included papermaking. He made no suggestion in his writings on second-hand-clothing that clothes were made into paper. When he gets to papermaking (to which Woodward devotes one paragraph) he does discuss rags, again citing the well-worn information that all sorts of poor persons collected rags, however he did suggest that the paper industry was perhaps the only one to rely solely on recycled materials for production. He also briefly touched on glass, wax, rope and "night soil". Woodward made the case for further research in this area, suggesting the business books of "plumbers, blacksmiths, pewterers, or other notorious recyclers" might be able to offer further evidence.[103] Tim Cooper took up Woodward's call, reiterating Woodward's stance that pre-industrial recycling was the result of economic necessity due to low-production yields.[104]

Since Cooper, eighteenth-century recycling has been given a social life treatment. Susan Strasser's *Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash* considered how things move in and

[101] Janet E. Mullin. '"We Had Carding": Hospitable Card Play and Polite Domestic Sociability Among the Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century England.' *Journal of Social History*, (Summer 2009): 989-1008, 990-2.
[102] Elizabeth Kim. "Race Sells: Racialized Trade Cards in Eighteenth Century Britain." *Journal of Material Culture* 7, 2 (2002): 139.
[103] Donald Woodward '"Swords into Ploughshares": Recycling in Pre-Industrial England.' *The Economic History Review* 38, 2 (1985): 175-191.
[104] Tim Cooper, 'Rags, Bones and Recycling Bins', *History Today* (2006), 17-18.

out of a state of waste. Drawing heavily on Appadurai and Kopytoff Strasser theorised that the social value of things is dependent upon historical mores. She contends that what we perceive as "trash" (Strasser is an American consumer historian) today might actually have been held in higher regard in other times and places or by individuals with different belief systems.[105] The social history of recycling has recently been examined from a European perspective in a collection of essays covering a variety of eighteenth-century recycling edited by Ariane Fennetaux et al. The first part of the volume is devoted to methods of second-hand trading, such as second-hand clothing markets, antiquarianism and country house auctions. The second part of the work is on the material practices of recycling (covering items such as furniture, ceramics, textiles and wax) and the third on textual recyclings. The authors situate recycling (as in the "re-use, salvaging and transformation" of commodities) as fundamental to eighteenth-century consumerism, arguing that the labour put into making a thing was valued and therefore items were not easily discarded. Fennetaux recognised in her introduction that recycling can be used as a lens through which to view subjects which are all too often artificially categorised.[106]

Sophie Gee took a literary approach to recycling, considering waste in literature. Like Strasser she finds that eighteenth-century attitudes to waste were not what have generally been thought. Rather, in the works she examined "The waste matter of eighteenth-century philosophy was usually seen as valuable *because* it was a leftover: a sign that something important had happened, leaving a residue behind."[107] Deborah Wynne looked more specifically at rags as a waste product in Dickens' writing. She makes an excellent foray into the history of rags in the Victorian era, discussing the connection between writings on the act of making paper – turning a despised material into something valuable – and redemption narratives. She traces this back to John Locke's *tabula rasa*, the notion that at birth children resemble 'white paper' and sees Ragged Schools as making this notion explicit. She states that Victorian periodicals regularly published rags to paper accounts in order to persuade people that it was their social duty to recycle and describes the paradox marvelled at in texts, of people clothed in tatters, picking up rags to be made into books which they would not be able to read. Like other writers on rags, Wynne maintains that "only the desperately poor were reduced to collecting them [i.e. rags]."[108]

It is notable that almost without exception since the 1980s almost all examinations of paper in its raw form, as opposed to the multitude of things into which paper was made, have come from the field of literary and cultural/media studies. Of the above accounts only those by

[105] Susan Strasser, *Waste and Want, A Social History of Trash* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000).
[106] Ariane Fennetaux et al. (eds.), *The Afterlife of Used Things: Recycling in the Long Eighteenth Century.* (London: Routledge, 2015).
[107] Sophie Gee, *Making Waste: Leftovers and the Eighteenth-Century Imagination* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010).
[108] Deborah Wynne, "Reading Victorian Rags: Recycling, Redemption and Dickens's Ragged Children" *Journal of Victorian Culture* 20, 1 (2014): 34-49.

Strasser and Dierks were conducted by historians. Indeed it was my own background in studying English Literature as an undergraduate and Book History as a Masters' student which initially alerted me to this area of enquiry. This valuable approach has led to some truly inspired and inspirational scholarship, but it has also (I believe) caused this topic to be considered from the limiting viewpoint of paper as a substrate for literature and correspondence. That is, the history of paper has – so far – been largely written as a history of books and letters. I believe this stems from several sources, not least that eighteenth-century it-narratives prefigured the social life of paper. Additionally, literary theories such as semiotics and post structuralism lend themselves very neatly to social life theory, and in particular the work by Julia Kristeva on Intertextuality is highly influential, certainly in my thinking on the subject.[109] Book historians also have Robert Darnton and his 'Communications Circuit' to look to for the notion of books having a life-cycle.[110] Finally, Bill Brown's *A Sense of Things* made thing theory explicitly literary in relation to the nineteenth-century.[111] This is no negative reflection on the endeavours of those who have come before me in this subject, merely an observation that there is more to tell in the story of paper, particularly from a Western perspective, as T. H. Barrett has noted.[112] Indeed, it was an observation made by writers of the eighteenth-century themselves that paper had a multitude of origins and a plethora of opportunities available to it during its life. In completing this thesis one of my aims has been to begin to redress the balance in favour of types of paper other than books and paper used for other purposes than reading and writing, of which there was no shortage in the later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries. Previous enquiry has also tended not to examine paper in the warehouses and shops of eighteenth-century merchants and traders. I hope that this thesis provides a useful counterpoint, a rejoinder, to what has come before in the area of paper-studies and suggest some interesting jumping-off points for future researches. I believe that it also offers various suggestions for ways to re-frame previous understandings of paper, by providing some historical evidence for things previously half-known or assumed.

Thesis Outline

Chapter 1. Collecting Rags: The Balerno Company

Edinburgh's Balerno Papermaking Company has a fascinating and untold history. In the years following its inception in c.1787/8 it quickly rose to become one of Scotland's largest paper manufactories, before suffering an equally remarkable collapse in the 1790s. The

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[109] Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, Novel" in Toril Moi editor *The Kristeva Reader* (London: Wiley Blackwell, 1991).
[110] Robert Darnton, "What is the history of books?" *Daedalus* 111, 3 (1982): 65-83.
[111] Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
[112] T.H. Barrett, "The Woman who Invented Note Paper: Toward a Comparative Historiography of Paper and Print" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21, 2 (April 2011): 199 – 210.

proprietors dragged each other through the courts, embroiled in a bitter fraud dispute, resulting in the creation of a unique set of records relating to the rag and paper trades in Edinburgh at that time. The company was continued in a slightly different form following the court case, eventually becoming one of the UKs most recognisable brands: Macniven and Cameron (later Waverly Cameron); the firm behind the famous slogan: "They came as a boon and a blessing to men: the Pickwick, the Owl and the Waverly pen". The fact that the records of the business were created in relation to a case of fraud gives a wonderful insight into how the paper trade worked in Edinburgh. The owners and workers each testified to their own working practices and individuals from other mills were called to give evidence of how their practices differed from the fraudulent practices of the Balerno Company, resulting in rich documents full of first-hand accounts. By following the establishment of the Balerno Company this chapter begins the thesis by enquiring into the origins of paper – the rags used as raw materials. What is revealed is a more complex rag-trade than has been previously imagined, which doesn't sit as neatly with accepted notions of rag-gatherers as itinerant beggars. It has been assumed that as these sorts of people did not keep business records, there is little on which to base a history of rags. The assumption that rags were sold to the paper mills by the poor is highly prevalent, still being cited (without interrogation) by various scholars. So strong is our association between rags and poverty that it is simply accepted. It is ingrained in our language, the negative associations with the word 'rag' doing much of the cultural work to provide us with our mental image of those who collected them. The Balerno Company books and the investigations into their business contain not only concrete details of individuals in Edinburgh who sold rags, but also a variety of hints about the way in which this trade operated. Taking up these threads has enabled a broader understanding of the rag trade in Edinburgh and suggested directions in which to look for further evidence of the rag trade elsewhere. The company records make it possible to expand the notion of rag-gatherers beyond trampers, and make connections between the rag trade and other trades both in Edinburgh and beyond.

Chapter 2. Wholesale Paper: The Balerno Company and Their Customers

Extensive work on the physical methods of paper making has already been undertaken in notable histories such as those written by D.C. Coleman, Richard Hills, Dard Hunter and A.H. Shorter, et al. Therefore, Chapter 2 completes the illustration of the Balerno Company by looking at the far-end of the papermaking trade: its paper-selling operations. The chapter begins with a consideration of the company's premises and an overview of the company's business ledgers. In conjunction with writings on retail practices in the eighteenth-century, knowledge of the premises and ledgers enable a picture to be built up of the way in which the company might have done business day-to-day. A detailed examination of the company's ledgers leads to suggestions about the type of retail customers the company entertained, as

well as the wholesale customers they are known to have sold their wares to. The wholesale customers fall broadly into two groups, those connected to the booktrades, and those outside of the booktrades. Both sets of customers included some influential Edinburgh figures, and the records prove that the supply of white paper to the booktrades was less voluminous than the supply of wrapping papers to a wide variety of retailers. This highlights the fact that previous attention to white paper in the majority of scholarly literature has overlooked this important aspect of the trade and failed to pick up on assertions such as those made by Bell and Hinks that the requirements of commerce were as least as much of a driving force in the stationery trade as increasing literacy.[113] The Balerno Company does indeed appear to have been serving the commercial interests of merchants in Edinburgh, a point which will remain pertinent to future chapters. The types of paper bought by different customers are then considered, as well as how these papers might have been put to use in their shops. This leads to a more general discussion of the uses and importance of wrapping paper. However, there is an apparent disjuncture between the Balerno Company selling wrapping paper – which has tended to be seen as a fairly unworthy commodity – and the high status they seem to have enjoyed. While paper traders had been perceived as largely uneducated and requiring little specialist knowledge to undertake the role, businesses such as the Balerno Company were able to gain status due to the size and extent of their operations. As dealers in rags, as well as paper-makers and sellers, the Balerno Company was operating in a way which has been perceived to be uncommon prior to the mid-nineteenth-century. However, the chapter presents evidence suggesting that control over the whole supply and distribution chain of paper was far from an uncommon method of managing a company in the British paper trades at this time.

Chapter 3. Advertising Paper: Unstable Stationery

Broadening the examination into the paper trade beyond the Balerno Company, this chapter examines the breadth of paper-selling in Edinburgh between 1770 and 1820. Retailers of paper in Edinburgh grew in number over the period, expanding with the growth of the city at this time. Many of the city's paper retailers advertised their wares in the local press, though some businesses were more active marketers than others. Their advertisements demonstrate some notable patterns, particularly with respect to an apparently seasonal offering of papers. These advertisements also demonstrate examples of innovation and specialisation in paper technologies. It has been argued, in relation to the American market, that specialisation was an attempt to enhance the social value of owning particular types of stationery products. This chapter examines the advertisements placed in Edinburgh newspapers to see if similar claims can be made. The notion of increasing specialisation leads to an examination of the

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[113] Maureen Bell and John Hinks, 'The English provincial book trade: evidence from the British book trade index', in Suarez and Turner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* Volume 5, 340.

role of the stationer. As the previous chapter considered what it meant to be a wholesale stationer, this chapter looks at the status of the retail stationer. Previous research has framed paper-selling as one aspect of the book-trades. This has led to most of the work on historical paper being conducted from a book history perspective. The result is that, in the case of Edinburgh at least, large swathes of the trade have been missed. Supplementing scholarship from the SBTI and BBTI with information from the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* I have been able to broaden knowledge of where paper was being sold in the late eighteenth-century Scottish capital. In addition to the discovery of previously unknown stationers I have been able to uncover more details of a branch of the paper trade overlooked by book historians. These were the retailers who sold paper as part of a broader range of products. As they had no connection to the booktrades book historians have never examined this type of paper-retailer. The discovery of a wide network of paper-sellers adds another dimension to a historical question about the definition of the role of a 'stationer' and enables me to re-frame scholarly debate about the importance of the stationery trade to bookselling.

Chapter 4. Using Paper: Furnishing and Instructing

Just as Chapter 3 demonstrates that paper was sold alongside other things, Chapter 4 suggests that its use was also determined and defined by other objects. Paper by itself serves no purpose; it is generally not until it is combined with pen and ink at a desk, or with sugar, tea, or meat in a shopping basket – as examples – that it takes on significance and meaning. Indeed, as a writing-surface it is next-to-useless on its own, as it requires something hard on which to rest to stop the paper giving way under the pressure of the pen. This chapter, therefore, looks at one aspect of the relationship of paper to other objects – furnishings, and in particular the desk. The eighteenth-century witnessed an expanding market for paper-related furnishings, with the number of different kinds of these furnishings increasing and their ownership becoming more widespread. Using inventories taken after death, this chapter considers the ownership of desks in Edinburgh between 1770 and 1820. It begins by looking at the different types of desks which appeared in the inventories. Examining the relative prominence of different sorts of desks in Edinburgh it finds that the most common type of desk owned by people in the capital at this time was not necessarily the most fashionable of the period. However, an examination of the desks owned by individuals of varying financial status reveals that although those with significant wealth were able to purchase more elaborate furnishings, merchants and traders were more likely to own a desk which represented a significant investment in terms of their overall furniture. These were perhaps not the most fashionable desks in Edinburgh, but their owners had seemingly spent a disproportionate amount of their overall spend on furniture on the desks in their homes. It also reveals that some very wealthy individuals apparently did not own desk at all, and that while it might be expected that those connected to the booktrades or those in bookish

professions had particular reason to devote significant funds to owning a desk, this appears not to have been the case. Next, the areas of the home in which individuals in Edinburgh kept their desks is examined. Contrary to previous scholarship, this chapter finds no evidence of a gendered aspect to the use of paper-related furnishings. Following the evidence of what desks people in Edinburgh owned and where they kept them, the chapter moves to consider the ways in which desk use and ownership were written about in contemporary literatures. Desk ownership in itself was occasionally derided as ostentatious and on the whole the use of desks was governed quite strictly in penmanship manuals. The content of those manuals changed over the course of the eighteenth-century and into the early nineteenth-century. Early in the eighteenth-century instructions were rigid and suited only to the teaching of elite and leaned gentlemen. Around mid-century the advice changed to accommodate female writers and others. However, some key aspects of polite correspondence (such as how to fold a letter) also disappeared from penmanship manuals, while others (like quill and ink making) appeared only in certain publications. Later in the century texts complained of the ill-effects of improper desk-use, and implied that merchant-types were improper desk-users. While penmanship manuals enabled a larger proportion of the population to access information about how to make themselves appear to be 'polite' writers, literary sources mocked foppish desk-owners who placed more emphasis on their equipment than their accomplishments. At the extreme some writers suggested that incorrect desk-use even led to death. These concerns appear to be borne out by the evidence of desk ownership in Edinburgh, which points to the emerging merchant-class as the biggest spenders on their desk furnishings. Although they were not purchasing the most elaborate or fashionable desks they were expending a larger proportion of their income on desks than any other group.

Chapter 5. Owning Paper: The Innes's of Stow

This thesis closes with a detailed examination of the archives of one Edinburgh family, in order to tease out the relationship of people to paper. The Innes family rose to prominence during the eighteenth century. The father, George (d.1780), was a hard-working man who carved out a career for himself first in tax collection and then in the Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS) before purchasing the estate of Stow in Peeblesshire. His son, Gilbert Innes of Stow (1751-1832) became the "richest commoner in Scotland" after becoming the Governor of the Royal Bank of Scotland. His interests extended well beyond the bank, and he was involved in a number of high-profile projects. He was treasurer of the Highland Society from 1814 until his death; one of the managers of Edinburgh's Royal Infirmary; a member of the Board of Manufactures; a director of the Edinburgh Assembly Rooms; and treasurer of the Pitt Club of Scotland from its foundation in 1814.[114] Jane Innes – Gilbert's sister – was a single woman

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[114] RBS, 'Gilbert Innes', <http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/people/list/gilbert-innes.html>. [01/03/2015].

who inherited Gilbert's fortune, placing her in the position of being the recipient of numerous begging letters. Another sister (named Marion after her mother), as well as an extensive cast of extended family, also feature in the family papers. Interestingly, so do a large number of individuals who ostensibly have nothing to do with the family. This chapter considers the way this family and the people who also feature in the archives in one form or another, used paper and shaped the accumulation and retention of the items found there.

Chapter 1

Collecting Rags: The Balerno Company

> Worn out by such a variety of injuries, in such a number of
> services, I dropped fast, tatter after tatter, into the rag-man's
> bag; and as it were ordained to the better ascertaining of my
> identity, that though divided into so many parts, each of them
> should be gathered together within the limits of London; the whole
> of me was delivered into the hands of one of these rag-merchants.
>
> Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' (1779).

It is common knowledge that eighteenth-century handmade paper was made from linen rags which had been collected by the itinerant poor. It is easy to form a mental image of the tramping rag-man, yet he is often absent from studies of papermaking. For the purpose of this thesis, however, this information is not enough. To understand what paper meant to people it is first necessary to understand its prehistory. Looking no deeper than common knowledge causes a whole set of nuances and implications which are bound up in the material to be missed. Rags carried a lot of baggage. They were not a homogeneous group and despite contemporary and modern misconceptions neither were those who collected them. Eighteenth-century linen encompassed a broad range of garments, each with its own disparate associations. As textile historians understand, linen was used for specific purposes and had culturally-expected uses. But at some point in its existence eighteenth-century linens became 'rags' - fit for nothing other than remediation. Yet, the means and methods of accumulating the vast quantities of these materials required to produce the paper in Britain have seemingly eluded scholars.

Familiar, through social commentary, are images of the nineteenth-century rag-and-bone-man and of French chiffoniers but the people and processes involved in collecting rags in eighteenth-century Britain have proven more elusive. This can be attributed, in part at least, to the dearth of primary source materials. For example, there are no known examples of British rag-gatherers' business books, although bearing in mind the nineteenth-century image of the rag-and-bone man it might be pondered whether such people could even write? Indeed, if they had been able to keep business books they might not have chosen to, as ragman Herman Burrows stated in the 1950s:

> What a difficult job it would be to write a complete and comprehensive
> history of the rag trade. Any historian is liable to find it hard to get together
> the facts needed in order to construct a logical narrative. When he turns his
> attention to this particular trade, his task would be very much harder,
> because the facts have been, at all times, more carefully concealed. [...] At

one time it was loyally and universally held, that the first duty of the trade was to tell nothing of the way in which they earned their profits, in order to avoid the danger of excessive competition.[115]

Literary critics have attempted to describe rag-gatherers, sampling mainly nineteenth-century literatures. Their efforts have produced a familiar image of squalor and destitution.[116] Additionally, the status of rags as waste and their destruction in the process of creation make them a rather tricky thing to pin down.[117] This is why the sequestration accounts and company books of the Balerno Company – a late eighteenth-century Edinburgh papermakers – proves such a rich source for this chapter and a very fortuitous one, as they may be the only such examples in Britain.[118] Examining the company's rag-buying records, alongside the records of the sequestration of the company (which was brought about by accusations of fraud) enables a picture of the company's transactions to be constructed. To put the operation of the Balerno Company into context these records are examined in light of a range of documents dealing with the paper trade, as well as with recent scholarship on linen and dirt. Working in this way, suggestions can be made about the rag-trade as it related to papermaking and about the people who worked in it.

Between 1788 and 1795 the Balerno Company functioned along almost the entire spectrum of paper production. They bought rags at their warehouses in Edinburgh and Leith. From those rags they made both writing papers and wrapping papers at their papermill on the Water of Leith in Currie, just outside of Edinburgh. The paper they made was sold in their Edinburgh warehouse, but there are no books relating to their Leith warehouse, so nothing is known of the business there. The company sold their papers (and a variety of other goods) both wholesale and retail, in Scotland and beyond. Four men owned the company. Three of these were the brothers Alexander, Archibald and William Nisbet. The Nisbet brothers were the sons of a wealthy linen manufacturer, also named William Nisbet.[119] Alexander followed in his father's footsteps, continuing the family business. Linen manufacture appears to have taken up most of Alexander's time, and he was not involved in the paper business.[120] Archibald was a wright by trade and despite initially intending to be foreman at the mill, almost as soon as it was up and running he was forced to declare himself bankrupt; fleeing to

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[115] Herman Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade* (London: Maclaren and Sons Ltd, 1956), 1.
[116] Wynne. "Reading Victorian Rags", 34-49.
[117] Strasser, *Waste and Want* (2000).
[118] The materials relating to the company are held by the National Records of Scotland (NRS) and comprise NRS CS96/1797-1812, 'Account Book/Waste Book/Rag Book, 1790-1796'; NRS CS94/26, 'Proceedings in the Submission between Messrs Nisbets and Mr Macniven, 1795-1796'; NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796'; NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798'; NRS CS271/23984, 'John Keith v McNiven Nisbet & Co., 1789'; NRS E371/150, 'Alexander and William Nisbet (Nisbet & Co.), papermakers, Balerno: debt to king for duties on paper, 1799'; NRS E371/151, 'Alexander and William Nisbet (Nisbet & Co.), papermakers, Balerno: goods and chattels, with schedule of papermaking machinery, household effects and stocks of paper, 1799'.
[119] NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798', 5.
[120] NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796', 62.

America.[121] William (1759-1822) was a successful doctor and prolific medical author. He gained his degree at Aberdeen University in 1785 before becoming a member of the Royal College of Surgeons at Edinburgh in 1786. He is perhaps best known for his *Clinical Guide* (published in two parts in 1796 and 1799), which was "unlike other contemporary medical guidebooks" in that it elucidated medical practice in very clear language. Like Alexander, William was kept busy by his other work and played little role in the papermaking business.[122]

With his skills as a millwright it had been Archibald who encouraged his brothers into the paper business. When he emigrated, Alexander and William decided to involve another party in their new venture - someone with the knowledge of the paper trade, which they lacked. The brothers searched for a partner who would take on the supervision of the firm in return for a proportionally smaller injection of capital than they had invested.[123] The man they settled on was John Macniven (1754 - 1836) who was described in the subsequent court case against him as "manager" of the business.[124] He was based in the company's Blair Street warehouse in Edinburgh's Old Town, where he was also provided with lodgings. His role was to oversee the purchase of rags for the company, as well as the sale of paper and stationery items. Macniven was not from a prosperous family like the Nisbets. Born in Crieff, Perthshire, he was the third of five children born to Joseph Macniven and his second wife Janet Bayne. In 1768 Macniven had been sent to Edinburgh to serve an apprenticeship under bookbinder Peter Sangster.[125] On the 5th September 1773 – during the penultimate year of his apprenticeship – he married a midwife named Isobel, the daughter of mason Robert Watson. She was a "low" sort of midwife, attending to the wives of "porters, soldiers, and others".[126] Macniven remained in Sangster's employ until 1777 – three-and-a-half years following the end of his indenture – before becoming clerk and shopkeeper for John Balfour, a prominent Edinburgh bookseller and papermaker.[127] Over the next eleven years Macniven worked for Balfour, though he continued to undertake a little gilding and bookbinding work for Sangster during his evenings.[128] The contrast in Macniven's fortunes and that of the Nisbet brothers

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[121] NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798', 2; Philip Lord Jr., 'Archibald Nisbet', *New York State Museum Exhibition: The Mohawk River Survey of Philip Schuyler and The Western Inland Lock Navigation Company August 21 - September 4, 1792,* <http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/research_collections/research/history/three/bat9.html>. [07/03/2012].

[122] NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796', 62.

[123] William invested well over 1,000*l.* and Alexander several hundred pounds. In addition the mill itself cost around 5,000*l.* to build and the Edinburgh warehouse also seems to have been built for the company although at what cost is unknown. By contrast Macniven claims to have invested all his worldly worth of 500*l.*, but even this sum was brought into question during the sequestration proceedings.

[124] NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796', 1

[125] Date of apprenticeship: NRS CS30/4 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796'; date of birth: Family Search, 'John Mc Niven, 1st May 1754' in Family Search, 'Scotland, Births and Baptisms 1564-1950', <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/FQMT-YS3>. [13/05/2014]; date of death: *The Scotsman* 20th April 1836.

[126] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 138.

[127] NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798'.

[128] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 131.

was a major source of tension for Macniven, who repeatedly cited their differing backgrounds during the sequestration of the company.[129]

Macniven's wife died during his service with Balfour, and he re-married. His new wife was Katherine, daughter of Robert Burnett - a gentleman's servant. Katherine had also been in service, before setting up a shop dealing mainly in ale, spirits and grocery items. She had been trading from her shop in the Cowgate (near Magdalene's Chapel) for five or six years before she and Macniven married and she continued to trade for around a year after their marriage, which took place on 6th June 1787.[130] Katherine's shop was small. It consisted of a shop front from which she sold her wares and a back room in which she lived, ate and slept; meaning that she shared her living space with her customers while they drank.[131] Balfour's warehouse, in which Macniven worked prior to his association with the Nisbets, was situated just a few shops away from Katherine's grocers (at the foot of West Bow). The area chosen for the Balerno Company paper warehouse was a short walk from both, in what would become Blair Street.[132]

From the start, the Balerno Company was subject to mixed fortunes. For the Nisbets the company was conceived as a way to turn an easy profit, but for Archibald it proved a quick route to bankruptcy. Macniven's comparative lowly social and financial standing was raised by his managerial role – a position he would not have found had it not been for Archibald's bankruptcy. Macniven used his position at the Balerno Company to enter Edinburgh society, becoming Master of the Edinburgh Defensive Band Masonic Lodge for two years running.[133] In contrast to his respected position, Macniven was said to have been a prolific philanderer.[134] His wife, Katherine, complained to William Nisbet about her husband's behaviour. She described Macniven as abusive, suggested he contributed to his first wife's death, and told Nisbet that Macniven spent all his time at drinking clubs and brothels, while neglecting his managerial duties. Macniven "had come to that pitch of wickedness that he was totally regardless of every thing decent", she claimed.[135] The Nisbet brothers accused Macniven of defrauding the company. They argued that Macniven lied about the quantity and quality of the rags he was buying. Macniven was accused of buying an expensive category of rags known as 'superfine', but recording them in the company books under the less valuable designation of 'fine' and pocketing the resulting overpayments. The stolen money, it was claimed, was used to fund a lavish lifestyle of mistresses and heavy drinking

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[129] For examples: NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798', 5, 8; NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796', 6-8, 15, 60-65.
[130] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 140.
[131] Ibid.
[132] SBTI, 'John Balfour', <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index/armstrong-barnes>. [14/12/2012].
[133] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 157.
[134] Ibid.
[135] NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796', 95.

for himself and his brother-in-law; whom (unbeknown to the Nisbets) Macniven had given a key-role at the warehouse. Despite these accusations, Macniven went on to manage the Edinburgh General Rag Warehouse. He also established the firm which would (after passing first to his nephews Peter and William and then on to one of their sons, Donald) become one of the UK's best known stationers – Macniven Cameron (later Waverly Cameron Ltd.), the organisation behind the famous slogan:

> They came as a boon and a blessing to men,
> the Pickwick, the Owl and the Waverley Pen.

The Rag Warehouse

The date of establishment of the Balerno Company is widely believed to be 1770. This is the date Waverly Cameron included on their marketing materials – which were admittedly rather generous in their praise for the company, suggesting that Queen Victoria described the Nile pen as "Admirably adapted for bold and rapid writing" and stating that "Macniven & Cameron Pens are the Best" – a quote attributed to "public opinion".[136] So pervasive has this date become for the establishment of the company that even its twentieth-century employees and twenty-first century historians have believed this to be the case.[137]

Yet 1770 is certainly not the date at which the Balerno Company was begun. In the prosecution against Macniven, 1787/88 is given as the time at which the men set up their mill and warehouse.[138] Indeed, the company does not appear in *Williamson's Directory* for 1786 or earlier. In the court case the Nisbets were described as "total strangers to the business" and Macniven was not in a position financially to have begun the business by himself at an earlier date, nor was he old enough (being just sixteen and in service in 1770).[139] Further, neither the Blair Street buildings from which the rag warehouse operated, nor the Balerno mill in which the company made their paper, were built until 1788. The lands of Balerno were offered for sale in 1786, "in whole or separately, as purchasers incline" and although several mills were mentioned, there was no paper mill on the site.[140] This is

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[136] *The Graphic*, Christmas 1879 edition, 'Macniven & Cameron Pens are the Best', <http://www.londonancestor.com/iln/fountain-pen.htm>. [13/05/2014]; Barbara A. M. Wilson, 'Macniven and Cameron's Waverley Pen', *Journal of the Writing Equipment Society* 70 (2004), 19-24.

[137] John Wilson, *The Scotsman*, 26th March 2004, <http://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/news/writing-history-1-932697>. [13/05/2014]; David Finklestein, 'Balerno Papermill/Kinauld Leatherworks', <http://www.sapphire.ac.uk/balerno-mill>. [22/10/2009]; Canmore, 'Currie, Lanark Road West, Kinauld Leather Works', <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/161690/details/currie+lanark+road+west+kinauld+leather+works/&biblio=more>. [22/10/2009]; Edinburgh City of Print, 'Macniven-Cameron', <http://www.edinburghcityofprint.org/pages/the-printing-industry/printing-houses/macniven-cameron.php>. [22/10/2009]; *British Listed Buildings*, '27-31 (odd Nos) Blair Street (former Stationery Works)', <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/sc-28332-27-31-odd-nos-blair-street-former-station>. [06/05/2014]; *The Observer*, 'Messrs Macniven and Cameron', 1st December 1907.

[138] NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798', 1.

[139] NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796', 1-25.

[140] *Caledonian Mercury*, 'To be Sold by Private Bargain the Lands and Estate of Balerno', 23rd August 1786, 4.

probably the time at which the Nisbets bought the land, as the sequestration records note that it took ten months to build the mill "from laying the foundation stone to making paper," a timescale "as quick if not quicker than any erection of the kind in the country".[141] Archibald's knowledge and skill as a Wright convinced him that he could build the works for just 1,300*l*. sterling.[142] This was a far smaller cost than would usually be expected to build a four-vat mill, which gave the firm at an advantage over its competitors.[143] Building began in January 1788, but during building the plans were altered to enlarge the works with the aim of creating an eight-vat mill which would eventually cost closer to 5,000*l*.sterling.[144] The initial stage of the works produced a three-vat mill and although it appears that it was only ever expanded to a six-vat concern, most of the hand-papermills in Edinburgh were no larger than two vat mills.[145] Polton and Melville Mills, at five and six vats respectively, were described as very extensive indeed and during the years that the Balerno mill operated, Melville was only running four vats at most.[146] In fact, in Britain as a whole at this time "few papermakers could afford to run more than one or two vats".[147] The Balerno mill was, therefore, one of the largest – if not the largest – operating in the Edinburgh area at this time. It was also perhaps even one of the largest in Britain and it had been built at breakneck speed. In 1789, the lands of Balerno were advertised again. By then "The Easter Mill [...] an elegant and extensive paper mill" was let on a fifty-seven year lease from Martinmas (11th November) 1788 at 80*l*. a year.[148] This letting signalled the start of paper-production at the mill, as although the building was owned by the Balerno Company neither the Nisbets nor Macniven could make paper themselves. Instead, as was the case with other paper manufacturing companies, they 'let' the mill to a paper-maker who was contacted to supply the company and (in this case at least) not to supply any other.[149]

Fortuitously for this project William Nisbet wrote the *Statistical Account for the Parish of Currie* published in 1799.[150] Despite there being several paper mills in Currie at that time, Nisbet wrote only of one mill. As Currie was the parish in which his own business was located, it seems reasonable to assume that it was this business he wrote of. Therefore, his is probably a fairly accurate description of the Balerno Company's mill (allowing Nisbet a little freedom for boasting of course!). Nisbet stated that the mill, and paper manufacture in

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[141] NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796', 79.
[142] Philip Lord Jr. 'Archibald Nisbet'.
[143] NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798'.
[144] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 161; NRS, CS94/26 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796'; NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798'.
[145] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 161, 165.
[146] Robert Waterston, 'Further Notes on Early Paper Making Near Edinburgh', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* XXVII (1947), 58; Melville only had four vats: 'Paper Mill for Sale', *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 9th April 1793.
[147] John Bidwell, 'The Industrialisation of the Paper Trade', in Michael F. Suarez SJ, Michael L. Turner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 5 1695-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 201.
[148] *Caledonian Mercury*, 'Estate of Balerno', 21st September 1789.
[149] See Chapter 2 for more on the relationship between paper-makers and papermaking company owners.
[150] Dr William Nisbet, *Old Statistical Account,* 'Currie, County of Edinburgh, (1791-1799)', <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Edinburgh/Currie/>. [29/10/12], 313-329.

general, was useful in that it employed both the young and the old – people who were often not able to work in other employments in a farming community such as Currie. He gave a figure of ten or eleven years for beginning work at the paper mill, and related the story of a Mr William Napier, whom Nisbet described as having been employed as a day labourer until about five years before his death in 1798 at the age of 113.[151] Dr Nisbet further stated that of the 1,300 inhabitants of Currie parish, around two-hundred of them had been added to the local population due to employment at his mill. This means that approximately 15% of the local population relied on the Balerno mill for subsistence.[152] Evidently, the Balerno Company was a large operation of great importance to the local economy in Currie. It served many employees, not only in the Currie mill, but also in the warehouse in Edinburgh.

Despite not having any permanent premises in which to store their rags or any mill in which to process them, in May 1788 Macniven convinced the Nisbets to employed John Keith to help with rag-collecting.[153] Keith had recently left his employment as rag-man with William Simpson, who was at that time proprietor of Polton Mill.[154] The rags collected by Macniven and Keith were stored at various temporary sites around Edinburgh and Leith while the mill and warehouse were constructed.[155] In September 1788 the mill was ready and the rags transported there by the company's carter, James Flemming.[156] However, when the rags arrived it was discovered that the quantity delivered to the mill was over 100*l*. short of the amount recorded in Macniven's books.[157] Although he protested his innocence, it emerged that Keith had lost his previous job due to dishonest practice. On 1st November 1788 Keith was accused of stealing the Balerno Company's rags and discharged from their employment.[158] Two weeks after Keith was fired, he was replaced by James Burnett. Unbeknown to the Nisbets, Burnett was Macniven's brother-in-law.[159] At the same time Macniven took on a boy of about twelve, John Bullock, as apprentice rag-man.[160] When Macniven was later accused of defrauding the company, Bullock was said to have been in cahoots with Macniven in a case highly reminiscent of the accusations previously made against Keith. Whether Macniven had managed to shift the blame onto Keith in the earlier trial or whether he garnered tips from Keith's fraud is unknown, but it is clear the Balerno Company had been riddled with corruption from the beginning.

[151] Nisbet, *Old Statistical Account*, 323.
[152] Ibid.
[153] NRS CS271/23984, 'John Keith v McNiven Nisbet & Co., 1789'; NRS CS94/26 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796'.
[154] Penicuik Papermaking, 'Polton Mill', <http://www.penicuikpapermaking.org/otherm.html>. [07/03/2012].
[155] NRS CS271/23984, 'John Keith v McNiven Nisbet & Co., 1789', 1.
[156] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 161.
[157] NRS CS271/23984, 'John Keith v McNiven Nisbet & Co., 1789'.
[158] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 52.
[159] NRS CS94/26 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796'.
[160] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 44.

An advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* shows that the Balerno Company opened its warehouse in Blair Street on 6th December 1788 [Fig. 1.1]. As Alexander Kincaid's map shows, a much earlier date of opening (such as the suggested establishment in 1770) would have been impossible, as the area leading down from the Tron Kirk to Canongate (which would become Blair Street) was Pebble's Wynd and Marlin's Wynd until at least 1784.[161] Whereas in John Ainslie's 1804 map of the *Old and New Town of Edinburgh* the narrow Wynds had given way to the spacious Hunter's Square and Blair Street in which the Balerno Company was to locate its Paper Warehouse [Figs. 1.2 & 1.3]. It would appear likely that the Balerno Company established itself in these buildings sometime after April 1788, as a series of advertisements in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* show the buildings being put up for sale around that time.[162]

The term 'warehouse' referred not to a storage facility, but rather to a large retail (and wholesale) outlet which had begun to be associated with shopping in stylish surroundings.[163] The Blair Street buildings were certainly extensive, with an elegant simplicity to their exterior. They are currently numbered 19-23 and are comprised of a five-story tenement-style building (plus basement) six-bays wide [Figs. 1.4 & 1.5].[164] The size of the building, as a paper warehouse, appears approximately similar to that of Birmingham paper merchant William Hutton (1723-1815), who wrote in his memoirs of the thirteen warerooms in his paper warehouse in 1800.[165] An assumption of two windows per room would give the Balerno Company's Blair Street Warehouse fifteen warerooms a few years earlier, which given the extent of the paper mill would seem a reasonable size building from which to make their sales.

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[161] NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796', 1-25.

[162] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 29th April, 23rd May, 13th June & 20th June 1788.

[163] Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes: A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Furnishings* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2005), 47.

[164] Address of number 11 Blair Street from: Thomas Aitchison, *The Edinburgh and Leith Directory, to July 1800*. In NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798', it is noted that Macniven set up a new business next door to the Balerno Company Warehouse after the company was disbanded, therefore the address of 10 Blair Street has been presumed to be the Balerno Company warehouse. Number 10 Blair Street is now number 19 after renumbering took place in the early nineteenth century. Frank Gent, 'Edinburgh House Numbers', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 27 (1949), 60-66.

[165] William Hutton, *Life of William Hutton. F.A.S.S.* [...] (London: printed for Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, Paternoster Row, 1816), 119-120.

Figure 1.1

Newspaper clipping advertising the opening of the Balerno Company's warehouse.

BALERNO PAPER-MILL WAREHOUSE.

Nifbet, Macniven, and Co.

Refpectfully inform the Public,

THAT they have now opened their Warehoufe in Blair Street, Weft fide of the South Bridge, for the fale of Paper of their own manufacture. where fuch gentlemen as pleafe to favour them with their orders, may depend on having the different kinds of paper of the beft quality, and on the moft reafonable terms.

Edinburgh, December 6. 1788.

Source: *Caledonian Mercury*, 6th December 1788.

Figure 1.2

Detail of a map of Edinburgh prior to the building of the Balerno Company warehouse. Pebbles Wynd and Martin's Wynd are circled.
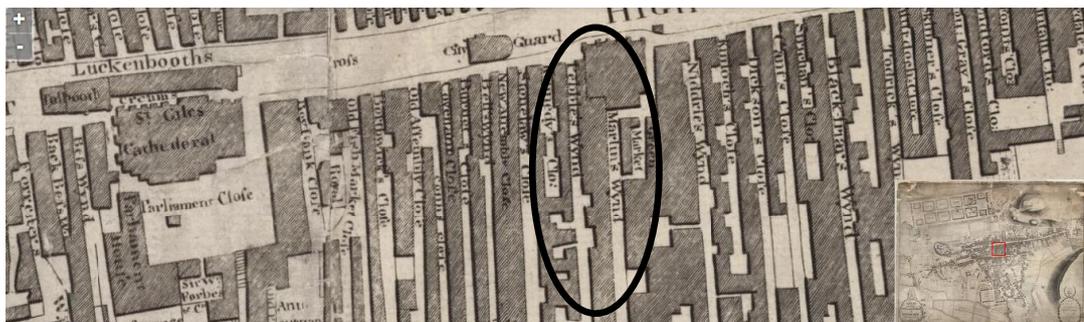
Source: Alexander Kincaid, *A Plan of the City and Suburbs of Edinburgh* (detail), 1784. <http://maps.nls.uk> [30/04/14].

Figure 1.3

Detail of a map of Edinburgh after the Balerno Company warehouse had been built. Pebbles Wynd and Martin's Wynd made way for Blair Street.
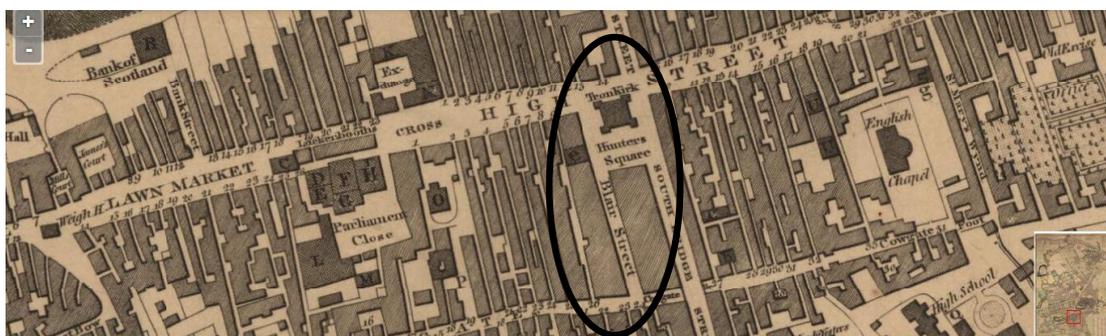
Source: John Ainslie, *Old and New Towns of Edinburgh and Leith with the Proposed Docks* (detail), 1804. <http://maps.nls.uk> [30/04/14].

Figure 1.4

Photograph of the Balerno Company warehouse buildings today.

Figure 1.5

Detail of Macniven Cameron bill head. If it is compared with a photograph of the same area today [Fig. 1.4] architectural features confirm that the buildings still stand.

Blair Street, Edinburgh, 1850.

Buying Rags

Macniven denied defrauding the company, but the complexity of the accusations meant that the company books were scrutinised and local papermakers called to testify to their practices. Consequently, as well as their own account books, the company records contain detailed testimonies about the ways in which rags were bought at several papermaking firms in Edinburgh at the time. Macniven, Burnet and Bullock purchased rags for the Balerno Company, making up sales vouchers which included details of the seller (usually simply their name) and of the weights purchased and prices paid for each type of rags. Once or twice a month Macniven transferred the details into the Warehouse (or Day-) Book, which in turn would have been used to make up a Ledger.[166] It is the Warehouse/Day Books of the company which are extant, the vouchers and ledgers now lost. There are also a series of Rag Books covering the years 1790-96.[167] There is only one warehouse book in which customers are recorded under their title and surname, or under the appellation "Sundries in Edinburgh".[168] In each transaction the quantities of rags bought were recorded in stone and pounds of "fine", "second", "grey", "blue", and a fifth column which was variously headed: "serous", "metal", or "scrow". Fine, second, grey and blue refer to categories of rags. Serous is an old Scots word meaning 'whey-like', which would suggest that whatever was being bought under this heading was a by-product of some other manufacture.[169] On some pages the serous category was replaced by "scrow" and on others by "metal". Scrow refers to "strips or clippings of skin or hide".[170] It was from boiling up this material that papermakers made the size which was used to finish certain papers.[171] Timothy Barrett quotes an eighteenth-century source as describing scrow as having been "collected from tanners, chamoisers, tawers, or whiteners and even from butchers. It is made up of pieces of clippings of hide, ears, scrags, feet, tripes and other little bits and pieces of all sorts of four-footed animals, except the pig".[172] Within this hotchpotch of animal remains operated a hierarchy of use. The 'best' scrow was the skins of small animals; "hares, rabbits or eels" and off-cuts of parchments. Kids, lambs and sheep formed the next quality and could be bought chiefly from "chamoisers, tawers and whiteners". It was said to produce clearer size than that made from cow, ox or calf "sheep's feet, the ears and cartilages of calves" purchased from tanners; which was used for common papers. "Lastly, for the coarsest kinds [of paper], the feet and ears of

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[166] NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796', 92.

[167] NRS CS96/1807-1812, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Rag books, 1794-1796'.

[168] NRS CS96/1806, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Warehouse journal of rags bought, 1790-1792'.

[169] Dictionary of the Scots Language, 'serous', <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>. [12/03/2012].

[170] Emile Joseph Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopaedia of Paper and Paper-making* (Oxford University Press: London, 1952), 236.

[171] Matt T Roberts and Don Etherington, 'scrow', in *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books, A Dictionary of Descriptive Terminology*, <http://cool.conservation-us.org/don/dt/dt2990.html>. [12/03/2012].

[172] Timothy Barrett, 'European Papermaking Techniques 1300—1800', *Paper Through Time: Nondestructive Analysis of 14th- Through 19th-Century Papers*, Iowa: University of Iowa Libraries and Institute of Museum of Library Services, <http://paper.lib.uiowa.edu/european.php>. [16/06/14].

oxen, and the cartilages of old animals are employed".[173] Serous would therefore appear to relate to scrow, as the strips or clippings were the leftovers of other manufactures. Metal is more difficult to understand. It is not clear from the records whether the term serous was being used to describe just animal off-cuts, or scrap metal too; as old metal was usually combined with fresh materials when being recycled.[174] Despite selling a range of other second-hand goods, there is nothing in the documents to suggest that this metal was re-sold, although it may have been.

The rags recorded in the company books were all linen. Although it is recognised that the finest types of paper had to be made of white linen and spring water, some disagreement exists as to whether other materials were also used as components of rag-paper.[175] Brief suggestions of the kinds of other materials used (usually in conjunction with linen) include rope, netting, sails, sacking, and bagging, though it is likely that if these were used they were made into wrapping, not writing, papers.[176] Linen was used because of its inherent properties. Compared to other natural fibres, flax (from which linen is made) has a long fibre length which meant that when fabric made from flax was re-processed into paper its fibres were still long enough to create strong paper.[177] As Coleman states, it was not until the middle of the eighteenth-century that Britain began to produce a significant proportion of white paper, its chief productions being 'brown' (a misnomer for 'wrapping') papers.[178] Yet almost all scholarship on handmade paper refers only to white printing or writing papers, meaning that a significant proportion of the country's paper production has been overlooked. This whitewash was apparent even by the 1860s, when a letter to the Parochial Clergy was published in which the author complained that paper manufacture in Britain was being hindered by the misplaced notion that paper could only be made from white rags.[179] Although they did make a quantity of these white papers, the Balerno Company's chief products were indeed wrapping papers. Their accounts and advertisements show that they made around ninety-nine different types of papers, which mainly consisted of papers used in the retail trades [papers sold by the Balerno Company are detailed in Appendix A. For a discussion of paper types see Chapter 2]. To make these papers they used a variety of rags. The exact proportions of different kinds of rags used for making each type of paper varied from mill to mill and were kept a closely guarded secret.[180] The books and sequestration proceedings do not give away the mixtures used by the Balerno Company, but they do

[173] Barrett, 'European Papermaking Techniques'.
[174] Woodward, 'Swords into Ploughshares', (1985).
[175] Coleman suggests not (Coleman, *British Paper Industry:* 106-8), however Dard Hunter suggests that cotton was used from the thirteenth-century (Hunter, *Papermaking*: 312).
[176] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 106-108. Also Shorter, *Paper Making,* 14.
[177] Hills, *Papermaking,* 54.
[178] Coleman, *British Paper Industry, 74;* Hills, *Papermaking*, 56; Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*, 1.
[179] Richard Herring, 'A Letter on the Collection of Rags for the Manufacture of Paper, Addressed to the Parochial Clergy, The Managers of Parochial Institutions, Etc.', *The Quarterly: The Journal of the British Association of Paper Historians* 70 (2009), 29.
[180] Hills, *Papermaking*, 56.

describe the kinds of rags bought and perhaps most importantly give an insight into who bought and sold rags in Edinburgh.

At the warehouse the rags were sorted into basic categories before being sent by cart in sealed bags to the mill in Currie. At the mill, the rags were sorted again by a group of women employed especially for that purpose. The women put the rags into the specific quantities and mixtures needed to make the papers being produced. Described contemporaneously as "the dirtiest wenches to ever disgrace the delicate sex", conditions for mill rag-sorters were mixed.[181] Although apparently comparatively well-paid for menial work, the physical conditions of this employment were not especially commodious. In the nineteenth-century it was claimed that in order to attract women to such work it was necessary to pay and treat them well, as the work itself could be unpleasant.[182] An article for *The Universal Magazine* depicted the women employed in rag-sorting [Fig. 1.6]. They were described as sitting to work, two-by-two, on benches in a large room full of rags. In the accompanying engraving the women appear at ease in their work. They're seated, chatting, and are depicted in hats and gowns – this image is of a seemingly refined form of labour and not a particularly strenuous one. This confirms the account that rag-sorters were well-treated employees, but appears to contradict the assertion that these women were dirty wenches.

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[181] Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', 448.
[182] Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*, 5.

Figure 1.6

Engraving of female rag-sorters.
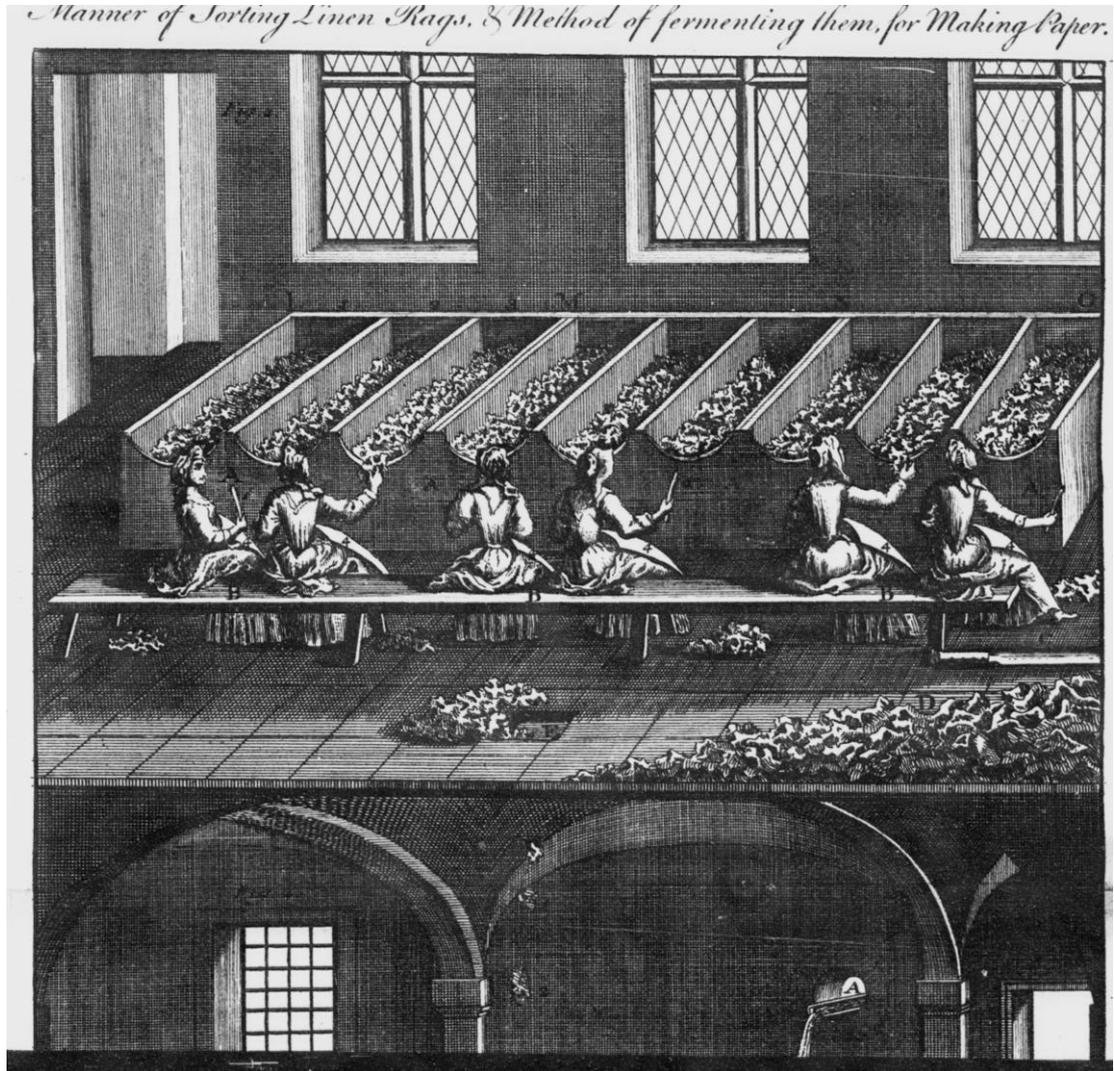
Source: 'Manner of sorting linen rags & method of fermenting them for making paper.' *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* (1762).

Yet dirty they must have been. Each rag-sorter had a knife which she used to cut out seams from the fabric, as well as to scrape the filth from the rags.[183] Workers at the Balerno Company described how 2 lbs. per cwt. were taken off the price for rags to account for the grime that would have to be removed by them.[184] The rags were cut into four-inch squares, before being thrown into one of six boxes, dependent upon the grade of the material. Grading was determined by colour, type, and wear, and was vital to the process. More worn materials required less processing at the next stage of the procedure, and the different spinning and weaving techniques used to construct the fibre would also affect the final paper product.[185]As well as spending her day handling filthy rags, the rag sorter might have been subjected to extreme temperatures. In some mills the floor of the rag-sorting room was described as "pierced" and below was the fermenting room. Fermenting the rags took five or six weeks and continued until the pile of rags was too hot to touch for more than a few seconds. Papermakers knew the fermenting rags were ready for the vat when mushrooms had grown on top.[186] As the process gave off both heat and stench, the women sat above must have felt both. But perhaps this was not all bad, as at other mills the lack of fire in the room (presumably because of the risk of combustion) left workers freezing cold in winter. Because of this "[i]t was regarded as a wise dispensation of provenance that rags were plentiful in the summer, when there was plenty of light and warmth. They were apt to be scarcer, and therefore short time was more probable, when daylight was short and the temperature was low".[187] Presumably people clothed in rags were less apt to part with even the most tattered items during harsh weather.

The Balerno Company rag-sorters (such as Janet Davie, Margaret Gourlay, and Elizabeth Lowrie) used different language to describe the rags to that used by Macniven.[188] In the warehouse books rags were called "fine", "second", "grey", and "blue". At the mill they were divided into: "superfines" "fine demys" "fine seconds" and "bible crown".[189] Bible crown, fine seconds and the fine demys were known at the mill as Scotch Fines and a further category of "tea, […] blue checks, prints, bible crown" and grey, were known as Scotch Seconds.[190] The so-called foreign rags, purchased from Hamburg, were apparently less finely graded.[191] From the way the mill workers described the sorting of the rags it would seem seconds were any rags which were not white. This is confirmed by the rag-sorting case of another firm of

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[183] Anon., 'In the Supplement to the Tenth Volume of our Magazine', *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* 30, 207 (March 1762), 116.
[184] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796'.
[185] Hills, *Papermaking*, 56, 130.
[186] Anon., 'In the Supplement to the Tenth Volume of our Magazine,' 116
[187] Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*, 5.
[188] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796'.
[189] Ibid., 88.
[190] Ibid.
[191] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 92.

papermakers: Cadell and Cameron.[192] Therefore it might be assumed that broadly speaking the fine rags were the white rags used to make white printing and writing papers, while the seconds were rags used to make wrapping papers.

However, until at least the mid-eighteenth-century white papers were not the dazzling white known today (which is achieved using optical brighteners), rather a pale creamy colour.[193] The linen from which paper was made was whitened during production using a variety of methods including sour milk and the natural UV effects of the sun. Lime began to be used during the eighteenth-century, although it was a hazardous process. It was possible by mid-century to whiten paper using chemical methods, but despite the fact that the method was derived in Scotland, the Balerno Company doesn't seem to have been using chemical bleaches.[194] Indeed, Coleman suggested that chemical whiteners were not in general use until the age of machine-made paper.[195] Despite the fact that the linen itself could also have been bleached, rendering it brighter, the need to bleach papermaking stuff in a separate process in order to achieve truly white paper testifies to just how filthy the rags were before they reached the papermaker's vat.

White linen was associated with cleanliness and articles of clothing made from white linen were changed frequently in lieu of washing the body.[196] Things made from white linen included: underwear such as shifts and shirts, caps, collars, bed- and pillow-covers, napkins, handkerchiefs, pockets, and infant clothing. Contemporary references demonstrate that checked linen was used to make bed sheets for hospital ships, as well as "aprons, shirts, children's clothing, neckerchiefs and pocket handkerchiefs, trousers and linings as well as many household items such as towelling, bed hangings and chair coverings".[197] Blue linen was used in clothing; particularly it would seem from contemporary literary references, in men's shirts.[198] John Styles noted that Paul Sandby's *Man Selling Stockings* wears the blue

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[192] David Hume, *Decisions of the Court of Session 1781, 1822: in the form of a dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1839), 646-648.
[193] Labarre, *Dictionary*, 365.
[194] Charles Tennant is popularly credited with inventing "bleaching powder" used to bleach both linen and paper, see: Christopher F. Lindsey, 'Tennant, Charles (1768–1838)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, May 2011<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27131>. [19/03/2012]. There are no references to oxidised muriatic acid in the expenses sections of the company's books.
[195] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry,* 117.
[196] See: Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing, Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime'*, trans. Jean Birrell, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[197] A Gentleman of the Inner Temple, *The Ship-Master's Assistant and Owner's Manual* (London: printed for David Steel, 1794),40; By Himself, *The Unfortunate Caledonian in England; or, Genuine Memoirs of an Impressed Young Gentleman in the year 1779* (London: Printed for J. Wade, 1781), 102;
Burnley & Trowbridge Co., 'Chequered Linen', <http://www.burnleyandtrowbridge.com/1000-12.aspx>. [09/04/2012].
[198] Half of the references to "blue linen" found on ECCO refer to men's shirts, see: John Cowmeadow, *An Entertaining, Improving and Instructing Miscellany* (Berlin: 1788), 199; Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (Edinburgh: By John Flemming, 1758), 88. Others references to blue linen are a cap: William Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England* (London: for T. Cadell Junior and W. Davies, 1798), 34; and a waistcoat: Rev John Adams, *Anecdotes, Bon-Mots, and Characteristic Traits of the Great Princes, Politicians, Philosophers, Oraters and Wits of Modern Times* (Dublin: For Messers H. Chamberlain, P. Byrne, P. Wogan, J. Parker, J. Moore, B. Dornin, Grueber, & M'Allister, and W. Jones, 1789), 19. [12/03/2014].

shirt of a sailor's outfit.[199] It was also used, when soaked in white wine vinegar, as a medicinal plaister.[200] These contemporary uses of linen demonstrate that it was a fabric intimately associated with the human body and bodily functions. Shirts and shifts soaked up sweat; bed sheets would have been in contact with semen and blood – copious amounts of blood in the case of childbed linen – napkins could be either table-napkins used to wipe food and drink and spit, or baby's napkins (i.e. reusable nappies) and plaisters staunched wounds, collecting blood and pus. Contemporaries were well aware of the use of linen to 'take away' these substances, as research into attitudes to changing linen undergarments demonstrates.[201]

Working on the themes of waste and dirt, Strasser and Gee agree that both are culturally defined.[202] A process of sorting and stratifying takes place in order to deem something rubbish. [203] This process can be easily observed at work in linen, as it first made its way through a series of uses as clothing, before being sorted and stratified by rag-merchants. However, because dirt is a cultural construct it only exists once things have passed an imaginary boundary.[204] Although rotting and rancid things are considered impure by every civilisation across all time, the line which divides rotting from fresh is culturally defined and therefore changeable. The same is true of useable and worn-out.[205] Rags, therefore, were items which had crossed a socially agreed boundary. They had passed from an imaginary category of acceptable into unacceptable. As they worked their way down the social hierarchy this bar was set lower and lower, until linens finally became rags fit for papermaking. But this is not to say that worn-out waste was devoid of value - it should not be forgotten that rags fetched ready money. Indeed, in her work on eighteenth-century waste Gee stated that "waste matter […] was usually seen as valuable *because* it was a leftover: a sign that something important had happened, leaving a residue behind".[206] Further, "[w]aste consists of leftovers that contain the memory or echo of the matter they used to be".[207] The same claim was made specifically of linens by Stana Nenadic: "In an age when domesticity entailed the cultivation of practical skills, linenware, passed from mother to daughter and made from yarn that had been spun within the family, would also have come into the category of affectionate possessions, though this was to change after 1800, when practical housewifery lost status among the middle ranks".[208] In terms of rags and paper this idea of emotional

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[199] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* 172.
[200] Sarah Harrison, *The House-Keeper's Pocket Book, and Complete Family Cook* (London: Printed for C. and R. Ware, 1760), 5.
[201] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing, Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime'.*
[202] Strasser, *Waste and Want*; Gee, *Making Waste.*
[203] Strasser, *Waste and Want* , 5-6.
[204] Gee, *Making Waste,* 9.
[205] Strasser, *Waste and Want,* 4.
[206] Gee, *Making Waste,* 4.
[207] Ibid., 4, 8.
[208] Stana Nenadic, 'Middle Rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840', *Past and Present* 145 (1994), 137.

investment and a residual memory in linen and in waste is a very interesting concept. It appears to have been identified by literary writers of the period, as the fictional accounts of papermaking surveyed in the Introduction to this thesis demonstrate. In these fictions, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' in particular, paper appears to 'remember' that it was once clothing. In reality, it was – of course – not the paper which remembered its past status, but the consumers of paper. People in the eighteenth-century were acutely aware of the association between waste-rags and fine paper.

According to the Warehouse Books kept by Macniven and Burnett, they were purchasing around eight-hundred stone of fine and second rags a month as well as about 150 stone of grey.[209] It is worth noting that these were probably Scots measures, certainly at Robert Walker's Leith Street rag warehouse rags were purchased using the Edinburgh Tron measurement.[210] This would make over 1440 imperial stone of fine rags and 270 stone of grey per month. However, as the quantities of rags recorded in the books were the central article under dispute during the sequestration, these amounts must be considered rather approximate. Although the fraud accusation invalidates the use of these documents for analysing the quantities of rags the Balerno Company were purchasing, they are nonetheless invaluable for the information they contain regarding the people who sold those rags. By far the largest quantity of rags arrived at the warehouse in the hands of mainly now-anonymous sellers. In the Warehouse Book these people were described as "Sundries in Edin.[burgh]". The sequestration proceedings related that listings in the account books under the term 'sundries' were items bought in small quantities, as well as purchases from irregular customers (termed "strangers") and that several transactions of this nature were often recorded together under one entry in the books.[211] The aggregated amounts were usually only of a stone or less, suggesting that the people described as sundries were each selling very small quantities of rags – perhaps just a few pounds. Of the poorer kinds of rags – the seconds and grey – sundry sales were often accounted for in pounds, pointing to individual sales of ounces. These minute amounts would initially appear to confirm the notion that they were sold by those conforming to the traditional notion of rag-gatherers - people desperate enough to work for pennies. However, more insight can be gained from the testimony of John Leishman, rag-man at Strachan and Cameron. He described the buying of rags from both "gatherers" and from "private persons" and noted a vast difference in the quantity of rags purchased from each group. Rags he purchased from private persons were of a much lesser weight than those he got from gatherers, often "2 or 3 lib seldom so much as half a stone".[212] There was also a reference in the proceedings to small quantities of rags being

[209] NRS CS94/26, 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet, 1795-1796'.
[210] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 107.
[211] Ibid. 62.
[212] Ibid., 97.

"sent in by families".[213] These sundry small-quantity and small-value sales of rags were perhaps not being sold by itinerant rag-gatherers, but by households with odd scraps to sell. Evidence to add weight to this theory can be found in articles entreating people to save linen for papermaking. Several articles addressed to "ladies", or "worthy females", advised readers "not to *burn* even the smallest pieces which they may cut from their linen, cotton or other drapery".[214] In general consciousness at least, it was women employed in managing the household linen (i.e. wives and well respected servants) who were perceived to be the primary wasters of minute linen scraps suitable for use in papermaking.[215] Though one item also addressed "shop-keepers &c.", and another "any persons employed in needle-work".[216]

However, these articles were written in response to a perceived shortage in rags and therefore their audiences may not have been those expected to usually sell rags to papermakers. Daniel Roche's examination of 1,000 eighteenth-century Parisian inventories revealed that it was the servant class who owned the highest proportion of linen articles among their wardrobes, closely followed by tradesmen and artisans.[217] If Roche's examination held true for Britain, it might be that ladies were being entreated to save linen scraps as it was this linen that was actually least likely to make it into the papermakers' vat under normal circumstances. Certainly, it was the servant class who were depicted as the main customers in London's rag and bottle shops by the anonymous writer of an account of "Fog Alley".[218] This picture is backed up by Beverly Lemire's work on the sale of second-hand clothing, in which she describes the strata of society who earned between fifteen and fifty pounds annually as being those who purchased the most used clothing (it was, of course, used clothing that became papermaker's rags and not new linen).[219] Perhaps then, these sundry customers, as well as being local families, included the servants and the like of Edinburgh, selling small amounts of worn-out linens on an ad-hoc basis.

Although there were fewer of them, named sellers sold larger quantities of rags to the Balerno Company than those described as sundries. Of these sellers it is possible to learn a little more. Contemporary accounts of the rag trade are few for Britain in the later eighteenth-century, unlike the picture for the nineteenth-century when explicit social commentary on rag-gatherers was comparatively regularly published. Of this phenomenon Strasser noted that as commercial availability of alternatives to things like dish cloths and

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[213] Ibid., 109.
[214] Anon, 'Scarcity and Dearness of Paper', 968; Gossipania (pseud.), 'A Request to the Ladies', 14; A Paper Mill (pseud.), *'To The Worthy Females,* 276.
[215] Patricia C. Bruckmann, 'Clothes of Pamela's Own: Shopping at B-Hall', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25, 2 (2001), 203.
[216] Anon, 'Scarcity and Dearness of Paper*,* 968.
Gossipania (pseud.), 'A Request to the Ladies', 14.
[217] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing,* 161-2.
[218] Anon, 'The Rag and Bottleman', *Leisure Hour* 590 (18th April 1863), 251.
[219] Beverly Lemire, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes', *The Journal of British Studies* 27, 1 (January1988), 1-24.

sanitary napkins rose, so did the proportion of writings about the re-use of old cloth.[220] Wynne attributed the increase to the Victorian reformation project.[221] Rare eighteenth-century references to the job of the ragman can be found in *The London Tradesman* and *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory*. Both accounts pertained to the choosing of a suitable career for young people and both included a category described as "rag-man". These works described the role as supplying a "genteel" living, stating that was a lucrative trade. It required around 100*l.* (sterling) to begin and several thousand pounds to be bound up in the wares of the firm.[222] Wholesale paper-selling was perceived in a markedly similar way (see Chapter 3). The 'rag-men' to which these publications refer must be those who would more probably have referred to themselves as rag-merchants. Men, like Macniven, who had been apprenticed and whom owned or managed rag warehouses. The fortunes of those selling rags to the company (those more usually termed 'rag men' by subsequent generations) were undoubtedly more varied.

Selling Rags

The lack of eighteenth-century sources of information about the people who sold rags for a living can be addressed in part by examining Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*. Although Mayhew's work was published in the mid-nineteenth-century it was based on interviews undertaken with Londoners often reminiscing about their employment when younger men and women. Therefore, many of the descriptions refer to practices taking place towards the end of the eighteenth- and the beginning of the nineteenth-century, thus roughly conforming to the dates of the Balerno Company. Mayhew described the rag-and-bottle-shop keepers, rag-gatherers, and street-buyers of rags as three separate categories of trader involved in the collection of rags for paper-making.

i. Rag-and-Bottle-Shop Keepers

Mayhew's description of the rag-and-bottle-shops is quite unlike the rag-warehouse of the Balerno Company. Although the Balerno Company purchased metal alongside their rags, they did not go in for the bones, grease, and glass bottles which the London merchants Mayhew interviewed had done. Mayhew's rag-and-bottle shops were poor concerns, run by illiterate men simply purchasing what could not be pawned or sold in another way for greater profit – they were the very bottom rung of the retail ladder.[223] A literary description of the goods for sale from a rag and bottle shop described how carpets, hangings, blankets and bed linen were bought by the low lodging house keepers who paid for them in

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[220] Strasser, *Waste and Want,* 48.
[221] Wynne, "Reading Victorian Rags", 34-49.
[222] R. Campbell, *The London tradesman. ... By R. Campbell, esq;.* (London, MDCCXLVII. [1747]), 257; Joseph Collyer, *The parent's and guardian's directory, and the youth's guide, in the choice of a profession or trade. ... By Joseph Collyer, Esq* (London, 1761), 235.
[223] Peter Quennell, ed., *Mayhew's London: Being Selections from 'London Labour and the London Poor' by Henry Mayhew.* (London: The Pilot Press [n.d.]), 265-270.

instalments; bottles were washed out and re-sold to the wine-merchants, spirit-dealers and beer-sellers; and the same was done with doctor's phials. The coopers bought the barrels; boots and shoes were repaired by a travelling cobbler and re-sold; tallow and grease went to the candle-makers; bones were sold for manure. Rags were "the most important section of his trade", of which "the most valuable are the remnants and fragments of old linen which has been often washed without being much worn and wasted; this is consigned to the lint makers, who will pay a high price for it. The paper-maker has the next best kind".[224] Although the Balerno Company did sell some second-hand goods (see Chapter 3) Macniven wrote a good hand in the company books, suggesting that he was educated, and the company seems to have had more genteel aspirations than these descriptions of rag-and-bottle shops.

ii.   Street-Buyers of Rags

The street-buyers collected their wares in barrows, some using carts and donkeys. They worked mainly in the suburbs of towns, because residents there did not have easy direct access to a rag-and-bottle shop. According to Mayhew their usual method was for one of a pair to call at the houses of the wealthy, leaving a handbill with the servants. This handbill apparently had all the appearances of a respectable firm: the royal arms, a date some fifty or so years previous which the company was supposedly founded, and a "short preface as to the increased demand for rags on the part of the paper-makers" as well as the want of other materials such as metal and bones. After leaving this handbill, Mayhew stated, the door was marked with a sign which announced to the following collector the kind of reception he was likely to be greeted with.[225]

One such handbill was reproduced in *The Quarterly*, it read:

> Please to look up all the Old Rags you can, for in a short time I shall call on you again. More or less, I am willing to take them. [royal coat of arms] GEORGE WHITE, DEALER IN ALL SORTS OF RAGS, Respectfuly informs Inhabitants of this Place, that a large quantity of coarse and fine Rags are immediately wanted for the better supply of the Paper Mills in general, such as white linen rags, ticking, fustian, sacking, old ropes or any thing that is made of linen, cotton or hemp ; I also buy old coats, waistcoats and breeches, gowns and stays, sacks, &c. Please to look up all your old Rags and metal against I call for this bill, broken buckles, old spoons, brass taps and bell-metal pots, tea-kettles and saucepans, brass candlesticks, frying-pans, warming-pans, and stew-pans, old halfpence, buck horns, hare and rabbit skins, horse and cow hair, old lead and pewter plates and dishes. The best price/ for all will be given. *+* Please to keep this Bill clean till called for. George Langley, Printer, Market-place, Mansfield.[226]

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[224] Anon., 'The Rag and Bottleman', *Leisure Hour* 590 (18th April 1863), 251.
[225] Quennell, *Mayhew's London,* 263-265.
[226] Peter Bower, '"For the Better Supply of the Paper Mills in General": George White's Handbill', *The Quarterly: the journal of the British Association of Paper Historians* 60 (2006).

The bill makes White sound very much like a travelling version of the rag and bottle shops – confirming Mayhew's notion that these sorts of collectors travelled to those who were unable to take their own second-hand wares to city shops. By the mid-nineteenth century it was estimated that around 50% of homes were regularly visited by the rag-collector.[227] In the records of the Balerno Company, two of the men who sold rags to the company described buying them from "country sellers" who may well have been this kind of "street-buyer" of rags.[228]

iii.   Rag-Gatherers

Mayhew's rag-gatherers were itinerant workers, sometimes they were "trampers" undertaking seasonal employment as farm-hands during the harvest months and resorting to gathering in cities at other times of the year [Fig. 1.7]. These are the kinds of men whom spring to mind when rag-collectors are thought of more generally. When in town these trampers resided in the poor houses, while those based permanently in towns lived in the cheapest sorts of lodging houses. Regardless of their accommodation, the rag-gatherers day was apparently the same. They woke in the small hours of the morning, Mayhew suggests around 2am although whether this time may have been adjusted to allow for the difference in daylight hours in Scotland it is not known. Weather did make a difference to their activities though, as wet rags were not bought by the rag-dealers because the water corrupted their weight. So on rainy days the gatherer was either obliged to collect only bones and metal, or to undertake the cleaning and drying of any rags they had collected. Each gatherer had their own area in which they collected and the early rising ensured that they were first to their patch. They took with them their only possessions, a greasy bag for storing the articles they collected and a pole or stick with a hook on one end; which they used to pick through the rubbish discarded by householders into the backstreets and alleyways of the city. In this way the rag-gather walked miles every day, sifting through what other people had discarded in the hope of collecting a few scraps to sell to the rag-dealer.[229] As early as 1695, in the anonymous *Angliae Tutamen*, rag-collecting was being represented in a similarly dingy and arduous way: "the young collectors out-do the old and go out in the night to the Dung-hills and Laystalls to tumble them over for this Merchandise".[230] Rag-gathering in this way was the lowest of the low of occupations: Mayhew stated that even the "pure-hunters"– who gathered mainly dog-dung – made more money than the rag-gatherers.[231] Recent work by Muller described the German attitude to rag-gatherers in much the same way as they

[227] Richard Herring, 'A Letter on the Collection of Rags for the Manufacture of Paper, Addressed to the Parochial Clergy, The Managers of Parochial Institutions, Etc.', *The Quarterly: The Journal of the British Association of Paper Historians* 70 (2009), 29.
[228] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 99, 102.
[229] Quennell, ed., *Mayhew's London,* 265-270.
[230] Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, 74.
[231] Robert Douglas-Fairhurst, ed., *London Labour and the London Poor by Henry Mayhew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 291-296.

appeared in British sources. The "embodiments of the concept of 'dirty work' they were derided as *Haderlump*, a portmanteau [of 'discord' and 'rags'] which "soon became a term of abuse". Muller quoted Johann Christian Gottlieb Ackerman's work on the *Diseases of Workers*, in which ragpickers were said to suffer from coughs, difficulty breathing and vertigo because of their close relationship with "all the Filth that comes from Men, Women, and Dead Corps [...] 'tis a piteous as well as horrible Spectacle, to see Carts loaded with these remains of Poverty and humane Misery".[232] Poverty, misery and filth are recurring themes, heavily bound up with this kind of image of the rag-gatherer.

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[232] Muller, *White* Magic, 47.

Figure 1.7

Depiction of a rag-gatherer with his "greasy sack," picking up rags from amongst the street rubbish.

Source: Robert Douglas-Fairhurst (ed.) *Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, a Selected Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010: 176.

Newspapers show that rag-gatherers operated throughout Britain. Between 1770 and 1820 rag-gatherers were mentioned in reports in the *York Herald*, *Stamford Mercury*, *Hampshire Chronicle*, *Caledonian Mercury*, *Chester Courant*, *Ipswich Journal*, *Hereford Journal*, *Derby Mercury*, *Newcastle Courant*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, and the *Lancaster Gazette*.[233] In almost every example it was their involvement in theft and violent crimes which was featured. The reports included graphic details of the levels of extreme brutality used against women and children by rag-gatherer men.[234] Although most of these newspapers contained just one report involving a rag-gatherer during this period, the *Derby Mercury* printed five, including one in which it was stated that rag-gatherers in the city were "extremely numerous" and "chiefly subsist of petty thefts" suggesting a "complete remedy" be enacted in order to rid the town of this nuisance.[235] The newspaper reports, alongside Henry Mayhew's very Victorian image of squalor and destitution, make the lowliness of the people involved and the harshness of their lives – especially at the lower ends of the scale – striking. However, Mayhew's social commentary isn't as useful to this project as his taxonomy and stratification. In separating out the different categories of rag-buyers and sellers Mayhew's work elucidates a working hierarchy which can be compared and contrasted with the evidence provided by the records of the Balerno Company.

Who Sold Rags?

For the period for which records exist (November 1791 to January 1792) there were twelve named female sellers and twenty-eight named male sellers in the Balerno Company's books [Appendix B].[236] Identification of these individuals has proven difficult, partly as most of the entries in the records do not supply information in all three categories of first name, last name and location. While half of the twenty-eight men who sold rags to the Balerno Company are recorded under their full name, just one woman received the same treatment.[237]

Analysis of transactions for November and December 1791 shows that the named sellers accounted for forty-two purchases, compared to seventy-four entries of 'sundries'. Obviously, given Macniven's testimony that he combined sales from several sellers to make up the sundry category, these seventy-four entries comprise many more individuals, although how many is uncertain. This demonstrates that named sellers made up a very small proportion of the number of customers frequenting the company warehouse, though the volume of rags they sold was much higher than that sold by the sundry sellers. The forty-two sales of rags

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[233] British Newspaper Archive, <www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>. [10/06/2014].
[234] For examples see *Northampton Mercury*, 22nd May 1780 and *The Times*, 24th September 1787.
[235] *Derby Mercury*, 2nd February 1792.
[236] This takes into account 3 named sellers in each gender category who despite alternate spellings have been assumed to be the same customer: Mrs Whyte/Wheet, and Misters Murphy/Murthey and Leishman /Luchman.
[237] NRS CS96/1806, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Warehouse journal of rags bought, 1790-1792'.

made by named sellers during this period were made by four women and nine men, making eighteen and twenty-four transactions respectively. While this initially appears to suggest regular, repeat custom; closer inspection reveals that most of the named customers sold rags just once during this two-month period. Indeed, almost all the sales made by women at the end of 1791 were made by one Mrs Hume. Her thirteen sales of rags comprised almost 110 stone of fine rags, over thirty-four stone of second rags, and around forty-four stone of grey in just under two-months. Although Macniven's fraud makes these figures unreliable, the other women whom sold rags to the company do not appear to have made anywhere near this number or volume of sales. Turning attention to the male sellers a different pattern becomes apparent, with a Mr Hatton (although making just two visits) selling around eighty-six stone of fine, fifty-seven stone of second, and almost thirty stone of grey during the same period – again, a larger volume of sales than the other men. Overall the warehouse book records the purchase of 181*l*. 13*s*. ¼ *d*. of rags from named sellers and 69*l*. 1*s*. 8*d*. from those termed sundries.[238]

Perspective on the kinds of quantities of rags apparently sold to the Balerno Company by Mrs Hume and Mr Hatton can be gained by examining the report of prizes awarded by The Society for The Encouragement of Arts and Manufacturers in 1758. The overall winner was Janet Mitchell in Tranet, who received one guinea when she collected "the greatest quantity of white rags for the paper-mills, worth fourteen pence per stone and upwards, in quantity not less than 300 stone" - she collected 606 stone! The next six highest gatherers, who had to collect over one-hundred stone each, were: William Scot in Dalkeith (554 stone), Jean Ross (395 stone), Anne Walker (339 stone), Elizabeth Sharp (336 stone), Barbara Ballingal (300 stone), and John Macpherson (295 stone). The top six gatherers of quantities under a hundred stone were: William Innes (268 stone), Elizabeth Morrison (217 stone), Margaret Mackenzie (192 stone), John Robertson (189 stone), Peter Robertson (182 stone) and Jean Christie (178 stone).[239] The final category was for the greatest quantity collected by any private individuals. This was won by Miss Betsy Gibson, daughter of John Gibson, merchant in Edinburgh; Miss Jeanie Hill won the second prize. [240] With these figures in mind Mrs Hume's 110 stone of fine rags in two months appears on the high side of plausible given that during a year of supposed scarcity Mitchell managed 606 stone thought the year. However, it can also be seen that very large quantities of linen were collected by people for a living; the category of 'private individuals' used in the reporting of the figures marking the others out as business collectors.

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[238] NRS CS96/1806, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Warehouse journal of rags bought, 1790-1792'.
[239] The Balerno Company bought rags from a Mr Crystie in Leith who owned a Stonewarehouse.
[240] Walter Ruddiman, ed., 'Premiums by the Edinburgh Society', *The Edinburgh magazine* 2 (March 1758), 43-45.

Despite the accusations of Macniven's fraud it would seem doubtful that Mrs Hume or Mr Hatton could be of rag-gatherer status – the type of collector who scoured the street for scraps as presented in Mayhew's analysis. This is partly because the volumes of rags they purportedly sold are just too high, but mainly because the pay they received from the Balerno Company would quite rapidly have lifted them out of the kind of poverty described by Mayhew! If Macniven's calculations were even approximately correct Mrs Hume made roughly 40*l*. in the last two months of 1791, giving her a possible annual income from rag-selling of somewhere in the region of 240*l*., and it must be remembered that this was apparently the off-season for rag-collection.[241] Even if these amounts were artificially inflated, it would still seem that Hume and Hatton profited handsomely from selling rags to the Balerno Company. This amount of money, even if it was Hume's only source of income and she was purchasing the rags from elsewhere, would place her firmly in the middling ranks of society.[242]

Two women living in Edinburgh at this time might fit the bill as Mrs Hume. The first is Janet Hume, wife of the Balerno mill's own papermaker Alexander Grieve.[243] Grieve went on to work making wrapping papers at Balbirnie mill in around 1816, and after 1825 Balbirnie mill was run by Janet herself, who remained as proprietor until at least 1860.[244] Being a rag-collector would have been a handy occupation for the wife of a papermaker, and would also have stood Janet in good stead for later becoming the proprietor of Balbirnie Mill. Another woman who could have been Mrs Hume wrote regular letters to her distant-cousins the Innes sisters. The letters written between the women make reference to Hume making linen tablecloths for the Innes's and to the Innes's procuring fabric on Hume's behalf – which they feared would be "too fine for your purpose".[245] In a letter to Jane Innes, Hume wrote of their friendship as a metaphor of old clothes:

> Old garments my dear Jeany are not equal to old friendships since the older
> these later ones are they are the less subject to decay, that connection can
> then only pull between your fathers & our friendship, solve me that question
> & I shall allow you sufficient time to stitch your rags together where you are,
> but if you cannot produce me a reasonable solution, you must een pack them
> off to No. 3 and I will lend you my helping hand to sew them up & shall have
> a reward in the pleasure of seeing you soon & the sooner the better.

> Sunday Novr. 18th 1810.[246]

[241] Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*, 5.
[242] See Chapter 2.
[243] Ewan Jardine, 'Scottish Papermakers and the First Fourdrinier Machines in America', *Paper History* 18 (2014), 29.
[244] SBTI, 'Grieve, Alexander', <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index>. [10/12/14]; Ewan Jardine, 'A History of the Paper Mills on the River Leven', *Paper Technology* (2009), 6-7.
[245] NRS GD113/5/421, 'Miscellaneous recipes and prescriptions, C.18th century'; NRS GD113/5/42a/7, 'Letter Jane Innes to Mrs Hume, Whitefields, 1768'.
[246] NRS GD113/5/410/29, 'Letter to Jane Innes from Mrs Home, Whitefields, 1810'.

Hume's offer to help Jane "sew up" her old rags, along with her correspondence with the family regarding obtaining linen for them and poor-quality material from them, all point to her as being connected with the trade in second-hand fabrics.[247] Tantalisingly, this Mrs Hume made reference to mutual friends: Mrs Moffatt and Mrs Chrystie – names which also appeared as sellers of rags to the Balerno Company. A Jean Chrystie also featured in a 1758 account of rag-gatherers.[248] Although there is nothing to positively confirm either Mrs Hume as the same person who sold rags to the Balerno Company, both appear to be good circumstantial candidates, they may even have been one and the same person.

As well as Mrs Hume, it is possible to speculate on the identity of some others of the rag-sellers in the company books. It is most difficult to identify the women because not only were they not routinely recorded under their full name in the company books, but the trade directories also didn't always give the occupations of the women listed. However, the full name of one woman was recorded: Agnes Tait. Agnes might have been the wife of James Tait, brushmaker in Cant's Close.[249] Brushmaking was an occupation allied to rag-collecting, the brushman making mops from the woollen rags which could not be sold to the papermakers.[250] Yet even where there were full names in the books, identifying the individuals involved is still tricky as locations are lacking. Only Mr Chrystie, in Leith, was recorded with his location. Although *Williamson's Directory* does list two Mr Chrystie's in Leith, one a wheelwright; the other a wood measurer, neither of them would seem to obviously fit the bill as a rag-collector.[251] However, using the *Directory* it is possible to positively identify two men named in the books: Robert Bagnall and John Douglas were both owners of stonewarehouses.

Rags and China

Using the company's sequestration records two more men can be identified as also having been in the stoneware business. George Taylor described himself as a "rag dealer".[252] While James Moffat said that he was "one interposing himself betwixt the country gatherers and the manufacturers".[253] The manufacturers in this case were obviously the Balerno Company, although Taylor and Moffat may well have sold to more than one rag warehouse. The term 'country gatherers' would seem more analogous to Mayhew's 'Street-buyers of rags', whom Mayhew described as working outside of towns; as opposed to 'rag-gatherers' who worked

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[247] Mrs Home sent her letters via her servant Janet Drummond who appears in the Edinburgh tax rolls: NRS E326/6/1054, 'Female Servants Tax Rolls 1787-8', entry for 26th September 1787, <http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/historical-tax-rolls/female-servant-tax-rolls-1785-1792/female-servant-tax-rolls-volume-10-1787-8-counties-part-2/54>. [24/12/14].
[248] Walter Ruddiman, ed., 'Premiums by the Edinburgh Society', *The Edinburgh magazine* 2 (March 1758), 43-45.
[249] Williamson's *Directory 1790-2*, 95.
[250] R. Campbell, *The London tradesman,* 258.
[251] *Williamsons* 1790-2.
[252] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 102.
[253] Ibid., 99.

patches within the city. From his dealings with these country-gatherers, Moffat supplied the Balerno Company with a regular flow of quite large quantities of rags.[254] He appeared in the 1790-2 *Williamson's Directory* as proprietor of a Stone Warehouse in Meal Market.[255] George Taylor was also listed in *Williamson's* as George & John Taylor, China Merchant, Southbridge.[256] An advertisement which appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* widened Taylor's offering further, including glass and stoneware to his china, but he was never listed as a rag-merchant.[257] A Mr Bagnall appeared as a regular seller of rags to the company, and frequent substantial payments to a Robert Bagnall can be found in the expenses sections of the Day Books.[258] Like Moffat, he sold comparatively large quantities of rags to the company and turning again to *Williamson's Directory* it can be seen that Bagnall also kept a stone warehouse - at the back of Fountain Well.[259] Another of the rag-sellers can also be identified as a stonewarehouseman: John Douglas was listed in the warehouse book as a rag-seller and a corresponding entry in *Williamson's* for the same year listed him as proprietor of a stone warehouse in St David's Street.[260] The stonewarehousemen presumably acted as middle-men, purchasing rags from gatherers and selling them on to the Balerno Company. As such these men might appear to have occupied a place in Mayhew's categorisation as keepers of what he termed 'Rag and Bottle Shops'. However, despite their similarities it seems unlikely that these establishments reflected Mayhew's rag-and-bottle shops - places stacked to the rafters with detritus and decay. Earthenware was commonly called *Delft* and originated from Holland, whereas stoneware "is only made near Liverpool" and was "much preferable to the Earthen-Ware; it comes nearest to the Porcelain or China-Ware of any thing we have. If properly made, it has the Transparency of that Manufacture".[261] A stonewarehouse, therefore, does not appear to have been a ramshackle establishment in the way Mayhew described rag-and-bottle shops, but rather a place for purchasing an imitation-luxury product and, seemingly, for selling old rags.

It was not just at the Balerno Company that this association between rags and stone/chinaware existed. Further evidence comes from textile historian Sarah Richards, who found that the "The Bath china seller, Sarah Wakelin, sold 'Useful & Ornamental china', cut and plain glass 'of the best and newest Fashion', as well as 'Lace – Footings & Minionetes'. She also took 'old Cloaths, Crape and Silk Hatbands or Gold and Silver Lace', in exchange for

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[254] NRS CS96/1806, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Warehouse journal of rags bought, 1790-1792'.
[255] Williamson's *Directory 1790-2*, 71.
[256] Ibid., 96.
[257] *Caledonian Mercury*, 20th May 1799, 1.
[258] NRS CS96/1806, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Warehouse journal of rags bought, 1790-1792'; NRS CS96/1798-1800, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1791-1792'.
[259] Williamson's *Directory 1790-2*, 11.
[260] Ibid. 30.
[261] R. Campbell, *The London tradesman*, 185.

glass and china".[262] Richards' work cited a long history of relations between the china and old clothes trades, identifying pedlars who carried large quantities of china – up to 75 lb. in weight – exchanging it piecemeal for cast-off clothing until they reached the same weight.[263] However, the relationship between these materials cannot have operated on such a simplistic exchange basis, as both rags and china were given different prices dependent upon the qualities of the item. A plate was priced differently to a cup and different types of rags were paid for at different rates. Additionally these rates fluctuated over time. Between around 1788 and 1795 the Balerno Company were paying 4 – 5*s*. a stone for unsorted fine rags. Rags designated seconds were charged at 1*s*. 9*d*. per unsorted stone, and grey rags fetched eight pence a stone in their unsorted state.[264] These prices correspond exactly with those set out in *The Paper-maker's and Stationer's Assistant* in which an agreed price of rags was printed, proving that the Balerno Company was working in sterling and that the rates set out in England were also being adhered to in Scotland.[265] (For more information on *The Paper-maker's and Stationer's Assistant* see Chapter 3). A little later in the century Archibald Jack, as manager of the General Rag Warehouse, placed an advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* stating that as an incentive to collection prices would rise to 7*s*. per stone for fine rags, 2*s*. per stone for seconds and 1*s*. per stone for grey.[266] For Richards' assertion of exchange of one commodity for another to be correct, the price of china would have had to have increased at the same value per weight at the same time. Additionally, when a rag collector set out the resulting contents of their pack was the result of serendipity – they had no way of knowing beforehand how much of each type of rag they would be able to collect and therefore could not have simply exchanged one commodity for the other up to the same weight without there also being a financial transaction to make up any difference.

It is, however, clear that there was a close connection between the rag and china/stoneware trades, though how this relationship was established is more puzzling. In the nineteenth-century the connection was attributed to the door-to-door hawkers, such as those noted by Richards:

> It was not surprising, therefore, that there should have been wholesale suppliers of the pots who were prepared to buy the rags collected by their customers. The pot hawker went door to door, selling his wares or taking in exchange, or buying for cash, old household rags. It was natural that, when he came to buy his supplies, he should find it convenient if the same firm

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[262] Sarah Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics: Products for a Civilised Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 62.

[263] Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics,* 62.

[264] NRS CS94/26 'Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet 1795-1796'.

[265] R. Johnson, *The Paper-maker's and Stationer's Assistant* (London: Sold by Debrett, Johnson and Bladen and Symonds, 1794), 13.

[266] Anon., 'To the Collectors of Rags', *Caledonian Mercury,* 2nd March 1797.

were prepared to buy his rags, or take them to account against his order for glass and china ware.[267]

This nineteenth-century association between rags and chinawares may have been "natural" and "unsurprising", but it appears not to have been readily acknowledged by late eighteenth-century rag and china-traders in Edinburgh. For example, despite willingly identifying as a rag-gatherer in the Balerno Company sequestration proceedings, Taylor did not advertise himself as such in the newspapers.[268] However, an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* shows that he link between these types of retailers went beyond the exchange of china and rags. William Gilbert advertised his "complete assortment of Staffordshire ware, wedgewood ware, glass &c." alongside an appeal "to bleachers and papermakers" which advised that he'd just received "a quantity of prepared manganese" which he was hoping to sell to them.[269]

Perhaps the association between rags and stoneware was simply ubiquitous, or maybe there was more to the reluctance of rag-buyers to publicly name themselves as such. To be termed a rag-man was rarely a compliment. The origins of the word are first recorded as "the Devil", and second a ragged, or poorly dressed person, before thirdly being listed as a rag-dealer.[270] Women undertaking the collection of rags were further insulted. Johnson's *Dictionary* described "Bunter" as "A cant word for a woman who picks up rags about the street: and used, by way of contempt, for any low vulgar woman".[271] Phrases associated with rags in the seventeenth- eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries include: being "on the rag" (menstruating) 1606; "rag-tag-and-bob-tail" (contemptuous term for those of lower status) 1645; "snot-rag" (handkerchief) 1648; "rag-manners" (bad or poor manners) 1672; "rag-carrier" (slang, derogatory for an ensign) 1698; "to rag" (to abuse, and tear the characters of the person abused) and "rag-castle" (the haunt of beggars) 1828.[272] It's little wonder that those who bought and sold rags for a living did not want to be associated with these ungodly, unsanitary, and unsightly objects and advertised themselves solely as stone dealers and china merchants instead, failing to mention the other aspect of their work. It's difficult to insult stone, china, or glass in quite the same way.

Although I have found no evidence to support my theory, I would posit that there might have been a very practical explanation for merchants selling china, glass and stonewares to collect rags. Their products were extremely delicate and often quite valuable. Transporting these

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[267] Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*, 2.
[268] *Caledonian Mercury*, 20th May 1799, 1.
[269] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 30th September – 3rd October 1794.
[270] Leo Spitzer, 'Ragamuffin, Ragman, Rigmarole and Rogue', *Modern Language Notes* 62, 2 (February 1947), 85-93.
[271] Johnsons Dictionary Online, 'Bunter', <http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/?page_id=7070&i=302>. [10/01/2012].
[272] OED, 'Rag', <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/search?searchType=dictionary&q=rag&_searchBtn=Search>. [10/01/2012]; Francis Grose, *The 1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, 'to rag', <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/5402>. [12/02/2012].

items would not have been easy in the days before inventions such as bubble wrap. Paper might have offered some protection to these delicate materials, but it was an expensive type of wrapping – particularly for travelling salesmen – (see Chapter 4) and rags would likely have offered much more cushioning. Individually wrapped in rags, pieces of glass, china and stoneware could have been packed in tea chests, bundled into travelling salesman's packs, and loaded into carts, to be moved around with a lower degree of damage than if they were simply left loose or packed in another material.

Yet earthenware dealers themselves were not always in favour of the working relationship with rag-gatherers. A letter printed in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* from "An Extensive Dealer in Staffordshire Earthenware" entreated fellow dealers to stop indulging in the system of travelling salesmen.[273] The writer made particular reference to Scotland, stating that: "In the small towns in Scotland every Grocer's shop keeps an assortment of Earthen Ware" and that there was a particular system by which these travelling salesmen sold their second-quality stock:

> in the disposal of your Second Goods; there the extensive Dealers, or in other words those who buy the best, should have the preference of; and they would no doubt see their interest in taking them off your hands at all times, this would force a description of people out of the trade (who are certainly in general a disgrace to it) known in England by the name of Travellers, and in Scotland by the name of Rag Gatherers. You will scarcely believe me when I tell you that three-fourths of the ware which is sold in Scotland, is hawked about for Rags, old Iron, or any other kind of Rubbish that can be got, and this is a nursery for a set of low idle vagabonds, who have an evident advantage over every fair trader, by taking in exchange such things as would otherwise be consigned to the Dunghill. [274]

The letter was quite obviously written by a man with vitriol towards these travelling salesmen, and seems to think that they are giving small businesses an advantage over his larger establishment. He also appears anti-Scottish as the term rag-gatherer was by no means restricted to the country; nor was the practice of exchanging pottery for rags merely a Scottish phenomenon, as Richards related in her study of eighteenth-century Bath.[275] Additionally, this letter made the connection between rags, earthenware dealers and grocers in Scotland; describing how the grocers exchanged the rags they collected for the earthenware they sold in their shops. The connection between earthenware and groceries was also made in passing in a study on the history of the grocery trade in Britain by J. S. Aubrey Rees.[276] This connection can be seen in the Balerno Company, which as well as collecting rags and selling papers was dealing in grocery wares and a variety of second-hand items, as will be seen in Chapter 3.

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[273] *Staffordshire Advertiser* 6th August 1796.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Richards, *Eighteenth-Century Ceramics,* 62.
[276] J. S. Aubrey Rees, *The Grocery Trade: Its History and Romance* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1910), 45.

Conclusion

The backgrounds of the men who began the Balerno Company were juxtaposed against each other during the case against Macniven for fraud. The Nisbets were sons of a wealthy merchant and hailed from a well-to-do family, while Macniven had been sent from his rural family to be apprenticed in Edinburgh. Through his position as manager of the Balerno Company Macniven was able to raise his standing in society from third son of a poor working family, to businessman and to not only a member but Master of his Masonic Lodge. His life after the Balerno Company was apparently not hindered by the accusations of fraudulent practice and he managed the General Rag Warehouse for a time and established what would become one of the UKs best known stationery companies: Macniven Cameron, later Waverly Cameron. It has been generally accepted that Waverly Cameron was a later incarnation of the Balerno Papermaking Company, with a date of establishment of 1770, though this date has proven to be unfounded as the Balerno Company cannot have been begun until around 1788. The original Balerno Company was broken up in 1797 following accusations of fraudulent practice by Macniven. The resulting records give a rare glimpse into the late eighteenth-century rag trade in Edinburgh. The lively records reveal details relating to both the business practices of the Balerno Company and other businesses but also personal details about the people who worked for them. This valuable combination gives a good insight into the operations of the Balerno Company and hints at the way other local businesses operated.

The rags used to make paper at this time were mainly comprised of linen. Linen was a fairly universal material, often associated with cleaning in one way or another – it was used to remove waste matter from the body as well as from personal possessions – and as such it got dirty. But this dirt was not at once a sign to dispose of the commodity, which circulated through society – often spiralling downwards. What was once a Lady's shift might have been discarded by her once no longer able to be washed to white, her servant gladly accepting a garment in better condition that those she'd previously owned. But at some point, perhaps tattered and torn, the shift was no longer serviceable and might have been torn up to make cloths for polishing shoes or wiping noses. Linen was a material which appears to have passed through many hands, having changed use and even form many times. Once at the end of its useable life in one form it was discarded either to the ragman, into the fire, or onto the streets with the rest of the household rubbish.

The traditional view, held in the general conscience and expounded without question in scholarship on paper and the paper trade, is of rags as a dirty waste-material collected by people at the extremes of poverty. But more recent examination on the history of dirt problematizes the idea of waste, calling into question the idea that such a thing is a fixed categorisation. In other words; what was dirty in the eighteenth-century may not be dirty today, and what was dirty to a Lady may not have been dirty to her maid. This helps explain

the trajectory of linen clothing in the eighteenth-century, the passing of items from one person to another. When looked at from a social life perspective, this movement of fabric highlights the relative status of giver and receiver; particularly when viewed in light of research into linen which highlights that this fabric had a cultural memory. The passing of an item of linen from one individual to another therefore carried with it something of the former owner – in much the same way as Appadurai describes in the Kula system. Contemporaries acknowledged this in literary fictions of papermaking, as seen in the introduction to this thesis. Therefore, although linen physically degraded at each step in this process it gained social and cultural associations. The giver perceived diminished value, whereas the receiver perceived an increased value due to the item's associations with the giver. In the case of linen this process might have been repeated several times before the item reached the paper maker, each time the value of the linen as a commodity was reduced until it was finally 'worthless' in its useable form. Conversely, it was at this point that it was at its most valuable to the papermaker, who was only able to make the finest papers from the most well-worn linen. As contemporary fictions, as well as factual writings on papermaking, acknowledge it was only when linen reached a state so degraded that even beggars considered it waste that it finally entered the paper mill as raw material for papermaking.

It has been written that constructing a history of rags would be an impossible task, since the material was destroyed; the merchants were illiterate beggars and the buyers secretive due to fears of competition.[277] The records of the Balerno Company are therefore a fortunate find, for they contain the names of tens of rag-sellers in Edinburgh as well as first-hand testimonies by rag-buyers about the way in which they did business. These records have been compared and contrasted with contemporary reports which often described rag-sellers as an underclass of criminals and undesirables. Newspaper reports described rag-gatherers as killers and thieves, and as ruiners of legitimate businesses. Even the definition of 'rag' has carried a multitude of negative connotations throughout its history. Although the records of the Balerno Company demonstrate that the greatest proportion of rags was bought in very small quantities from unnamed individuals (who may or may not have conformed to the image of the tramping rag-man), they also show that large bulk purchases were regularly made from far more salubrious customers. The names of Edinburgh rag-sellers recorded in the Balerno Company books proves beyond doubt a link between rag-selling and the china trade, previously touched upon by Richards in her work on eighteenth-century china.

The rag trade as it pertained to paper in Edinburgh (and beyond) is not an impossible to uncover history, though undoubtedly there is still more to learn. It is clear that the caricature of the pauper and his rag-bag is only one part of the story of rag-collecting for papermaking; there were many more individuals involved. In Edinburgh at this time there was a complex

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[277] Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*, 2.

and interconnected network of people and businesses involved in collecting rags for papermaking, and sources suggest that these mechanisms were not restricted to Edinburgh. This notion of a richer community of rag-gatherers than has hitherto been acknowledged is a theme which will be repeated in Chapter 2, where I shall move on to beginning to discuss how the paper made from there rags was sold.

Chapter 2

Wholesale Paper: The Balerno Company and their Customers

> My transformation was complete; both my name and nature were changed, and one half of me (excepting the hapless and estranged tatters afore mentioned) became the sort of paper you have in your hands, the other half of a sort somewhat less, decorated with gilt edges.
>
> Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' (1779).

Taking a life history approach the logical development would be to examine the process of papermaking. However, although necessary to the understanding of this chapter and indeed this thesis, papermaking technicalities will not be addressed here in any great detail; they have been covered in the Introduction. Instead this chapter will address paper beyond the mill. It will examine the salesrooms of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Edinburgh paper-merchants and in particular the Balerno Company. The history of paper outside of the mill has, to date, not attracted the attention of historians to any large extent. As such, little is known about how paper was sold and to whom.[278] Recent research on paper history has made strides into different ways of approaching the subject, but the warerooms of the papermakers and the customers who frequented them still do not feature. Muller briefly addressed historical paper merchanting in *White Magic*, but this account is bound-up with papermaking methods.[279] This gap in knowledge was identified as long ago as 1992 by John Bidwell in his chapter 'Paper as Evidence' for *The Book Encompassed* but has still not been adequately filled.[280] Neither will it be by this chapter, which is only a snapshot of one small piece of the picture. However, all puzzles must be made up of many pieces. As a companion to Chapter 1, the particular operations of the Balerno Company again form the backbone of this study. From the records of the company it is possible to construct a picture of the way in which the paper trade was set up in Edinburgh and of the consumers of their papers in Edinburgh and beyond.

Wholesaling Paper

Paper warehousing and wholesale is a much-underrepresented trade in the literature on papermaking. Indeed, projects such as the SBTI and BBTI make it appear to have been a

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[278] See, for examples the *Cambridge History of the Book* series and projects such as the Waterstone company history and the Penicuick Papermaking Project. The standard economic texts are by authors such as: Hunter, Hills, Coleman, and Shorter. Also the Introduction to this thesis. These studies have tended to focus on paper-making, rather than paper-selling.

[279] Muller, *White Magic:* 37-47.

[280] John Bidwell, 'The Study of Paper as Evidence, Artefact, and Commodity', in *The Book Encompassed: Studies in Twentieth-Century Bibliography*, ed. Peter Davison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

minor aspect of the booktrades in general, with the SBTI listing just eight paper warehouses in Edinburgh for the period 1770-1820 [Table 2.1]. With so few known paper wholesalers it is perhaps unsurprising that they have attracted little scholarly interest. However, an examination of advertisements in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* newspapers reveals that this was a larger area of enterprise than previously acknowledged. Rather than just eight, at least twenty individual paper warehouse proprietors operated in Edinburgh between 1770 and 1820, operating out of thirty-seven different locations [Table 2.2]. This number is relatively substantial, second only in Scotland, England and Wales to London's enormous concentration of 176 wholesale stationers during the same period.[281] In total the BBTI lists 221 wholesale stationers, leaving just forty-five outside of the capital. According to the BBTI, only two other UK cities could boast more than a handful of paper wholesalers; Liverpool which had ten and Birmingham following closely behind with nine [Fig. 2.1].[282] By comparison, therefore, Edinburgh's twenty warehouse stationers in one single city appears quite a large grouping. It was indeed the largest in the UK outside of London and double that of its nearest rival Liverpool. However, a note of caution must be added. As it was from further research, in addition to the businesses found in the SBTI, that a large proportion of the Edinburgh paper wholesalers was found it seems likely that further research into other British locations could reap similar rewards and perhaps challenge the apparent abundance of paper warehouses in Edinburgh.

Indeed, paper warehousing was a growing trade in Edinburgh. At the beginning of the 1770s there appear to have been no paper warehouses in the city, then five seem to appear on the scene all in the same year. In actual fact these numbers are probably an unfairly negative appraisal of the situation as it is known that many of the firms in question were operating for longer dates as 'stationers' or 'papermakers' than they were describing themselves specifically as warehouse stationers. However, as positive identification of them as paper warehouses can only occur when they self-described in that manner, these figures likely represent the bare minimum of firms offering paper both wholesale and retail at any given moment. Following the initial jump, two businesses disappeared from the records; leaving just three warehouse stationers in Edinburgh between 1776 and 1783. The remainder of the 1780s saw a slight rise, before numbers levelled off for a few years again. Before the turn of the century the numbers rose slowly, remaining between three and six until 1799. Numbers fluctuated between six and eight businesses until 1807, before a slight increase to a maximum of nine at the end of the 1800s, only reaching twelve by 1817 [Fig. 2.2]. Overall the picture is one of slow progress, with numbers increasing in fits and starts.

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[281] BBTI, [12/01/2012].
[282] Numbers of English and Welsh wholesale stationers from BBTI, [12/01/2012].

Table 2.1

Edinburgh papermakers with known warehouses, 1770-1820.

Year(s)	Proprietor	Associated Mill	Paper Warehouse
1793-99	John Balfour & Sons	Kate's	Unknown
1790	John Balfour & Sons	Kate's	Cowgate Head
1793-99+	Robert Cameron	Springfield	Old Fishmarket Close
1790	Charles Cowan	Valleyfield	The Cross
1793-1804	Charles Cowan	Valleyfield	British Linen Court
1794	Charles Cowan	Valleyfield	Opposite tollbooth, Canongate
1790-91	John Hutton	Melville	Post Office Stair
1973-20thC	John Macniven & Co.	Balerno	Blair Street

Source: SBTI.

Table 2.2

Edinburgh Paper Warehouses which advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury* between 1770 and 1820.

Proprietor	Warehouse Address	Business Description
John Balfour	West Bow	Outlet for Kate's Mill
Ditto	The Cross, South Side	Ditto
Ditto	High Street	Ditto
Thomas Brumby	Niddry Street	Stone, rag and paper warehouse
Ditto	Rose Street	Ditto
Robert Cameron	Old Fishmarket Close	Outlet for Springfield paper mill
Ditto	High Street	Ditto
Ditto	Bank Street	Ditto
Charles Cowan and Sons	Kincaid's Land, Cowgate	Paper and tea dealers
Ditto	The Cross	
Ditto	British Linen Court	
Ditto	Tollbooth	
Cleghorn & Co.	Catherine Street	Paper and rag warehouse
Alexander Fraser	Weir's Land, Canongate	Papermaker and paper merchant
Unknown	Skinner's Close	Rosefield Papermill Warehouse
John Glasgow	Grassmarket	Paper and stone warehouse
Ditto	Grassmarket	Ditto
John Hutton	Post Office Stairs	Outlet for Polton & Melville Mills
Ditto	Parliament Square	Ditto
William Johnston	St Andrew Street	Paper and stone warehouse
A. M'Goun	Stockwell	Netherlees paper warehouse
Ditto	Stockwell	Ditto
Ditto	Stockwell	Ditto
John Macniven & Co.	Blair Street, West Side	Outlet for Balerno Mill
Ditto	Potterrow	Ditto
Unknown	Old Assembly Close	Paper warehouse
George Reid	Kincaid's Land, Cowgate	Paper warehouse
Unknown	Niddry Street	Simpson's paper warehouse
Mark Smail	Candlemaker Row	China, paper & rag shop
James Spottiswood	Milne's Square	Paper warehouse
Ditto	Niddry's Wynd	Ditto
Ditto	Lawnmarket	Ditto
[Thomas] Walker	Blair Street, East Side	Rag & paper warehouse
Thomas Walker	Candlemaker Row	Paper warehouse
James Dickson	Nicholson Square	Wholesale stationer
Ditto	Nicholson Street	Ditto
John Scott	Bank Street	

Source: *Caledonian Mercury*.

Figure 2.1

Map of Britain, showing the numbers of wholesale stationers in England, Wales and Edinburgh 1770-1820.
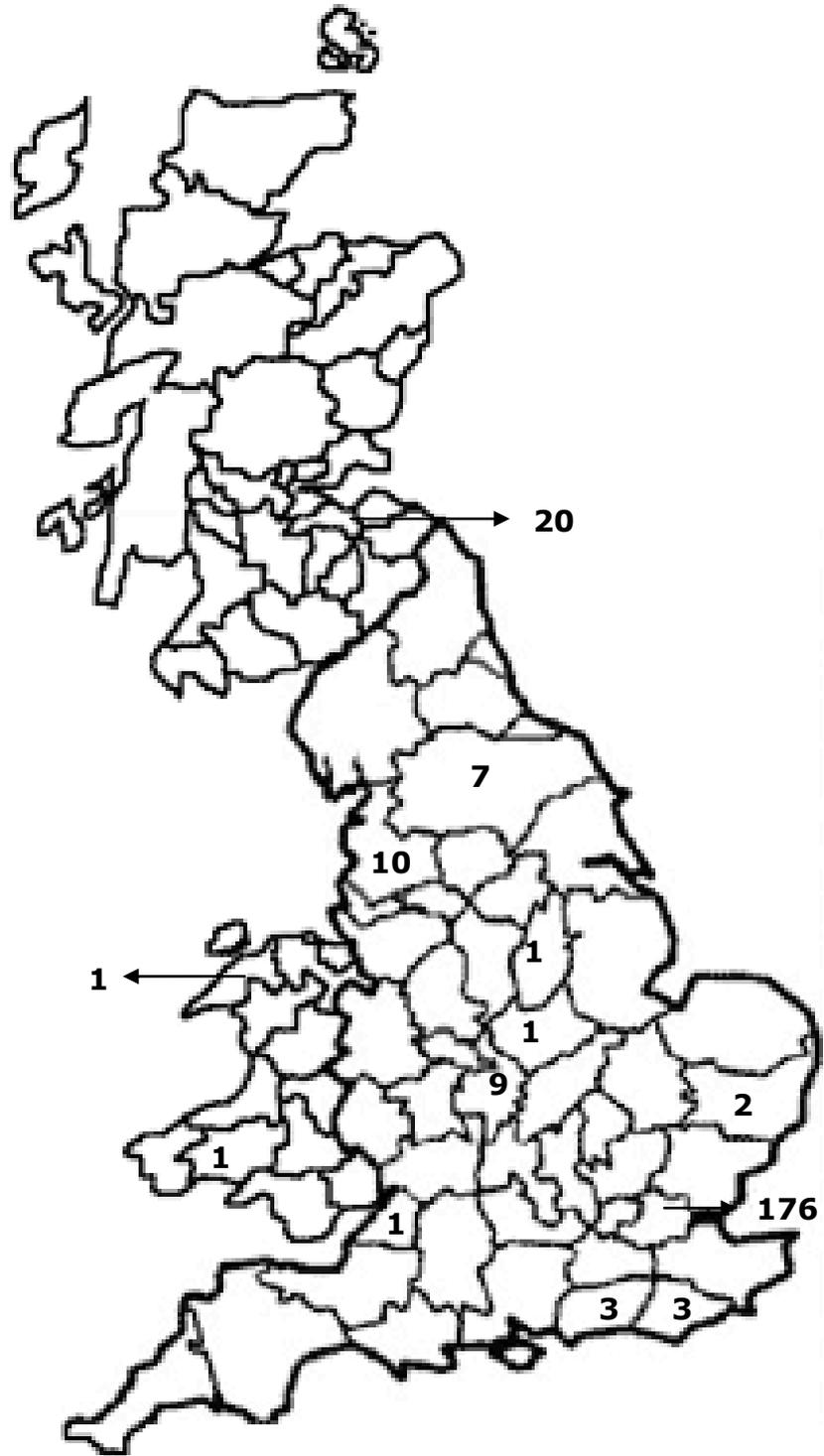
Source: BBTI and SBTI.

Figure 2.2

Line graph showing the increase in numbers of paper wholesalers in Edinburgh between 1770 and 1820.
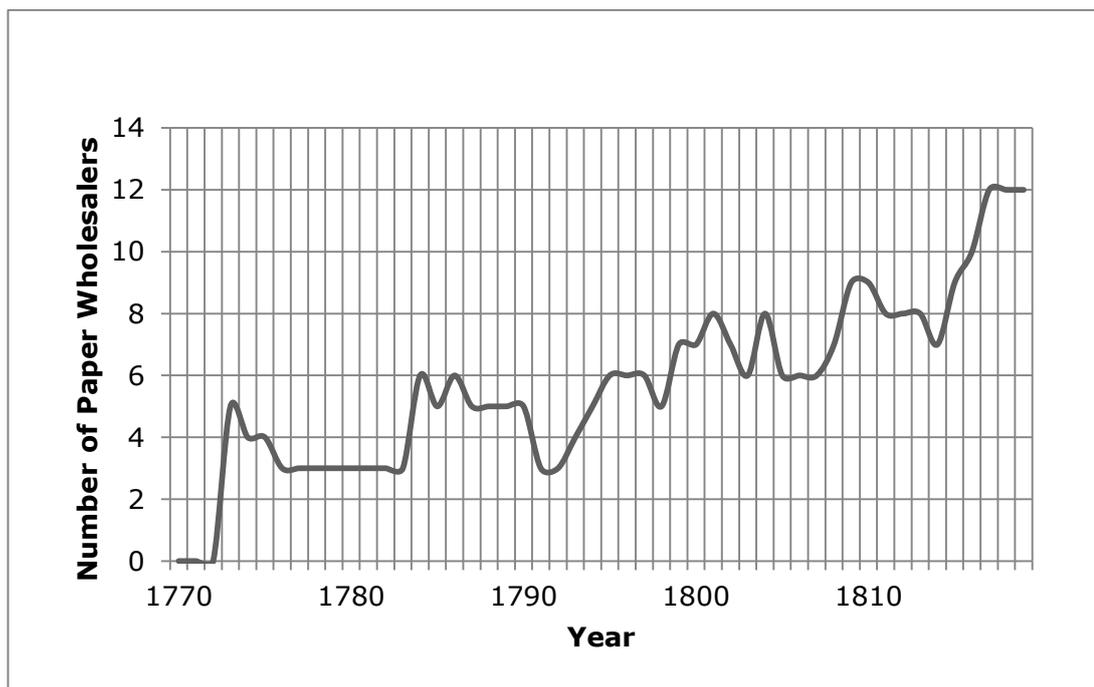
Book trade histories have only tended to distinguish between bookseller-stationers (who sold books and stationery wares – including printing and writing papers – to individuals) and paper-makers (which have generally been discussed in terms of paper mills). Paper warehouses and wholesalers have been largely absent from research. The Balerno Company fulfilled both the role of paper-maker and paper-retailer, but they also worked outside of this dyad as rag-collectors and paper wholesalers – selling large quantities of paper to other businesses. While it is clear that there were several Edinburgh businesses which involved making and selling paper, it is not known how many of these paper warehouses also collected rags. The Balerno Company records reveal that Edinburgh had, at times, a centralised General Rag Warehouse. It was certainly in operation in June 1785, but had ceased by May 1789 before being continued around 1793.[283] However, the role of the General Warehouse appears to have been to gather together rags collected by papermakers (and perhaps others) and redistribute them among the paper mills. This suggests that the warehouses generally collected rags, even if they then sent them to this centralised hub. Papermaker David Grieve (partner in the Springfield Mill enterprise, which also had a paper

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[283] NRS CS30/4, Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796, 111; NRS CS94/26, Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet 1795-1796, 3.

warehouse) testified during the case between Macniven and the Nisbets that the rags he received as his "share" from the General Rag Warehouse were of a better quality to those he collected himself – demonstrating that the Balerno Company were not alone in operating as rag-collectors, paper-makers and paper-sellers.[284]

Given that the Balerno Company and the Springfield Company were certainly rag-collectors as well as paper-makers and sellers, it would seem incongruous to suggest that the rest of the paper warehouses also associated with paper mills could not also have collected rags. If the other paper-warehouses all also bought rags it would mean that of the twelve Edinburgh paper mills operating in the 1790s almost half might have collected their own rags, while the others presumably relied upon the General Rag Warehouse – while it existed. There is also evidence to suggest that this way of doing business was not unknown in London, where the paper trade was criticised for its "shameful monopoly" on the rag trade.[285] In relation to England and Wales, the BBTI for the year's concurrent to the operations of the Balerno Company retrieves almost one-hundred names of rag merchants.[286] Some are duplicate entries where the merchant changed premises, or there is no evidence for two or more sources containing the same name to be linked. Interestingly, just five were based outside of London. Notable entries include several names described as being rag-merchants, paper makers and paper sellers. In London there were at least eleven businesses operating in this way.[287] A further three are described in the database as both paper makers and rag-merchants, suggesting a similar type of business.[288] Many more men were both stationers and papermakers, although this latter category did not necessarily collect their own rags.[289] These examples prove that operating across the paper manufacture/sales axis in the later eighteenth-century was not restricted to Edinburgh; London also had wholesale stationers operating in this way.

Further evidence for this being a common way for paperwarehouses to operate came from two works published in relation to increasing taxation on paper. Tax was raised in 1781 and again in 1794. Each time the tax was raised an enterprising publisher put out a work called *The Paper-maker's and Stationer's Assistant*. The first was by Thomas Paine. Paines's book included only the taxation tables, with no explanation or further comment. The second work with this title was by R. Johnson. In addition to the taxation tables Johnson's work included

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[284] David Grieve appears to have been related to the Balerno Company's papermaker Alexander Grieve, whose wife Janet Hume may have been one of their major rag-sellers: see SBTI. NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 105.
[285] *Caledonian Mercury*, 26th December 1799.
[286] BBTI, <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/>. [18/07/13].
[287] William Hunter (1768-1798); William Demeza (1777-1788); Stephen Stower (1778-1813); Thomas Lovewell (1782-1789); John Pelly Legard/Lepard (1784-1794) partner of William Lepard (1758-1799); Spalding and Routh (1792-1795); Christopher Magnay (1793-1830); John Elsee (1797-1816);[287] Joseph Huffam (1797-1805); and Abbott and Armstrong (1799-1806).
[288] Thomas Harriman (1773-1785); Edward Holmes (1773-1796) and Hector Campbell (1792).
[289] James Wallis Street (1781-1816); Thomas Vallance (1782); Edward Watson (1783-1784); Joseph Vowell (1784-1784); Thomas Hodgson (1785-1794); Thomas White (1785-1788); Adam Thompson (1788-1794); James Creswick (1789-1830); Henry Dobbs (1790-1830); Sealy Fourdrinier (1791-1839).

several other features supposedly of use to the paper-seller. One addition was a table to help the papermaker work out the amount of paper-duty the maker would be paying for each 100*l.* of rags he bought.[290] The publication also featured a column added to the taxation tables of how long paper took to make (titled: 'reams a day's work'). These additional items add weight to the notion that increasingly, stationers collected rags and made paper.

John Bidwell described this way of controlling the whole production chain as a "vertically integrated" business model. He first noted it at work in relation to the Fourdrinier brothers in the mid-nineteenth-century. The Fourdrinier's began by purchasing rags and selling papers (the paper itself apparently being made by a different company), subsequently adding paper manufacture to their enterprises at a later date and thus operating across the entire spectrum of operations necessary to make their product.[291] Being in control of the supply chain in this way is not only a cost-effective way of doing business (it avoids premiums on raw materials) it is also highly efficient (it avoids delay in supply). Although this is often seen as a late-nineteenth/early-twentieth-century way of doing business, the operations of the Balerno Company and others in Edinburgh make it clear that such business models had been in operation much earlier. According to Bidwell the more frequent method of conducting business being for a wholesale stationer to purchase their paper from one, or indeed several, mills. This would seem to be confirmed for the earlier part of the century by *The London Tradesman*, which stated that "The stationer buys the paper from the manufacturer, and sells it out to printers and other dealers in this commodity".[292] A little later in the century it would appear that papermakers and wholesale stationers were becoming more allied, as in *The Parent and Guardian's Directory* the relationship between the two was described as: "The wholesale stationers […] either have mills, which they let out to the paper-makers, whom they keep constantly employed; or contract with paper-makers for what they want".[293] This appears to describe the situation at the Balerno Company in the 1780s and 1790s, as a newspaper advertisement shows that the mill was 'let' at 80*l.* per year.[294]

According to Bidwell, the usual chronology was for a retail stationer only to move into paper milling once enough capital had been produced through paper-selling, usually with the motivation of producing papers to their exact specifications.[295] This suggestion is confirmed by the example of William Hutton (1715-1823), Birmingham's first paper warehouse proprietor. Hutton's career began – like Macniven's – in bookbinding before his good friend, the author and papermaker Robert Bage, suggested supplying him with paper to sell

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[290] Johnson, *The Paper-Maker and Stationers* Assistant, B5v.
[291] Though it might be possible that they were operating in a manner similar to the Balerno Company, where the paper was made by someone 'leasing' the mill, but who was contracted to solely make and supply paper to the one firm? See: Bidwell, 'The Industrialisation of the Paper Trade', 207.
[292] Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, 127
[293] Collyer, *The parent's and guardian's directory,* 260.
[294] *Caledonian Mercury*, 'Estate of Balerno' 21st September 1789, 4.
[295] Bidwell, 'The Industrialisation of the Paper Trade', 203.

alongside his binding business. Hutton took the paper from Bage wholesale, turning down the offer of a commission-based business relationship, and made his fortune selling paper – ceasing the binding of books entirely. Lulled into a false sense of security by the profitability of selling paper Hutton reasoned that: "If there was a profit to the seller of paper, I concluded there must be one to the maker. I wished to have both. Upon this erroneous principle I longed for a paper-mill".[296] His dreams were dashed in less than four years. Nefarious mill wrights aware of his ignorance of paper mill technology took Hutton for a pretty penny and the mill never turned a profit. Hutton soon abandoned the project in favour of a return to his previous position of middleman, selling exclusively the papers of his friend Bage.[297] The Balerno Company, however, did not follow this pattern.

Although Macniven was a bookbinder by trade he had previously been employed as a clerk to John Balfour's paper warehouse. Macniven's experience with Balfour would likely have given him an insight into how a vertically integrated paper-based business operated, as Balfour had joined forced with Gavin Hamilton and Patrick Neill. The trio operated an extensive and highly successful business which included paper-manufacture at their mill in Colinton, printing, publishing, warehousing, bookselling, auctioneering and marketing.[298] Far from being unique, Macniven was simply emulating the business practices he'd trained in. Citing the examples of two paper making firms which operated in this way, those belonging to Christopher Magnay and Sir Matthew Bloxham (who became Lord Mayor and Sheriff of London respectively), Bidwell stated that one advantage of engaging in the integrated business model was the "wealth, rank and prestige" it afforded to the proprietors.[299] Similarly John Feather's research on John Clay, the Daventry stationer, shows that outside of London too, men who traded in this way were held in high regard.[300] Although the details of Feather's article were called into question, the fact remains that Clay was elected Bailiff (the equivalent of Mayor) three times and acted as magistrate and as such was presumably a man of high local standing. This seems to be consistent with matters in Edinburgh, where Macniven was held in high esteem amongst his fellow businessmen, being twice elected Master of his Masonic Lodge.[301]

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[296] William Hutton, *The Life of William Hutton. F.A.S.S.* [...] (London: printed for Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, Paternoster Row, 1816), 48.
[297] Hutton, *The Life of William Hutton*, 47-50.
[298] Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006): 308.
[299] Bidwell, 'The Industrialisation of the Paper Trade,' 203.
[300] John Feather, 'John Clay of Daventry: The Business of an Eighteenth-Century Stationer', *Studies in Bibliography* 37 (1984), 200.
[301] SBTI, < http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-tradeindex>. ; NRS CS271/4245, 'John McNiven Vs William & Alexander Nisbet, 1798', 4; NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 157.

The Paper Warehouse

Unfortunately the company records do not give any indications regarding the interior fittings of the shop, though some sense can be garnered from a knowledge of the products they sold. In addition to paper, Macniven described carrying on three additional businesses from the premises. Firstly he admitted that he ran a "separate stationery business". Presumably, given that the customers appear to have been unaware who they were purchasing from, there were no physical distinctions between the Balerno Company stationery business and Macniven's.[302] Secondly, Macniven ran a grocery shop. The products sold consisted of mainly alcohol (including whisky, ale, beer, and gin), soap, tea (black and green), and sugar (raw, lump and powdered). Additionally, glasses and tumblers, candles and honey also appeared in the account books. Less frequently cloth, starch, and paper were also sold through the grocery arm of the shop. On occasion Macniven sold furnishings, including a chest of drawers and a clock.[303] Sales were regular and brisk, so the warehouse must have shown physical signs of this business. Shelves for stock and a counter on which to wrap customer's purchases would be the minimum. Lastly, Macniven practiced his original trade of bookbinder, occasionally even employing journeymen in this regard.[304] Bookbinding required a number of tools: presses, shears, hammers, small hand tools and other equipment, all of which took up some not inconsiderable space and which would have required at the very least a bench on which to work. There is no indication as to whether Macniven kept these items in the main saleroom or elsewhere. Presumably, the warehouse somewhat resembled a grocery shop, with a space for paper, and perhaps also a bindery.

In recent years scholars have published on many aspects of shop design, dispersing old notions of eighteenth-century shops as simple repositories of goods and reconstructing the sometimes elaborate and lavish interiors and exteriors. As described in Chapter 1, the Balerno Company warehouse was a large, six-storey building, located in Blair Street. The building still stands, and combined with an illustration from a nineteenth-century billhead, it can be seen that (in keeping with Edinburgh tenement buildings of the period) the shop was built with a main door which opens to the ground level, as well as another door which gave access to the floors above. Presumably, the ground floor was the level at which customers were received. It is on this floor that the notably unadorned building has its fanciest windows – arched, as opposed to those on the upper floors which were simply rectangular. Although these windows are decorative, they are not the bow-front associated with the newly fashionable shops of this era - likely with good reason. Bow windows were utilised to show off stock. However, filling the windows with products meant that the shop interiors became dark, necessitating lighting the shop with candle light. Businesses were

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[302] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 210-211.
[303] NRS CS96/1797, 'John McNiven, merchant, Edinburgh, Account Book 1794-1798'.
[304] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 133-4.

conflicted on the use of candlelight in shops. Goldsmiths were said to have shunned candlelight in order to portray honesty by dealing in plain light. Whereas drapers and china merchants – whose windows were full of goods – are said to have lit candles which bounced light off the mirrors and gilding of their shop fittings.[305] It seems unlikely that the Balerno Company displayed goods in their windows. Not only did they not have bay windows, but unlike other shops, the Balerno Company shop was not especially deep (the building is around 23ft).[306] However, it was wide, with six windows along the front and the same at the back. Without stock being displayed in them, the windows would have let plenty of light into the rooms.

Paper warehouses were likely naturally lit for several reasons. Whereas other retailers were moving into setting up elaborate window displays to entice customers in off the streets, paper is not a commodity for which this is easy to do. Its uniformity simply does not produce an attractive or eye-catching window display. But perhaps more importantly, paper is highly flammable. Paper manufacturers wisely tended not to use naked flames in their mills for fear of fire.[307] Presumably paper sellers had similar concerns. As paper manufacturers knew all too well from the numerous reports of fires at mills and warehouses, paper and candles could prove a disastrous mix. Therefore, keeping the windows unencumbered would have had practical implications, but it also facilitated the shopping experience. Although not well-suited to display, handmade paper is a highly visual material at close quarters. Its colour, and any faults are easily spotted in good light, and if it is held up to a light source any chainlines, watermarks and countermarks are visible. Given that these marks attested to the size and maker of the paper, they formed a kind of quality guarantee. Knowledge of the local marks could have given purchasers some surety that the item they were purchasing was what the seller reported it to be – but only if there was light enough to see. Whereas some retailers deliberately filled their shops with candlelight to set-off the gleam of their gilded frames and bounce light off their mirrors, paperwarehouse proprietors probably prized the quality of natural light in their warerooms for showing off the particular features of their products.

As the company sold both wholesale and retail there are likely to have been customers coming and going, walking in off the street and attending pre-arranged appointments to pick up goods previously ordered. This duality makes it difficult to assess the Balerno Company shop based on previous research. It has been suggested that businesses which sold for ready money tended to have sparser interiors than those which traded on credit. This was apparently due to two factors: firstly the time it took to barter for goods and secondly the time it took shopkeepers to assess the credit-worthiness of non-cash customers. If customers

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[305] Claire Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display of Goods in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of Design History* 8, 3 (1995), 167.
[306] Ibid. 160.
[307] Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*, 5.

were not spending much time in the shop, the shop interior did not need to be fitted out so lavishly.[308] Likely, as they catered for both markets, the Balerno Company warehouse fell somewhere in-between. Retail interiors were said to have been modelled on home interiors, with (for example) china merchants displaying their wares in cabinets and drapers using presses.[309] If paper merchants conformed to the notion of attempting to replicate household interiors, it could be expected that paper for sale was stored in drawers. Contemporary texts describe the drawers in desks as being used for storing unused paper; with the Chippendale catalogue, for example, describing "Drawers for Papers etc.".[310] A manual describing the storage of papers for use with a copying machine stating that shelves were preferable to drawers in that particular instance because the papers stored there would be wet and drawer storage would inhibit airflow causing the paper to rot – suggesting that drawers were the most usual arrangement in other circumstances.[311] Images on trade cards can be used to help ascertain the interior set-up of some types of shops. For example, there is evidence that wallpaper warehouses appear to have hung papers on the walls (in keeping with the notion that shop interiors mirrored home interiors), however, this would not have been practical for large quantities of wallpaper and so rolls of wallpaper seem to have been stored in boxes [Fig. 2.3 & 2.4]. Unfortunately I have been able to find only one tradecard depicting the interior of a stationer's shop, that of Dorothy Mercier who was a printseller and stationer, however her trade card appears to depict only the printselling aspect of her business. The other stationers' trade cards I've located are either un-illustrated, or depict shop signs, shop exteriors or tableaus of writing equipment [Appendix C, 1-5].

Seemingly, as with the windows of paper-warehouses, the visual element of paper was not easy to portray in trade cards. Paper could, therefore, quite easily have been stored in piles on shelves, or in neatly labelled drawers - sorted by type. Regardless of the method of storage if the papers had been sorted effectively the shopworkers would have been able to display their knowledge and keen eye. The ability of a shopkeeper to select and show their customers exactly the product they wanted or needed was prized as part of the ritual of polite shopping.[312] Paper's multitude of sizes, qualities and varieties would have fed into such a system of shopkeeper's display of knowledge, as well as into discussions about popular paper-related pastimes such as letter-writing, paper-craft, visiting, or record-keeping, as examples, according to the paper being sought. However, this type of polite shopping has

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[308] Walsh, 'Shop Design', 171.
[309] Ibid., 161.
[310] Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director…* (London: Printed for the Author, 1762 [3rd edition]), 13.
[311] James Watt, *Directions for Using the Machine for Copying Letters and Other Writings Invented by James Watt and Co. of Birmingham* ([n.p]: [n.p.], 1780), i.
[312] Helen Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Sixth Series, 12 (2002), 377; Walsh, 'Shop Design', 168.

been linked with credit businesses, as opposed to those who traded for cash, and as already discussed the Balerno Company did both.[313]

[313] Berry, 'Polite Consumption', 377.

Figure 2.3

Trade card of Abraham Price, wallpaper seller c.1758. Note the wallpaper displayed hung across windowsills and draped over bars inside the shop.

Source: British Museum, Heal Collection.
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx>.

Figure 2.4

Trade card of Masefield's hanging and papier mache manufactory (c. 1758). Wall paper in this tradecard seems to be stored rolled and stacked in boxes.

Source: British Museum, Heal Collection.
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx>.

Customers and their Purchases

The Balerno Company's Day Books are able to provide some evidence of the existence (or not) of a polite shopping experience at the warehouse. By far the largest numbers of transactions recorded in these accounts were sales to "sundries". These sales were often of small quantities (quires of paper, as opposed to reams) of a wide variety of paper and other items and were paid for in cash.[314] However, it is possible that, as was the practice in the company's Rag-Books, several sundry sales were recorded together (see Chapter 1). Therefore, whereas the books give the impression that cash-purchases were of a little of many different items, each apparently separate entry may actually refer to several individual sales to different customers; each of whom probably purchased just one or two items. These types of sales often also included stationery wares (i.e. quills, pens, ink, wafers, wax, and twine) and paper-books (i.e. blank books).[315] Therefore, it would appear that the sundry sales made by the company were probably made to private persons, purchasing for personal use.

Sales to credit customers also show a small number of different items being purchased at each visit, but in larger quantities than sundry customers. Often credit customers bought in quite large quantities. For example, on 24th August 1792 Mr Milne the Quill Dresser bought twenty reams i.e. 9,600 sheets of large grey paper and on 3rd October 1792 Mr John Watt the Grocer bought ten reams of Royal Grey paper.[316] These quantities mark out credit customers as purchasing to meet the needs of their own businesses. With the Balerno Company producing around ninety-nine different types of papers even the extensive Blair Street warehouse could not have coped with keeping thousands of sheets of almost a hundred different types of paper in stock – and it would not have made business sense to do so. It is more likely that those credit-customers who required such quantities of particular types of papers placed orders with the Balerno Company to meet their needs. Placing an order and returning to collect it – or indeed simply having it delivered when ready – would have meant that merchants needed to spend little time in the company's warehouse. Indeed, some of their customers were not Edinburgh based, and it is possible that the company sometimes sent samples rather than receiving wholesale purchasers in the warehouse at all. As it was only businesses which were afforded credit by the Balerno Company, and not individuals, it would seem that the company made the assessment of their customer's credit-worthiness on the basis of the reputation of the business, rather than of the individual. The combination of individuals as cash-customers and businesses as credit-customers who often placed orders for specific products both point towards a business which had little need to indulge in the habits of 'polite' shopping. Yet, while these records do not appear to correlate with the

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[314] 1 quire = 24 sheets, 1 ream = 20 quires.
[315] Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopaedia of Paper and Paper-making*, 180.
[316] NRS, CS96/1798, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1791-1792'.

assessment of a well-to-do shop, it should be remembered that Macniven was an esteemed businessman. Regardless of whether the warehouse was lavishly fitted out or not, it seems likely that the shop conformed to contemporary expectations of what a well-run paper warehouse should look like.

Although the account books of the Balerno Company contain names of the business customers, the individuals who purchased paper from the warehouse are lost to history. However, it might be possible to gain some sense of who they were. Research into the haptic skills of eighteenth century shoppers suggests that items such as groceries were shopped for by knowledgeable consumers who would have been unlikely to send "proxy shoppers" in the form of servants to purchase such items. This is said to have been because the master or mistress of the house prized their own skills and knowledge in detecting the quality of fresh produce and that shopping for these types of items was done as part of a leisure routine.[317] Given the close association between paper and groceries, including the fact the both were sold at the Balerno Company Warehouse, it might be imagined that paper was also a product which the master or mistress of the house would purchase for themselves or on behalf of the household. However, the types of groceries sold by the Balerno Company shared a common feature with paper. Rather than assessing the "freshness of food" it was issues of weight and quantity which linked the kinds of groceries sold by the Balerno Company with their rag and paper business. Sugar, raisins, cheese, tea, soap – all these were sold (and taxed) by weight. Rags were purchased by weight, and it was issues of weight-corruption that landed Macniven in trouble with his business partners. Weight was also notable in relation to paper in publications such as Johnson's *The Paper-maker's and Stationer's Assistant*, which gave information on the average weight of reams of different types of paper. Additionally, complaints were made to the Balerno Company that the papers they sold to London merchants were short on weight.[318] Indeed, it would also be far quicker, in the case of bulk sales at least, for the paper-seller to weigh a quantity of paper in order to work out how many sheets there were (given that types of paper were supposed to have a standard weight) than to count each individual sheet. Mr Milne, for example, is unlikely to have stood in the Blair Street warehouse while Macniven counted out all of his 9,600 sheets of large grey paper. More likely he, or his representative, stood with Macniven at the shop's scales and witnessed the correct weight for a pile of twenty reams of large grey. Smaller quantities of paper, such as those sold to individuals for cash, were usually sold in quires (i.e. twenty-four sheets) which might have been simply counted sheet-by-sheet, or could also have been weighed. Given that both paper and the types of groceries on sale were items bought at a fixed price for cash and purchased in measurements of an independently verifiable standard, it might be

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[317] Kate Smith, 'Sensing Design and Workmanship: The Haptic Skills of Shoppers in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of Design History* 25, 1 (2012), 4.
[318] Johnson, *The Paper-Maker and Stationers Assistant*, 1794; NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 73-4.

argued that these were not purchases made for pleasure. These factors would suggest that it was indeed possible for "proxy shoppers" (i.e. servants) to make up a proportion of the cash purchasers of paper from the Balerno Company.

This picture, of a fast-paced, ready-cash business would fit with the fact that at the Balerno Company as well as customers buying paper, there were also catering to customers selling rags. As Chapter 1 related, rags were generally perceived to be one of, if not the most, odious substances possible. Attempting to carry on a polite, refined shopping experience with the consumers of paper at the same time as rag-sellers arrived with their dirty, stinking wares would surely not have been compatible. Unless rag-sellers were received in a different part of the building (which, given its size is a possibility), or only at certain times of the day, it seems more likely that at the Balerno Company at least, paper-selling was probably carried out in a rather swift and perfunctory manner. The combination of these customers might also explain why the Balerno Company went against the grain of generally accepted retail practice and took credit only from wholesale customers (to whom paper might have been delivered by the company's carters, thus avoiding spending much time in the shop at all).[319] Had both the lower-sorts of rag-sellers and general public buyers of paper frequented the premises at the same time, the social mix would not suggest a polite retailer in which one sat to take tea with the proprietor. Of course, this same problem did not exist for all retailers of paper. For example, Edinburgh bookseller and stationer Charles Elliot sold small quantities of paper on credit to his retail customers.[320]

Whereas the company's books shed little light on the sundry customers the inclusion of details such as the name and occupation of credit customers mean that it is possible to gain a fuller picture of the Balerno Company's dealings with other traders. By examining the Waste/Day Books compiled during thirteen months of credit sales from the 1st November 1791 to the 31st December 1792 it can be seen that in total around 25% of credit sales were made to members of the book trades (279 items); that is, people or firms described in the account books as: stationer, bookbinder, bookseller, or printer. The next largest number of items sold, almost 19% (206 items), was purchased by the grocers, and tea and spirit dealers (combined into one category since the businesses were often related). The remaining quarter of sales were made to businesses from other trades. Unlike the company's Rag Books, there was no suggestion in the sequestration that the quantity of the items recorded in the Day Books was misleading. However, Macniven admitted that he carried on the separate concern of a stationery business for his sole profit but that he used company time, premises, and products to supply this business. The account books back up this admission, in that there are large numbers of transactions describing the sale of numerous types of paper to Macniven

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[319] Berry, 'Polite Consumption', 389.
[320] See, for example, the ledgers from Charles Elliot's firm for the years 1771-1791 kept by the NLS, MS43098-43100.

himself. During this period approximately 28% of the items recorded as being sold to named customers were sold to Macniven (305 out of 1,087 transactions). Interestingly, the sales made to Macniven were regularly preceded in the books by sales of the same types and quantities of paper to other purchasers. In the sequestration proceedings a Mr Simpson described buying stationery items from Macniven, believing them to have been sold on behalf of the Balerno Company, when in fact they were things Macniven sold for his own profit.[321] It might appear then, that Macniven was retrospectively buying items from the company, in order to profit from the sales himself in his "separate stationery business" and for this reason I decided to discount the sales made to Macniven in all the following calculations.

With the sales to Macniven disregarded, between November 1791 and December 1792 there were 782 items sold on credit, in six-hundred separate transactions, to 154 distinct customers representing twenty-four different trades and professions. Most of the 154 customers had addresses in Edinburgh and the majority were located in the immediate vicinity of the warehouse, along the High Street and in the Streets, Wynds and Closes leading off it. A handful of customers were based in Leith and a few in the New Town [Fig. 2.5]. Just seventeen of the 154 were from outside of Edinburgh (three in London, two each in Dalkeith, Linlithgow and Perth, and one in Dollar, Sciennes, Crieff, Bo'ness, Biggar, Dumfries, Musselburgh, and Calbege[?]). In 118 out of the 154 credit sales either a trade was recorded alongside the name, or it has been possible to trace the person or company's trade through *Williamson's Directory* (1790-2) using their name and address.[322] The largest quantity of papers was bought by the book trades (by forty-two customers), closely followed by the grocers (thirty customers). Of the remaining trades there were: eight cloth merchants, six general merchants, four confectioners, three apothecaries, two each of seedsmen, shoemakers and painters, and one customer of each of the following trades: carver and gilder, engraver, founder, glazier, haberdasher, ironmonger, music seller, physician, quill dresser, schoolmaster, shipmaster, solicitor, stone warehouse owner, tin-plate worker, and writer. It is quite plain therefore, that the Balerno Company catered largely for the book and grocery trades. Generally customers returned several times in the thirteen month period. On each visit they tended to buy between one-quarter-ream and two reams (i.e. 120 to 960 sheets) of any discrete type of paper, though some Edinburgh businessmen bought much more. The London publishers to whom the company sold bought paper in very large quantities. For example, Wright and Gill purchased 114 reams (or 54,720 sheets) of 'second'

[321] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 210-11.
[322] Every credit sale in the company books details the customer's name. In some cases this was accompanied by their trade/profession, and/or location. Where either the trade or location was known it was possible to attempt to trace the missing details in the *Williamson's Directory* for 1790-2 (and occasionally 1793). The missing information was only accepted if there was just one corresponding entry in *Williamson's*. This resulted in 36 individuals or companies for whom their trade is still unknown, 23 unknown customer locations, and 13 instances of a named individual for whom I was unable to trace either a trade or location.

paper in May 1792. While the Edinburgh customers made much smaller discrete purchases, over the course of the year with repeated visits these too could add up to substantial quantities. For example, quill dresser John Milne (also Mill) actually bought a larger quantity of paper than Wright and Gill during the same year, though he purchased it in smaller increments. Over the year he bought 163 reams (78,240 sheets) of paper.

Figure 2.5[323]

Map showing the distribution of the Balerno Company's credit customer's locations: 1st November 1791 to 31st December 1792.

Source: data, NRS CS96/1798, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1791-1792'. Map, John Ainslie, 'Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith with the Proposed Docks' (detail), 1804.

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[323] Note: The georeferencing software used to create this map has limited capabilities. As it works on modern addresses, mapping them onto old maps, it is unable to map addresses to exact street numbers. Rather it places a marker on the correct street. This has led to the loss of some information as where multiple customers were based on the same street there is only one marker.

Among the credit customers of the Balerno Company were the names of several well-known figures of the Edinburgh publishing scene. John Balfour (1715-1795) had a varied livelihood; including being a printer, publisher and papermaker and had, of course, been the man who first introduced Macniven to the paper trade. During his career Balfour was printer to Edinburgh University and the Faculty of Advocates, as well as being the owner of Bogsmill and Kate's Mill – where he oversaw the printing of Bank of Scotland banknotes. He was known to have entered business partnerships with William Creech, William Smellie, Alexander Kincaid, (all of whom were also Balerno customers) and David Hume's publisher, William Strachan.[324] Between January and October 1792 he purchased four quires of bag cap, five quires of imperial cap, two quires of third post, and two quires of fine post from the Balerno Company.[325] Bag- and imperial cap were wrapping papers; post from the third table of taxable value would likely have been poor-quality writing paper, whereas fine post was best-quality writing paper.

William Creech (1745-1815) was an Edinburgh bookseller and magistrate. His career had begun when he was apprenticed to Alexander Kincaid, who was at that time the King's Printer. A well-known member of the literati, Creech founded the Corporation of Booksellers in 1792, and was publisher of Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, for which William Nisbet wrote the section on Currie. Like Balfour, Creech also was also professionally associated with Hume's printer, Strachan.[326] In December 1792 he purchased one quire of bag cap from the Balerno Company.[327]

William Smellie (1740-1795) was one of Balfour's protégées, and became known as "Edinburgh's 'learned printer'".[328] He also had business associations with Creech.[329] He was at one-time editor of the *Scots Magazine*, and publisher of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.[330] In March 1792 he purchased from the Balerno Company twice, buying one ream of fine demy and two-and-a-half reams of second foolscap.[331] These were both good quality white papers used for printing.

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[324] Warren McDougall, 'Balfour, John (1715–1795)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, May 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64999>. [20th March 2012].
[325] NRS CS96/1798, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1791-1792'; NRS CS96/1799, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1792'; NRS CS96/1800, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1792-1793'.
[326] Barbara M. Benedict, 'Creech, William (1745–1815)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6662>. [20th March 2012].
[327] NRS CS96/1800, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1792-1793'.
[328] McDougall, 'Balfour, John (1715–1795)'; Stephen Brown, 'Edinburgh Portraits: William Smellie, FRS, FSA Scot, 1740-1795', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (N.S.) 3 (1994), 105.
[329] Brown, 'Edinburgh Portraits: William Smellie', 105.
[330] Brown, 'Edinburgh Portraits: William Smellie', 105, 107; SBTI, 'Smellie, William', <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index>. [20/06/2012].
[331] NRS CS96/1799, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books, 1792'.

William Laing (1764-1832) was a bookseller and publisher who specialised in second-hand books. Later in his career (contemporary to his purchases from the Balerno Company) his passion was printing editions of Greek classics with Latin translations.[332] Between January and October 1792 he made eleven purchases from the Balerno Company, of one ream of large grey, three reams of small grey, two reams of tea crown, ten reams of small crown, and six reams of second post.[333] The grey and tea papers were used for wrapping, small crown was a poor-quality white paper and second table post was a fair quality writing paper.

 Ferrier and Waterston also appeared in the company's books. At the time of these sales the company was being run by Catherine Waterston (her husband William having died in 1780) and her second husband Robert Ferrier.[334] Although they would later diversify their business, at this time they were mainly producers and retailers of wax seals.[335] In December 1792 one ream of large grey paper was bought by the Waterston company, however earlier payments were also recorded, proving an on-going business relationship.[336]

These transactions demonstrate a closely woven network of associations between the owners of the Balerno Company and their customers. The custom of these men and women engaged in the Edinburgh literary scene, as well as the fact that Macniven was well-known at several Edinburgh clubs and was a Master Mason, adds weight to the notion that the Balerno Company was well-placed in Edinburgh society. However, despite this apparent literary leaning, it should be remembered that the Balerno Company customers who formed members of the book trades only slightly outnumbered those who were grocers, and that when taken in the context of their customer base as a whole the traders of various sorts well outnumbered the literati. Additionally, the papers sold to the printers, publishers, and booksellers, (as demonstrated by the transactions above) were mainly wrapping papers – not fine (or even coarse) book papers! Even when these booksellers and printers appear to be purchasing fine quality papers from the Balerno Company things may not be as they seem. After discussing the sacks and bags used to store seeds in the seedsman's shop, Malcolm Thick details the "four reams of foolscap paper and thread for wrapping smaller items" found in the inventory of one seed shop.[337] Although foolscap was supposedly a white writing paper

332 Murray C. T. Simpson, 'Laing, William (1764–1832)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15893>. [20th March 2012].
333 NRS CS96/1798, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1791-1792'; NRS CS96/1799, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books, 1792'; NRS CS96/1800, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1792-1793'.
334 Grace's Guide, 'George Waterston and Sons', <http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/George_Waterston_and_Sons>. [20th March 2012]; NLS, 'Inventory Acc. 12235 George Waterston and Sons, Ltd. (Edinburgh)', <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/cnmi/inventories/acc12235.pdf>. [30/01/12]
335 Waterston Company History, *George Waterston and Sons Limited, Two Hundred and Twenty-Fifth Anniversary 1752-1977* (Edinburgh: George Waterston & Sons, 1977), 8.
336 NRS CS96/1800, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1792-1793'.
337 Malcolm Thick, 'Garden Seeds in England before the Late Eighteenth Century - II, the Trade in Seeds to 1760', *The Agricultural History Review* 38, 2 (1990), 113.

it appears to have been used as a wrapping paper in this instance. This could suggest that the notion of writing and wrapping papers is even less clear cut than excise records suggest. It also makes it possible that when the booksellers did buy white papers from the Balerno Company these papers might still have been used to wrap goods, rather than used or re-sold as writing paper. In fact, rather than white papers, the two main paper types purchased most frequently by members of the book trades were large grey and tea crown, with blossom demy and bag cap following closely behind.[338]

The purchases of Thomas Allan & Co, grocers in Leith's New Quay, might be demonstrative of the way in which retailers used wrapping paper. They made sixteen visits to the Balerno Company Warehouse and their most regular purchase was of large grey paper. In January 1792 they bought eight reams (1,920 sheets) of this paper. In the March they bought a further two reams, another two in May, one in July, eight in August, four in November and two in December. In total the company purchased twenty-seven reams (12,960 sheets) over the course of the year. If their use was equally distributed over the year (and their only source of this paper was their purchases at the Balerno Company) their consumption averages out at just over two reams (480 sheets) a month. The transactions of Allan & Co. show a big purchase of eight quires at the start of the year and (if their use was fairly equal throughout the year) generally kept the two quires needed that month, plus two extra in stock; but this ran down mid-year at which time they stocked-up again with another large purchase of eight quires and the rest of the year followed a similar pattern of topping this up to keep plenty on hand. This would be in keeping with the usage suggested by the discovery of four reams found in the inventory of an Edinburgh seed shop.[339] As well as this grey wrapping paper Allan & Co also purchased tea and cap papers from the Balerno Company, alongside small quantities of low-quality writing papers, just once in July 1792 they bought what appears to be a quire of good quality demy writing paper.[340]

'Tea' and 'grey' papers were the kinds most regularly sold by the Balerno Company, yet neither of those descriptions featured in the official records of taxation [See Appendix D]. Grey papers were those sold most frequently by the company – on 285 occasions in the books sampled – mostly under the designation "large grey", but also as small-, royal, demy-, and foolscap-, each of which refer to different sizes of paper. Little has been written about different types of paper, but grey is mentioned in Labarre's *Dictionary and Encyclopaedia of Papermaking* as a cheap wrapping paper.[341] It was likely grey in colour and made from the rags also given the designation 'grey' by workers at the Balerno Company. From the company

[338] NRS CS96/1798-1800, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1791-1792'.
[339] Thick, 'Garden Seeds', 113.
[340] NRS CS96/1800, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1792-1793'.
[341] Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopaedia of Paper and Paper-making*, 370.

records it can been seen that grey paper was purchased by apothecaries, booksellers, printers, stationers, seed merchants, grocers, flax refiners, confectioners, painters, ironmongers, carver and gilders, stone warehouse keepers, quill dressers, founders, music sellers, tin plate workers, physicians, and printers. In fact, it's easier to consider which of the Balerno Company's customers didn't buy grey paper – just the engravers, glaziers, haberdashers, schoolmaster, shipmaster, bookbinders, and shoemakers. It might be thought of, therefore, as a general-purpose type of wrapping.

The Balerno Company's next most frequently sold type of paper was recorded as "tea paper", again a category not listed in the tables of taxation. Tea paper was a tough, non-porous wrapping paper, apparently favoured by the tea trade.[342] It is likely, therefore, to have been used to wrap items which were at risk from being damaged or spoiled by becoming damp. Its name is derived from its use in the grocery trade to wrap tea and it is therefore unsurprising to find a large quantity of this kind of paper being bought by the Edinburgh grocers. Its moisture-resistant properties would probably have made it suitable for wrapping items such as fresh meat (for example) to stop the juices escaping onto other items of a customer's shopping as well as for protecting dried goods, such as tea, from being spoiled by other goods or rain. Of the 148 occasions on which tea paper was sold twenty-six sales were to grocers, twenty-three to printers, twenty-one to booksellers and stationers. Confectioners and seedsmen made a number of purchases of tea paper, and a founder, merchant, and music seller each purchased this paper on one occasion. As the Balerno Company sold these two kinds of paper (grey and tea) most regularly, and in the largest quantities, it might be suggested that they formed the essentials of wrapping papers – one cushioning, the other moisture resistant.

Grey and tea were just two of the varieties of wrapping papers the Balerno Company sold. Others included "blue", "brown" and "blossom". Some scholarship has been undertaken on blue papers, revealing that papers called 'blue' were of two sorts. One, also known as "self-blue" or "fast-blue", was made from blue-coloured rags (usually with the addition of some white and some red rags).[343] Its name derives from the fact that the blue colour was very permanent and did not break down during the paper-manufacturing process.[344] This kind of blue paper has a felt-like texture due to the inclusion of silk and woollen rags in its composition, and because of the desire to preserve the blue colour of the rags in the paper the fermentation process was often shorter than for other papers which resulted in most paper of this kind having obvious pieces of fabric visible in the finished product.[345] It was used by chemists for wrapping, and also for a variety of other wrappings such as sugar, lace,

[342] Ibid. 302.
[343] Irene Brückle, 'Historical Manufacture and Use of Blue Paper', *The Book and Paper Group Annual* 12 (1993), <http://cool.conservation-us.org/coolaic/sg/bpg/annual/v12/bp12-02.html>. [27/01/2010]
[344] Labarre, *Dictionary*, 237.
[345] Brückle, 'Blue Paper'.

linen, sewing needles, and ream-wrappers for paper.[346] Occasionally blue paper was also used by artists for watercolour drawing, making its categorisation as a 'wrapping' paper unstable.[347] The other kind of blue paper was a heavily absorbent paper, dyed blue using indigo during the paper-making process. This kind of paper was also known as "blueing" and was used for laundry blueing.[348] The Balerno Company records show the purchase of blue coloured rags and also purchases of indigo, although there is no differentiation in their records between the resulting products. There were eighteen sales of blue demy paper in the sample, six are sold to unidentifiable customers, but of the remaining eleven, seven were sold to booksellers, one to a printer, one to a linen manufacturer, and two to a writer [i.e. legal profession]. William Haig, the linen manufacturer who bought blue demy paper from the Balerno Company, was probably intending to use it to wrap the linen he manufactured. When Messers Robertson, the printers, bought blue paper in April 1792, they could have used the blue paper they purchased to print ream-wrappers or linen lapping papers – both of which were marked with the manufacturers details to prevent tax-evasion.[349] When the Balerno Company ceased trading, an advert was placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* with details of the papers the company needed to sell-off. Most of this was described as "lapping" paper, a kind of blue paper used to 'lap' or wrap linen.[350] Given that the Nisbet's were a linen manufacturing family the interest in this product is perhaps unsurprising. Interestingly, given that probably the most famous use of blue paper is for wrapping sugar, none of this paper was sold to the grocers, perhaps suggesting that they purchased their sugars ready-wrapped. Images of late eighteenth-century grocers, such as the 'Portrait of a Woman Shopkeeper' show that some shop goods were stored ready-wrapped [Fig. 2.6]. As well as the purple-blue cones of sugar, the painting shows many white cylinders of various sizes. There is also a bundle wrapped in paper and tied with red string sat on a shelf behind the shopkeeper. Aside from the sugar cones, the wrapped items all appear to be wrapped in white-coloured papers. The image also depicts a canister and a box with white labels, which may have been made from paper.

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[346] Labarre, *Dictionary,* 237; Anon, 'Ginger Ale', *Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and Scientific Mirror* 2, 87 (26th February 1822), 269; Brückle, "Historical Manufacture and Use of Blue Paper." [27/01/2010]
[347] Brückle, 'Blue Paper'.
[348] Labarre, *Dictionary*, 26; Brückle, 'Blue Paper'.
[349] On lapping paper see: Alan Crocker, 'Paper Excise Stamps on a Re-Used Haslemere Ream-Wrapper', in 'The London Papers: Studies in British Paper History Volume III Part Two' *The Quarterly: The Journal of the British Association of Paper Historians* 40 (2001), 13-17; NRS CS96/1807, Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Rag books, 1794-1795 is bound in a printed ream-wrapper on blue paper. On linen lapping: *Caledonian Mercury*, 17th November1759.
[350] *Caledonian Mercury*, 28th December 1799.

Figure 2.6

Oil painting of a female shopkeeper. Many of the goods on sale are pre-wrapped in paper.

Source: Oil Painting, 'Portrait of a Woman Shopkeeper', artist unknown. Glasgow Museums Temp.7685 (c.1790-1800).

Other products on offer at the Balerno Company warehouse were brown and blossom papers. Brown paper was a very strong wrapping paper made from rope, the resulting paper was said to be stronger than fabric of the same weight.[351] However, there is no mention of the purchase of rope in the extant records of the company, although there is a reference to a second company warehouse in Leith.[352] As Leith is a port, and was a rope-making centre, it is possible that any rope that the company purchased might have gone through their Leith warehouse as opposed to their city-centre base. The account books examined show that paper described as just "brown" was only sold twice in this period. There was however a large number of sales of "bag cap", a specific size of brown paper measuring 24" x 20".[353] This was a kind of paper favoured by the booksellers, with at least seventeen of the thirty-seven sales being made to them. Seven of the remaining sales of bag cap paper were made to founders and ironmongers. Considering that both books and metalwork are of a considerable weight, the purchase of bag cap by both the booksellers and ironmongers suggests that it was particularly suitable for wrapping weighty products, which might also explain why the small items wrapped on the shopkeeper's shelves in the 'Portrait of a Woman Shopkeeper' are all wrapped in white-coloured papers.

An unusual designation given to a number of the paper types recorded in the company accounts of the Balerno Company was "broke". Broke can refer to several states of flawed paper. It could be unfinished (i.e. unsized), waste-or defective –paper and a "broke ream" was an incomplete ream (i.e. it was made up of fewer quires than was usual).[354] The Balerno Company certainly sold broke reams – there are several transactions of half and even quarter reams being sold, and occasionally a note accompanying a sale to say that the quires of those reams were made up of just twenty sheets, instead of the usual twenty-four. However, the idea that the rest of the transactions with this designation could have been broke reams can be discounted as the quantities are being described in whole reams (usually one or two). There were several paper types which the Balerno Company regularly sold as broke. These were bible, fine demy, and "24ths". Bible paper was a very thin printing paper. Its name was derived from the fact that it was originally used to print Bibles, but it was often used in other types of books where a large number of pages were required to fit into a slim volume: for example in encyclopaedias and dictionaries. Demy was a paper size (22 ½" x 17 ½") and 'fine' probably refers to the quality. 24[ths] is shorthand for 'twenty four-mo,' which means a sheet folded into twenty-four leaves (forty-eight pages) thus producing a tiny booklet of just a few centimetres, which as a trained bookbinder Macniven would presumably have been

[351] Labarre, *Dictionary*, 34, 368.
[352] NRS CS30/4, 'Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796', 16.
[353] Labarre, *Dictionary,* 13.
[354] Paper Machinery, 'Broke', <http://www.paper-machinery.com/dictionary/Mill_Broke.asp>. [10/01/2012]; Labarre, *Dictionary*, 33, 372.

capable of doing.[355] Customers who bought 24[ths] from the Balerno Company were Miss Watson the confectioner (27th December 1792); Mr MacIntyre the engraver (26th July 1792); and grocers Robert Bayne (9th June 1782), Mr Williamson of the Luckenbooths (14th May 1792), James Williamson of Nicholson Street (25th January 1792), William Thorburn[356] (17th July 1792) and Abraham Newton (25th April 1792).[357] The printers and booksellers would not have needed the sheets pre-folded if they intended to print books upon the paper, therefore it might be possible that these sheets weren't just folded by Macniven, but also cut to produce twenty-four very small pieces of paper – thus 'broke' as in cut. There were 480 sheets in a ream, if cut into 24[ths] this would have produced just over 11,500 individual pieces of paper. An alternative scenario, which appears more likely, would have been that these customers were buying 480 (i.e. a 'ream') of these pieces; as twenty-four (the number of leaves created from each sheet in 24mo) goes into 480 twenty times they could have been purchasing 480 small pieces of paper made from twenty sheets each cut into twenty-four pieces. Miss Watson was described as purchasing 'Crown 24[ths]'. As Crown measured between 15" x 20" and 20" x 30" the resulting size once it had been divided into twenty-four would be between 0.8" x 0.6" and 0.8" x 1.25". But what might these customers have done with such small pieces of paper?

The London Tradesman stated that grocers' expenditure on the packing materials of sugar – including the paper it was wrapped in – caused them to make a loss on that product.[358] Apothecaries suffered a similar plight: "the greatest part of his Out-laying is in small Boxes, and cut Paper; these being worth ten Times what they contain".[359] The apothecary's main skill, it was suggested with some bile, was his ability in "gilding his Pills and papering his Bolus' with ingenious Cuts and Figures emblematical of their important Uses [and] the judicious Arrangement of their gilt Labels to the Advantage of his Shop". [360] In other words the apothecary was a master of marketing, of crafting and displaying the paper labels used to identify the medicines designed and made by physicians. Contemporary images of apothecary shops show shelves lined with jars and bottles – each individually labelled, just like the canister and box in the 'Portrait of a Woman Shopkeeper'. As a bookbinder, Macniven would have been trained in gilding, and therefore quite capable of preparing small pieces of paper for the kinds of fancy labels found on apothecaries bottles. The etching 'How Merrily we Live that Doctors be' shows these labelled bottles, but it also contains another use of small paper by the apothecaries. In the hand of the stout gentleman, as well as on the counter behind, the bottle of medicine has a paper-label attached to the neck of the bottle.

[355] Labarre, *Dictionary*, 312 and Etherington and Roberts, 'twenty four-mo', <http://cool.conservation-us.org/don/dt/dt3609.html> [12/03/2012].

[356] Thorburn advertised in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* 16th March 1787. He ran a tea warehouse in Leith.

[357] NRS CS96/1800, 'Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1792-1793'.

[358] Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* 188.

[359] Ibid., 64.

[360] Ibid.

Presumably these were the instructions for taking the medicine [Fig. 2.7]. A different image of the apothecary shop 'Interior of a chemist' shows a man behind the counter measuring out equal doses of a medicine into small pieces of paper [Fig. 2.8]. Presumably these were the "papers" of medicine mentioned in literary works such as the papermaker Robert Bage's novel *The Fair Syrian*, in which it was possible to dupe a character into taking poison believing it to be medicine as the paper it was wrapped in presumably had no markings.[361] Another type of shop which also appears to have employed labelled containers in much the same way as the apothecary was the confectioner. Like those of the apothecary, contemporary images show rows of jars neatly labelled no doubt with appropriately tempting names [Fig. 2.9]. Confectioners also used paper to wrap their goods, as demonstrated in these depictions of people eating 'sugar plums' [Figs. 2.9 and 2.10].

Given the assertion that apothecaries lost out to stationers through the necessity of purchasing their little gilded labels it is perhaps unsurprising to see William Davidson of Alnwick (1781-1858) operating as both an apothecary and stationer. Davidson was apprenticed as an apothecary, taking up the bookselling, printing and stationery business later in his career.[362] Not only is Davidson (like Macniven and others) another example of traders who were apprenticed to another trade before they took up the paper trade, but he also sold "tea, coffee and tobacco papers" adding a further link between the many different traders who dealt in paper, of which more will be said in Chapter 3 [Fig. 2.11 & 2.12].

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[361] Robert Bage, *The Fair Syrian* Vol. 1 (Dublin: Printed for Messers Gilbert, Byrne, H. Whitestone, Henry, Lewis, Moore, Jones and Halpen, 1787), 106.
[362] Peter Issac, "William Davidson of Alnwick, Pharmacist and Printer." *The Library* 5, XXIV (1969): 1-33.

Figure 2.7

Mezzotint of three men in an apothecary's shop. Note the paper labels on the bottles and jars.

Figure 2.8

Oil painting of a scene in an apothecary's shop. A chemist prepares 'papers' of medicines in the centre of the image. Shelves display boxes and jars which may also have paper labels.

Source: 'Interior of a Pharmacy,' oil painting, Italian school.
<http://www.bridgemanimages.com/en-GB/asset/173031/Italian-School-18th-century/Interior-of-a-Pharmacy-oil-on-canvas>.

Figure 2.9

Cartoon of a scene in a confectioner's shop. Eager to consume their purchases immediately customers could buy open paper-cones of 'sugar plums' (effectively boiled sugar sweets).

Source: Detail of James Gillray, 'Hero's Recruiting At Kelsey's Or Guard Day At St. James's', 1797. Image copyright: Library of Congress collection.

Figure 2.10

Etching of a confectioner's stall. The child sat to the bottom right of this engraving is eating a bag of sugar plums.

Source: Etching by Christoph Weigel (1654-1725) from One Hundred Fools c. 1700. <http://www.historicfood.com/Comfits.htm>.

Figure 2.11

Trade card of William Davidson of Alnwick. Who advertised both as an apothecary…

Figure 2.12

… and a stationer.

Source: Number 78 from the John Johnson Collection Exhibition 2001 <www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/johnson/exhibition>.

Wrapping Papers

It is clear is that as a wholesaler, the Balerno Company were largely selling wrapping papers to other Edinburgh businesses. While white paper use can be said to have been desirable, or had desirable qualities; wrapping paper would initially appear utilitarian. However, even it was not strictly necessary to wrap most goods, and it is not beyond the realms of possibility that a ribbon purchased from a street hawker was sold without a paper-wrapping, while the same ribbon purchased from a haberdashery shop might have been sold wrapped. The wrapping of goods by shops was carried out for a variety of reasons. As discussed, the relative properties of paper appear to have been cushioning or moisture-resistant, but evidence from the proceedings of the Old Bailey demonstrates that wrapping goods in paper had further protective implications. In October 1784 Catherine Spencer (a.k.a. Camp) and Sarah Baker were accused of stealing a pair of silk stockings from Richard Carter's shop. The fact that the stockings were not wrapped in paper was used against the women to prove that they had not been sold, but were indeed stolen.[363] Wrapping paper physically protected goods from damage, and it also protected goods from theft and presumably it protected shoppers from unnecessary accusations of theft. Perhaps with open wicker baskets for shopping, wrapping in paper also contributed to a degree of privacy about one's shopping habits. Wrapped, it would not be possible for the acquaintances (or thieves) one might bump into while shopping to know whether the item in a basket was expensive lace, or cheap cotton. While wrapping paper was highly useful, it was not strictly necessary – it would have been perfectly possible to carry many (though not all) goods loose in a basket. Commodities such as tea and coffee did need to be corralled in some way, but there appears to be no reason why consumers might not have had small cotton bags for this purpose, for example.

If wrapping paper was, therefore, not strictly a necessity; that would suggest that it too was in some way desirable. This idea, of wrapping paper as a luxurious product is backed up by Helen Berry's work on the rituals of polite shopping, in which she notes that "[t]he unwritten social rules of encounter in shops constituted a form of polite deportment, encompassing gesture, verbal exchange and a ritualised pattern of behaviour as the customer engaged with the shopkeeper".[364] The wrapping of goods in shops was part of this display of politeness carried out by shopkeepers, a physical representation that the ownership of goods had been transferred from shopkeeper to purchaser. Indeed, many of the goods which were wrapped in paper were very much fashionable products: tea, coffee, sugar, lace. Wrapping papers may not have been fashionable in themselves, but they were certainly associated with fashionable products and practices. Equally, while cheaper than white paper, wrapping papers were not without value. William Noblet even goes so far as to call wrapping paper an "expensive"

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[363] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, 'October 1784, trial of Catherine Spencer otherwise Camp and Sarah Baker (t17841020-18)' <www.oldbaileyonline.org>. [25th September 2013].
[364] Berry, 'Polite Consumption', 377.

commodity, when he wrote that: "In the eighteenth century, [...] paper was a useful but very expensive food wrapper, and there is evidence that demand from cheesemongers and other retailers for paper – whether books or manuscripts [papers which were re-used to wrap these foodstuffs] – made it so valuable that it was worth stealing".[365] Noblet's work on paper theft for the purpose of second-hand use serves as a reminder that the value of a product can be interpreted in many ways and that paper's value existed on several plains. In the mid-eighteenth-century paper was noted as a great expense to grocers and apothecaries, who were said to spend more on paper wrappings for products such as sugar and medicines than they did on the products themselves; making the literal value of those commodities apparently dubious.[366] It was perhaps this relationship between the value of the paper wrappings and the goods inside that caused grocers to be as willing as Noblet's work found them to be to purchase stolen paper. It is perhaps also due to this eighteenth-century recognition of the value of wrapping paper that men such Macniven were able to change the fortunes of their families. Prior to joining the Nisbets, Macniven had been a clerk. By the time he left them he was able to establish his own company, which became one of Britain's most recognisable.

Conclusion

The Balerno company warehouse was probably quite plain. Likely it was naturally lit, and had shelves or drawers in which a selection of the ninety-nine different types of papers sold by the company were kept. Macniven and his associates may have used their knowledge of these papers and the layout of their shop to impress customers with the nuances of paper-types, being able to deftly locate and display papers with subtle differences which might have suited their customer's needs. Additionally, Macniven seems to have run a grocery business from the Blair Street shop and also possibly a bindery business. Some of his customers may have had their papers made up into business ledgers or other shop books by Macniven. But he probably didn't entertain customers in the shop for very long periods. Only wholesale customers were afforded credit, people who wanted just a few quires of paper and a little stationery for personal use had to pay cash. Those who were given credit often bought large enough quantities of paper to suggest that their requirements were probably not met from the shelves or drawers in the shop, but had to be specially made to order. Some of these customers may not even have entered the shop at all, or at least infrequently, as was probably the case with the London publishers the company supplied. Customers buying in bulk would have required the services of the company's carter to deliver their papers, so could quite easily have given Macniven their orders and had their papers delivered without having to return to the warehouse. The customers who did spent time in the shop would

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[365] Noblet, 'Cheese, Stolen Paper and the London Book Trade', 100.
[366] Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* 64, 188.

have had to have shared the space with the rag-sellers who also frequented the premises. While (as Chapter 1 demonstrated) a number of these rag-sellers were respectable business owners, it seems likely that there were also trampers and others of that ilk who likewise sold rags to the company. Overall these business practices do not fit with the image of polite shopping in which customers were encouraged to frequent the shop for long periods, browsing and perhaps taking tea with the proprietor.

The business customers who bought paper from the company included some of Edinburgh's eminent booksellers, and many of its other types of retailers. However, the papers sold to these men, even those in the booktrades, were generally wrapping papers. The company sold many, many types of wrapping paper, which seem to have each served a slightly different role in packaging the many different kinds of products on offer in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. Wrapping paper was important not just for protecting products physically from damage, but they also appear to have served as a security feature in that unwrapped goods were unpaid goods! Research also suggests that wrapping papers were considered valuable enough to steal. This all adds up to a picture of a company which held a position of importance in Edinburgh, serving a large number of its retail community with this important product.

Macniven's success is likely due, in part, to the way the company operated. The Balerno company operated across the spectrum of processes needed to control the papermaking chain. They bought rags, made paper, and sold that paper themselves. Although Bidwell suggested that this way of working was a later phenomenon in the paper trade, it appears to have been well-established in Eighteenth-century Edinburgh. Data from the BBTI also suggests that this was a not-uncommon practice in London, although there appears to be little evidence for it elsewhere. Indeed, aggregating data from the SBTI and local newspapers would suggest that Edinburgh's paper trade operated in larger numbers that anywhere else in Scotland, Wales or England – with the obvious exception of London. I have identified 20 paper wholesalers in Edinburgh for the period 1770-1820, and 176 in London. Liverpool had 10, and Birmingham had 9 (though of course these numbers might be increased in a similar way to the ones in Edinburgh if researchers looked outside of the booktrades for evidence of paper-selling, as I have done for Edinburgh).

Businesses such as the Balerno Company have fallen through the cracks of paper history somewhat, partly because the history of paper has been written as the history of white writing and printing paper. This chapter has demonstrated that being a wrapping-paper seller had the potential to produce an apparently lucrative career from which eighteenth-century men such as Macniven were able to establish themselves as pillars of their community. It also demonstrates that wrapping paper itself has a rich history, with potential

for further exploration into its uses and the ways in which it connected different types of seemingly disparate businesses.

Chapter 3

Advertising Paper: Unstable Stationery

> In short, after lying a little while with paper of all sorts and sizes in the warehouse of my maker, I was in due time purchased by a stationer in town, except my whity brown existence, which occupied a place in the shop of a grocer in Wapping.
>
> Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' (1779)

This chapter will continue to focus on selling paper begun in Chapter 2 by considering paper retail and more specifically the advertisements for paper placed in two Edinburgh newspapers. Necessarily this means that this chapter marks a shift in this thesis, from the consideration of mostly wrapping-papers to writing-papers, as retailed paper was mostly white paper. Together Chapters 2 and 3 go some way towards mapping out the varieties of paper and paper-selling which were being undertaken in Edinburgh during the final decades of the eighteenth-century and early years of the nineteenth. Previous research on the book-trades has touched upon booksellers who also sold 'stationery goods', which included paper, quills, ink, pens, sand, pounce, wax and other accoutrements associated with writing. Generally these goods have been positioned as a minor aspect of the booksellers' business, a 'stationer' tending to be described as a bookseller who also sold stationery goods. As Chapters 1 and 2 indicated, and this chapter will expand upon, the landscape of paper-selling in Edinburgh was not nearly that clear-cut.

Advertisements placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* newspapers between 1770 and 1820, in conjunction with information from the SBTI, demonstrate that there were a wide variety of shops selling paper in Edinburgh at this time. These adverts usually comprised the name of the business owner, the address from which paper was being sold, the type(s) of paper on offer as well as details of other products the business sold (if any), and sometimes other details about the paper itself such as assertions as to its quality or details about where it had been made. However, adverts are only the snapshot that a business owner wants to put in public at any particular moment for reasons which are not always clear. Although these adverts garner many interesting and useful details they are also occasionally revealing in what they do not say, particularly when supplementary information can be found elsewhere. While they cannot provide a full and complete picture, these adverts show that the paper trade in Edinburgh was finely nuanced, with several different kinds of paper-seller. They also suggest that the overall composition of the different kinds of paper traders was in flux at this time.

Edinburgh's Growing Paper Trade

In common with the findings of Chapter 2 regarding paper wholesaling, the general sense gathered from the SBTI and newspaper advertisements is of an expanding retail paper trade in Edinburgh. Combining data from advertisements in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* with information from the SBTI has allowed me to increase the number of known paper-sellers in Edinburgh. In total the SBTI lists 102 stationers in Edinburgh between 1770 and 1820, but with the addition of newspaper advertisements that number increases to 145. During the 1770s there were at least thirty-one individuals selling paper in Edinburgh. The 1780s saw around thirty-six stationers at work in the capital, forty-one or more were operating in the 1790s, no less than fifty-five between 1800 and 1809 and at least fifty-six during the 1810s [Fig. 3.1]. In total, thirty-eight businesses which advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury* or *Edinburgh Advertiser* are not listed in the SBTI.[367] Of these, sixteen were booksellers-stationers, and so would be eligible for inclusion to the SBTI.[368] In addition, the dates at which some companies advertised can increase the dates at which the company was known to operate from the data in the SBTI.[369]

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[367] Some of them are included in the SBTI, but under a different designation, for example 'bookseller' or 'map maker'.

[368] H. Mitchel was a bookseller at Adam's Square selling cheap writing papers, Alexander Mclardie was a stationer opposite The Cross, Charles Wright was a stationer on the north side of the High Street, James Porteous was a stationer at the West End of the Exchange selling a wide range of papers and stationery products, J. Watson sold lined paper and business books from 40 South Bridge, John and James Ainslie were at 4 St Andrew's Square selling writing paper and stationery of all kinds, John Fairbairn advertised himself as the successor to Mr William Creech, James Kirkwood and Sons were stationers at 19 Parliament Square they specialised in papers as well as ledgers with elastic backs, John Greig was a bookseller-stationer at 261 High Street, James Taylor Smith had a reading room and newspaper office on the south side of The Cross, William Whyte was a music seller as well as bookseller and stationer at 1 South St Andrews Street, A. Lawrie's circulating library sold paper, G. Mudie was a bookseller who as well as advertising paper sold home-made ink which he claimed had been filtered for three years, Peter Hill was a stationer at The Cross, John Ogle of 20 Parliament Close sold books and stationery and James Simpson was a stationer at The Cross.

[369] For example, adverts in the *Caledonian Mercury* can add 30 years to the known trade dates of bookseller W. Gordon who was located in Parliament Square!

Figure 3.1

Bar chart comparing the number of different companies selling paper in Edinburgh in each decade between 1770 and 1820.
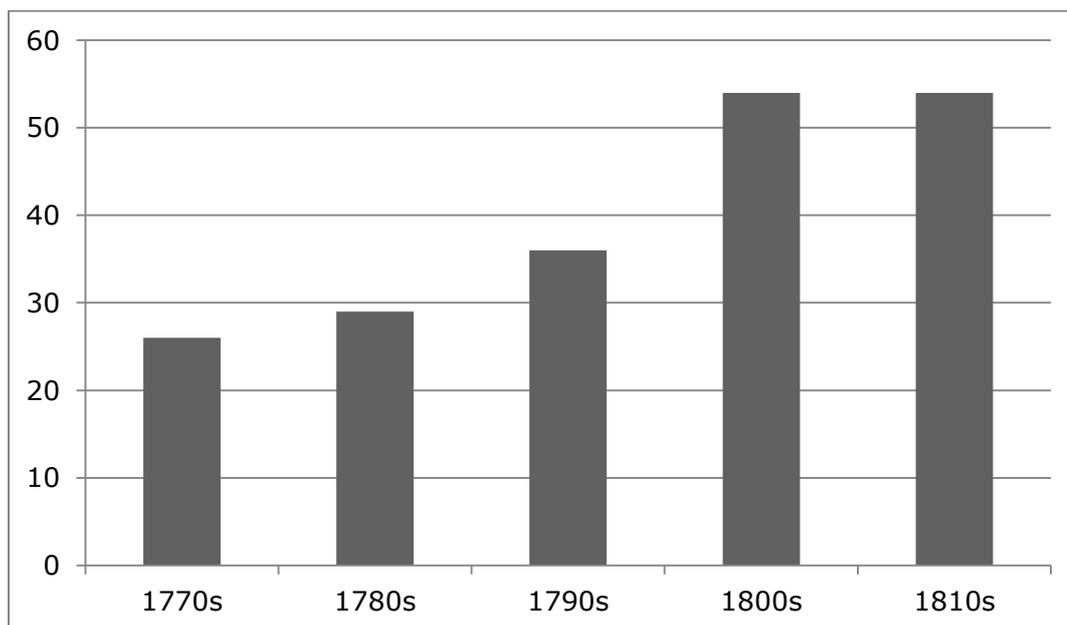
Source: SBTI, *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury*.

Despite continued growth there was much fluctuation within each decade, as new businesses were established, while others collapsed – some of which reappeared several years later. It is of course possible that some (or indeed all) of those which disappeared, only to reappear, did not actually cease trading at all but simply stopped advertising in the trade directories or newspapers. The SBTI considers just the dates at which it can be positively asserted that these businesses were in operation at a certain location and therefore offers many entries for some individuals. Whereas, when there seems to have been a gap in dates but the premises remain the same, I have assumed continued occupation. Additionally, some firms merged. For the purposes of this study I have just included one entry for the firm from that date, as opposed to two for the two businesses; although the SBTI continues to list them separately. Some advertisements did not include details of a premises' address. As my research showed some of these to be outside of Edinburgh I discounted all adverts which did not specifically record an Edinburgh address. Additionally, when a newspaper advertisement identified a business as selling "stationery" but did not explicitly enumerate the sale of paper I chose not to include them as I found some stationery sellers listing only items such as wax, quills, ink or writing cases. In other words, the figures quoted here are probably the *minimum* numbers of paper-sellers in Edinburgh at these dates.

The 145 paper-sellers known to have been working in the capital between 1770 and 1820 traded from 225 separate locations in Edinburgh and Leith. Many of the businesses changed address, some several times, although a small proportion of this ostensible relocation might be attributed to the renumbering of Edinburgh buildings in 1811.[370] Over the period as a whole the main concentration of paper sellers was in the neighbourhood between the two major shopping areas of the High Street and the Cowgate, boarded to the east by what was Peebles Wynd (later Blair Street) which linked the two major shopping areas and to the west by Parliament Close and the Luckenbooths. Central to this area was the Royal Bank of Scotland. Founded in 1727 the Royal Bank would have been a substantial consumer of paper in order to keep its extensive records. This was also in the vicinity of the Exchange and the courts in Parliament House, again both institutions with large volumes of paperwork to keep. It is perhaps unsurprising that while several Edinburgh streets were home to a number of different paper sellers, the High Street was the location of a particularly dense concentration of paper-selling activity. In total fifty-eight businesses selling paper were based here during the sixty years surveyed. Locally, Parliament square also saw large numbers of paper-sellers, with twenty-seven having been based there between 1770 and 1820. Yet this intense concentration of paper-selling businesses will not be reflected in the maps which follow. Compiled using online software from The Visualising Urban Geographies project, these maps outline where in Edinburgh paper was being sold.[371] However, where two or more companies had addresses in the same street, the geo-coding software only adds one marker – underrepresenting the volume of businesses. This distorts the appearance of the area's popularity among the trade, as it does not give an accurate visual representation of the concentration of traders in the area. For those shops in the New Town this makes little visual difference as most were on different streets. But in the Old Town these maps do not do justice to the sheer number of paper sellers. Although volume is not represented, these maps are a useful tool for considering the changes and developments in the locations of paper-sellers in the capital.

At the beginning of this period, during the 1770s, paper-sellers were spread liberally along the High Street and Royal Mile, though a slightly larger concentration can be seen beginning to build up around the Royal Bank area. Two businesses stand out as being located at some distance from this hub. William Coke was a bookseller in Leith who advertised paper for sale in the *Caledonian Mercury*.[372] At this time Leith was very much separate to Edinburgh, as William Edgar's 1765 map (onto which paper sellers at this date have been located)

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[370] Frank Gent, 'Edinburgh House Numbers', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 27 (1949), 60-66.
[371] Visualising Urban Geographies project, <http://geo.nls.uk/urbhist/>. [20/04/2012]. Additionally, when mapping using geo-referencing I had to use modern street names as the pins are located on a Google maps layer onto which historical maps have been transposed. In identifying the modern locations and equivalents of eighteenth and early nineteenth century streets <www.scotland'splaces> and <canmore.rcahms.gov.uk> proved invaluable.
[372] *Caledonian Mercury*, 30th September 1775.

demonstrates by omission [Fig. 3.2].[373] The other paper seller whose business falls of the edge of the map was Joseph Archibald. Archibald was a seed seller, and the point to the south of the city shows where his nursery was located, from which he also sold paper. The out of town location is in keeping with the nature of the business, plants needed space to grow and nurseries were often located on the fringes of cities.

The most obvious change to happen to the locations of the paper sellers in Edinburgh during the 1780s was the move of the first paper-selling business to the New Town. Land surveyor, John Ainslie had opened a shop selling books, maps, prints and stationery in the Old Town's Parliament Square in 1778. By 1788 he was in business with his son James, and the pair opened premises in the New Town, at 4 St Andrew Street. Like businesses in the Old Town which were focused on the area around the Royal Bank, the Exchange and the courts, the first New Town paper-seller set-up shop close to institutions which would require regular amounts of paper. Ainslie's shop was just moments away from the Register Office and Physician's Hall which had also been built as part of the city's modernising expansion [Fig. 3.3].

From 1790-1799 more paper sellers opened up shops in the New Town as building work expanded the new area to the west [Fig. 3.4]. In the 1800s one new paper-seller appeared quite far out of the north of the New Town – in Broughton. As in previous decades the location of a paper-selling business away from the High Street hub appears to be linked to the location of a high paper-use institution, in this case the Custom House [Fig. 3.5].

The final decade of this study shows little change in the locations of paper sellers in Edinburgh, indeed there was only one more paper seller in the 1810-1819 decade than there has been between 1800 and 1809. Although the people operating these businesses changed, the number of businesses and the locations from which they choose to trade barely altered over those twenty years. Still a concentration of businesses existed around the Royal Bank, but as well as new shops having opened in the New Town there were also paper-sellers choosing to set up shop close to the College and indeed further south of the city [Fig. 3.6]. The city itself had seen dramatic growth and change since the 1770s, and the paper-trade had grown with it.

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[373] Edgar's map was chosen as the closest chronologically of those available to geo-code onto from the Visualising Urban Geographies project, <http://geo.nls.uk/urbhist/>. [20/04/2012].

Figure 3.2

Map showing the locations of paper-sellers in Edinburgh,1770-1779. The point off the map is Chapel Street, where Joseph Archibald, a seedsman, had his nursery.
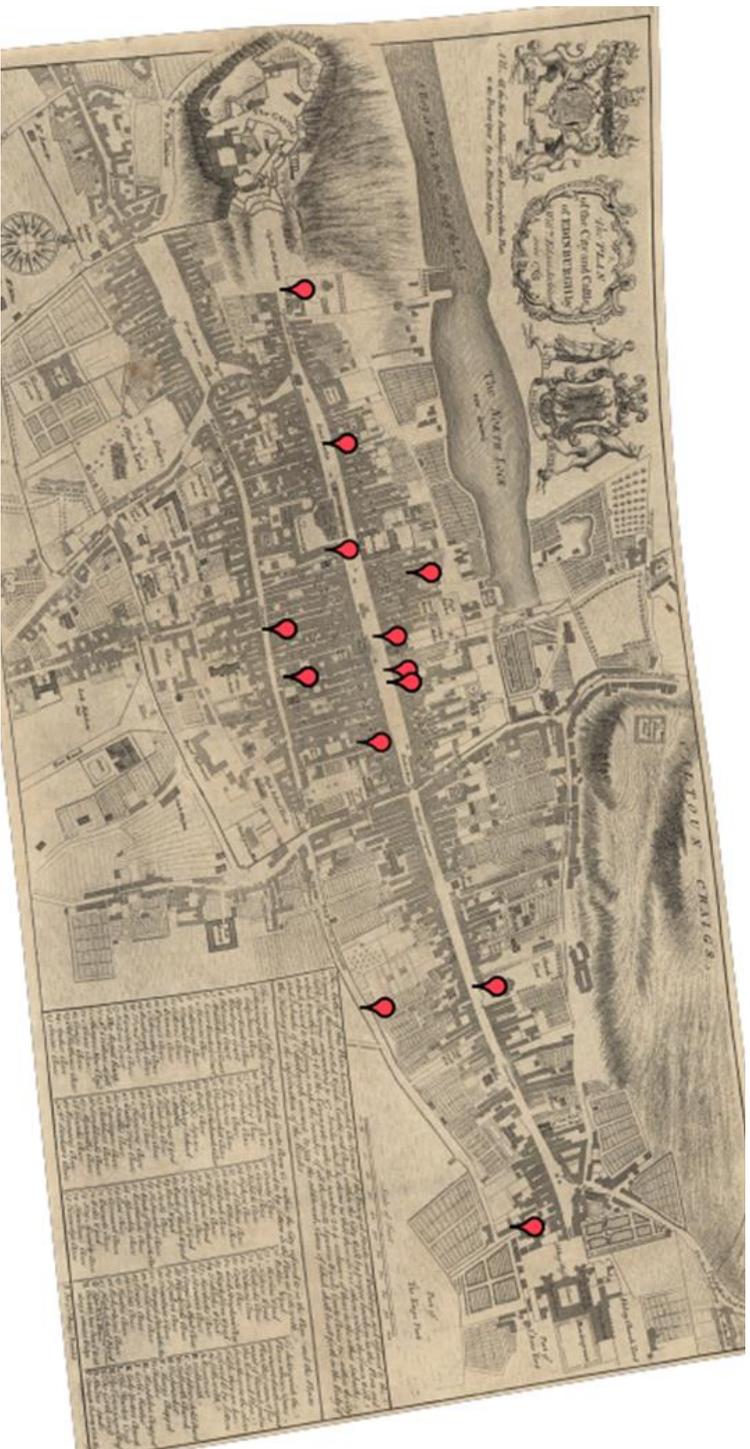
Source: paper-seller locations from SBTI, *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury*. Map by William Edgar, 1765. Locations plotted using the geo-referencing tool which is part of the Visualising Urban Geographies Project, a collaboration between Edinburgh University and the NLS, <http://geo.nls.uk/urbhist/>.

Figure 3.3

Map showing the locations of paper-sellers in Edinburgh.1780-1789.

Source: paper-seller locations from SBTI, *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury*. Map by Alexander Kincaid, 1784. Locations plotted using <http://geo.nls.uk/urbhist/>.

Figure 3.4

Map showing the locations of paper-sellers in Edinburgh,1790-1799.

Source: paper-seller locations from SBTI, *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury*. Map by Alexander Kincaid, 1784. Locations plotted using <http://geo.nls.uk/urbhist/>.

Figure 3.5
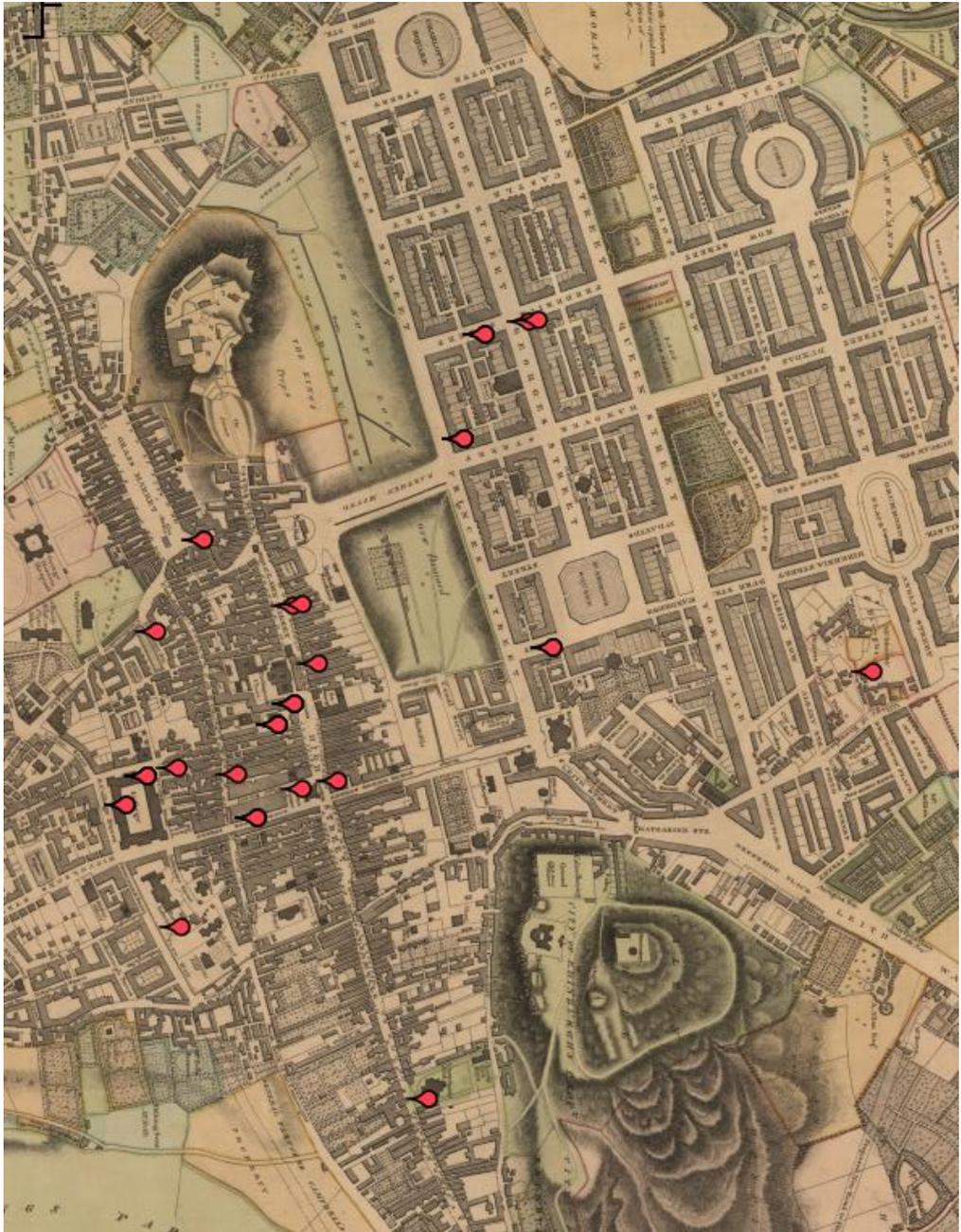
Map showing the locations of paper-sellers in Edinburgh, 1800-1809.

Figure 3.6

Map showing the locations of paper-sellers in Edinburgh,1810-1819. There was one further address, not shown due to restrictions in the size of the map, towards the south of the city.
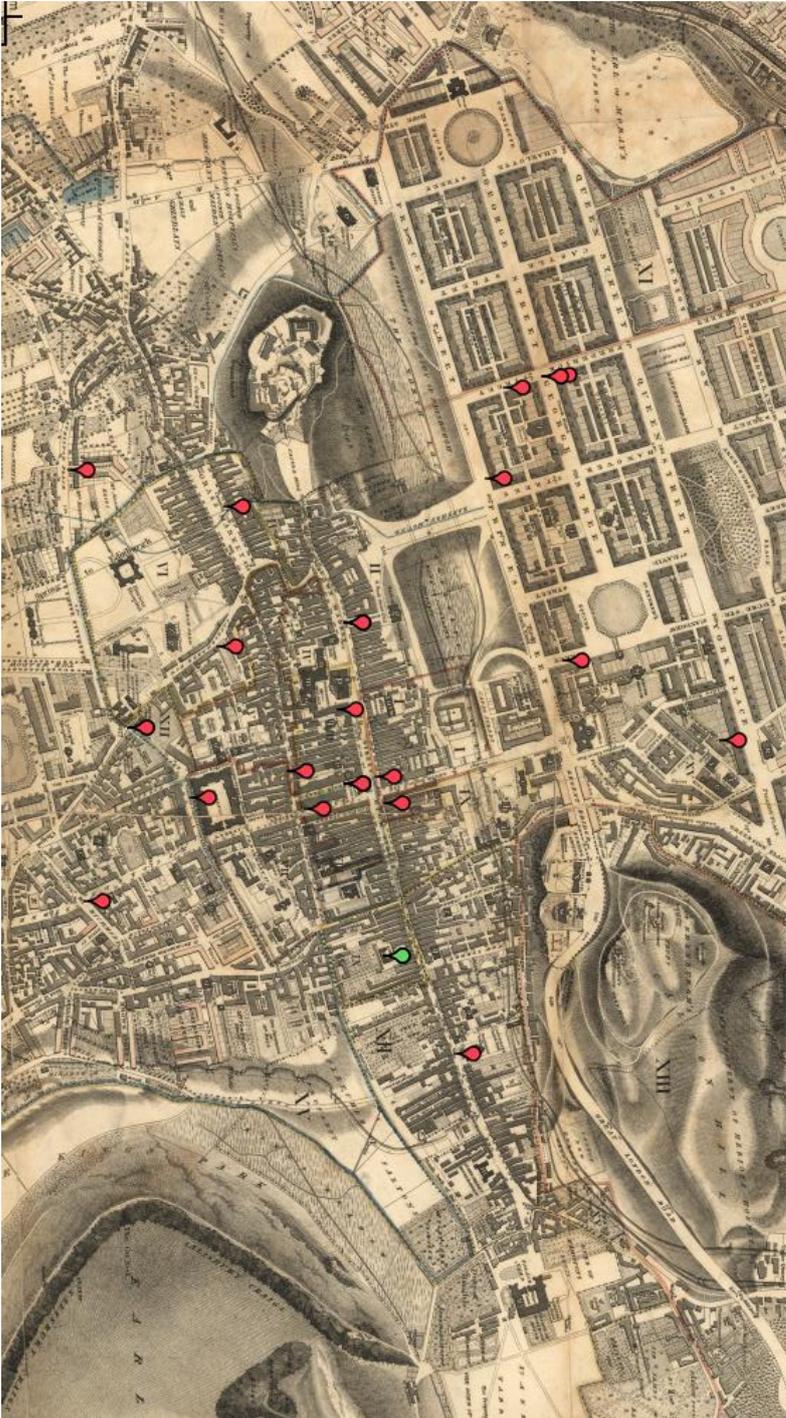
Source: paper-seller locations from SBTI, *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury*. Map by Robert Kirkwood, 1817. Locations plotted using <http://geo.nls.uk/urbhist/>.

Paper in the Newspapers

i. High volume

While the number and location of businesses selling paper expanded, the number of individual companies advertising paper remained broadly static at around 20 different companies each decade [Fig. 3.7]. There were 245 individual advertisements which mentioned paper for sale between 1770 and 1820, made up of ninety-nine from the *Edinburgh Advertiser* and 146 from the *Caledonian Mercury*.[374] Yet, those advertisements were placed by just sixty-four different companies. Most companies placed one advert in one issue, while several companies placed the same advert in fewer than half a dozen issues. However, two companies stand out due to the sheer number of advertisements they placed. John Thomson Jun. & Co. placed seventy-nine advertisements (almost a third of the total) in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury* in the twelve years between December 1804 and November 1816. While Robert Cameron & Son placed thirty advertisements in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* between November 1807 and February 1819. These two companies contributed to the enormous spike in the total number of adverts seen in the 1810s, when compared to the number of companies placing those adverts [Fig. 3.7].

Both Cameron and Thomson had long-standing businesses. Cameron was a prominent Edinburgh papermaker, his business comprised of the Springfield Mill and Springfield Paper Warehouse. He later joined forces with John Macniven to form Macniven Cameron. Prior to November 1808 the company's adverts featured a variety of papers of their own making, but from then onwards they advertised "writing paper" made in London. The other company to overwhelm the newspapers with advertisements was Thomson's, which undertook an aggressive marketing campaign utilising pretty much every trick in the book.[375] Thomson's comparatively monopolising number of adverts used strategies including calling out his competitors, claiming to undercut prices and boasting of a technologically advanced product. One of Thomson's selling points was that they sold "last spring and summer make, still at former prices".[376]

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[374] The *Edinburgh Advertiser* was consulted in print form at the Scottish Collection of the Edinburgh Central Library. 1772, 1781, 1791, 1792, 1813 and 1817 are missing. 1774, 1775, 1782-84, 1790, 1794, 1800-01, 1803-04, 1811-13, and 1817 are incomplete to a greater or lesser extent ranging from having had individual advertisements excised to lacking up to 6 months' worth of newspapers. The *Caledonian Mercury* was consulted from the British Newspapers Online database, administered by the British Library.

[375] Neil McKendrick's study of George Packwood's advertising practices describes a wide variety of techniques used in newspaper advertisements of the later eighteenth-century – many of which Thomson's employed. Neil McKendrick, 'George Packwood and the Commercialization of Shaving, The Art of Eighteenth-Century Advertising or 'The Way to Get Money and be Happy''. In McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society, The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982), 146-194.

[376] For example see: *Caledonian Mercury*, 12th December 1808.

Figure 3.7

Bar chart comparing the total number of known paper sellers in Edinburgh, to the number of different businesses which advertised the sale of paper, for each decade between 1770 and 1820.
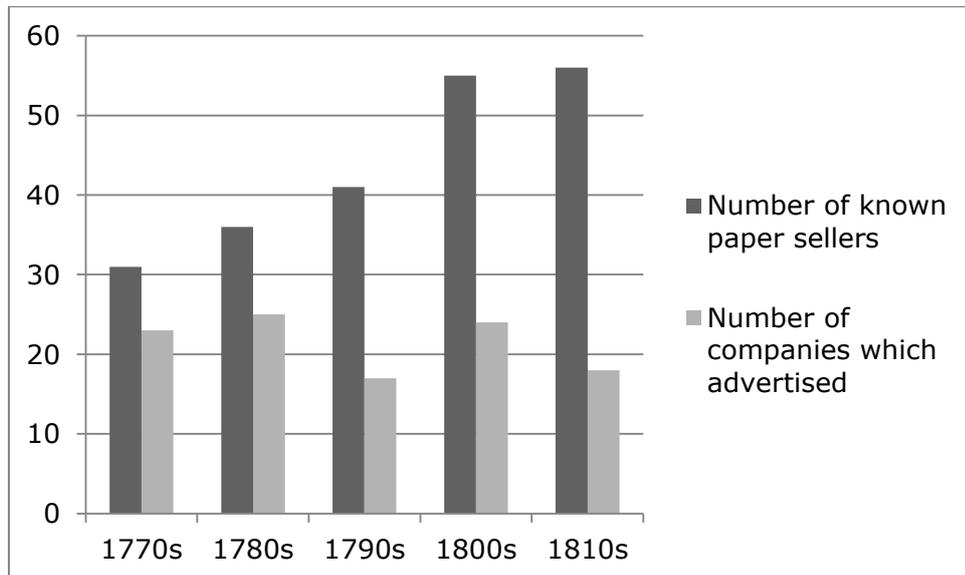
Source: SBTI, *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury*.

Figure 3.8

Bar chart comparing the total number of advertisements for paper, to the number of different companies placing those advertisements, between 1770 and 1820.
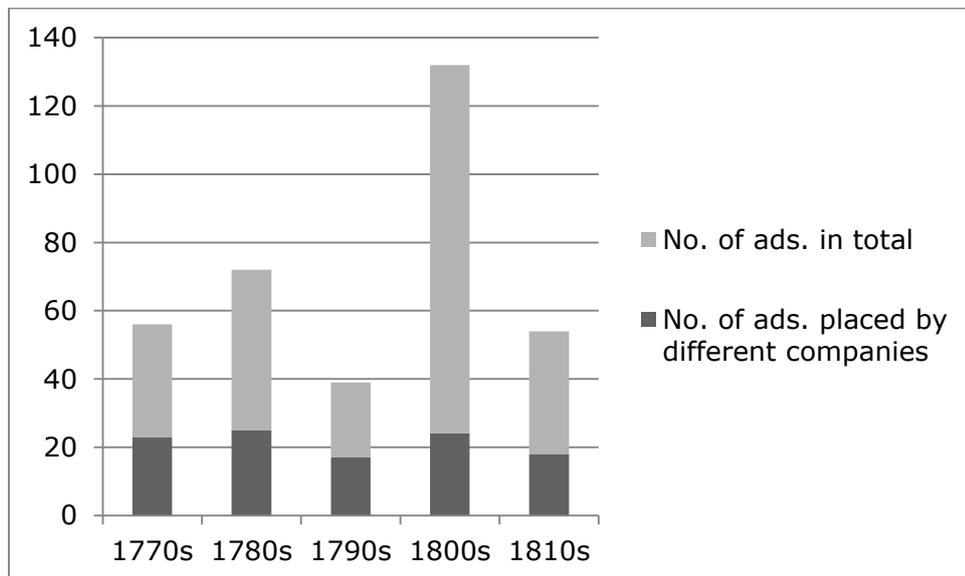
Source: *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury*.

ii.   Seasonal paper

Although Thomson's advertisements of last year's paper at last year's prices were made to sound as though the customer was getting a bargain, in fact we cannot be sure that prices had even risen in that time.[377] However, still having a stock of the previous year's papers may not have been as exceptional as Thomson's (and other's) adverts appear to have made out. Peter Bower conducted an innovative study of the time from manufacture to use of ninety pieces of writing paper used to send letters. He examined the watermarks and countermarks of paper to determine when they had been made, and compared this to the date written on letters. Bower concluded that the average length of time elapsed between manufacture and use was three years and one month.[378] Bower found just one example of paper having been used within a year of its manufacture, while at the other end of the scale he discovered eleven years between manufacture and use. From Bower's unique research it would seem that "last year's manufacture" would likely be sitting either on the shelves of the paper-seller or those of the purchasers for far more than one year. The advertisement of a special price for last year's papers by the Thomson firm might therefore be seen as just another canny form of merchandising.

Thomson's were not the only company to offer out-of-season paper. Several companies emphasised that the papers they were selling were "summer made".[379] Tellingly, in all but one case the summer made paper was advertised between November and January, highlighting the fact that these were old stocks, although Thomson's were the only company to offer them at apparently reduced prices. Paper made at different times of year was said to have subtle but important differences. Paper made in the summer had to have been made from finer rags as the quick-drying effect of the heat made it contract and crease, requiring longer to be flattened. Whereas winter-made paper could be made from coarser rags as the slower-drying action did not contribute to any difficulty in keeping the paper flat and smooth.[380] It is possible that the greater effort required by paper-makers to flatten and smooth summer-made papers is what made it apparently more desirable to customers, this extra effort perhaps producing a superior product? Alternatively, it could be that the use of finer quality rags during the summer months may have been at play in the apparent increase in desirability of this paper.

This seasonal difference in papers could be one reason for the tail-off in the advertising of paper seen in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* in the summer months – winter papers were perhaps less-desirable and therefore required more of a sales-boost.

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[377] *Caledonian Mercury*, 12th and 15th December 1808.
[378] Bower, 'A Survey of the Time Between the Making of Writing Paper and its Use', 31-47.
[379] *Caledonian Mercury,* Robert Thomson 3rd August 1782, Charles Cowan 15th and 17th November 1800, Duncan and Alexander Cowan 12th January 1804, and John Thomson 12th and 15th December 1808.
[380] Anon, 'The Influence of the Seasons on Papermaking', in *The World's Paper Trade Review* 57 (1912), 339, in *The Quarterly: The Journal of the British Association of Paper Historians*, 57 (2006), 48.

However, there is another plausible explanation which was highlighted by one particular paper-seller's adverts. Two adverts placed by James Simpson, stationer and bookseller at the Cross, make the connection between the time of year the papers were being sold and the customers being solicited. Two adverts placed by Simpson's in September and October of 1787 invited the business of Edinburgh's lawyers, who were encouraged to "lay in their winter stock of papers".[381] As a quill-seller as well as a paper-seller Simpson was perhaps particularly sensible to the seasonal-nature of manufacture and trade. Quill-making, according to quill manufacturer John Wilkes, had its own seasonal pattern dictating the desirability of the finished product, as the natural moulting season for feathers is autumn and quills made from naturally-moulted feathers (as opposed to those plucked from live birds out of season) were more mature and therefore produced a superior product.[382] Yet, paper and quills were not the only products to link desirability to the production season. Adverts in the Edinburgh newspapers also referred to "spring made" candles being promoted by the Leith Soaperie Company.[383] In his research into agricultural practices, Richard Thick also described the seasonal nature of the seed trade. He stated that seeds were "harvested late in the year and sold in winter and early spring" and so "the nobility and gentry, or their gardeners, who visited London seedsmen personally did so in the winter months, in the social 'season'".[384] The 'season' also appears to have had some bearing on the advertising of paper in Edinburgh. Overall numbers of adverts for the sale of paper which were placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* drop noticeably between July and October [Fig. 3.9]. These months coincide with the 'season', with parliament in London recessing during the drier, more clement weather which was expected at this time. This allowed people to travel more easily, often to stay at their country properties outside of London. The fashion for the 'season' is known to have spread to Bath, and these adverts might suggest to Edinburgh as well. Being away from town between July and October would have meant that people were further away from the Edinburgh paper-selling shops, perhaps having taken a stock of paper with them to their country houses, or sending orders to retailers to whom they were already known and might be afforded credit rather than being able to be enticed by newspaper advertisements to give their custom to a different retailer with whom they had no reputation.

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[381] *Caledonian Mercury*, 17th September and 6th October 1787.
[382] John Wilkes, *The Art of Making Pens Scientifically [...]* 2nd edition (London: Printed by J. Vigevena [1799?]), 34.
[383] See, for example, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 4th September 1789.
[384] Thick, 'Garden Seeds', 108.

Figure 3.9

Bar chart showing the numbers of adverts for the sale of paper in Edinburgh, by month, between 1770 and 1820.
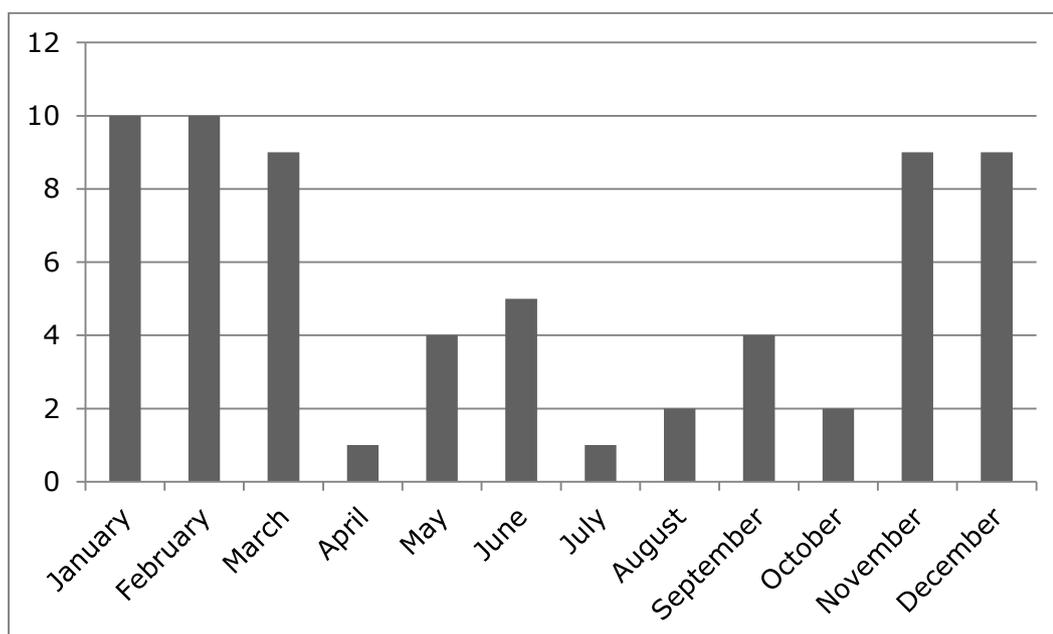
iii.   Novelty and Innovation

Overall the period saw little change in the types of paper on offer, although in every decade a wide range of papers were available to purchase [Appendix E]. Occasionally the adverts described a different kind of paper, something new or extraordinary. Three such products appeared in the Edinburgh newspapers between 1770 and 1820. Two of these shared the common feature of being for taking impressions, rather than for receiving ink. The earliest advert of this kind was placed by a Mr Johns in 1778. Johns was a florist who advertised something he called "Camp Paper". The advertisement stated that "Royal American Camp Paper" had been invented by "an Officer" and had received the seal of approval from Oxford University, Eton College, Harrow School, the Royal Academy and "Bath". The insinuation was that this paper was an elite product, innovative, technical and yet fashionable. It was said to receive an impression even without the use of a quill, simply "by the pressure of the hand". The use of this paper, the advert continued, was so that:

> Any person may in public company, with a bodkin or wooden skewer, write a letter, retaining at the same time, a copy so private that no spectator can learn the contents, though legible and lasting as ink; moreover, it will enable any person to draw an exact likeness of any print, pattern drawing or painting; it will bear being repeatedly used several hundred times. It will

> retain its utility for years; cold, water, or rain, will not injure it. It is recommended to the Ladies for tracing; to officers in the army and navy for minute remarks both by sea and land; to all who give or receive orders, or travel; to drawing masters in particular, as it has already induced the younger geniuses of both sexes to entertain the most ardent desire of acquiring the knowledge of drawing. Nothing hitherto invented can equal this paper for such as are often restrained from, or at a loss for pen and ink, especially those who have not made a sufficient progress in writing.[385]

Such a broad range of uses and a wide variety of users perhaps suggests that this paper was indeed new at the time, and that its use had not become set or stable. This description of Camp paper suggests that it was a kind of copy-paper, although how the copy remained "so private that no spectator can learn the contents, though legible and lasting as ink" is more mysterious. The desire to take copies of one's writing had inspired James Watt's invention of a portable copying press in 1780, but it required far more equipment that Camp paper which apparently gave a second impression of the writing or drawing without the need for anything more than a stylus. Watt's invention required the original to be pressed against a special thin paper which had been impregnated with an ink and vinegar solution, and the whole to be drawn through a mangle-like press in order to take a copy.[386] Although Watt's press was advertised as portable, Camp paper would have been a far simpler solution which did-away with the need for undoubtedly heavy and bulky equipment.

A later advert for a "curious botanical paper" shared with Camp paper the feature of being self-contained. In 1789 Esplin & Forbes advertised a paper which was said to receive impressions of leaves and plants without the use of ink. Ink, of course, was tricky to transport, presumably as were quills. Quills were liable to bend or break and a stoppered bottle of ink might leak en-route. Both were, of course, yet another item which had to be transported. Being able to make records with a stick, or whatever vaguely pointed instrument was to hand, would have been quite useful to eighteenth-century business or pleasure travellers. While this 'curious botanical paper' was similar to Camp paper in that it was not reliant on other instruments, another innovative paper being advertised shared different aspects of Camp paper's desirability. In 1788 the writing master Mr Roubin advertised:

> Roubin's new-invented paper, for writing and drawing. This curious paper, which has obtained such general approbation, answers the use of pencil, pen and ink, on all occasions. Any person may in company write a note, and no spectator see the contents although perfectly legible. It is recommended to all travellers who make minute remarks, and to all frequenters of public orations, as being the most expeditious for short-hand writing.[387]

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[385] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 9th – 13th January 1778.
[386] Iain Milne, 'Enlightenment Evidence, William Cullen', exhibition during the Edinburgh Fringe Festival 2009, <http://www.rcpe.ac.uk/sites/default/files/exhibition_13.pdf>. [11/10/15].
[387] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 11th – 15th April and 17th – 20th June 1788.

Although it did require pen and ink, like Camp paper Roubin's new-invented paper could apparently be written on without revealing what was being written to observers. Secret writing was a common feature of recipe books of the time (and earlier) which often included instructions on how to write with invisible ink, or how to make writing invisible. However these recipes tended to involve the use of special inks (lemon juice, for example) rather than special paper. The two things being attempted by these inventions were to duplicate and to hide what was on paper. These contradictory impulses can be seen across uses of paper throughout this thesis and in the work of others. Secrecy and privacy are themes which were touched upon in relation to wrapping papers in Chapter 2 and to which I shall return in Chapter 4 when discussing furniture.

Promoting Specialism

Largely the advertisements for paper which were placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* between 1770 and 1820 announced papers of "all sorts" and "all types", emphasising the broad range these shops carried. This language was also found by Konstantin Dierks' research into cosmopolitanism and eighteenth-century stationery in America.[388] Dierks' work examined advertisements for stationery supplies (quills, ink, wax, sandac, etc. rather than paper *per se*) in the American *Pennsylvania Gazette* between 1729 and 1796.[389] Dierks found that despite the products on offer being internationally produced, the Pennsylvania adverts did not stress the International origins of the stationery items for sale. The Edinburgh adverts differed in this respect; many adverts elucidated the location of manufacture. Overall these advertisements demonstrate that papers from England were perceived as being superior to those of Scots manufacture, with stationers such as Charles Cowan advertising "PAPERS made by the BEST MAKERS in England", the adjoining "- also made at his Paper Mill" sounding almost apologetic.[390] Others made equally generic claims to the "Best London writing paper" and "Finest English manufacture".[391]

Many of these imported papers, it was declared, were handpicked by the shopkeepers in person. Their expertise in choosing the right paper for their customer demonstrates a shift to paper as a specialised product. James Taylor Smith's adverts advertised his mastery of paper: "being lately selected by himself in London, and stampt with his own signature, [these writing papers] will be found equal in quality to any in this city".[392] Smith's seal of approval, his own signature stamped upon the papers he sold, appears slightly odd and it is difficult to say what appeal writing paper already marked with another's signature (taking up valuable

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[388] Konstantin Dierks, 'Letter Writing, Stationery Supplies, and Consumer Modernity in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World', *Early American Literature* 41, 3 (2006), 473-494.
[389] Ibid., 487.
[390] *Caledonian Mercury*, 7th July 1794.
[391] Thomson's advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 23rd May 1812, and 7th December 1807.
[392] *Caledonian Mercury*, 20th December 1810.

space on the sheet) had. However, like elites who had the family silver crested, stamping the sellers' signature onto the paper is suggestive of a desire to invest the item with a lineage. It is a marketing ploy still seen in use in products today – handwriting (and especially a signature) connoting honesty, integrity and intimacy; even when it is printed! It is a mark which makes promises of quality and affects to put the purchaser in direct contact with the seller.[393] Although other stationers' adverts also described their papers as handpicked by the master of the shop, none appear to have also signed the papers they chose.[394] It is such claims to expertise which validate Dierks's notion that the stationery trade was becoming increasingly specialised into the nineteenth-century.[395] That retailers were showing off their knowledge in this way that suggests that customers were being led to believe – regardless of whether it was true or not – that they required help and assistance from knowledgeable shop staff in order to choose from the array of different kinds of papers on offer. As Walsh's research into shop interiors (referenced in Chapter 2) demonstrates, this kind of relationship – where the shopkeeper was on hand to assist in the correct selection of products – was an important aspect of the 'polite' shopping experience.[396] Therefore the suggestion of metropolitan paper-sellers, just returned from London, who might even authenticate their wares with their own signature, points to the positioning of paper-shopping in newspaper advertisements as an aspirational activity.

The very fact that paper was advertised in newspapers at all is interesting in itself. Walsh has noted that shops advertising in eighteenth-century newspapers was fairly rare, being restricted mainly to proprietary goods which were not subject to change dependent upon manufacturer.[397] Paper existed at the intersection of these distinctions. It is true that each maker's paper differed and some was given a watermark which connoted who made it and at which mill, while other paper (such as Smith's) was marked by its retailer to authenticate its quality. However, despite these apparent marks of uniqueness, uniformity was a desirable and expected feature of the product. According to Walsh, retailers tended not to advertise in newspapers because they could utilise their windows to create enticing displays of goods to tempt customers in from the streets. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 2, it seems unlikely that these paper-sellers would have utilised shop-window displays to advertise their goods. Descriptive newspaper advertisements could do more work than a sheet of blank white paper in a shop window. Quite simply, paper's uniformity and blankness may well be key features of its desirability – but they do not translate well into display. Thus descriptive advertising was likely a more effective marketing tool for paper-sellers.

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[393] For a discussion of the emotional residue of handwriting, see Christopher Flint, *The Appearance of Print in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 1-82.
[394] The claim of careful selection by the master stationer was also used in the adverts placed by John Thomson's & Co. between 1805 and 1807.
[395] Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* 127.
[396] Claire Walsh, 'Shop Design'.
[397] Ibid., 170.

Alongside newspaper advertising, retailers were able to promote their businesses and stocks through issuing engraved trade cards or bill heads. Yet these too suffered from being a visual medium. Often these engravings would depict lavish images of the products on offer in the sumptuous shops, or carry images of suggestive shop signs. But blank paper is not only not visually easy or inviting to depict, it also carried a myriad of negative connotations. Work by Brad Pasenek suggests that during the age of the enlightenment a blank page was perceived as a lack of knowledge and used to mock the unlearned.[398] Johnson's *Dictionary* adds weight to the notion that blank paper was not a positive motif during the eighteenth-century. In the *Dictionary* 'blank' as an adjective is first defined as "white" which of course immediately corresponds with white, blank, paper. Continuing through the various permeations blank is secondly "without writing; unwritten; empty of all marks" and the third definition is: "Confused; crushed; dispirited; subdued; depressed." Taking blank as a noun is equally revealing. It is 1. A void space. 2. A lot, by which nothing is gained. 3. A paper from which the writing is effaced, and 4. A paper unwritten. As both a difficult and potentially negative image to evoke, it is perhaps unsurprising that I can find just one trade card on which blank paper is depicted; that of Bloxam and Fourdrinier for c.1772. Unusually for stationers (most depict their shop sign, or nothing at all) this trade card depicts a blank book and a blank piece of paper (rolled at the bottom to look like a scroll, perhaps because an image of a rectangular piece of blank paper looks like an empty space, perhaps because the scroll has loftier allusions). It also shows a pounce pot, quills, an ink pot and a writing box; all suggesting that this paper will not be blank for long [Fig. 3.10].

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[398] Brad Pasenek, *Eighteenth-Century Metaphors of Mind, A Dictionary*, PhD Thesis, Stanford University, (August 2006), 204-6.

Figure 3.10

Stationer's trade card depicting paper and stationery wares. It includes a blank book, a scroll, pounce pot, quills, ink pot and writing box.
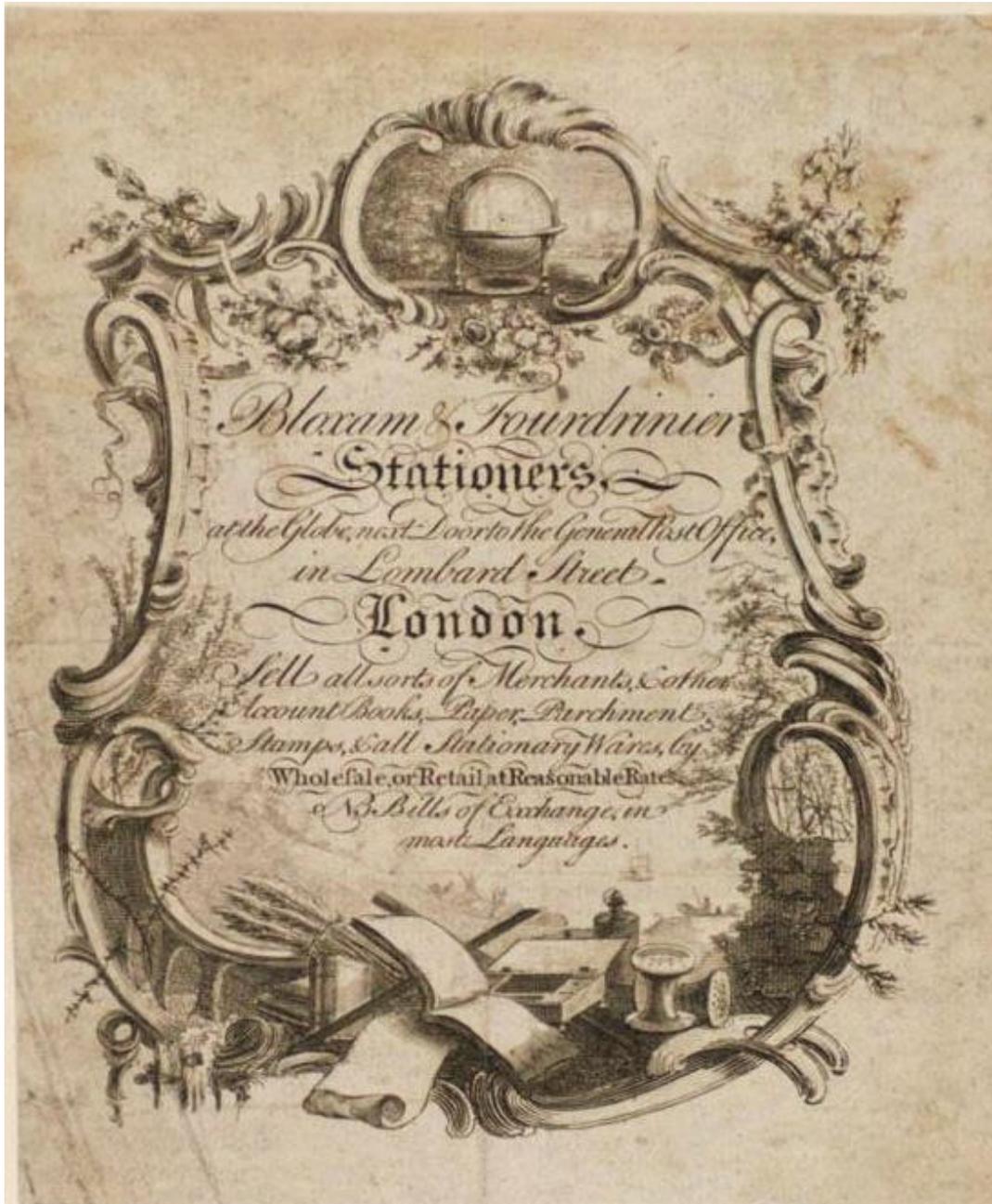
Source: Trade card of Bloxam and Fourdrinier, Stationers at the Globe. Fourdrinier and Bloxam parted company in 1772, dating this trade card to this date or earlier. From the John Johnson Collection, A Nation of Shopkeepers exhibition in 2001 <https://wayback.archive-it.org/org-467/20110531165718/http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/johnson/exhibition/>.

Defining Stationers

Positioning paper as increasingly specialised might have been an attempt to distance paper-sellers from such negative associations with blank paper. In common with blank paper, the people selling paper had been described as needing no great knowledge or learning. As R. Campbell wrote in *The London Tradesman*, in order to become a retail-stationer there was no real reason to serve an apprenticeship because:

> it requires neither much judgement, learning, nor time to acquire the mystery of a stationer [...] he must be ignorant to the last degree if he cannot learn all that is to be known of this trade in a few months conversing with any communicative man of the trade. He has nothing but to find out the common properties and marks of good paper, the market prices, and usual profit or difference between buying or selling, all of which the wholesale stationer, for the advantage of his custom, will be glad to inform him of.[399]

Almost a decade-and-a-half later, *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory* reiterated similar points, noting that being a retail stationer "requires no great abilities, nor any education but writing a good hand, and the knowledge of arithmetic".[400] The careers of two wholesale stationers of the later eighteenth-century are also notable for expounding the idea that stationers needed few specialist abilities. Macniven had been apprenticed to a bookbinder in c.1768, learning those skills before going to work for Balfour in 1777 as a stationer and finally setting up in business with the Nisbets in c.1787. Indeed, the Nisbet's original plan had been to set up in the paper trade even without the 'expertise' of Macniven.[401] William Nisbet said during the sequestration proceedings that he'd been "induced to enter into the paper concern by his brother Archibald from the lucrative nature of the business".[402] Similarly William Hutton, Birmingham's first paper warehouse proprietor, revealed in his memoirs that he too established himself as a binder, then bookseller, before taking up the paper trade in 1756. Hutton wrote of his entrance into the paper business in very simple terms: "As I could spare one or two hundred pounds, I chose to purchase [the paper]; therefore appropriated a room for the reception of the goods, and hung out a sign: THE PAPER WAREHOUSE. From this small hint I followed the stroke forty years, and acquired an ample fortune".[403] In his account, becoming a paper merchant was as simple as buying the goods and hanging out a sign to attract trade; then sitting back to watch the profits mount up. Surmising that "more profit would arise from the new trade than the old; that blank paper would speak in fairer language than printed; that one could only furnish the head, but the other would furnish the

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[399] Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, 127.
[400] Collyer, *The parent's and guardian's directory,* 260.
[401] NRS CS94/26, Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet 1795-1796, 79.
[402] Ibid.
[403] Hutton, *The Life of William Hutton*, 47.

pocket" he gave up bookselling altogether just two years later to concentrate solely on the paper trade.[404]

These examples suggest that acquiring knowledge of the vast array of names and types of paper was quickly and easily done by anyone with even a fairly rudimentary education. It also highlights that before entering the trade the names and properties of different papers were not general knowledge to the kinds of people who were likely to set up in that business. This may be due, in part, to the slightly amorphous nature of the language of paper. For example, substantial discrepancies exist between the language used in the books of the Balerno Company and that used in the official taxation tables [Appendices A & D]. Just as there were many categories of rags (see Chapter 1) there were many kinds of paper. At the most basic level there was a division between writing and printing papers, known as 'white' paper and of other papers known as 'wrapping' papers (sometimes erroneously referred to as 'brown' paper). On the whole white paper was used for printing, writing or drawing; while wrapping papers were used for a plethora of other purposes. However there does seem to have been some overlap and certain papers (cartridge for example) changed use from one essential category to the other. Within each category there were further divisions, based on factors such as the size, weight, quality, finish and intended purpose.

In the eighteenth-century paper names were closely linked to taxation. In 1711 an excise duty was imposed on paper in general, and in a separate Act a stamp tax was imposed on certain types of printed papers. The monies raised by the excise were supposed to contribute towards Britain's wars with Spain, France and North America and paper was just one of several commodities included in the Acts imposing the duties. Compared to taxes on imported paper, the duty of 15% on homemade paper was light and intended to encourage domestic manufacture at a time when imports were harder to come by.[405] Eleven different papers were listed in the 1711 Act, a number which increased to eighty-two over the course of the eighteenth-century during which time the excise on paper was increased twice.[406] The duty was increased in both 1781 and 1794, each time prompting the publication of a short guide called *The Paper-maker's and Stationer's Assistant*. The first, authored by John Paine Junior, was published three years after the 1781 Act. It set out the duties on different papers which were arranged into tables by class or quality.[407] R. Johnson's publication of the same name coincided with a major change from taxation of paper by value to taxation by weight in 1794.[408] The way in which taxation tables presented paper types changed substantially over the course of ten years. Paine's book listed seventy-three different paper-types; Johnson's

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[404] Ibid. 48.
[405] Gaskell, 'Notes on Eighteenth-Century British Paper', 38-39.
[406] Thomson, *The Paper Industry in Scotland*, 62-83.
[407] Paine, *The paper-Maker's and stationer's assistant*, [1784].
[408] Johnson, *The Paper-Maker and Stationers* Assistant, 1794; Gaskell, 'Notes on Eighteenth-Century British Paper', 39-42.

listed eighty-two. Paine's guide demonstrated that there were five different "tables" or classes of paper in 1784 (with one being the highest quality paper and five the lowest), but in 1794 this had been dropped to three ('first,' 'second' and 'third' class; broadly defined as 'first' – writing and printing, 'second' – coloured and 'third' – wrapping). While the number of different papers had increased, their organisation had been simplified and streamlined. Both publications were short pamphlets, perhaps intended to be kept under the shop counter for easy reference. The implication again was that there was little to know about selling paper, and it could all be covered in a few pages and a couple of tables. A man might simply strike up conversation with a wholesaler, obtain a copy of this guide, hang out a sign and he would be a stationer.

This impression seems to have survived into modern research into the paper trade, with scholarship generally eschewing the paper trade as a footnote to the book trades. Although his findings were later questioned, the importance of studying this history of the stationery trade was recognised by John Feather in 1984, when he wrote his history of Daventry stationer, John Clay. At that time Feather stated: "The provision of paper and writing materials is a fundamental economic service; business and commerce, and much else, cannot function without these essential supplies".[409] Regardless of criticisms of his work, this statement remains a truism – life in the eighteenth-century relied heavily on quill and paper. Yet subsequent book historians have generally failed to take up his lead and conduct further research into this fundamental product of both commerce and sociability. Equally, Feather failed to acknowledge that aside from these undeniably significant uses of white paper, a whole industry of wrapping paper manufacture and trade existed to support retailing in general and a variety of domestic duties. As noted in Chapters 1 and 2, previous scholarship has revealed that the production of paper in Britain during the eighteenth-century was largely dominated by non-book papers. Thus it follows that the sale of paper had a large component of wrapping papers. Yet by their very nature wrapping papers have not been accounted for by the study of paper history when it has been carried out within the field of book history. Equally, current knowledge of the names, locations and trade dates of paper sellers tends to be drawn from database projects such as the BBTI and the SBTI. The sources from which the information selected for inclusion in these resources was gathered were, understandably, book-related. However, although stationers feature in these resources, the fact that these databases were compiled from a book-centric perspective means that they are not entirely adequate for considering the paper trade. This feeds into longstanding ambiguities regarding the definition of occupations within and related to the book trades, particularly that of the 'stationer', with historical and modern definitions differing in significant ways; but always with paper being defined in relation to books.

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[409] Feather, 'John Clay', 198.

This perception – of paper as a handmaiden to books – appears to have come about because scholars working on paper have tended to undertake their work in the domain of book historical studies. However, if paper-production is considered as a cycle (as book historians tend to do in the vein of Robert Darnton et al.) then rather than paper being a subsidiary of book-production, it is possible to reimagine book production as one aspect of the paper trades.[410] As Chapter 2 demonstrated, paper was so much more than book-paper. Similarly, the paper trade was more complex than book history studies tend to acknowledge.

One stumbling block to the study of paper-sellers is the thorny issue of defining the trade. Indeed, the confusion relating to the role and naming of booksellers and stationers appears to be longstanding. Thomas Blount addressed this issue in his seventeenth-century dictionary *Glossographia*:

> Stationer (so called of his station or standing shop to sell in) is often confounded with Book-seller, and sometimes with Book-binder; whereas they are Three several Trades; the Stationer sells Paper and Paper-Books, Ink, Wax, etc. The Book-seller deals onely in printed Books, ready bound; and the Book-binder binds them, but sells not.[411]

Yet, the dominance of the term *bookseller* for someone engaged in the stationery trade has been exemplified as recently as 1995 by the disbelief expressed by Frank Felsenstein's students when they discovered the "bookseller" they were studying self-identified as a 'stationer'.[412] Felsenstein's research into the newspaper advertisements placed by eighteenth-century booksellers uncovered that "[i]ncreasingly during the eighteenth century [...] "stationer" becomes the portmanteau term used by so many members of the English provincial book trade to describe themselves".[413] Felsenstein's research reached a similar conclusion to the disputed work undertaken by Feather ten years earlier, with Felsenstein stating that "it soon becomes apparent that very few (if any) of the personnel working in the eighteenth-century provincial book trade could rely on making ends meet or fulfil the expectations of their clients by confining themselves to a single trade such as bookselling".[414] Feather's work on John Clay of Daventry had concluded that stationery played an important role in the Clay's business, and was indeed of a greater importance to the business than printed books.[415]

However, Jan Fergus and Ruth Portner re-examined the records Feather based his assertions on and found that the books Feather had derived his figures from were not the business books associated with the Clay's shop in Daventry, but rather a small satellite shop

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[410] Robert Darnton, "What is the history of books?" *Daedalus* 111, 3 (1982): 65-83.
[411] Thomas Blout, *Glossographia [...]*. London: Printed by Thomas Newcombe for George Sawbridge, 1661.
[412] Frank Felsenstein, 'Some Eighteenth-Century English Provincial Book Advertisements', *Library Review* 44, 3 (1995), 32-43.
[413] Ibid., 35.
[414] Ibid., 37-8.
[415] Feather, 'John Clay', 198-209.

in Rugby which mainly catered for the school there.[416] Thus, when Feather asserted that stationery accounted for both a larger volume and profit than books, this may only hold true for a shop designed to cater for school-boys, rather than the provincial town of Daventry which Feather mistakenly thought he was looking at. Additionally, Fergus and Portner found that the records of the Daventry shop demonstrated that higher percentages of the Clay's profits were derived from selling books (including books, almanacs, magazines, serials, prints, maps, songs, music books, and printed forms) than stationery (which they defined as paper, blank books and copy books).[417] From the details of the Clay's books given in those articles it is also clear that the father and son also dealt in writing equipment, patent medicines and miscellaneous goods as well as undertaking binding. Like Macniven who operated as both stationer and binder, the Clay's business also collapsed the seventeenth-century notion of "three several [i.e. separate] trades" which had been touted by Blout.

The blurring of these boundaries appears to still cause problems for scholars today. Not discounting the fact that Feather's identification of the location to which the shop books related was indeed mistaken, part of the disagreement between the two analyses of the Clay's business stems from each scholar's different classification of what exactly comprises 'stationery'. Whereas Feather's methodology grouped "printed forms" into the stationery category, as well as "pens, pencils, rulers and ink" (i.e. writing equipment); Fergus and Portner listed writing equipment separately to stationery and discounted it entirely from their totals. Given that even when Blount defined 'stationer' in 1656 he described the role as someone who sells "paper, paper-books, wax, ink etc." it seems somewhat naive for Fergus and Portner to remove those products from their reckonings. Fergus and Portner also co-opted 'printed forms' and 'music books' into their "printed materials" category (which is mainly populated by the catch-all 'books'), whereas Feather placed printed forms in the stationery grouping. Importantly, the inclusion by Fergus and Portner of printed forms, and also music books, in the 'printed material' category is not necessarily a comfortable fit if eighteenth-century notions of types of goods are employed. 'Music books' was a term used to refer to books ruled with staves for consumers to write or copy music into and given that Fergus and Portner list items called 'songs' separately it seems likely that these ruled books for composing music are the kinds of product being referred to here. To include these in the 'printed matter' category, alongside written works, when the content may have been no more than lines on the page seems questionable, particularly if 'blank books' (sometimes also called 'paper books' i.e. notebooks for literary compositions) are considered stationery. When it is additionally understood that it was stationers, and not printers, who ruled paper and particularly when it is known that this was a process performed by hand until the late

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[416] Jan Fergus and Ruth Portner, 'Provincial Bookselling in Eighteenth-Century England: The Case of John Clay Reconsidered', *Studies in Bibliography* 40 (1987), 147-149.
[417] Ibid., 160-163.

eighteenth-century, including music books in the printed materials category appears particularly disingenuous.[418] Likewise, 'printed forms' were pieces of stamped paper – that is paper subject to stamp tax. First introduced in 1694 in "An act for granting to their Majesties several duties upon vellum, parchment and paper, for four years, towards carrying on the war against France" stamp duty was literally a stamp (first impressed, then stuck) on a piece of paper, vellum or parchment. In the eighteenth-century it was applied to a variety of documents for the purposes of tax-collection, these included papers used to produce: apprentices indentures, newspapers, playing cards, bills of exchange, bank notes and a variety of other goods and legal documents. In other words, these were generally papers with standardised matter printed on them and blank spaces for the purchaser to fill-out. Until recently such printed forms were dealt with by Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

If contemporary evidence of how the bookseller-stationers themselves demarcated the boundaries is consulted, it becomes clear that music books and printed forms were indeed contemporaneously classed as stationery. For example, the shop bill of Thomas Wilson and Son "booksellers, stationers and printers" in York explicitly divided products into "books" and "stationery"; with music books, and indeed prints and even maps, appearing firmly in the stationery category.[419] Even once Fergus and Portner had discounted writing equipment and re-classified printed forms; music books; maps and prints from their contemporary grouping within stationery items to their own category of "printed materials", they acquiesced that although they considered John Clay to have been "a bookseller who sold stationery, not the reverse"; to the younger Clay "sales of stamps and stationery may have been somewhat more central to his business".[420] On this point, Fergus and Portner's objection had been to Feather's conclusion that the elder Clay (Feather did not look at the final years of the business) was "primarily, [...] a stationer, dealing in paper and printed forms".[421] There is no denying that books were a very important part of Clay's livelihood but it is also incorrect to state that stationery was an insubstantial part of his stock, especially if judged by contemporary standards. The book-centric bias from which Fergus and Portner were working is made clear from the focus of the majority of their article, which looked at the printed books and pamphlets sold by the Clay's. Without further examining the figures for sales of papers and writing equipment at the Daventry shop it is impossible to say with certainty whether stationery (contemporaneously defined) comprised a larger proportion (in cash or volume terms) of the Clay's business than books (similarly defined) yet interestingly, Clay himself identified as a bookseller, a fact which neither article explicitly picked up on.[422]

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[418] Advertisements in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* describe books 'ruled by hand' and later 'ruled by machines' as having been sold by various stationers.
[419] Felsenstein, 'Some Eighteenth-Century English Provincial Book Advertisements', 33.
[420] Fergus and Portner, 'Provincial Bookselling', 151.
[421] Feather, 'John Clay', 202.
[422] Fergus and Portner, 'Provincial Bookselling', 149.

Writing about the way in which eighteenth-century booksellers operated outside of major cities Felsenstein asserted "that very few (if any) of the personnel working in the eighteenth-century provincial book trade could rely on making ends meet or fulfil the expectations of their clients by confining themselves to a single trade such as bookselling". He continued: "Most were obliged, and resourceful enough, to combine a number of related occupations and make themselves into jacks-of-all-trades in order to cater to the respective needs of their customers and to find the wherewithal to feed their own families".[423] As Feather (and Fergus and Portner) related, the Clay's fitted into this pattern of selling a variety of items. They sold books, prints, maps, paper, stationery wares and patent medicine, as well as 'miscellaneous' items. Selling a variety of products was certainly not the preserve of the Clay's. Feather's, and presumably therefore Felsenstein's, assertion that provincial booksellers needed to bolster their trade by adopting 'other' products was criticised by Fergus and Portner, who stated that if this were the case "then provincial stationers would have had little incentive to develop the bookselling portion of their trade".[424]

I believe that Fergus and Portner overstate their case; after-all conducting a retail business is not about simply making ends meet, it is about maximising profits. Regardless of the primary product of a shop all products are intended to meet market demands and contribute to profitability – even loss-leaders which are stocked in order to drive additional custom. If the Clay's 'primary' product had been stationery it does not automatically follow that they would therefore have had "little incentive" to maximise the book-selling aspect of their business; as doing so would simply have made poor business sense. By implication Fergus and Portner were asserting that if (as they believe) books were the primary commodity at the Clay's shop, then the men did not invest in stocking a range of papers for different purposes and pockets because there was no incentive to do so, yet the one does not necessarily preclude the other. As seen in Chapter 2 there was a huge array of different papers manufactured and sold in Britain, and advertisements such as that of Thomas Wilson and Sons demonstrate that individual shops often carried an array of stock. Their advert listed:

> PAPER of all the different kinds; viz. Atlas, Super-Royal, Medium, Demy, Bank; thick and thin Pott, gilt, black-edged, and plain; Fools-Cap, Pot, Copy, Cartridge, Music, Mazarine, Blue, Green, Marble, Embosst, Superfine Vellum and Parchment for Drawing and Writing on, Drum-Heads, &c.

This is in addition to them selling:

> BOOKS (ancient and modern) in most languages, Arts and Sciences, and in every Branch of Literature; Bibles and Common Prayer Books of all Sizes, and in various Bindings, Plays, Pamphlets, and School Books or all Sorts.

[423] Felsenstein, 'Some Eighteenth-Century English Provincial Book Advertisements', 37-8.
[424] Fergus and Portner, 'Provincial Bookselling', 147.

Almanacks of every Kind, Sheets or Books, bound or unbound, Court Calendars, and Ladies and Gentlemen's Annual Memorandum Books.[425]

Certainly, neither product range appears to have jeopardised the attention given to the other in this case. Yes, Wilson and Son were located in York, not Daventry (or Rugby), and their business would likely have been on a larger scale than the Clay's, but their example demonstrates that stocking more than one type of product does not automatically lead to the neglect of any other part of a shop's stock.

Beyond Stationery

Yet, even these divisions and definitions are quite simply insufficient for the paper trade in Edinburgh. The tendency to define paper in relation to books, as a stationery product, sold by stationers or bookseller-stationers, fails to acknowledge a significant aspect of the paper-selling landscape in Edinburgh. Comparing the advertisements for the sale of paper which were placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* between 1770 and 1820 with data from the SBTI not only increases the numbers of known stationers, but also reveals businesses in Edinburgh which sold paper but would not have been liable for inclusion in the SBTI at all.

During the 1770s the number of shops selling paper in Edinburgh included a large proportion of retailers not traditionally associated with the paper trade. Joseph Archibald, Mrs Eagle, Patrick Drummond and Donald Maclean – were all seed sellers. Archibald sold paper, quills, ink and wax in Chapel Street; Drummond sold plain and gilded writing papers alongside seeds from his shop in the Lawnmarket. Mclean stocked writing paper, wax, seals, ink and mogul cards (playing cards); and Mrs Eagle of Smith's Land advertised writing paper, message cards, black lines, waste cards, ink, wax and wafers. Daniel Miller of the Canongate was a grocer. He also sold writing paper, wax, wafers, message cards, pens and ink. Francis Marshall had a hardware shop opposite the Luckenbooths and Mr Johns was a florist in Fleshmarket Close. Both sold papers in addition to their other products. These types of shopkeepers constitute almost half of the shopkeepers who sold paper during this decade.

Paper selling continued to be a popular side-line with seed sellers during the 1780s. Joseph Archibald, Mrs Eagle and Donald Maclean all continued to trade in paper, joined by another seedsman John Sinclair. Although Archibald's nursery was located out of town, the other seed sellers were all situated along the High Street and the Cowgate and thus presumably vied for paper-business with the other paper-sellers. As well as seed-sellers there were other kinds of businesses selling paper during this decade which were also not stationers. Robert Ross had a music shop from which he also sold paper. No doubt staved paper was one of the

[425] Felsenstein, 'Some Eighteenth-Century English Provincial Book Advertisements', 33.

products he offered, but he also stocked a general range of papers. Wax-chandlers Waterston & Co. mainly sold candles, but they also held a line in sealing wax, and had begun to sell paper. Presumably this would have been letter writing paper, which their customers might seal with waxes also purchased from the Waterson's. The Edinburgh Circulating Library sold paper alongside lending books. This would have been handy for the visitors who liked to join libraries on their travels who might want to write letters home, or for subscribers who kept notes about their reading. Unlike the seed sellers, these businesses might be thought of as loosely associated with the paper trade because there appears to be a logical explanation for their sale of paper in association with the other goods they sold. During this decade there were also seven businesses which described themselves in their adverts as stationers and a further ten who described their businesses as bookseller-stationers.

Whereas the 1770s had seen an almost equal distribution of paper-selling between stationer-booksellers and other kinds of retailer, the 1780s paper trade was dominated by stationery specialists. By 1790 it had become much rarer than in earlier decades for advertisements to feature paper alongside other products. Margaret Valance traded from Herriot's Bridge, where she sold items "on consignment". As well as royal and demy brown paper, her 1799 advertisement offered a range of sugars. Herriot's Bridge was an area of the Grassmarket underneath the West Bow, near to the Bow Well. It was not a salubrious area and Valance's location as well as the fact she was selling on consignment suggests that her business was a fairly poor one. In addition to Valance just one other business advertised paper alongside other goods during this decade. Charles Cowan had a business much like that of the Balerno Company. Cowan operated a rag-collection business, a paper mill and a paper warehouse. He advertised as "stationer and dealer in tea, coffee and chocolate".

In the opening decade of the nineteenth-century there were still a few shops which sold paper which were not exclusively stationers or bookseller-stationers. George Arnot was a grocer with a shop at Timber Bush in Leith from which he sold brown, grey and tea papers, as well as "sheathing papers for shipbuilders".[426] In addition to Arnot, four businesses which might be associated with paper – a music seller and a carver and gilder, as well as two circulating libraries – advertised the sale of paper. Each of these businesses was, by this time, based in the New Town. The 1810s saw the fewest non-stationery/booktrade paper sellers advertising in the Edinburgh newspapers. Charles Anderson in the Cowgate was the only grocer to advertise the sale of paper this decade.

Although numbers decreased it is clear that paper had been a product sold by a variety of different kinds of retailers in Edinburgh. As well as bookseller-stationers there had been standalone stationers and all sorts of shops which had sold other goods alongside paper. The

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[426] George Arnot, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 28th – 31st July 1807.

other commodities being sold alongside paper in Edinburgh were mainly seeds and groceries. In common with paper both of these categories of items were consumable, that is that once used more was required. The other commonality is that paper, as well as groceries and seeds, was weight. Paper, seeds and groceries were taxed by weight and could be measured out in front of customers to prove to customers that they were getting what they paid for. Thus, as Thick has noted in relation to seed sellers, these retailers had large quantities of weighing equipment which might serve equally as well for weighing paper as any other commodity.[427] These retailers could also have used their scales to have purchased goods in bulk and sold them in smaller quantities to customers. Non-perishable items, such as tea, coffee, sugar, spices, candles, and paper, could be purchased on advantageous terms in large quantities and a profit made by splitting the goods into smaller packages to sell to individual consumers.

Despite the emphasis on the study of paper having been conducted within book historical studies, the sale of paper alongside other goods has indeed been noted previously by prominent book historians and others. While compiling the BBTI, Peter Isaac observed that "there are some strange combinations (bookseller and patent-manure seller, for example)".[428] Horace Hotchkiss' study of wallpaper noted that William Poyntell was a stationer who sold "jewellery, violin strings, harpsichord wires, guitar strings, parchment, money scales and weights" as well as wallpaper.[429] John Brewer noted that John Hogben, of Rye in Sussex was a bookseller, stationer and bookbinder who also dealt in fishing tackle.[430] In his monograph on the eighteenth-century shopkeeper Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen in Cumbria, T.S. Willan remarked that Dent had been purchasing a variety of goods from the "printers, papermakers and booksellers", the Ashburners. As well as paper, magazines and books, Dent bought cockles, fish and a wig![431] Similarly, the records of the Balerno Company show Macniven sold a clock and a chest of drawers (see Chapter 2).[432] There is a long-standing connection between bookselling and patent medicine selling, with arguments raging as to why this connection occurred. Feather believed that it was because of overlapping distribution channels.[433] John Alden, who worked specifically on this question, refuted earlier claims that printers sold patent medicines because they printed the adverts

[427] Thick, 'Garden Seeds', 107.
[428] Peter Issac, 'British Book Trade Index: Development and Progress', *Library Review* 44, 3 (1995), 18.
[429] Horace L. Hotchkiss Jr., 'Wallpaper from the Shop of William Poyntell', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 4 (1968): 31.
[430] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 147.
[431] T.S. Willan, *An Eighteenth-Century Shopkeeper: Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), 32.
[432] NRS CS96/1797 John McNiven, merchant, Edinburgh, Account Book 1794-1798.
[432] NRS CS30/4, Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796, 133-4.
[433] Feather, 'John Clay', 203.

for manufacturers. Instead, he stated that it was simply the nature of the local neighbourhood shop to sell a variety of goods.[434]

In a similar vein Victoria Gardner has posited that George Nicholls (fl. 1733-54) – a stationer and hatter in Morpeth – may have combined the stationery trade with his millenary enterprise because "book, stationery and medicine sales alone may have been insufficient to sustain the business".[435] This is a position reminiscent of Fergus and Portner's argument that provincial booksellers stocked stationery because they were unable to make a living from bookselling alone. However, it may be pertinent in this regard to consider the careers of stationers who were also engaged in other enterprises from an alternative perspective. Given the notion that becoming a stationer did not require any particular skills, it would seem more probable that the merchants who traded in both stationery wares and other commodities added stationery wares to an existing business; rather than the other way around - millinery was, after-all, a far more skilled undertaking than paper selling.[436] In this way, similarly to the Fergus and Portner reconsideration of the Clay's business, Gardner's work highlights the assumptive bias towards the book trade which has been exhibited in scholarship on paper history.

It is a bias which can be seen throughout the compilation of book-history sources. For example, *The Earliest Dictionary of the Book Trade* by William Pendred, published in 1785, included many trades associated with the book trades; but did not list rag merchants. Later book historians made the decision to discount other aspects of the trades. For example, despite professing to interpret the book trades "more widely" than previous studies, William Dawson deliberately omitted the leather trades – which had been included in Pendred's earlier account due to their connection with book-binding.[437] Later still, Peter Isaac wrote of the BBTI: "For our purposes "book trade" is very widely interpreted. It includes not only printers, publishers and booksellers, but also stationers, papermakers, engravers, auctioneers, ink-makers, pen and quill sellers, and so on".[438] While laudable, this aim could never be completely fulfilled by the analysis of the primary materials Isaac describes consulting in the course of compiling the Index, which consisted mostly of book-related sources. As has been demonstrated in this chapter, the sale of stationery – including ink, pens, quills "and so on" – was conducted well beyond the book-trades. Indeed, as early as

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[434] John Alden, 'Pills and Publishing: Some Notes on the English Book Trade, 1660-1715', *The Library* 44, 2 (1952), 21-30.

[435] Victoria Gardner, 'The Eighteenth Century Book Trade in Region and Nation: Newcastle and the North East', in J. Hinks and V. Gardner eds. *The Book Trade in Early Modern England* (Dover, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2014), 239-241.

[436] Millinery work included making, sewing and decorating clothing, whereas paper-sellers did not need to have the knowledge to manufacture their products; beyond perhaps ink – which had traditionally been a housewifery duty and could easily be brewed at home (see Chapter 4) <http://www.history.org/almanack/life/trades/trademln.cfm>. [02/02/15].

[437] Ian Maxted, *The London Booktrades 1775-1800 a topographical guide*. Exeter: Printed and Sold by the Author, 1980. Maxted's work included and expanded upon William Dawson's M.A. in Librarianship from the University of Sheffield.

[438] Issac, 'British Book Trade Index: Development and Progress', BBTI, 18.

1952 John Alden confronted this very issue, when working on advertisements for the sale of books and patent medicine in the Sloane Collection at what was then the British Museum. Alden related that by broadening his research to include medical-related sources he uncovered that just forty-nine of the 230 "booksellers, stationers and printers" he discovered in the course of his work were also listed in Plomer's *Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, which was published in 1922.[439] It seems clear, that stepping outside of the book-bias in relation to the stationery trade brings up numerous records of businesses engaged in the selling of paper and stationery wares which are missed by concentrating on bibliocentric records. Alden's work, like that of many other scholars, highlights that in the eighteenth-century stationery was being sold alongside a wide range of other products. A trade card in the John Johnson archives sums up this multifarious trading well, advertising Dyde & Son, booksellers & stationers. As well as a printing office and circulating library, they sold patent medicines, perfumery, toys and stamps and undertook printing and binding [Fig. 3.11].[440]

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[439] Alden, 'Pills and Publishing', 22.
[440] Dyde and Sons trade card, supplemental image from the online exhibition 'A Nation of Shopkeepers' (2001), <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/johnson/exhibition/>. [13/03/2010].

Figure 3.11

Trade card depicting the many aspects of the business of Dyde and son, which included selling books, stationery, patent medicines, perfume, trinkets and stamps, as well as lending books, undertaking printing and binding books.

PRINTING OFFICE

DYDE & SON, BOOKSELLERS & STATIONERS.

PATENT MEDICINES   STAMPS   PERFUMERY, TOYS &c.

No 7) High Street TEWKESBURY.

A Circulating Library.

PRINTING and BOOK-BINDING

Neatly and Expeditiously executed.
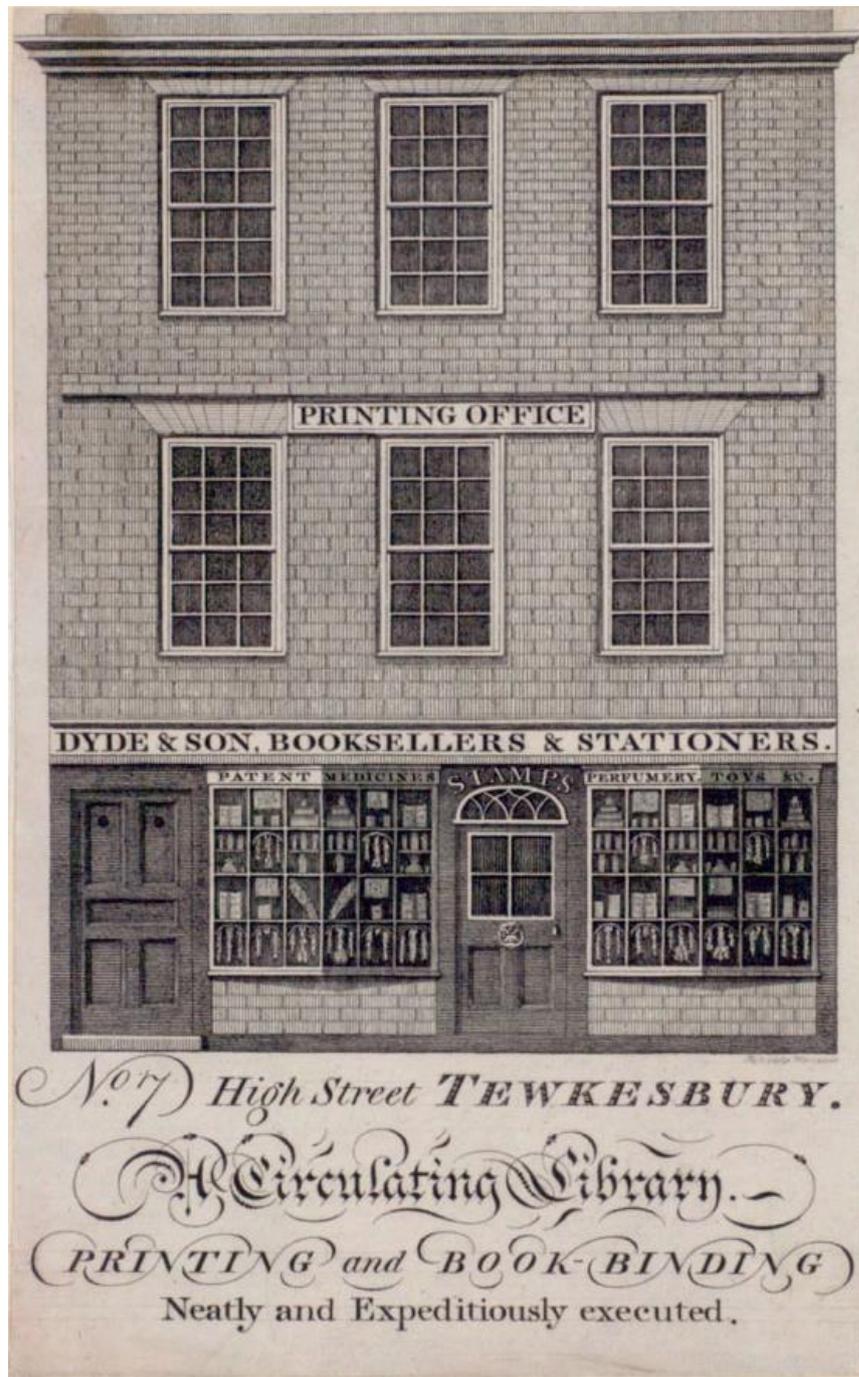
Source: Trade card of Dyde and Son, Stationers and bookbinders. From the John Johnson Collection, A Nation of Shopkeepers exhibition in 2001 <https://wayback.archive-it.org/org-467/20110531165718/http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/johnson/exhibition/>.

In Edinburgh the range of traders involved in selling paper included tea dealers, seed merchants, carvers and gilders, grocers and music-sellers, amongst others; many of whom could be found advertising paper and stationery wares in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser*. Indeed, despite styling themselves a 'paper warehouse', and in common with every other Edinburgh paper-seller studied for this thesis, the Balerno Company sold other products alongside paper. The account book of grocery items reveal that it was mainly alcohol being sold by the company; whisky, ale, beer and gin appearing to be the most frequently purchased items. The grocery arm of the store also sold soap, tea, sugar, glasses and tumblers, candles, honey, starch, cloth and interestingly: paper. As well as the grocery items in the separate account book which was kept by Macniven and his associates, the paper and rag books of the Balerno Company record that they also sold stationery wares, including ink, quills, wax and tuine (i.e. twine); however, in comparison to their paper sales these accounted for a minute proportion of sales.[441] It would appear that very few, if any, of the shops with sold paper in Edinburgh sold that commodity alone.

Further evidence of the stationery shop being the site of a miscellaneous stock comes from a Scottish poetical essay called "Sale of Stationery Ware, at Buchanan's Head, K*******ck" (1788) written by Gavin Turnbull. The poem recalls the letter which was sent to the *Staffordshire Advertiser* from "An Extensive Dealer in Staffordshire Earthenware" as well as the anonymous account of "Fog Alley"; both of which were cited in earlier chapters.[442] Turnbull's poem was written in Scots and specifically referenced a particular Scottish stationery shop - giving the poem a distinctly Scottish air, though as Chapter 1 demonstrated this was not a distinctly Scottish phenomenon. The poem was addressed to the many customers who might frequent the stationery shop, from the "rev'rend Brethren" to the "wit and scholar" and the "ragged Chapmen". They were invited to buy stationery goods which include all kinds of books, as well as wax, wafers, ink, quills and a range of paper:

> best o' Paper frae the mills,
> For bundles, bumfodder or bills,
> For book or letter,
> There's nane fae good; cheap,
> cheap it sells,
> For ready catter. [443]

This shop, apparently, catered for all types of person, buying all kinds of paper. It is not clear which of these customers was supposedly buying the book paper, letter paper or toilet paper (i.e. "bumfodder"), but all were sold for "ready catter"; that is for cash. Later in the poem the

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[441] NRS CS96/1797 John McNiven, merchant, Edinburgh, Account Book 1794-1798.
[441] NRS CS30/4, Abstract Petition Nisbet V. Macniven, 1796, 133-4.; NRS CS96/1798, Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Waste or day books 1791-1792.
[442]*Staffordshire Advertiser,* 6th August 1796. Anon, 'The Rag and Bottleman', *Leisure Hour* 590 (18th April 1863), 251.
[443] Gavin Turnbull, *Poetical essays, by Gavin Turnbull* (Glasgow: [n.p.], M,DCC,LXXXVIII. [1788]), 181-185.

stock was diversified further. China-ware, glasses, sickles, truncheons, tobacco and snuff containers, barber's boxes, pomandum, shoe buckles, shoe polish, ribbons, second-hand clothes, whips; spurs and bits, stirrups, gut strings for musical instruments and spinning wheels, and pots; pans and ladles were all laid out for the customer. The title of the poem: "The Sale of Stationery Ware", and the opening stanzas, suggests that the poem referred to a stationer's shop and demonstrates that the Balerno Company's grocery items (glasses, a clock, etc.) were by no means a commercial anomaly. The stationery shop, therefore, appears closely allied to the second-hand retailer. The most likely explanation for this would be the association with rag collecting. It is also worth noting that there was no suggestion that the stationery shop in Turnbull's poem had any connection to books or bookselling.

The knowledge that paper was sold widely amongst a variety of retailers complicates the picture of the paper trade in Edinburgh as it proves that the generally held notion of a paper trade as the preserve of the stationer-bookseller is far too narrow. Indeed, just as James Raven argues for the term 'book trades' as opposed to simply the book trade, due to the multiplicity of products and services on offer, I believe – based on the evidence collected for Edinburgh at this time – the phrase 'paper trades' would be similarly applicable.[444] The ability to effectively define the paper trades in Edinburgh is further complicated by the fact that it is often difficult to distinguish which product was the 'primary' product of the company. Although some individuals have become known to scholars as paper-men, many were known in their contemporary advertisements for their participation in other trades. For example, an advertisement placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* for Charles Cowan's business advertised the firm as a tea dealer; rather than the papermakers and stationers the family are renowned as.[445] The SBTI lists Cowan as a papermaker and tea dealer between 1793 and 1804. It also shows that in 1782 he advertised in the *Directory* as a paper-stainer i.e. maker of wallpaper. An earlier advert from the *Caledonian Mercury* (incidentally not included in the SBTI) that primarily advertised Cowan's teas suggests that Cowan's tea dealership and paper warehouse was in operation as early as 1785.[446] It would appear from this advert that Cowan's paper warehouse was selling teas in Edinburgh, while he operated a separate grocery store in Leith. Interestingly, in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* Cowan's business was advertised as a stationery business, suggesting some quite sophisticated marketing to different newspaper reading audiences.[447] Similarly, John Balfour has attracted much

[444] James Raven, 'The Book Trades', in *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, ed. Isabel Rivers (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2001), 1–34.
[445] SBTI, 'Cowan', <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index/coplan-crossby>. [18/09/2009]; Ying Yong Ding, 'Alex. Cowan and Sons, Papermakers, Penicuik, 1779-1975: An Examination of Progress, Success, Takeover and Closure, with Some Theoretical Considerations', *The Quarterly of the British Association of Paper Historians* 78 (2011), 1-11; Sam McKinstry and Ying Yong Ding, 'Alex Cowan & Sons Ltd. Papermakers, Penicuik: a Scottish case of Weber's Protestant Work Ethic', *Business History* 55, 5 (2013), 721-739; Penicuik Community Arts Association, 'Paper, Shells & Daffodils; Six Generations of Cowans at the Valleyfield Mills', <http://www.penicuikarts.org/lookingback/paper.htm>. [31/10/2009].
[446] *Caledonian Mercury*, 12th November 1785.
[447] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 5th April 1792, 3rd February 1795, 17th & 21st November 1797.

attention as a leading bookseller of his generation, yet there has been no similar treatment of him as one of Edinburgh's preeminent papermakers at this time.[448] In fact, although Balfour expert Warren McDougal stated that during the 1780s papermaking was Balfour's "primary interest", he still described him just as "bookseller and printer" in the opening statement to his work.[449] In addition to the bookselling and printing on which studies of him are exclusively concentrated, Balfour's career included papermaking, auctioneering, and (like Cowan) tea dealing. In 1754 he was made printer to the University alongside his cousin and brother-in-law Gavin Hamilton, just one of the many famous men whom Balfour worked alongside during his long career which included managing several of Edinburgh's paper mills. His tea and paper warehouse operated in the West Bow between at least 1782 and 1807.[450]

In a similar vein, Bell and Hinks noted that the use of the term 'printer' in the BBTI could include a variety of slightly-different kinds of printer, including copperplate printers and engravers, for example. They also stated that the trades of printer, stationer and bookseller frequently overlapped.[451] Their findings hint at the levels of overlap with other trades which can be found in Edinburgh's late eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century paper trade, and appear to be far broader than Bell and Hinks' suggestion that many of the book-trades overlapped. In Edinburgh the paper-trade not only carried on alongside related book-based trades including book-selling, book-printing and book-binding, but in conjunction with all manner of apparently unrelated enterprises. This proves that although appearing specialised from their trade-descriptions in contemporary directories, newspaper advertisements show that the products offered for sale in many Edinburgh establishments included paper.

Yet, numbers of advertisements placed by both the kind of retailers which advertised paper in addition to their 'primary' products, and businesses which advertised as bookseller-stationers, were in decline as the eighteenth-century wore on. By contrast the number of businesses which advertised the sale of paper and identified themselves simply as "stationer" rose throughout the same period [Fig. 3.12]. Although it is known that there were companies which advertised only paper and not their other products (the Balerno Company for instance) this pattern of advertising points towards a modernisation of the trade in which specialisation was increasing.

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[448] Stephen Brown and Warren McDougall, *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion 1707-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 119; Warren McDougall, 'Balfour, John (1715-1995)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64999?docPos=3>. [16/07/2013].
[449] McDougall, 'Balfour, John (1715-1995)', *ODNB*.
[450] SBTI, 'Balfour, John'.
[451] Bell and Hinks, 'The English Provincial Booktrade', 348-349.

Figure 3.12

Line graph comparing the numbers of advertisements for the sale of paper placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* between 1770 and 1820 by different types of company: stationers, booksellers and others.
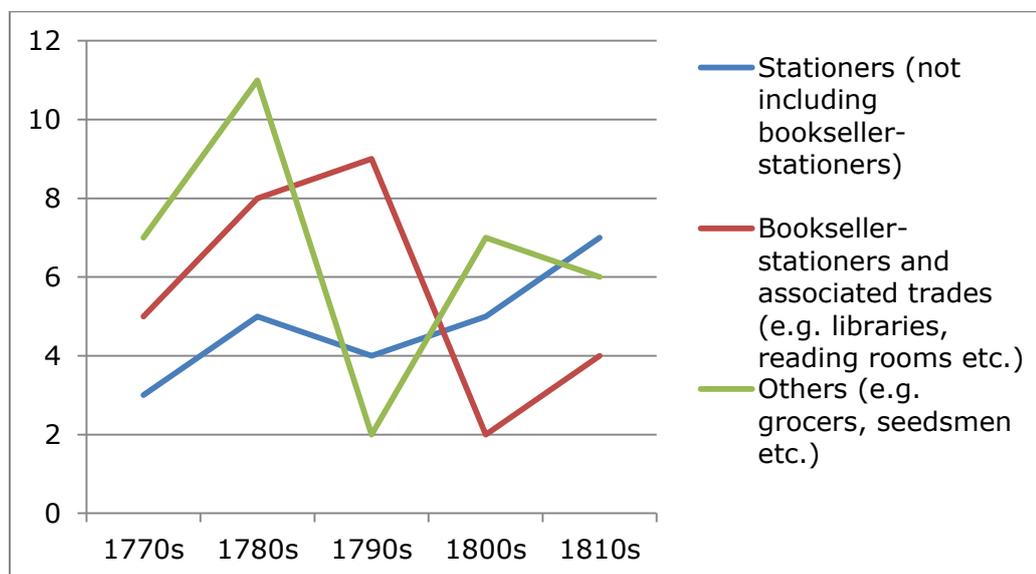
Source: *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury*.

Projects such as the BBTI and SBTI included stationers on the basis that stationer is a term related to the book-trades and in the belief that many stationers were in fact booksellers who also sold stationery ware (i.e. paper, pens, ink etc.). There has, to the best of my knowledge, been no undertaking to understand British stationers who did not sell books. Advertisements in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* suggest that in Edinburgh at this time there were indeed bookseller-stationers, but there were also many companies offering paper and stationery goods for sale which did not also advertise themselves as booksellers, and a significant number who were certainly not booksellers. Of course, some of those describing themselves simply as stationers in the newspaper adverts could also have sold books even if they did not mention them in their adverts – Felsenstein, for example, suggested that the term 'stationer' appeared to be growing in use amongst the booksellers of the eighteenth-century.[452] Equally, given the amount of time and effort that has been put into researching the book-trade compared to the paucity of research into the paper and stationery trades, it might be suggested that there exists a far greater knowledge of the numbers of people engaged in selling books than those selling paper. Thus, in fact there may be far more non-bookselling paper-traders to still be discovered, as undoubtedly not all would have advertised their sale of papers in the *Caledonian Mercury* or *Edinburgh Advertiser*.

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[452] Felsenstein, 'Some Eighteenth-Century English Provincial Book Advertisements', 35.

Conclusion

Newspaper advertisements for the sale of paper in Edinburgh between 1770 and 1820 reveal a picture of change. Unsurprisingly, in an expanding city the number of paper-sellers in Edinburgh increased between 1770 and 1820 and the geographical area in which they were situated also expanded. Despite this, the number of individual businesses which placed adverts for paper in the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Edinburgh Advertiser* newspapers during this period did not see much variation, and neither did the types of paper offered for sale. This is not to say that the paper trade in Edinburgh was static. Far from it. Individual companies went in and out of business, premises changed, shop owners altered their individual product ranges and some papermakers moved into retailing. Additionally, whereas at the beginning of the period paper was sold alongside a variety of different products from a range of retailers, at the end stationers appear to have taken up the mantle as paper-specialists. For this earlier period in particular, these newspaper advertisements brought to light a broader range of paper-sellers than has hitherto been acknowledged in scholarly literature, adding to our knowledge of the names and numbers of individual involved in this trade in Edinburgh as well as to the number of different varieties of retailer who sold paper in the eighteenth-century city. In relation to Edinburgh this means that the SBTI has effectively missed a not insignificant number of paper-sellers in the Scottish capital, as well as a few bookseller-stationers and underrepresented the trade dates of others. Generally, the picture of paper-retail in Edinburgh has been shown to be more nuanced than previously understood.

The knowledge that, not only in Edinburgh but elsewhere, there were shops selling paper and stationery which did not conform to the notion of the bookseller-stationer has been touched upon by a number of scholars. Research promoting the study of paper has posited that stationery was an important aspect of the booktrades, whereas this position has been refuted by the suggestion that stationery was only a minor part of the booksellers' repertoire. Eighteenth-century notions of the stationery trade appear aligned to the notion that stationery was indeed an important product worthy of the time and attention of retailers. However, in each case these works have continued to position the sale of stationery goods in relation to the sale of books. This study demonstrates that for the 1770s in Edinburgh this notion is deeply flawed, as around half of the shops advertising paper for sale were not booksellers and apparently did not sell books. It is perhaps unsurprising that such arguments have reigned, as the questions of 'what is stationery?' and 'what is a stationer?' have problematised and divided scholarship, seemingly without being fully resolved in over 300 years. Blout attempted to delineate the different branches of the book and paper trades as long ago as 1656, yet Feather and Fergus and Portner were still using differing definitions in the 1980s. Whether paper which had been printed with lines or formulaic outlines of legal

documents were more closely aligned to literary works or to blank paper could make a difference as to whether eighteenth-century traders can be said to have been able to make a living from either the book or the stationery trade. Contemporaneous sources would appear to have made the distinction in the same manner as Feather – with products such as blank books, music paper and even maps having been recognised contemporaneously as stationery goods – suggesting that perhaps his assessment that provincial traders were reliant on stationery, rather than books, to make a living holds more weight than Fergus and Portner allow. Fergus and Portner's definition of these types of documents as "printed material", which they place alongside goods such as books, pamphlets and magazines; as well as their omission of writing equipment (also traditionally regarded as 'stationery' items) led them to conclude that provincial traders were primarily book (and "printed material") sellers. These blurred lines are not entirely academic however, as the sale of paper, and other stationery items, was indeed carried out widely in eighteenth-century Edinburgh. Self-proclaimed stationers were engaged in dealing in a range of un-related goods (millinery for example); while non-stationers were selling paper, quills and ink alongside seeds, teas, cabinets and pianos. Whereas Gardner suggested that these traders were primarily booksellers and stationers who also stocked other goods, it seems equally plausible that 'other' traders adopted the sale of paper. Given that (regardless of how true it was at the end of the eighteenth-century) the stationery trade continued to be perceived as a relatively easy and safe business venture (as evidenced by the attitudes of men going into that line of trade such as William Hutton and the Nisbet brothers) in comparison to other enterprises the opposite scenario (of stationery being the product added to an already established business) seems equally plausible. The paper trade was an amorphous business, capable of being adapted and applied to a variety of different trading circumstances. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to pin down how the individuals involved in the business perceived themselves. Felsenstein suggested that the term 'stationer' was becoming more prominent, while figures most well-known to scholars as booksellers and stationers, such as Charles Cowan; John Balfour and John Ainslie, advertised quite different businesses (as tea dealers and land surveyors respectively) in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser*.

This chapter has proven that the approaches traditionally taken to paper studies – both the industry-approach and the book-history approach – are not entirely satisfactory. The first ignores the sale of papers; the second cannot take into account varieties of paper-selling. The study of paper needs to be taken forward and updated, but it must also be reimagined as a subject for study in its own right. Yes, paper was related to the book trades, but it was also an aspect of a very diverse range of trades, occupations and uses. Recent work has begun to address paper as a distinct product (see Introduction), but there is as yet no history of the stationery trade.

Chapter 4

Using Paper: Furnishing and Instructing

> At his entrance, his little desk mounted on his only table, stood invitingly before him : there was inspiration in the sight; he snatched wildly a cracked inkhorn from a shelf which contained nothing else but a few mouldy crusts, and a few books, flourished his pen, looked up a moment with a fixed and raptured eye, then pulled eagerly one of my sheets from its concealment, cried vehemently "I have it ;" and instantly laying me prostrate before him, began to trace in black characters upon my body, the ideas that laboured in his mind.
>
> Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' (1779).

Previous chapters have dealt with the composition of paper, the selling of paper and the advertising of paper. This chapter will continue the social life approach by examining what happened after paper was sold, considering how people were being instructed in paper-use and the context of their domestic use. As Chapter 5 looks at extant papers, this chapter will take a different approach by considering artefacts associated with paper-use. Paper relied on many other objects, quills, ink, pencils, sand, standdishes, wafers, wax, twine, tables, desks, secretaries, bureaus, stands, shelves, cases, presses and more. In fact, a piece of writing paper – prized as demonstrated in the Introduction and Chapter 2 for its whiteness and softness – was a commodity completely unfit for purpose; for if you press a nib to its surface it simply gives way. This chapter is, therefore, concerned with this supporting cast, the domestic materials with which paper was used and associated during the eighteenth-century. Having once been the preserve of monks and scholars, since the sixteenth-century writing had been becoming increasingly secular.[453] By the end of the eighteenth-century all but the lowest orders could write basic letters.[454] In Scotland literacy has been argued to have been higher than in England during the seventeenth-century, though by mid-eighteenth century levels appear to have been comparable.[455] Literacy was, of course, higher amongst the people of Edinburgh than the rest of the Scottish population as a whole.[456] In this chapter the domestic settings for this writing will be examined in relation to Edinburgh, by looking at confirmation inventories to attempt to shed some light on which sort of people owned desks and where they kept those desks in their homes. To provide a broader context for this,

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[453] Nicholas Hudson. *Writing and European Thought 1600-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 55-81.

[454] Susan Whyman. *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[455] R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[456] Ibid., 46-47.

information penmanship manuals and other writings on desk-use will be used to show how individuals at this time had been instructed to use those desks.

Scottish confirmation inventories (the equivalent of English probate inventories) are comparatively thorough and well preserved. This has allowed me to examine records of the possessions owned by Edinburgh's residents who died between 1770 and 1820, which make up the CC8/8 series of records stored at the National Records of Scotland (NRS). Following the deaths of individuals, inventories were compiled by furniture dealers as part of a legal process by which executors took control of the deceased's estate. Prior to 1808 these inventories were a voluntary part of the legal process, and relatives could administer a person's estate without undertaking to provide a list of their moveable goods; providing they could prove ownership by other means.[457] However, with the introduction of the Probate and Legacies Duty Act of 1808 the lodging of a stamped inventory of the deceased's belongings to the local Commissary Court became a compulsory part of the dispersal of the deceased person's wealth.[458] Although this change increased the number of inventories held by the NRS after this date, the composition of the inventories remained the same. These records always contained the name of the deceased, their occupation and a list of items of furniture and the date of compilation; further details could include any combination of the following information:

- the address to which the inventory related;
- whether that property was a business or private residence;
- the particular room within the property in which the furniture could be found;
- the adjudged worth of the items;
- the value of the overall estate.

It was rare to find any inventory which contained details in all of these fields or none. In most cases the inventory listed at the very least the name of the deceased, their occupation, the items of furniture they owned, and the worth of that furniture.

Prior to the work of Francis Bamford it would have been generally accepted that those who lived in elite eighteenth-century Scottish houses would have been furnished with items originating in London, as local furniture production was unfashionable and of poor quality.[459] However, Bamford's painstaking research in identifying furnishings in Edinburgh country houses revealed that although much of the furniture had been imported, a local vein of work existed and that – far from being provincial – exhibited a comparable style and quality to London-made items. Bamford did concede that Scottish furniture exhibited a

[457] Scottish Record Office, *Guide to the National Archives of Scotland*. Edinburgh: The Stationery Office and The Stair Society (1996): 155.

[458] UK Government, 'Probate and Legacy Duties Act 1808', <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo3/48/149>. [15/07/2014].

[459] Francis Bamford, *A Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights and Furniture Makers 1660-1840* (London: The Furniture History Society, 1983).

certain "Scottish dignity", by which he meant that items were deliberately styled to make plain the quality, and thus value, of their materials.[460] Citing pedigrees which went back over a hundred years, Bamford traced the careers of the three most well-known Scottish furniture makers: Alexander Peter, Francis Brodie and William Trotter; all of whom designed and made fashionable furnishings for Edinburgh's elite. Similarly, Sebastian Pryke's work examined such furnishings, agreeing with Bamford that for reasons of economy (it was very costly to ship large and expensive items such as furnishings from London to Edinburgh) Edinburgh families often had London furnishings copied by local wrights.[461]

Amongst the holdings of the National Museum of Scotland is an item which bears out this notion of Scottish ingenuity. John Buchanan was a cabinet-maker and upholsterer based at 3 Hamilton Street, Greenock. His 'polyterpic table', as it was called, is a single item of furniture which can be used as a tea-table, a games-table and a viewing machine. The viewing mechanism "contains a series of engraved and tinted paper viewing prints backed on to a linen roll. The print roll is secured to wooden rollers which are turned by a metal handle inserted into the front of the table. The titles of the views include 'The Bridge Rialto at Venice', 'Rome in its Original Splendour' and 'The Great Temple at Palmyra'".[462] Viewers would erect the supplied cardboard frame on top of the table, and peer through a magnifying glass mounted atop the cardboard in order to see a larger image. The Polyterpic Table was clearly designed to delight, as were the items on show at Merlin's Amusements in Edinburgh's Princes Street. There, in the later eighteenth-century, visitors could pay to see marvels such as "The Library Table; which is not only a complete table for breakfasting or dining off, but also, by raising it to different heights, will form a Reading, Writing, and Drawing-desk, and support music-books for six performers. It has likewise drawers for colours, ink, pens, pencils, wax, wafers, &c. &c." as well as "The Fire-Screen, besides it's [sic] use as such, forms also a Reading, Writing or Drawing-desk, and a small Work-table, or Breakfast-table".[463] These desks were nestled in amongst a variety of objects intended to wow audiences such as a "cruising frigate" and an "artificial bat", and might therefore appear to be superfluous one-off items of furniture and not items which the ordinary Edinburgher might have in their home.

Although elite Scottish families could have had their furniture made to order, many of those feature in probate inventories were of more moderate means and therefore were likely to have sourced their furniture more modestly, possibly second-hand. This perhaps contributed to the noticeable disjuncture between the names given to items of furniture in fashionable

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[460] Ibid., 34.
[461] Pryke, 'Pattern Furniture', 100-104; Bamford, *A Dictionary of Edinburgh Wrights and Furniture Makers*.
[462] Elizabeth F. Wright, 'John H Buchanan's Newly Invented Polyterpic Table', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquities Scot* 119 (1989), 371-376.
[463] John Joseph Merlin, *Merlin's Mechanical Museum No. 11 Princes Street, Hanover Square* (London: Printed by J. P. Coghlan, 1794), 7.

wrights' catalogues and the inventories sampled for this chapter. While Chippendale, Hepplewhite, Sheraton and others are said to have created a taxonomy for a burgeoning fashionable market, the inventories surveyed for this chapter were created for an audience of legal-men rather than the man-about-town.[464] In common with paper itself, the furniture and accoutrements used alongside paper developed a complex web of designations, many of which have since fallen out of use as both objects and words.

Additionally, furniture histories have tended to focus on two well-known types of desk: the secretaire and the bureau; neither of which featured prominently in the Edinburgh inventories.[465] Indeed, given that it was not until 1798 that the word *secretaire* became recognised in literary sources as a desk, rather than a person, it is perhaps not surprising that defining eighteenth-century desks is problematic.[466] Terms encountered in Edinburgh records included: desk, portable desk, writing desk, writing table, secretary, escritoire, lectern, writing stand, desk-and-bookcase, desk-and-drawers, desk-and-press, bureau and bureau-and-press. It could be that this multitude of names was a testament to the customisation of eighteenth-century furniture. Hepplewhite's catalogue, for example, discussed how the design for a desk and bookcase "affords a great variety of patterns" and "admit of much variation".[467] With such variation it can be difficult to pin down the exact nature of each item found in the inventories, as a description of individual items of furniture is not a feature of these sources. The inventories included items described as 'desk and press and drawers' – a designation which does not appear in wrights catalogues. However, they do contain objects comprised of a desk, a bookpress and drawers, which were termed 'Desk and Bookcase' in the Chippendale and Hepplewhite catalogues [Fig. 4.1].[468] To confound matters further, while the desk-and-press-and-drawers appears to correlate with the desk and bookcase, different inventories employed the term 'desk and bookcase'. As the after-death furniture inventories were drawn up by cabinet-maker/undertakers it would be expected that their use of terms was 'correct', even though they were not the same as the 'fashionable' titles given to furnishings in the published catalogues. This appears to suggest that the names given to desk-type furnishings were far from established which must be born in mind when attempting to interrogate these inventories.

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[464] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* 279.

[465] Leonee Ormond, *Writing, the arts and living* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), 35.

[466] Dena Goodman, *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: what furniture can tell us about the European and American past,* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 183.

[467] Hepplewhite and Co., *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide;…* (London: Published by I and J Taylor, 1796), 8.

[468] Hepplewhite, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide,* Figures 40-42. Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director…* (London: Printed for the Author, 1755 [2nd edition]): figures LXXVIII to LXXIV.

Figure 4.1

Engraving of a design for a 'Desk and Bookcase.' This design comprises a desk (i.e. hinged writing surface), a bookpress (i.e. a set of shelves with cupboard doors) and a chest of drawers. It might also have been described as a 'desk and press and drawers'.

Desk and Bookcase — Pl.40

London. Published by I&J Taylor, N°56, High Holborn. July 1st 1787.

Source: Hepplewhite and Co., *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide;...* London: Published by I and J Taylor, 1796.

Desk types

Merlin's Amusements and Buchannan's Polyterpic Table prove that Scottish furniture did not have to be simply utilitarian, but they do not reveal what sort of desks the people of Edinburgh actually had in their homes. Although scholarly literature tends to focus on the secretary and the bureau, the inventories which listed the kinds of furnishings the people in Edinburgh were using at this time used these terms infrequently. There were just four secretaries and nine bureaus amongst the sixty-four desks listed in the inventories sampled [Table 4.1]. Research on these types of desk has focused on their relative status and composition. It has been suggested that the secretaire was an item of furniture connected with intimacy, while the bureau was a more communal, and masculine, item of furniture. It was during the eighteenth-century that the term secretaire began to shift in its use, from a person (the secretary) to a type of desk. When applied to a person 'secretaire' was a confidant, someone to whom the intimate details of a business or personal life was trusted. As an item of furniture this type of desk was usually mistakable for something else by virtue of its flat-fronted design, which hid the inner workings and possessions from view and disguised them with the guise of a drawer-front or similar. As an intimate item of furniture it has been suggested that the secretaire was used as a repository of not just papers but money, jewels and other valuable objects, and as such was most likely to be owned by elites and found in the most intimate spaces in the home – namely the bedroom. By contrast, the bureau was a masculine item of furniture, more likely to have been housed in more-public areas as it was designed to be used by both a master and secretary or other business associates at the same time.[469]

On both the secretary and the bureau, as well as on other types of desk, the writing-surface was almost always covered with fabric – usually baize, leather or velvet – which often seems to have been green in colour.[470] Colour historian Patrick Batty has revealed that green was one of the more expensive colours in use in eighteenth-century decoration, and dark green particularly so.[471] Other uses of green material within the home included the top of billiard tables, book bindings and, from the nineteenth-century, the green baize door. Green shows off gilding very attractively, the lettering on book spines and gold tooling on desk-tops sit well together. The green baize or leather desk-top, therefore, fits within an elite masculine style; mirroring good taste and leisure. However, there is also perhaps another element to the use of green desk-tops. Amanda Vickery asserted that green was connected with "love and pleasure", a notion received from Stuart heraldry.[472] These qualities were also associated with the practice of letter-writing. Writing of the *secretaire* Goodman related that: "The

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[469] Goodman, *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, 183-194.
[470] David Harris, *Portable Writing Desks* (Buckinghamshire: Shore Publications, 2001), 9.
[471] Patrick Batty, 'Hierarchy of Colours', <http://patrickbaty.co.uk/2011/11/13/hierarchy-of-colours>. [12/12/2014].
[472] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* 174.

epistolary manuals and published letter collections […] emphasized the importance of the letter as the medium of love and friendship". Goodman stated that the practice of dictation had gone out of fashion, in favour of the personal touch of writing one's own letters. "For such missives, dictation to a secretary was not a sign of nobility, of being above the manual labor of writing; rather, it was the imposition of a mediated formality that undermined the claims of sincerity and friendship that personal letters were meant to convey". [473] The green fabric cover on a secretary, bureau or other desk might therefore have been associated with writing as a personal expression of love and friendship; the immediate and literal connection between the writer and their writing and the expression of sincerity, honesty and naturalness – all prized stylistically in personal as well as business correspondence.[474] Practically, covering a desk top in baize, velvet or leather gave it a softer, springier quality than hard wood alone. Quill pens were notoriously scratchy and the material may have helped to dull the sound of writing.

Three out of the four secretaries discovered among the Edinburgh inventories were termed escritoires, and all appear in the earlier years of the inventories, between 1770 and 1795. All were made of mahogany, demonstrating their fashionable status.[475] Margaret Mortimer was a widow. Her total furnishings were worth 41*l*. 7*s*. 9*d*. and the escritoire she kept in her dining room when she died in 1770 was worth 3*l*. of that total. Thomas Milne was a smith. When he died in 1770 the belongings he had in his two-room house were recorded without value, but included a mahogany escritoire. Adam Hay was a contemporary of Mortimer and Milne, who died in 1776. The total value of his household furnishings was an enormous 1,278*l*. 13*s*. 0*d*. Compared to Mortimer and Milne he was a very wealthy individual, yet his inventory lists a mahogany escritoire just as theirs had. It was, however, a more valuable item than Mortimer's, with an adjudged worth of 4*l*. 4*s*. 0*d*. When she died in 1795 Lady Elizabeth Colville had a mahogany escritoire in the dressing room of her nineteen-roomed home at Drumsheugh. In the inventory it was specifically listed as having been the property of her late husband. The only item described in these inventories as a secretary belonged to Captain Gavin Drummond, who died in 1809. He had a 10*l*. secretary in his dressing room. The low number of secretaries recorded amongst the inventories make it difficult to draw conclusions beyond the fact that secretaries were apparently not prominent in Edinburgh at this time. However, they do appear to confirm that secretaries were often kept in the most private areas of the home (the bedroom), with the exception of that belonging to Margaret Mortimer. Milne's secretary appears at odds with the rest of the sample, by virtue of his household having been so small by comparison. He had only 2 rooms, and yet in one of these

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[473] Goodman, *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century,* 184.
[474] See, for examples: Anon, *The Art of Writing Illustrated with Copper-Plates …* (Printed for John Newbery at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1746); John Wilkes, *The Art of Making Pens Scientifically […]* Second edition. (London: Printed by J. Vigevena [1799?]).
[475] Adam Bowett, *The English Mahogany Trade 1700-1795*, PhD Thesis, Brunel University (1996).

he had what was (in other homes) a valuable piece of furniture. Whereas Captain Drummond's secretary was outstanding and clearly a very special item of furniture, being the most expensive desk seen amongst the sample.

The worth of the bureaus found in this sample of inventories appears to have increased over time, yet none match up to the grandeur of Drummond's 10*l.* secretary. William Ayton was a writer to the signet. When he died in 1780 among his 171*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* of furnishings was a 1*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* mahogany bureau which he kept in the best bedroom of his home, as well as another worth 3*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* which was described as having a mirrored press above and was kept in the Writing Room (likely his place of work). When he died in 1793 David Cunningham of West Bow had what was described as an "old" mahogany bureau in the west bedroom of his nine-roomed home. The Viscountess Arbuthnot, who died in 1800, had furniture worth 600*l.*, including a 2*l.* bureau which she kept in one of the bedrooms of her home. David Beaton of Bristo Street died in 1805. His total furniture was worth 78*l.* 17*s.* 4 ½*d.* and included a 1*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* bureau kept in the bedchamber off the dining room. William Sutherland, a grocer, of Calton Street had a bureau worth 2*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* in the east bedroom of his six-room home. His total furniture-worth was 53*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* When he died in 1810 John Auchinlowrie owned a bureau worth 3*l.* 10*s.*0*d.* in his home which had furniture worth a total of 132*l.* 6*s.* 8 ½*d.* William Balleny Esq. of Leith died in 1811. He owned two mahogany bureaus, worth 4*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* and 5*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* in the first and third bedrooms of his fifteen room home. Miss Carre who died in 1811 had a mirrored bureau worth 4*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* in her small parlour. While it has been suggested that the bureau was a masculine item of furniture these inventories include two women who owned such items. This appears to be quite a high percentage (25%) of female owners, though of course it is possible that these items had belonged to their deceased husbands. Also apparently anomalous is the fact that many of these bureaus were kept in apparently private areas of the home. With the exception of Miss Carre's bureau and Ayton's work desk, the location of all the bureaus in the sample was – like the secretaries – in the bedroom.

Table 4.1

Different types of desk recorded in the inventories of those deceased in Edinburgh between 1770 and 1820.

	1770s	1780s	1790s	1800s	1810s	TOTALS
Desks	2	1	4	3	2	12
Desk on a stand	0	1	0	0	1	2
Desk and Bookcase	1	0	2	1	1	5
Desk and Press	0	1	0	0	0	1
Desk and Press and Drawers	0	1	0	0	0	1
Desk and Drawers	0	1	2	3	2	8
Desk and Cupboard	0	0	0	1	0	1
Bureau	0	1	1	3	2	7
Bureau and Cabinet	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bureau and Press	0	1	0	0	0	1
Secretary	0	0	0	1	0	1
Escritoire	3	0	1	0	0	4
Portable Desk	0	0	0	4	1	5
Writing Desk	0	0	4	7	2	13
Writing Table	1	0	0	1	0	2
Library Table	0	0	0	1	0	1
Lectern	0	2	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	5	6	10	28	14	64

Source: NRS CC8/12/12,14,16.

Whereas the secretaire and bureau are the desks most written about by historians, the most frequent description used in the Edinburgh inventories was 'writing desk'. Unfortunately the exact nature of this item of furniture is unknown, as it is not a name used in any of the furniture-makers' catalogues. The writing desk may be another term for the writing table, as according to designs in Hepplewhite's catalogue these were made with closing tops [Fig. 4.2]. In all the furniture makers' catalogues the writing tables had a hinged, rising writing-surface; which presumably could have been used either flat or sloped depending on the writers' preference. Writing tables appear to have been a particularly diverse category of furniture, with some having had accommodation above the writing surface for the storage of papers etc. (i.e. pigeon holes and the like as per the Hepplewhite example), whereas others had no storage at all (as in the Chippendale illustration) [Figs. 4.2 and 4.3]. When compared to other kinds of desk-furniture the writing table could be distinguished as an item which stood well-clear of the floor; supported on legs rather than on drawers. The term writing desk may also have referred to what is sometimes known as a common-desk. *The London Cabinet Maker's Book of Prices* provided a description of the "Common Desk" as "Three foot desk, four drawers in front, not plow'd nor pannel'd, all solid, six drawers and six letter holes in the inside, no arches, plain back".[476] This simple piece of furniture was (of course) fully customisable which would have allowed for the purchaser to commission a press or cabinet to sit atop their desk, which could mean that items listed in the Edinburgh inventories as 'desk and press' or 'desk and drawers' were this type of furniture. The value of this piece was given as 1*l*., 6*s*., 0*d*. prior to additions. But the common-desk might also have been what was being referred to in the Edinburgh inventories as simply a 'desk'. The term desk was applied to twelve items of furniture, making it the second most common appellation after writing-desk. Dr Samuel Johnson defined the 'desk' as: "An inklining table for the use of writers or readers", which sounds not unlike the writing-desk in the furniture makers' catalogues.[477] Together the desk and writing desk made up over 54% of the total number of desks found in the Edinburgh inventories. Simple and customisable, these items served the needs of the majority of Edinburgh's desk owners.

[476] The London Society of Cabinet Makers, *The Cabinet Makers Book of London Prices…* (London: Printed by W. Brown and A. O'Neil, 1793), 38.
[477] Johnsons Dictionary, 'Pigeonhole', <http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com>. [07/03/2014].

Figure 4.2

Engraving of a design for a 'Writing Table.' This particular example has a 'tambour' top (i.e. roll-top). Note the fixed section at the rear, presumably space for standing a bookcase or cabinet.

Pl. 67

Tambour Writing Table.
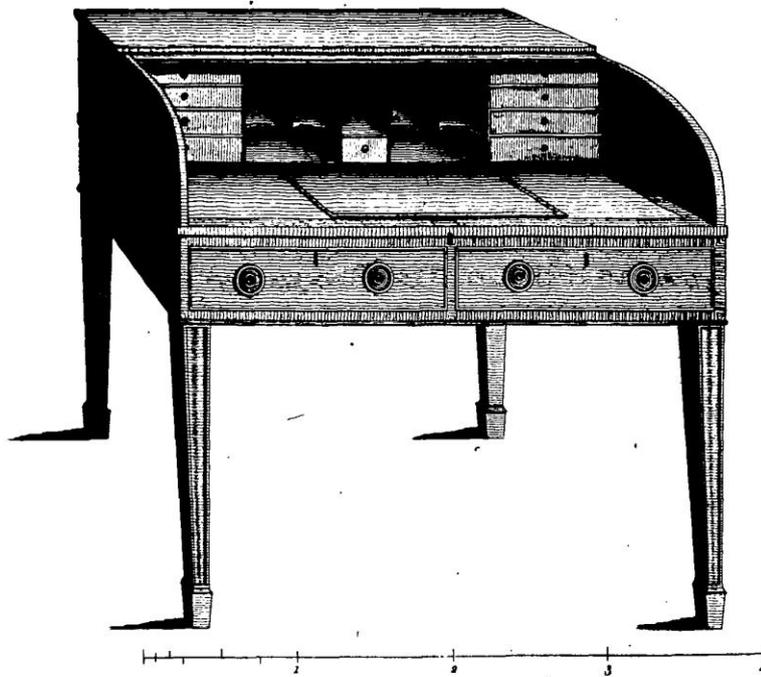
London. Published Sept 1st 1787, by I & J Taylor. No 56, High Holborn.

Source: Hepplewhite and Co., *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide;...*
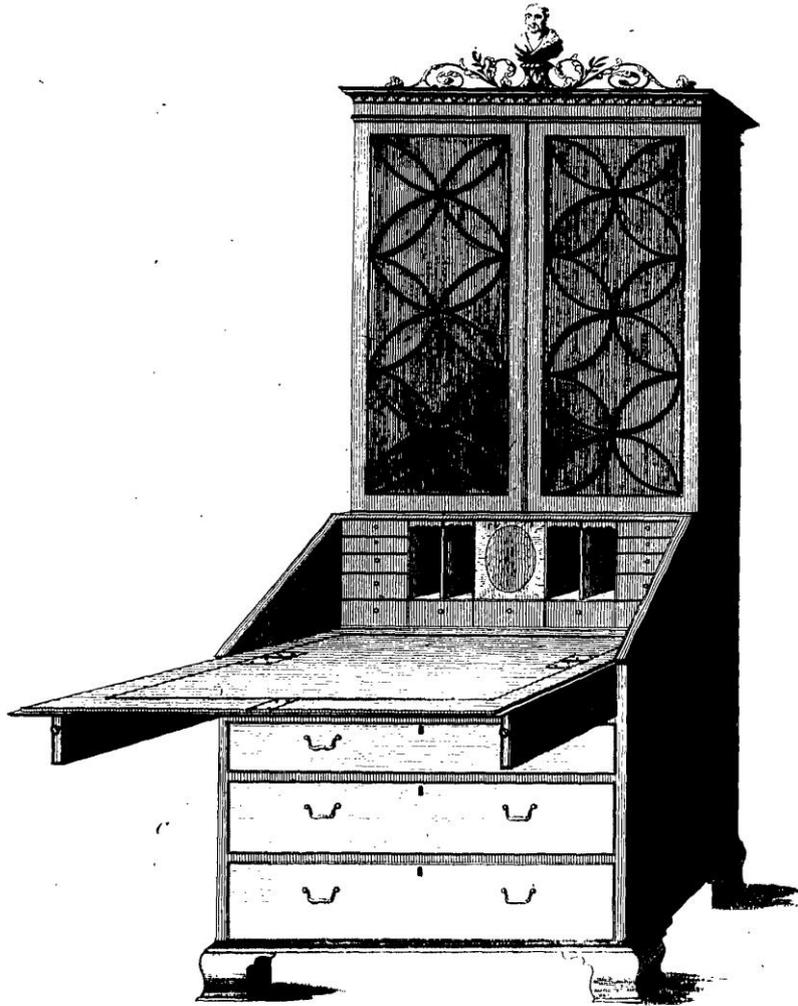London: Published by I and J Taylor, 1796.

Figure 4.3

Another engraving depicting a design for a 'Writing Table.' This design is much simpler than the Hepplewhite writing table, with no paper or accessory storage at all.
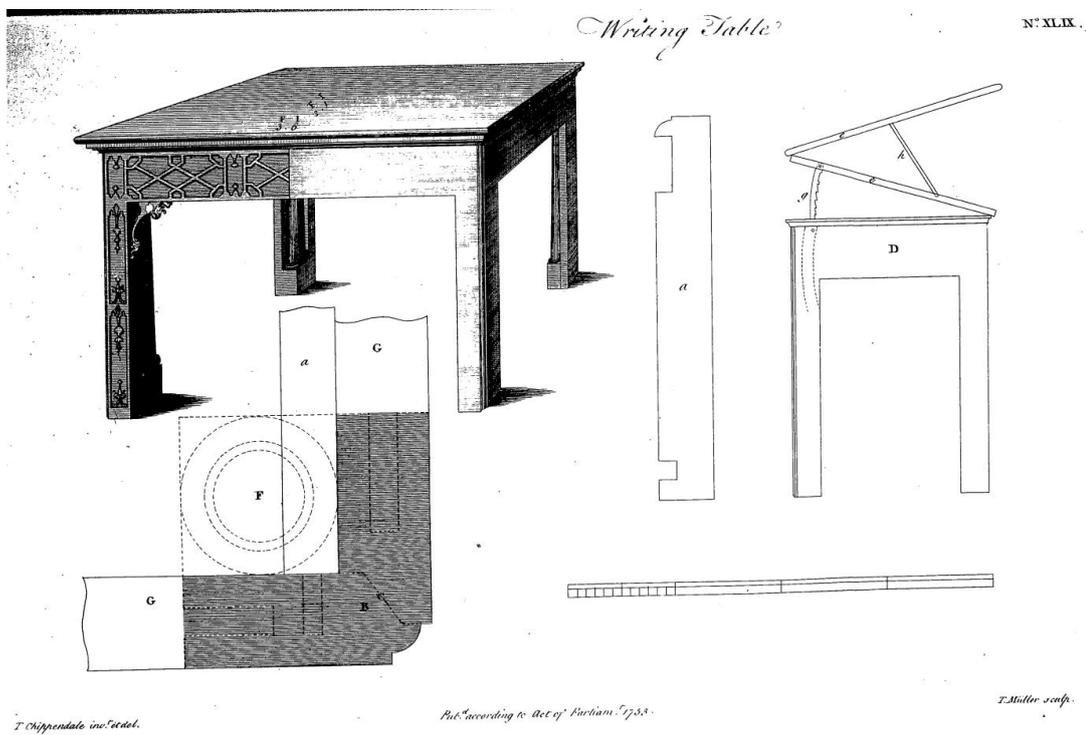
Source: Chippendale, Thomas. *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director...* London: Printed by J. Haberkorn in Gerrard Street, 1755.

Following these types of desk in popularity amongst the Edinburgh inventories was the portable desk, which probably also included the item termed a 'desk-on-a-stand'. There were five portable desks amongst the inventories, and two examples of the desk-on-a-stand. The owners of these portable desks included doctors and lawyers, both of whom would have needed to work in more than one location. Modern names for this kind of desk include table desk, writing slope, writing box, lap desk, dispatch box or case, and travelling desk.[478] As these names suggest this piece of furniture was relatively small, small enough to be carried about from room-to-room or even on journeys and voyages. Those designed for travel had brass handles as well as corners and edges to reinforce them against bumps and knocks.[479] However, the Georgian definition of portable seems somewhat out of kilter with our modern obsession with microscopic gadgets, as according to *The London Cabinet Maker's Book of Prices* the portable desk was a 19" x 10" x 6 ½" chunk of wood.[480] Although it was possible to travel with such items, it wouldn't have been easy – especially for those travelling alone, or with a large number of other items to transport. All of these types of portable desks had space inside for keeping other paper-related accessories such as quills, ink, pens, paper, wafers, seals, etc. As well as accommodating these necessities there is evidence that the portable desk was a repository for precious belongings such as money, pocket-books, passports and love letters, as its locked form when closed provided a safe place for these most personal of items.[481] Additionally, portable desks usually had a further level of safety and secrecy, as many contained three or four secret, covered drawers. A variety of mechanisms were used to release a plain front and reveal these drawers, which could have contained small trinkets and tokens. These portable desks were box-like in their design, some having a hinged, slanted-lid which formed the writing surface (and often also had a lip on the bottom edge which acted as a book-rest); others being cuboid when closed, but which opened up to form a sloped writing surface. Two of those pictured in *The London Cabinet Maker's Book of Prices* have a tambour-top which slid open to reveal space for paper and writing equipment [Fig. 4.4]. *The London Cabinet Maker's Book of Prices* has a portable desk priced at 5*s*. 6*d*. with extras which could take the price up to 6*s*. 11*d*. [482] Those found in the inventories were valued at far less than this, with surgeon John Bennet's three portable desks valued at just 1*l*. 1*s*. 0*d*. each in 1805.

Of the perhaps more unusual items there were two lecterns amongst the inventories. What we think of today as a lectern was called a 'reading stand' in the eighteenth-century. The lectern "with five stools" found in one of these inventories has led me to believe that it was an item of furniture closer in appearance to those discussed by the historian of engineering

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[478] Harris, *Portable Writing Desks*, 4; Bridge, *An Encyclopaedia of Desks*, 9.

[479] Harris, *Portable Writing Desks*, 8-9.

[480] Jeff Peachey, book conservator, calls the miniaturization of tools over time "dinkification", <http://jeffpeachey.com/2015/03/24/dinkification-of-tools/>. [19th May 2012].

[481] Harris, *Portable Writing Desks*, 4.

[482] London Society of Cabinet Makers, *The Cabinet Makers Book of London Prices,* 38.

Henry Petrowski in his research into library furniture.[483] A similar item is depicted as being sat at by several men by Thomas Rowlandson in his satirical print 'The Merchant's Office' [Fig. 4.5]. The location of these lecterns was always in the writing-rooms of lawmen, and so alongside these other sources the lectern appears to have been a simple, communal writing desk.

[483] Henry Petrowski, *The Book on the Bookshelf*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 62-73.

Figure 4.4

Engraving of designs for portable desks. These desks were also known as writing boxes table desks, writing slopes, lap desks, dispatch boxes or cases, and travelling desks. [484]
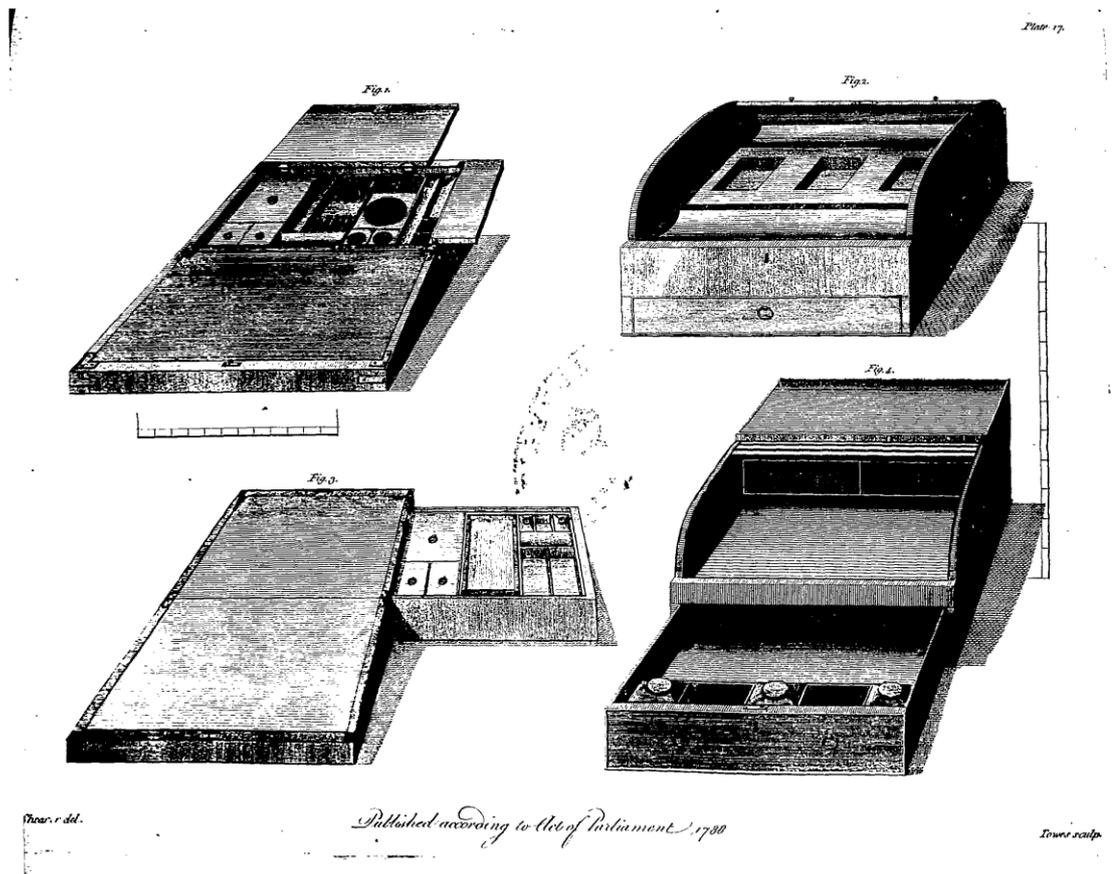
Source: The London Society of Cabinet Makers, *The Cabinet Makers Book of London Prices...* London: Printed by W. Brown and A. O'Neil. 1793.

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[484] Harris, *Portable Writing Desks*, 4.

Figure 4.5

Drawing of four men sharing a writing table, at which they sit on stools. Also of note in this picture is the 'file' i.e. the papers which have been strung up on the shelf behind the man sat apart from the others. It is clear that this man is in charge as he sits on a chair rather than a stool and has his own, separate, writing table.

Source: Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), 'A Merchant's Office', 1789 (pen & ink and watercolour over graphite on paper), Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, USA / The Bridgeman Art Library.

Desk Ownership

The types of desk most commonly owned in Edinburgh, according to these inventories, were the writing desk (perhaps also the common desk) and the portable desk, though the writing desk far outnumbered any other type. The bureau and secretary as well as a range of more specialised items, such as the library table and lectern, appeared more occasionally. The owners of such different desk-types cannot be easily grouped. There were people, both male and female, at opposite ends of the wealth-spectrum, and in different decades who owned similarly described items of furniture. For example, both the smith, Thomas Milne, who had only two rooms in his home, and Adam Hay, whose total furniture worth was a staggering 1,278*l*. 13*s*. 0*d*. owned mahogany secretaries.[485] As these inventories did not give furniture descriptions it is not possible to make adequate comparisons between items with the same name. In many cases the adjudged values can help, but Milne's property value was not recorded, for example. With individuals whose desks were given a monetary value, however, it is possible to make comparisons based on the relative value of their desks to their furniture overall, and to do so is very telling in relation to writings on desk-use.

John Bennet was a colourful character depicted in *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits*. He gained notoriety as a surgeon and - amongst other things – for taking a party of drunken revellers to the theatre in a procession of mourning carriages. In 1805 Bennet was travelling on horseback to see friends in Fife, but he never arrived. He was found with a gunshot wound in a field outside Queensferry with his gun, his horse and his dog beside him. The circumstances of his death were never ascertained.[486] The inventory taken after his death of the contents of his home revealed that amongst Bennet's belongings were the only library table found in these inventories and one of just two letter presses recorded. He also owned three portable desks, each valued at 1*l*. 1*s*., which were located in the drawing room, the bedroom, and the closet off the bedroom. Other rooms in Bennet's home with desks included the back bedroom (presumably a room for the use of guests), and the medical shop. Interestingly, it was his writing desk and frame, situated in his medical shop, which was of the least value of his paper-related furniture, at just 4*s*. Bennet's portable desks were valued at 1*l*., 1*s*. each, and his library table at 2*l*., 10*s*. His most expensive item of paper-related furniture, and the most expensive items of paper-related furniture amongst the sample as a whole, was the large mahogany bookcases in his library which were valued at 15*l*., 15*s*. Bennet's furniture was valued at 872*l*.,16*s*.,10*d*. – the second highest net worth in the sample – and he owned the single most expensive item (the 15*l*.,15*s*. bookcase), but the percentage by-value of paper-related furniture (both desks and bookcases) within that total was a

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[485] NRS CC8/12/12, Warrants of Inventories, Thomas Milne 25th July 1770 & Adam Hay 10th June 1776.
[486] John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Characture Etchings* Volume I (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1877): 401-404.

distinctly average 2.8%. His desks alone were worth less than 1% of his estate.[487] Similarly, the other medical-man in the sample, Henry Cullen, owned a number of paper-related items of furniture, yet the value of his desks compared to his estate overall was even lower than Bennet's, at a minute 0.5%.[488]

At the opposite end of the social scale from the medics were men such as Malcolm MacNaughton, a Chelsea Pensioner with a home in Preston Pans at the time of his death. Like Hunter, he had no paper-related furnishings and had an overall furnishing value of just 1*l.*, 3*s.*, 6*d.* MacNaughton owned little more than basic bedding and cooking utensils and it is hardly surprising to find that he did not specifically furnish his home with reading and writing equipment.[489] Although of course that does not mean that he could not or did not read or write, he just didn't own furniture dedicated to performing those activities. But his kitchen table may well have served him for a writing surface as well as for the preparation and eating of food. Yet, it was not just the poor who did not own any specifically paper-related furnishings; the inventories of the possessions of some apparently respectable and even well-to-do men also contained no furniture of this kind. For example, although Mr Grant of Buccleuch Place had furniture worth almost 50*l.* he did not own any paper-related furniture at all.[490] Neither did William Pennycook with an overall furniture value of 33*l.*, 8*s.*, 0*d.*, nor James Donaldson, a land-valuer with over 80*l.* worth of furnishings.[491] Robb James a brewer and founder had over 122*l.* of furniture when he died, but none of it could be said to be directly related to the use or storage of paper.[492] David Anderson of Liberton Wynd died with total furnishings worth 33*l.*, 12*s.*, 0*d.* including books worth over 1*l.* but without a mention of any specific item of furniture to accommodate them.[493] David Portious a wright in Richmond Street had more than 50*l.* of furniture, but no desks or bookcases, and Thomas Ainslie Esq. had a large and valuable collection of furnishings worth 437*l.* in his impressive twenty-room home at the fashionable address of 53 George Street, but not a single desk or bookcase.[494]

People in the professions (i.e. clergy, medics and lawmen) also seem to be a group for whom the ownership of paper-related furniture was perhaps not as important as might have been expected. This could be related to the "conspicuous parsimony […] peculiarly associated with the Scottish professions" noted by Nenadic in her study on middling consumers in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Edinburgh.[495] Although these men were highly

[487] NRS CC8/12/15, Warrants of Inventories, John Bennet 1805.
[488] NRS CC8/12/14, Warrants of Inventories, Henry Cullen 1791.
[489] NRS CC8/12/15, Warrants of Inventories, Malcolm MacNaughton, 26th June 1807.
[490] NRS CC8/12/15, Warrants of Inventories, Mr Grant, 1805.
[491] NRS CC8/12/15, Warrants of Inventories, William Pennycook, 1805 & James Donnaldson 23rd September 1807.
[492] NRS CC8/12/15, Warrants of Inventories, James Robb 16th November 1807.
[493] NRS CC8/12/15, Warrants of Inventories, David Anderson 7th January 1807.
[494] NRS CC8/12/15, Warrants of Inventories, David Portious 4th April 1809, Mr Ainslie 16th August 1806.
[495] Stana Nenadic, 'Middle Rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840', *Past and Present* 145 (1994), 127.

'book-educated' it would seem that books and paper did not subsequently play a huge part in their expenditure on household furnishings. In the sample were five lawmen, two medics and two Reverends; each of whom had a percentage value of paper-related furniture between 0.5% and 2.8%.[496] Interestingly, the bookbinders and clerks – who, again given their occupational use of paper, were men whom might have been expected to own a high value of these kinds of furnishings – also fell into the group of people who owned desks with little value in comparison to their estates as a whole. As examples, within these inventories were lists of the furnishings of one clerk and two bookbinders. James Lyle was clerk to the printer David Ramsay and owned over 116*l.* of furnishings, yet he had merely one old desk and drawers valued at only 15*s.* totalling just 0.6% of his total furniture possessions – the second lowest in the sample.[497] Similarly, the bookbinders also seemed not to place too much emphasis on paper-related furniture in their homes. One, Peter Sangster, has already figured in this history of Edinburgh paper as the man whom apprenticed John Macniven of the Balerno Company. Despite being a 'book-man' of sorts, Sangster only owned one item of paper-related furniture (providing his shop tools are discounted). He had a mahogany desk worth 1*l.*, 1*s.* in his home, but no bookcases or bookshelves. His total furniture worth was 78*l.*, 1*s.*, 3*d.* making his desk worth around 1.9% of his total furnishings.[498] The other bookbinder in the sample, Charles Hunter, had no paper-related furniture at all.[499]

While it would appear that rich men spent a small proportion of their earnings on desk-type furnishings, as did the book-related professions and trades, merchants appeared as the group most likely to own a desk worth a proportionally large amount of their overall wealth-at-death. Daniel MacNaughton – a grocer in Liberton's Wynd – had only one piece of furniture which could be connected to paper. It was an item described as a desk-and-bookcase, with a value of 3*l.* This sum made up 6.9% of the overall worth of MacNaughton's moveable property.[500] Another grocer, William Sutherland of Calton Street, had just a bureau which was situated in his property's 'East Bedroom', but as a percentage of his total belongings the bureau accounted for 4.8% of Mr Sutherland's property.[501] John Peal had furniture worth a total of 55*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*, but among that was both a mahogany desk and a desk and bookcase worth a combined 3*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*[502] While Robert Ruthven, also a merchant, had a

[496] NRS CC8/12/14 Warrants of Inventories, Henry Cullen (physician) 1791; NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, John Bennet Esq. (surgeon) 1805; NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, William Silverwright (reverend) 7th August 1809; NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, Andrew Pitcairn (Writer to the Signet) 16th March 1803; NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, William Niven (Writer to the Signet) 11th December 1802; NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, MacDonnald (reverend) 2nd June 1810; CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, John Timming (Wrighter to the Signet) 21st December 1810; NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, William Ayton (Writer to the Signet) 1st September 1780; CC8/12/14 Warrants of Inventories, William Aichison (messenger to the courts) 1799.
[497] NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, James Lyle [c. 1810s].
[498] NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, Peter Sangster 21st March 1806.
[499] NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, Charles Hunter 25th December 1784.
[500] NRS CC8/12/14 Warrants of Inventories, Daniel MacNaughton 1793.
[501] NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, William Sutherland 27th November 1807.
[502] NRS CC8/12/12 Warrants of Inventories, John Peal 15th February 1776.

mahogany desk and drawers worth almost 4% of his total moveable estate.[503] Every merchant or grocer in the sample of inventories owned a desk worth a large share of their moveable estate by comparison to men from other walks of life. It is true that the merchants and grocers in this sample were not men of any great property – their estates valued at between 43*l*. and 55*l*. – but this data seems to demonstrate that these types of shopmen placed particular importance on paper-related furniture, as it weighted highly in the value of their furniture overall when compared to men from other occupations. These were likely men for whom desk-ownership was a compulsory part of their trading lives, though whether these desks were intended for trade or domestic purposes remains uncertain. Indeed, Macniven was criticised during the proceedings against him for taking shop books into his private dwelling for months on end, though perhaps taking the books home for the night would have been deemed less inappropriate.[504]

Desks in the Home

As well as details of what furniture these individuals owned, or didn't own, a proportion of the inventories provide an insight into where within the household the items were located. The location of thirty-nine desks can be traced to a room with a recognisable function (i.e. rooms described as bedrooms, dining rooms etc., rather than 'small room' or 'third room'). By far the largest proportion of desks – almost half – were kept in the bedroom. However, as common practice of the period was to describe different bedrooms by some distinguishing feature (such as colour) rather than by occupant, it was impossible to separate these figures into main and other bedrooms; or to be sure whether some of these bedrooms were even regularly inhabited or just guest rooms. What is clear is that overwhelmingly, even when homes with dedicated libraries or offices are included, bedrooms represent the rooms in the home most likely to contain a desk. This is in keeping with previous scholarship, which has suggested that secretaries and bureaus were generally kept in the main bedroom of elite Scottish homes, yet these findings suggest that this was true of people further down the social scale as well.[505]

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[503]503 NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventorie, Robert Ruthven 31st January 1810.
[504] NRS CS94/26 Record of proceedings in the submission between John Macniven and Dr William and Alexander Nisbet 1795-1796, 60.
[505] Nenadic, 'Middle Rank Consumers', 144.

Table 4.2

Locations of desks recorded in the inventories of Edinburgh's deceased 1770 – 1820.

	Escritoire/ Secretary	Desk-and-/Writing desk	Bureau	Portable desk	Lectern	Totals
Dining room	1	2		1		4 (10%)
Drawing room		1		1		2 (5%)
Parlour		1	1			2 (5%)
Bedroom		12	7			19 (49%)
Closet/ dressing room	2	2		1		5 (13%)
Writing chamber/ Room		3	1		2	6 (15%)
Library		1				1 (3%)
Totals	3	22	9	3	2	39

Source: NRS CC8/12/12,14,16.

The bedroom was said to have fallen out of favour as an area for receiving guests in the first half of the eighteenth-century, becoming a more private room used mainly by the family.[506] This would suggest that in turn the use of the furnishings located in these rooms would have been for domestic purposes, rather than for entertaining guests or for carrying out tasks in the presence of individuals outside of the household. Benjamin Heller's study of room use in late eighteenth-century London examined the diaries of thirty households. He found that writing was performed in front of an audience of guests, but that when this was the case the activity tended to take place in the dining room.[507] This adds further weight to the notion that the desks located in the homes of people in Edinburgh were primarily employed by individuals without social company. It is interesting to find the secretaire, as an item of furniture itself associated with secrecy, located in the closet – a room also noted for its privacy. In homes with a 'writing room' or writing closet (i.e. homes of law men) it was next most likely to find paper-related furniture in this room, which is unsurprising as this room was a kind of office. In homes with no separate writing room, the closet (off the bedroom) was the next most likely room to contain writing furniture after the bedroom and the

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[506] Benjamin Heller, 'Leisure and the use of Domestic Space in Georgian London', *The Historical Journal* 53, 3 (2010), 637.
[507] Ibid., 623-645.

dedicate writing room, followed by the dining room and parlour. The locations of these items of furniture in Edinburgh bedrooms runs counter to the narrative of writing being a performative act. Vickery suggested that the descriptions of men's and women's secretaries in Sheraton's catalogue highlighted the utility of men's furniture, "'with a cupboard for a pot and slippers' and 'a place for day book, ledger, and journal, for a gentleman's own accounts'" which singled them out as "more official and substantial" compared to the "petite and compact" nature of women's secretaries which were designed for a "delicate drawing-room performance".[508] Yet the known locations of desks in Edinburgh between 1770 and 1820 were largely the bedroom or closet off the bedroom, regardless of the sex of the owner.

As can be seen in Table 4.2, the drawing room was actually a particularly unpopular location of any type of desk in Edinburgh homes between 1770 and 1820, along with the parlour. Vickery's own analysis stated that the bedroom and closet were becoming the most private rooms in the home during this period, an assertion previously made for Scotland in the long eighteenth-century by Nenadic.[509] If these areas signified privacy, it is clear that the majority of desk-owners in this sample kept their desk-use private. Breaking this down further to analyse these results by gender does nothing to substantiate the idea Vickery sees propounded by Sheraton's catalogue that women's desk-use was performative. Of the eight desks owned by women in this sample, three (38%) were kept in 'public' rooms of the house. Viscountess Arbuthnot kept a writing desk in her parlour, Miss Carre a bureau in the same location within her home and Margaret Mortimer had an escritoire in her dining room.[510] The other five desks owned by women were all kept in bedrooms. By way of comparison, the location is known of thirty-one desks in the inventories of men. Eleven desks (35%) were located in the dining room or other public room such as the drawing room, 'Middle Room' etc. (additionally, there were three men's inventories which listed desks in either the library or writing room which have been discounted from statistical analysis because these rooms were specifically related to their occupation and might, therefore, have been expected to be used for business purposes) the others were all located in the bedroom or closet.[511] Comparatively, that means that 65% of men's desks and 62% of women's were kept in their apparently private bedrooms, or the seemingly even more private closets off those bedrooms.[512]

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[508] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* 280.

[509] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* 280; Nenadic, 'Middle Rank Consumers', 122-156.

[510] NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, Viscountess Arbuthnot 27th April 1800; NRS CC8/12/12 Warrants of Inventories, Margaret Mortimer 11th December 1770; NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, Miss Carre 8th April 1811.

[511] CC8/12/14 Warrants of Inventories, William Aichison 1799 & Daniel MacNaughton 1793 & William Huchison 1798; NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, John Bennet 1805 & Gavin Drummond 1809 & Andrew Pitcairn 16th March 1803; NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, Thomas Cuthbert 9th February 1785 & Michie Richie 1783 & William Ayton 1st September 1780 & William Elliot 1st August 1811 & James Lyle c. 1810s.

[512] Heller, 'Leisure and the use of Domestic Space', 637-638.

For this sample of Edinburghers, the idea that women's desk use was a "delicate drawing-room performance" appears unfounded, though of course some women as well as some men did keep their desks in social spaces within the home. Miss Carre's 4*l.* bureau with mirrored doors was a fashionable item kept within her low parlour. She owned household furnishings worth over 400*l.*, suggesting that fashionable tastes were within her household budget and likely at work when choosing furnishings.[513] Margaret Mortimer's dining room escritoire was worth over 3*l.* implying that it was a reasonably substantial item and perhaps therefore would not have easily fitted in the bedroom of a property with a total furniture value of just 40*l.*[514] Although the Viscountess Arbuthnot's 1*l.* writing desk was (like Miss Carre's bureau) located in the low parlour of her home, she kept her 2*l.* bureau in her bedroom, perhaps indicating that although she may have composed some writing in public, her 'serious' writing (the bureau was a more substantial item of lockable furniture compared to the writing desk) was done away from company.[515] Generally, it can be seen that when women did keep desks in public rooms they were not usually located in the primary public room which was used for admitting less-intimate acquaintances, more likely the "low parlour" or "back room" which would have been reserved for those with whom they had more intimate relationships.

Similarly, flesher William Hutchison had a 15*s.* desk which was located in the back room of his four-room home, James Lyle had two "old" desks in the south room of his home, and William Elliot had a desk in what was called the third room.[516] William Aichison's desks seem to be a pretty unique set of furnishings in that he owned four desks within his six room home. A small desk was located in the dining room and an old desk in the middle room as well as two (more expensive, and presumably therefore better quality) desks in the bedroom. Despite owning such a large number of desks for the number of rooms in his house, three of the desks were of little value, the small desk being worth 6*s.* and the old one just 2*s.* The desks in his (presumably private) bedroom were the more valuable items of furniture with one valued at 5*s.* and the other at an impressive 6*l.*! Aichison was a messenger, which perhaps explains his large collection of desks and maybe the outstandingly expensive desk which was so out of keeping with the rest of his furniture.[517] Gavin Drummond was a military man, and his presumably showy 10*l.* secretaire was located in his dressing room off his bedroom; whereas his still impressive (but not uniquely-so within the context of the other inventories studied) 7*l.* desk and bookcase was in the back room of his fourteen-room home and his apparently fairly averagely priced 2*l.* portable desk in the comparatively public

[513] NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, Miss Carre 8th April 1811.
[514] NRS CC8/12/12 Warrants of Inventories, Margaret Mortimer 11th December 1770.
[515] NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, Viscountess Arbuthnot 27th April 1800.
[516] NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, Viscountess Arbuthnot 27th April 1800; NRS CC8/12/12 Warrants of Inventories, Margaret Mortimer 11th December 1770; NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, Miss Carre 8th April 1811.
[516] CC8/12/14 Warrants of Inventories, William Huchison 1798; NRS CC8/12/16 Warrants of Inventories, William Elliot 1st August 1811 & James Lyle c. 1810s.
[517] CC8/12/14 Warrants of Inventories, William Aichison 1799.

dining room.[518] Andrew Pitcairn, a Writer to the Signet, had a small writing table in the little room of his house, as well as a rather unassuming 5*s.* writing desk in his dining room. The presumably larger, more impressive 2*l.* mahogany desk was listed as being in the upstairs small room.[519] Upstairs rooms were more private than downstairs, so this suggests his best (this was his most expensive desk) was kept for more private use.[520]

In general, therefore, it would seem that both men and women kept their more valuable desks in their bedrooms. Arguably, the more expensive and elaborate desks in the homes of the women might have had belonged to their husbands and had simply remained untouched in place after the death of a spouse. Equally the less-valuable desks in the more public rooms of homes inhabited by men might have been left in-situ after the death of their wives. But the fact that both men's and women's inventories also follow this pattern (of more expensive desks – including the masculine bureaus - being kept in more private areas of the home) might suggest that perhaps neither sex was comparatively more given to writing as a public performance. Furthermore, over half of all desks were located in the bedroom, or the closet off the bedroom, suggesting that desk use in general was a private activity regardless of who was partaking in it. Additionally, in homes with more than one desk, the more expensive – and therefore presumably more impressive and showy – desks were located in increasingly private rooms, while cheaper desks were kept in public areas and this was true for both men and women. This does not sit comfortably with the idea of desk use as performative, as one would presume that it would be more ostentatious to perform at the more expensive item of furniture? Moreover, the evidence of these inventories shows that there was little to differentiate men's and women's desk use based upon the location of the furniture in their homes. Both genders were equally likely to have desks located in their bedrooms as opposed to public rooms, and both were more likely to house more expensive desks in more private rooms.

Prescribing (and Proscribing) Desk-Use

In common with the notion that desk-use was a performance, scholarship on writing instruction and writing equipment has also tended to focus on the appearance of writers. Indeed, late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century texts did place a great deal of emphasis on writing correctly, which might be interpreted as highlighting the appearance of the writer. Penmanship manuals, for example, often laid out explicit directions on how desks should be used. The instructions were highly physical, yet these publications give away a whole host of ideological information about desk use. While some penmanship manuals gave

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[518] NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, Gavin Drummond 1809.
[519] NRS CC8/12/15 Warrants of Inventories, Andrew Pitcairn 16th March 1803.
[520] For a discussion of the relative privacy of rooms in the Georgian home see: Amanda Vickery, "An Englishman's Home is his Castle? Thresholds, Boundaries and Privacies in the Eighteenth-Century London House." *Past and Present* 199 (2008): 147-173.

writing instruction alongside a plethora of other information, other publications only covered sitting at a desk or holding a pen. Early versions of such works were often written by writing-masters, who taught both writing and arithmetic to aspiring merchants. The premise under which this information was given was usually as instruction for young men, although different authors ostensibly wrote for slightly different audiences including women and more advanced writers.

The instructions for desk use given in penmanship manuals were highly prescriptive. Writers were told to sit with the left side of their body towards the lip of the desk but not touching it.[521] It was said that the writing surface should be two and three-quarter feet off the ground, and the height of the seat one and three-quarter feet off the ground.[522] The writers themselves were to sit with their seat half a foot away from the edge of the desk with their knees and legs one foot under the table.[523] Just a little of the left fore-arm was to be rested on the desk to keep their bodies steady.[524] The right arm, they were told, should be four inches away from the side of the body.[525] Following these instructions leaves the writer perched on the edge of their chair, with the weight of their upper body being channelled down their left arm and onto the table, with the paper slightly off towards the right of the desk at an angle to the edge of the writing surface. The instructions were rigid, specifying correct furniture dimensions as well as a very exact posture at the table. There was no leeway for writers for whom this set-up was incommodious – the young whose feet would dangle from the chair rather than being placed firmly on the ground, the gouty gentleman who could not have avoided touching the table with his body, or the lady in her stays who would not have been able to sit at the specified angle without great discomfort – if at all – and there was absolutely no suggestion that it was even possible to be left-handed.[526]

During the first half of the eighteenth-century a 'new' way of sitting at one's desk was proposed in *The Art of Writing Illustrated*. In direct opposition to the 'old' instructions, which gave exact measurements for writing furniture, the new instructions specified that the height of the desk and of the seat should be judged according to the stature of the writer. The chair was to be at the correct height for the writers' feet to lie flat on the ground and the desk to come up to their middle. The writer in these new instructions was advised to sit head-on to the table, the position of the paper changed to being angled towards the left, rather than the body being angled that way as per the old instructions.[527] This 'new' way of writing

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[521] Anon., *The Art of Writing Illustrated with Copper-Plates ...* (Printed for John Newbery at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1746), 34-37.
[522] Ibid., 38-9.
[523] Ibid.
[524] Ibid., 34-37.
[525] Anon., *The Accomplished Housewife...* (London: Printed for J. Newberry at the Bible and Sun near the Chapter-House in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1745), 39.
[526] For an interesting discussion of being lefthanded see Stanley Coren, *The Left-Hander Syndrome: The Causes and Consequences of Left-Handedness* (Detroit, MI: Free Press, 1992).
[527] Anon., *The Art of Writing Illustrated*, 38-9.

brought the paper much closer to the writer, and shielded it slightly from the view of others with the left forearm – it was also a position which allowed the writer to hunch over their paper in a less-formal posture. "This New Method [claimed the author] will suit all Sizes, and both Sexes; the fat, or the lean; the tall, or the short, Men of Bulk, and Ladies, lac'd in their Stays, will all find this Method easy and practicable; they will write without Fatigue, and with a great deal of Freedom".[528] The 'new' way of writing would seem to have taken off; if furniture-maker's catalogues were anything to go by. The first furniture maker's catalogue was Chippendale's *Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* of 1754. Published eight years after *The Art of Writing*'s advice, it did indeed give correct proportions for making paper-related furniture, as opposed to exact measurements. *The Cabinet Maker's Book of Prices* was published in 1793 and gave dimensions for a desk as three foot in width, but made no specifications as to depth nor height, suggesting that those dimensions were fluid.[529] The second edition of Sheraton's *Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Drawing Book*, published in 1794, also provided a scale rather than a standard. Whereas the 1796 edition of Hepplewhite's catalogue gave the dimensions of a chair as 20" x 17" x 17", but stated that "other dimensions are frequently adapted according to the size of the room, or pleasure of the purchaser".[530] This suggests that it was not only the comfort or ease of use that was under consideration when choosing furniture, but the overall look of a room; no doubt related to Chippendale's principles of classical proportion.

In addition to a strict set of rules for sitting at one's desk – regardless of whether one followed the 'old' or 'new' way – there was an equally prescriptive emphasis on how to hold one's pen. In several of these publications these instructions ran to an eleven-step process.[531] The instructions for both sitting, and holding a pen, were thorough and complex and – according to one author – not entirely satisfactory. William Leekey's penmanship guide suggested that following these instructions made "stiff, awkward and lame writers" until they had unlearned some of the rules for posture they had been taught.[532]

As well as how to sit at a desk, and how to hold a pen, some of this type of publication gave instructions for cutting a quill and for making ink. Like sitting at a desk and holding a pen, cutting a quill was also subject to a great degree of direction by the authors of penmanship manuals. According to *The Art of Writing Illustrated*, feathers for making quills mainly came from Yorkshire, Shropshire and Lincolnshire, the "clearest and most substantial" of those coming from Yorkshire.[533] Scotland may also have been a source of quality quills, as it

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[528] Ibid.
[529] London Society of Cabinet Makers, *The Cabinet Makers Book of London Prices,* 38.
[530] Hepplewhite, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide,* sig. B.
[531] See, for example: George Bickham, *The Universal Library of Trade and Commerce* (London: Printed for J. Robinson, 1747).
[532] William Leekey, *The Young Clerk's Assistant; or, Penmanship Made Easy* (London: Printed for Richard Ware, 1764), 14.
[533] Anon., *The Art of Writing Illustrated,* 31.

was referred to in a merchant's manual, alongside Wales, as an exporter of quills to London.[534] Quills were usually made from Goose feathers, each wing yielding just ten to twelve good quills. Feathers from the left-wing were favoured, as they curved away from the right-handed writer. Some publications suggested that feathers were often plucked from live birds during the Spring, as this is when Geese feathers are mostly new growth. Although a later publication suggested that this practice was counterproductive and feathers should be collected in Autumn (the natural moulting season), as they'd had time to mature.[535] Feathers would be tempered in hot sand and the dried inner membrane removed, once processed in this way they were sometimes referred to as having been "Dutched", and pens sold by stationers were sold in both prepared in this way and unprepared.[536] Once hardened the writer would have decided – based on personal preference – how much of the plume to strip away. Some writers left the plume wholly intact, others chose to leave it intact on its shortest side, while some left a 'V' shape of plume at the top (much like an arrow) and others preferred an altogether bare quill. Cutting the nib required a sharp knife, or preferably two, and a steady hand; as well as the knowledge of how to make the cuts. After slicing off the very tip of the feather in order to remove the membrane; one larger curved-cut was made to begin, with a smaller section being removed subsequently, and finally a slit made up the middle. This is, however, a much simplified version: the instructions in the pages of some eighteenth-century writing manuals ran to several pages, for example in *The Art of Writing Illustrated* there are six pages of instructions for cutting a pen.[537] Every couple of pages the nib had to be re-cut and re-shaped, and overall each quill was expected to last just a week.[538]

A publication from the end of the eighteenth-century suggested that the home-production of quills had fallen out of practice, with people tending to purchase "shop pens" (i.e. ready-made quills) instead. The disadvantage of so-called shop pens was that:

> Few people can write with the Shop Pens before they have made them over again; and those brought up to the trade of Pen-cutting, are so formal in the shape, and so mechanical, that one would think their Pens were cut with an engine, an attempt that was once made, but by which many thousand quills were spoiled.[539]

The apparent advantage of having a pen perfectly crafted to one's own individual requirements was that it enabled the writer to produce a neater hand.[540] Given that "letters written in a neat hand from persons never saw, gives us some idea of their manners and external appearances" (i.e. beautiful handwriting was associated with a good soul and

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534 Richard Rolt, *A New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* [...] (London : printed for T. Osborne and J. Shipton; J. Hodges; J. Newbery; G. Keith; and B. Collins, MDCCLVI. [1756]), 660.
535 Wilkes, *The Art of Making Pens Scientifically,* 33-34.
536 Rolt, *A New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, 601. See also: Chapter 3.
537 Anon., *The Art of Writing Illustrated,* 24-30.
538 Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'The Quill Pen',
<http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter07/lettersside.cfm>. [16/04/13].
539 Wilkes, *The Art of Making Pens,* 8.
540 Ibid., 10.

exterior beauty, which was in turn seen as a reflection – particularly in the case of women – as a measure of purity, chastity etc.) the correct pen would seem to have been an imperative as neat handwriting was a physical manifestation of the quality of one's character.[541]

Like quills, ink could be purchased from stationers but might also be made at home. The recipes found in penmanship manuals all appear to be essentially the same. The recommended method was to take rain water, add galls, copperas, gum Arabic and alum and shake daily for a month.[542] Not all of the instructional works on writing included information on how to make ink, but in those which did the placing of these recipes is worth considering. The earliest penmanship manual I found for the period 1770-1820 which dealt with both how to write and how to make ink was Thomas Wise's *The Newest Young Man's Companion*, which was published in 1770. Wise's book contained recipes for black ink, London ink-powder, Japan or shining ink, a powder ink to put on paper to write on, how to make red ink, and how to stop ink from freezing or going mouldy.[543] Subsequent publications tended to reproduce Wise's instructions verbatim (and of course Wise may have copied these instructions himself), however the placement of these recipes with these books differed. Wise's ink-brewing instructions featured after his directions for sitting at one's desk and making a pen, but before the copy-exercises. This is a fairly logical sequence, as it follows, chronologically, the items one would need to write: sit at a desk, hold a pen, use ink. However, ink needed to be made a month prior to writing and so could not actually have been prepared for instant use. W. Gordon's 1776 work, *Every Young Man's Companion*, contained a different sequence and placed ink-making under an entirely separate branch of knowledge. Instead of being included within the writing section of the book, Gordon's instructions for making ink featured alongside his medical recipes.[544] This quite literally removed ink-production from the realm of the writer and placed it in the realm of the kitchen. The National Archives' *Introduction to Writing Inks* suggests that home-production of ink was the preserve of the ladies; in much the same way as it was the housewife's duty to brew home remedies.[545] This would appear to be confirmed by Gordon's penmanship manual which made explicit the link between ink brewing and medicine brewing. In common with *Every Young Man's Companion*, the anonymous *The Female Instructor; or, Young Woman's Companion*, published in 1811, included both medical recipes and

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[541] Ibid., 6.
[542] See: Thomas Wise, *The Newest Young Man's Companion* (Berwick: Printed by R. Taylor, 1770), 16; Anon., *The Complete Young Man's Companion; or, Self Instructor* (Manchester: Printed by Bowler and Russell, 1800), 28; Anon., *The Female Instructor; or, Young Woman's Companion* (Liverpool: Printed by Nuttal, Fisher and Dixon, 1811), 46.
[543] Wise, *The Newest Young Man's Companion*, 1 - 17.
[544] W. Gordon, *Every Young Man's Companion* (London: Printed for H. Woodall, J. Rivington, R. Baldwin, T. Caslon, S. Crowder, G. Robinson, T. Lowndes, F. Newberry and T. Carnan, 1776), 376.
[545] Public Records Office, The National Archives Introduction to Archive Materials, *An Introduction to Writing Inks*, Crown Copyright (March 1998, PRO, Kew: Surrey), 11.

instructions for ink-making. However, *The Female Instructor* contained ink-brewing instructions alongside instructions for how to sit at a desk and how to hold a pen.[546]

If ink-brewing was in the hands of women that would appear to be anomalous when compared to other stationery items. *The Female Instructor* might have contained information about how to sit properly at a desk and hold a pen, but it did not instruct its specifically female audience on how to cut that pen themselves. The implicit suggestion (later made explicit by *The Art of Making Pens*) was that ladies did not cut their own pens.[547] Fictional works of the time also suggest that women's writing might have been expected to take place under the auspices of a supervisory male member of the household - who would supply their need for pen and ink. Some famous examples of the interplay between gender and writing equipment occur notably in the works of Jane Austen and Samuel Richardson. Richardson's Pamela was constantly and furtively obtaining and squirreling-away paper, which was heavily controlled by Mr B.[548] Similarly, in Austen's *Mansfield Park*, Fanny's letter to her brother was presided over by Edmund who allowed her into her uncle's study and there provided her paper:

> Edmund prepared her paper, and ruled her lines with all the goodwill that her brother could himself have felt, and probably with somewhat more exactness. He continued with her the whole time of her writing, to assist her with his penknife or his orthography, as either were wanted.[549]

In both cases men are presented as gatekeepers to women's epistolary endeavours, quite literally controlling access to paper on which to write as well as performing tasks such as preparing and ruling paper and cutting quills. Equally, when Caroline Bingley offered to mend Mr Darcy's pen in *Pride and Prejudice*, she claimed to "mend pens remarkably well", though Darcy was not convinced of her abilities.[550] Of course, Austen's works are known for their subversive humour and there is a definite irony in Edmund's offer to perform all these assistances to Fanny in the name of privacy – she had far more of that when she wrote to her family herself and sent her letters via a servant. The suggestion from these authors appears to be that women (even vacuous ones such as Caroline Bingley) were perfectly capable of performing their own writing, even if some men did not think so. Indeed, once learned, providing oneself with pen and ink would not likely be forgotten. Ink – which had taken a month to brew – apparently had to be replaced weekly, making it highly unlikely that the member of the household who did the brewing would forget such a regularly-repeated

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[546] Anon., *The Female Instructor; or, Young Woman's Companion* (Liverpool: Printed by Nuttal, Fisher and Dixon, 1811), 45-48.
[547] Wilkes, *The Art of Making Pens*, 5, 15-19.
[548] Samuel Richardson, *Pamela, Or Virtue Rewarded...* (London: Printed for C. Rivington and J. Osborn, 1741) for examples see: Vol. 1, 143, 237, 267 and vol 2, 19-21.
[549] Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park*. Edited by James Kinsley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 13-14.
[550] Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*. (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1905):Vol. 1, 69.

recipe.[551] Equally, the need to re-cut one's quill every couple of pages, and replace it entirely within a week, suggests that this was a fairly rudimentary writing-skill and that once learned it was not a skill easily lost.[552] Increasing levels of literacy overall, and of women's literacy in particular, would suggest that ink-brewing and pen-making were skills which were being learned by an increasing number of people – though, if they could afford to, individuals could also have been supplied by the increasing numbers of stationery shops which were selling these products (see Chapter 3). Although the information offered in penmanship manuals was generally similar (if not copied verbatim from earlier publications) what was not included is also very telling. George Snell's 1649 *Right Teaching of Useful Knowledg to Fit Scholars for Som Honest Profession* contained instructions for how to fold and seal a letter, yet I have found no such instructions in eighteenth- or nineteenth-century manuals.[553] It might seem, therefore, that these aspects of correspondence were well-ingrained by the eighteenth-century. However, as will be seen in Chapter 5, this was not necessarily the case.

Despite the strict guidance on sitting position, pen-holding, ink-brewing and quill-cutting in penmanship manuals there is no real way of knowing if people followed the advice given. What these manuals do reveal is that there was an apparently 'proper' way of conducting oneself while writing. A proper kind of equipment (the desk and chair, Goose quill, two penknives, etc.), and a proper way to use that equipment (sat in the correct posture, limbs at specified distances away from the body and pointing in certain directions regardless of whether the rules being followed were the 'old' way or the 'new'). Writing of these instructions in propriety Dierks suggests that there was a fundamental shift at the end of the eighteenth-century, away from social power being derived from knowledge of the correct use of writing equipment (the acquisition of skills), towards that power being associated with the ownership of the correct materials (the acquisition of products).[554] Dierks examined Pennsylvanian newspaper advertisements for stationery wares. He described the international nature of the ingredients needed to make ink, wax, and other products; noting that it was rare for eighteenth-century Pennsylvanian newspaper advertisements for stationery wares to use a geographical descriptor of the origins of the goods on sale. Dierks argued that this indicated that these were utilitarian, functional items, rather than luxury goods. [555] According to Dierks this changed in around 1799, with the publication of a penmanship manual in England which placed heavy emphasis on the ownership of elite stationery wares. From this time, Dierks argued, "Quills were no longer just quills, ink no

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[551] Wilkes, *The Art of Making Pens*, 11.
[552] Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 'The Quill Pen', <http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter07/lettersside.cfm>. [16/04/13].
[553] Linda C. Mitchell, 'Letter Writing Instruction Manuals in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century England', In *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to Present*, edited by Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 189.
[554] Dierks, 'Letter Writing', 477.
[555] Ibid., 485.

longer just ink, sealing wax no longer just sealing wax. It would increasingly matter where they came from and who made them".[556]

Advertisements for stationery wares in Edinburgh newspapers show that some retailers were advertising their wares with geographical descriptors as early as 1780, demonstrating that in Edinburgh there was some importance attached to where stationery wares had originated earlier than Dierks found in relation to Pennsylvania. John Ogle advertised Dutch Quills.[557] Thomas Brown sold India Ink.[558] John Elder sold Hudson Bay quills.[559] James Simpson sold "genuine Dutch quills".[560] J. Fowler offered the choice of Dutch or English quills to his customers.[561] Charles Elliot was offering Dutch quills as was Robert Jameson.[562] John Ainslie sold Indian Ink.[563] Even seed-sellers Mrs Eagle and Donald Maclean could offer their customers Dutch sealing wax.[564] Like those surveyed by Dierks, these newspapers also contained many, many advertisements – into the hundreds – for stationery wares which had no geographical markers at all, both before and after the turn of the century. However, unlike the advertisements in the Pennsylvania press the numbers of advertisements in the Edinburgh newspapers which did use a geographical descriptor diminished as the century wore-on, rather than increased. This would suggest that if Dierks was correct in asserting that advertising stationery wares alongside their country of origin was indeed indicate of a luxury product, stationery wares in Edinburgh may have been becoming more utilitarian as the century progressed.

However, comparisons regarding the use of geographical descriptors and stationery wares might be made with the advertising of paper. Although rags were regularly imported into Britain from abroad (particularly France and Hamburg) during the eighteenth-century (and earlier), paper which was made from those rags was never advertised in the Edinburgh newspapers as 'French paper' or 'Hamburg paper.' It was sold as paper from a local mill, or from London, or with no geographical marker at all. Similarly ink, although comprised of elements from other parts of the world, was not brewed abroad and was probably not, therefore, conceived of as a 'foreign' product. Indeed, George Mudie advertised the ink he sold as "homemade", he did not (of course) mean that he grew the galls and ground his own copperas – he was indicating that he combined the ingredients and shook the bottle himself.[565] Dierks suggested that advertising "Barcelona handkerchiefs" marked those products out as a luxury and by comparison ink usually being advertised as just 'ink' marked

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[556] Ibid., 489.
[557] *Caledonian Mercury*, 12th November 1792.
[558] Ibid., 2nd March 1789.
[559] Ibid., 3rd May 1788.
[560] Ibid., 6th October 1787.
[561] Ibid., 22nd June 1785.
[562] Ibid., 2nd March 1782 and 3rd August 1782.
[563] Ibid., 12th December 1781.
[564] *Caledonian Mercury*, 19th February 1780 and *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 7th March 1780.
[565] *Caledonian Mercury*, 10th January and 22nd December 1788.

it out as utilitarian. However, although the components of ink were imported, the ink itself was often produced domestically. In the Edinburgh newspapers it was only when an item was not manufactured locally that it's 'foreignness' was noted in the newspaper advertisements, for example in advertisements for "India ink". Barcelona handkerchiefs, by comparison, were physically manufactured in Barcelona; not in Britain or America from cotton or linen imported from Barcelona. What we are really seeing, when Edinburgh newspaper advertisements referred to foreign products, were things that were imported to the capital in their finished state rather than domestically assembled from imported goods – often very literally domestically made as Mudie's ink-brewing demonstrates. This is not to say that the origins of stationery wares were not important to some people of Edinburgh. Advertisements from as early as 1780 mentioning "genuine" Dutch quills and quills from Hudson Bay mark these products out as apparently superior to quills from, say, Shropshire or a local farm – otherwise shopkeepers would not have gone to the effort of procuring these products. But in relation to Edinburgh the lack of geographical descriptors for products which were produced from imported goods does not seem to be a reliable indicator of their relative luxury.

Dierks perceived the change to consumerism from utilitarianism to occur with the publication of Wilkes' *The Art of Making Pens Scientifically*, which Dierks saw as having a new emphasis on selecting materials from retailers as opposed to the older penmanship manuals which emphasised the acquisition of skills. However, Wilkes' publication was designed to be sold alongside his newest product 'The Penman's Box'. His pamphlet was in effect an advertisement for the box (which contained everything a person needed to cut their own quills). The pamphlet lamented the apparent poor-quality of readymade pens, and of the nation's apparent inability to make their own pens, and then neatly stepped in to solve these problems with The Penman's Box. Similarly, many other penmanship manuals (both from earlier in the century, and later) lamented the poor quality of writing and expression which the nation was apparently guilty of, neatly solving that problem with their books of instruction. However, these other penmanship manuals were also effectively advertisements. Whereas Wilkes, who was a pen-cutter by trade, sold pens and pen-making equipment, the other manuals were written by writing masters who were selling their expertise and promoting their skills-based businesses. Dierks saw Wilkes' pamphlet as indicative of a change from a skills-based world to a consumer-world, however Wilkes could never have sold technique as he was not a writing master; he was a pen-cutter. As Leekey's penmanship manual had demonstrated, many years earlier, pen-cutters were generally perceived to be poor writers: "few of whom, if any, know how to write".[566] If Wilkes had attempted to sell writing-technique he would likely have failed, as this was not his area of expertise. Leekey's

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[566] William Leekey, *The Young Clerk's Assistant; or, Penmanship Made Easy* (London: Printed for Richard Ware, 1764), 5.

quote continued: "and therefore it is simply impossible they should be capable of making good pens with certainty". Ironically, both Wilkes and Leekey were actually arguing for the same thing – that a writer should cut their own pens and not purchase ready-made pens. Both penmanship manuals were actually promoting technique, as are all the others – some emphasised writing technique, some the technique of making writing equipment, many instructed on both. Although Wilkes was selling equipment (The Penman's Box) that equipment was intended to assist the purchaser in their mastery of technique – their ability to cut their own quills to a higher standard that those which could be purchased ready-cut. Page upon page, year after year, how to use a desk, hold a pen, cut a quill and make ink were reissued. Different authors took different approaches in their books to that information, but the insistence was always on there being a right way (and therefore presumably also a wrong way) in which to write at a desk.

Dierks was correct, however, in stating that "once premised simply on mechanically copying sample alphabets, penmanship instruction became increasingly based on intellectual mastery of written instructions, the mind controlling the body".[567] Earlier British penmanship manuals did indeed often include pages of writing to copy, whereas later works tended to omit these exercises. Copy-books, as these earlier works were called, appear to have made way for penmanship manuals which placed more emphasis on how to sit, how to make ink and how to hold a pen than on how to form letters. Penmanship manuals also often situated the correct use of desks and pens amongst a plethora of other 'suitable' knowledge for young people. Whereas writing had been the sole skill to attain via the copy-books, it was one amongst many skills deemed worthy of mastery in the later works. Yet, whether it was Leekey's book or Wilkes' the emphasis on posture ('old' or 'new') and on mastery over movement was always present in these works. Young people were being schooled in how to look while they used their desks and wrote. Similarly, in her work on tea equipage Beth Kowaleski-Wallace identified a comparable interest in the way in which women were advised to serve tea, stating that "While the rituals of the tea table dictated a female preoccupation with the appearances of things – gestures carefully choreographed, tea equipage displayed just so – that same preoccupation could be cited as a dangerous indication of a woman without "depth"".[568] Interestingly, her findings echo research examined for Chapter 3, where similarly choreographed displays were expected of shop assistants performing their duties of locating and wrapping objects for customers. The duality of, on the one hand, women being expected to perform the tea table ritual in a particular way in order to show good breeding and manners and on the other a recognition that these overtly-ritualised practices were open

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[567] Dierks, 'Letter Writing', 488.
[568] Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, 'Women, China, and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, 2 (1995), 154.

to being learned and adopted by apparently 'unsuitable' performers; was also seen at work in contemporary accounts of the performance of writing.

While readers of the furniture catalogues and writing manuals were being told that they should possess certain paper-related furniture and accoutrements, and use it in certain ways, much of the literature of paper derided its users' obsessions with these codes of conduct and marked them out as foppish and unlearned. Indeed, Johnson's *Dictionary* definition of 'desk' cited Pope's lines:

> For not the desk with silver nails,
> Nor bureau of expense,
> Nor Standish well japann'd, avails
> To the writing of good sense.[569]

It was a well-worn maxim that the ownership of the correct writing materials was in no way correlated with quality output. Indeed, too much or the wrong kind of desk use was perceived to cause all manner of health complaints, and even death. The idea that prolonged periods of study were not healthy for the body was not new – medieval scribes often annotated their works with complaints about their deteriorating health due to long hours in the scriptorium – but by the early years of the nineteenth century medics began to refer to "desk diseases". J. Reid appears to have first used the term during his reporting on diseases for *The Monthly Magazine*.[570] The phrase was later picked up by W.W. Wallace, who published *A Treatise on Desk Diseases* in 1826.[571] In that work, Wallace described a population with increasing interests in trade and literacy, who were spending more and more of their lives sat at desks both at work and for leisure.[572] This assertion would appear to be reinforced by the instructions given in *The Art of Writing Illustrated* for the 'new' method of writing being designed to enable people to "write without Fatigue", hinting at a move towards greater periods of time spent writing.[573] Fatigue was also being warned against by C. Buchanan's *Writing Made Easy*, which warned writers: "Do not stoop too much, for your breath will damp your paper; and, by contracting your chest, soon tire you and endanger your health".[574] According to Wallace: headache, giddiness and swimming of the head, weakness of the eyes, [and] flitting before them, deafness, complaints of the stomach and bowels, costiveness, piles, liver complaints, diseases of the bladder and urethra, strictures &c were supposed to be the main classes of disease caused by too much desk-time.[575] The cause of these complaints, reasoned Wallace (and Buchanan before him), was the "stooping"

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[569] Samuel Johnson, 'desk', *A Dictionary of the English Language: A Digital Edition of the 1755 Classic by Samuel Johnson*, Brandi Besalke, ed., <http://johnsonsdictionary.com>. [10/05/2014].
[570] J. Reid, 'Report of Diseases' *The Monthly Magazine* 176, 3 (1803), 270-1; Reid, J. 'Report of Diseases' *The Monthly Magazine* 192 (1809), 522-4.
[571] W. M. Wallace, *A Treatise on Desk Diseases, containing the best methods of treating the various disorders attendant upon sedantry and studious habits* (London: T. Griffiths, 1826).
[572] Ibid., 3.
[573] Anon., *The Art of Writing Illustrated*, 38-9.
[574] C. Buchanan, *Writing Made Easy* (Edinburgh: engraved by J. Kirkwood and Son, c. 1797), 2.
[575] Wallace, *A Treatise on Desk Diseases,* 3-4.

position of writers, and the final outcome was death.[576] Like an increase in time involved in writing, this stooping also appeared to be a feature of the 'new' method of writing given in books such as *The Art of Writing Illustrated*, which had encouraged writers to get closer to their desks than the 'old' method which required a very upright and distanced posture. However, Wallace's repeated references to a new class of tradesmen-bookkeepers – lacking, he wrote, the health-bringing advantages of fresh air and bodily exercise associated with manual labour – made this a very status-oriented problem. Nowhere did Wallace suggest that too much time spent in study in one's private library might have the same affects – those afflicted by desk diseases were middling-rank merchant men. The very same for whom the penmanship manuals had originally been written. Like Kowaleski-Wallace's ladies aping good breeding by performing tea-table rituals in the correct manner, W.W. Wallace's desk-users of comparatively lower orders were ruining themselves by partaking in activities previously the reserve of the genteel-born.

Although originally intended as self-educational resources, increasing literacy levels and advances in schooling meant by the end of the eighteenth-century and beginning of the nineteenth- it is likely that penmanship manuals were more frequently used to teach young children.[577] Yet, in the early nineteenth-century manuals such as Joseph Lancaster's *Improvements in Education* suggested a move away from paper-use in teaching writing to poor youth. Lancaster's book included a table of costs for teaching 60 boys to write. He priced paper, pens and ink for the boys at £99 a year, suggesting that if they were taught using wipe-clean slates instead their educational materials need not cost more than £3 [Fig. 4.6].[578] In Edinburgh the engravers Kirkwood and Sons issued their own version of Lancaster's instructions, with the title *An Improved Method of Teaching Writing: a complete set of spelling and reading lessons adapted to Mr Bell's and Mr Lancaster's plan of education for the use of Sunday schools and other institutions for instructing the poorer classes of the community*. It was not the company's first foray into educational manuals, as they had engraved Buchanan's *Writing Made Easy* in c.1797. Unlike Lancaster it would appear that Kirkwood did not advocate scrapping the use of paper in teaching, as his advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* suggested that his books were "for the scholar to write upon".[579] As well as slates being cheaper to practice writing upon than reams of paper, they also had the advantage of not requiring a desk, table or other hard surface to rest upon. Presumably Lancaster's poor boys could be taught to write while sat in rows on pews, whereas Kirkwood envisaged Edinburgh's poor youth writing directly into his books, which

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[576] Ibid., 7.
[577] Susan Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[578] Joseph Lancaster, *Improvements in Education, as it respects the industrious classes of the community* (London: Printed by Darton and Harvey, 1805), 53.
[579] *Caledonian Mercury*, 12th September 1807.

would not have been hard bound for reasons of cost, so would have likely required the children to be seated at desks. As an engraver Kirkwood had an interest in re-framing Lancaster's work in this way. As well as selling engravings from his Old Assembly Close shop, the firm also sold writing papers, ledgers and account books.[580] As one of Edinburgh's many paper-sellers Kirkwood was invested in ensuring the continuing sale of paper (see Chapter 3). Lancaster's work, on the other hand, might be perceived as further instruction aimed at continuing the distance between the poor and the desk.

Figure 4.6

Reckoning for the cost for one year of teaching 60 boys to write using slate and chalk versus paper and pens.

OLD. WAY.		NEW WAY.	
Six times the usual charge for writing paper, &c. .... £. 99		If they have not slates already provided, sixty slates will cost ...... £. 1	
		Allow a hundred slate pencils per annum, each boy, at 8d. per hundred	2
			£. 3

Balance in favour of the new mode £. 96.

Source: Joseph Lancaster. *Improvements in Education, as it respects the industrious classes of the community*. (London: Printed by Darton and Harvey, 1805): 53.

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[580] *The Scotsman*, 1st November 1817.

Conclusion

Both eighteenth-century and modern writers have often attempted to attach a gendered significance to writing and desk ownership. Women were said to not cut their own pens, to require male assistance to prepare their paper, to be more inclined to use writing as a demonstration of their feminine attributes. They have also been said to have been the makers of ink, a duty apparently carried on alongside the brewing of home medicines. Additionally, there have been class-based assertions made about writers and desk users. The middling-sort apparently beginning to access and over-use desks in increasing numbers. Of Edinburgh specifically, it used to be believed that furnishings in general were rather plebeian compared to metropolitan furnishings from London. Each of these ideas has also been challenged, Edinburgh furniture makers have been shown to have possessed skill and taste equal, though differing, to the London makers; ink featured as a recipe in writing-manuals aimed at a male audience and contemporary women such as Austen lampooned the belief that women needed men's help to use writing equipment. Yet, the evidence found amongst household inventories taken after the death of Edinburgh residents between 1770 and 1820 does indeed bear out the fears of W.W. Wallace and his 'desk diseases', or at least they demonstrate that desks owned by the merchants in Edinburgh were generally worth a larger proportion of these men's overall moveable wealth than in any other group. The fact that they appear to have been prepared to make a substantial outlay in the purchase of a desk compared to the worth of their other furniture suggests that to these people desk ownership was important and likely a symbol of status.

Most people in Edinburgh, however, appear to have owned fairly simple desks- common and writing desks – rather than fashionable secretaries and bureaus. Although their wealth would likely have enabled them to purchase especially elaborate desks, the wealthy men and women of Edinburgh seem to have placed less emphasis on their desks than the merchants in comparison to the worth of their other furniture. Although they did own substantial and valuable desks (including secretaries and especially bureaus), as a percentage of their overall wealth the rich seem to have spent as much as the poor on their desks. The poor, when they owned desks at all, owned very simple items of low-value furniture; but of course this does not mean that they did not write. The ownership of a particular piece of furniture was not necessary as any table or hard surface – even the floor – would do.

The fact that desk ownership did not correlate with quality literary output was a cliché during the eighteenth-century. Alongside gilt paper, fancy desks and stationery wares were derided as no substitute for intelligence, and medics wrote of concerns regarding the desk-use of the mercantile sort. Writing manuals aimed at precisely these sorts of people aimed to impart knowledge about what to do with a desk, how to sit, how to hold a pen, but tellingly they did not give away all the necessary information one would have needed to pass oneself

off as properly educated, such as how to fold and seal a letter. Although during the seventeenth-century writing-manuals did give details of how to do things such as fold and seal a letter, by the eighteenth-century, when reading had begun to become more wide-spread, there was no mention of these aspects of communication in any of the manuals. Therefore, it can be seen that penmanship manuals only sold part of the necessary information one required to be a fashionable writer. The rest was likely controlled by an elite group, or could be bought if one employed a writing-master.

The publication of penmanship manuals has been used to suggest that the eighteenth-century saw a shift in importance from the purchase of skills, to the purchase of goods, to indicate one's status as a writer. Dierks based this assertion on the content of one writing-manual, which was composed by a pen-cutter, rather than a writing-master – who were the more usual composers of such works. He follows his argument with the contention that in Pennsylvania newspapers there were increasing numbers of stationery products advertised alongside their country of origin. This doesn't appear to have been the case in Edinburgh as the number of stationery products advertised as explicitly 'foreign' decreased in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* and *Caledonian Mercury* newspapers between 1770 and 1820. However, Dierks based the correlation between 'luxury' and 'foreign' products on the advertising of ink alone, making the comparison with the "Barcelona handkerchief". The handkerchief was made in Barcelona, whereas many stationery items – even when they were composed of internationally-sourced items – were produced domestically. If a comparison is made with paper – which could also be produced from foreign components, but was manufactured into paper in Britain – it might appear less telling that ink was not regularly advertised alongside a geographical location. Both were made from a combination of domestic and foreign parts, but the parts were changed into paper and ink in Britain. Interestingly, it would seem that the first retailers to advertise foreign stationery products were the seedsellers – not stationers at all (for a discussion of seedsellers and paper, see Chapter 3). That these non-specialists were the first to advertise these products might suggest that they were not terribly desirable at that time as it would be expected that stationers would be offering the better-quality and more desirable items?

Combining advertising of stationery products, inventories of household furnishings and published writing-manuals reveals that while Edinburgh's inhabitants who died between 1770 and 1820 may not generally have owned particularly fashionable desks, they were concerned with the privacy of their desk-activities; merchants placed particular importance on their desks and stationery wares manufactured abroad were not particularly widely available. These findings do not correlate with those of other scholars, who have found that in America stationery wares were increasingly imported and that women were particularly

social in their desk use. They do however confirm contemporary fears of an expanding middle class spending increasing amounts of time on sedentary intellectual labour.

Chapter 5

Owning Paper: The Innes's of Stow

> Some of my small gilt sheets, about this time also, were deposited in the ivory and rose-wood cabinet of a beau of the first fashion and ton. One of these was drawn from thence the same day, first scented with otto of roses, and then sent on the form of a billet-doux, most deliciously folded, to a high-kept mistress, who, soon after, in derision of her dupe, made use of it in a manner to delicate to mention.
>
> Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' 1779.

A substantial collection of several thousand items belonging to three generations of the Innes's exists in the NRS. The majority of the documents relate to George Innes of Stow (1704-1780) and his son Gilbert Innes of Stow (1751-1832). George's father Gilbert Innes of Rora (1672-1755), George's siblings – especially his younger brother Alexander (1711-1766) – , his wife Marion Lauder (1712-1780) and two of George and Marion's other children Marion (1745-1793) and Jane (1748-1839) are all also represented to varying extents in these holdings, as are many other individuals.[581] [A family tree illustrating many of the relationships discussed in this chapter can be found in Appendix F].

George Innes was a man with a variety of business and personal interests, beginning his career as a Writer as well as serving both as deputy Receiver General for Scotland and as First Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland (equivalent to Chief Executive) prior to his death. George's earliest papers in this collection date to 1714 and a document declaring that George's career as Writer was begun around 1718, when he was about sixteen years old.[582] A later document dated 1744 referred to George as "Writer in Edinburgh" indicating that he continued this role later into his life.[583] Having had a legal career would help to make sense of several other documents in this collection. George was invited to a lot of funerals, many of the invitations requested that he be present at the 'chesting' of the deceased. When a person died their papers were sealed up as soon as possible, to prevent tampering. After the funeral, the desks, boxes and chests which belonged to the deceased were opened up in the presence of a group of upstanding members of the community who could testify to the contents, a list

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[581] For a discussion of Gilbert's relationship with his sisters see: Alison Duncan, *"Old Maids": Family and Social Relationships of Never-Married Scottish Gentlewomen, c.1740–c.1840* PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, (2012), 179-212.

[582] NRS GD113/4/119/166-191, 'Miscellaneous papers probably used or written by George Innes as the outset of his career as a writer, consisting of tables and draft legal documents, 1718-1724'; NRS GD113/4/122/99-129, 'Miscellaneous notes made by George Innes, 1714-1759'.

[583] NRS GD113/3/997/11, 'Scroll complaint at instance of George Innes, writer in Edinburgh, against Thomas Ainslie, smith in Calton, [...]', 1744.

of which was then drawn up.[584] George kept several such lists, dated to the same period as the reference to him as a Writer, in his possession.[585] Also from this period are documents which George annotated with statements about having been asked to put financial agreements into "a proper form", which further points to Innes as a legal man.[586] As with his later associations with tax collecting and banking, being a Writer would have given George an intimate knowledge of paper.[587] George's business correspondence dates back to 1726, the same year that items relating to Allan Whiteoord's roles as Receiver General and cashier to the newly established Royal Bank begin to appear in the archive.[588] Several items which inventory household furniture, linens and books and clothes were made in 1743 and George made a floor plan of the tenement he moved out of in 1744, which was located on the top floor of the Post Office building in Parliament Close. [589] This was the address at which Marion Lauder received post addressed to Mrs Innes and a marriage settlement between Marion and George dated 1743 is also found in this collection.[590] Their first child (also Marion) was born in 1745 - the year after the pair moved out of Parliament Close.[591]

Gilbert Innes, Marion and George's son, became the "richest commoner in Scotland" after attaining the position first of Director of the Royal Bank in 1787 and then of Deputy Governor in 1794.[592] Although Gilbert is known to have attended classes at Edinburgh University it is thought that he did not graduate.[593] Like his father, Gilbert was a man with broad interests. Amongst other things Gilbert was involved in the establishment of the Edinburgh Musical Society; he was treasurer of the Highland Society; a manager of Edinburgh's Royal Infirmary; a member of the Board of Manufactures; a director of the

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[584] The phrase "chesting" appears to be Scottish, appearing for example in: Tobias Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* (Chapter 105/6); the introductory notes to Susan Edmonstone Ferrier's *Marriage* (London: Richard Bentley & Son 1881) and in a satire on the Edinburgh parliamentary election of 1761 entitled: *Whereas many citizens were invited to attend the funeral of their liberty on the 10th instant, this to invite them to her chesting to-night at six o'clock, as the body has already begun to corrupt; ...* (Edinburgh : s.n., 1761).

[585] NRS GD113/3/990/24, 'Inventory of Captain Dalrymple's Drawers', 1744.

[586] NRS GD113/3/964/4, 'Letter from Andrew Marjorbanks to Andrew Marjorbanks of that ilk', 1740.

[587] It appears George Innes may also have been an Inn Keeper: NRS GD113/4/153/686 is a licence granting him permission to sell alcohol from his property at the head of Ship Tavern Close for 1 year from 12/12/1758. Another [NRS GD113/5/369c, 'George Innes's accounts for impost on ale and beer, 1730-1767'] shows George Innes paying impost on ale and beer between 1730 and 1767. A later letter to Gilbert Innes from manager Robert Riddle dated 19th February 1795 expresses a desire to help him avoid competition for an Inn at Stow: NRS GD113/5/443/160.

[588] NRS GD113/2/1-63, 'Business Correspondence of George Innes', 1726- 1734; NRS GD113/4/109/451-500, 'Business letters addressed mainly to Allan Whiteoord, merchant in Edinburgh, cashier to the Royal Bank and Receiver General of the Land Tax', 1722-1731.

[589] NRS GD113/1/393, 'Household cash book', 1732-1742; NRS GD113/1/396, 'Cash book of furniture bought', 1743-1758 ; NRS GD113/1/397, 'Ledger of furniture purchases', 1743-1758; NRS GD113/1/457, 'Inventory of books, linen, clothes and furniture', 1743-1758; NRS GD113/4/122/72-98, 'Receipts for the price of sundry articles of furniture', 1744-1750.

[590] NRS GD113/5/77, 'Papers relating to the marriage settlement of Mr George Innes, Deputy Receiver of Land Tax in Scotland, to Miss Marion Lauder, daughter of deceased David Lauder of Huntlywood, Advocate', 1743.

[591] NRS GD113/5/66c, 'Letters from Beatrix Maxwell of Pollok, at Pollok, to her cousin Mrs Innes at her house in the Posthouse Stairs, Parliament Close, Edinburgh', c.1730.

[592] RBS, 'Gilbert Innes', http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/people/list/gilbert-innes.html [05/03/2014].

[593] Ibid.

Edinburgh Assembly Rooms; and treasurer of the Pitt Club of Scotland.[594] Less, of course, is known of George's daughters Jane and Marion although Jane's letters within this archive make for lively reading.[595] The collection of family and estate papers includes large numbers of letters to and from the Innes's, accounts, promissory notes, legal papers, orders, invoices, vouchers, receipts, inventories, Burgess tickets, building plans, rent ledgers, expenses, invitations, tacks, bills of exchange, lists and memorandums. The papers were assembled in their current form following the death of Jane, who - having inherited Gilbert's fortune - died without heirs. The collection was deposited as a gift to the archives by Captain HCP Hamilton from Queens County, Ireland, in 1947 with some additional papers received by the archives in 1979 from Messers Lindsay's W.S.[596]

Using evidence gathered from the papers themselves, as well as the catalogue, this chapter considers how the papers were assembled, the kinds of documents present, the way the Innes's made physical use of paper, and the things they wrote about paper-use. Although this extensive archive exists, what is mostly lost to time is the way in which the Innes's themselves collected and ordered their papers. As these papers were assembled for the purposes of a court case, this archive does not exclusively represent the Innes's choices in retention or disposal, in order or importance. However, what can be derived from the surviving papers gives a glimpse into the way in which this family used paper. Reading the catalogue makes it clear that there was both a methodical, almost obsessive, approach to amassing the papers of the men's various business endeavours and a whimsical, eccentric element of paper collecting for personal enjoyment, probably undertaken by George in particular, which – by the very fact of its survival – hints at a possible endorsement of these habits by Gilbert and Jane to whom these papers passed.

The Catalogue

The catalogue is arranged in seven sections, a note on which states that the arrangement is of nineteenth-century origin. Sections 1-3 are said to relate mainly to George and consist largely of business papers and correspondence with some personal papers, Section 4 is concerned with the family venture of the St Christopher's Sugar Warehouse, Section 5 relates to the Innes children Gilbert, Jane and Marion and their correspondence, Section 6 contains Crown Rents and Imprest papers, and Section 7 is entitled 'miscellaneous.' Although the

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[594] RBS, 'Gilbert Innes'; Joe Rock, *The Temple of Harmony: New Research on St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 55-74, http://www.euppublishing.com/doi/pdfplus/10.3366/E1350752409000193 [14/04/2014]; Philippa Godfrey, *Gilbert Innes, Esq. of Stow: banker, musician and patron of music in eighteenth-century Edinburgh*, PhD Thesis, The University of Edinburgh (1992).

[595] Jane Innes features briefly in: Katherine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth Century Scotland*. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011) and Alison Duncan, 'The Sword and the Pen: The Role of Correspondence in the Advancement Tactics of Eighteenth-Century Military Officers', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 29, 2(2009), 106–122.

[596] NRS GD113, 'Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, Peeblesshire' <http://www.nas.gov.uk/onlineCatalogue>. [05/03/2014].

section headers appear to suggest that papers within that section relate to particular members of the family, there are many items which do not conform to expectations, for example papers which were made after his death in 1780 have been catalogued in sections which apparently relate to George, which is quite obviously impossible. Although the cataloguer suggests a nineteenth century organisation of the papers, some of the internal organisation suggests that the relationships between the documents were made by the Innes's, for example sundry papers collected by George are catalogued in yearly and monthly bundles and within these bundles are items with composition dates which do not correspond to the bundle dates, suggesting that they were separated at the time of acquisition into these chronological bundles, rather than having been bundled up like this at a later date. Other details which suggest that there are elements of the Innes's organisation within the collection include the fact that Jane's receipts are collected by product-type, whereas those belonging to her brother and father seem to be organised by date. Similarly, George's funeral invitations are organised within his chronological bundles of unrelated papers, whereas Gilbert and Jane's are bundled separately to their other papers. Had the organisation of these papers been undertaken by a third party the same methods would likely have been used to arrange the papers, regardless of the member of the family to whom they belonged. Nevertheless, the catalogue remains a useful way of beginning to think about these family papers and their relationships both to other papers in the archive and to the people to whom they belonged.

Section 1: Volumes

The first 226 volumes in this collection are associated with the office of Receiver General for Scotland. The books themselves relate to the administration of the role from the time at which Allan Whitefoord took the post of Receiver General in 1726 and end with George Innes's retirement from the post of deputy in 1776. The establishment of the position of Receiver General in Scotland was fraught with disarray. The English administration was woefully ignorant of local problems and the new tax system was simply "superimposed" upon the old Cess system which Scotland had operated before the Union.[597] Whitefoord campaigned against systemic corruption for twenty years, agitating for change and aiming to make the administration of taxes in Scotland efficient and effective, but his efforts were too little avail until shortly after the appointment of George.[598] Sometime before 1747 Whitefoord appointed George to the post of deputy Receiver General. Following disarray resulting from the changes to the Window Tax in 1747 George and Whitefoord together undertook to redefine the tax collection system in Scotland, succeeding in raising collection rates by insisting on the appointment of more and better-paid staff.[599] It was through his

[597] W. R. Ward, 'The Land Tax in Scotland 1707-98', <www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk>. [20/01/2014].
[598] Ibid., 288-296.
[599] Ibid., 297-299.

involvement with tax collection that George became Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland, to which the other range of papers in section one of this archive relate.[600] The post had belonged to Whitefoord from the establishment of the bank in 1727 until his retirement due to ill health in 1745. At that time John Campbell took over, with George as his Second Cashier, until Campbell's death in 1777 when George was promoted to First Cashier with William Simpson taking his place as Second Cashier.[601] However, at this time George was apparently already "old and in ill health" and Simpson probably took on most of the responsibility.[602] As well as being both deputy Receiver General and Chief Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland, George had a concern in his brother Alexander's business; the St. Christopher's Sugar Warehouse and a further range of papers relate to the operations of this business.[603] It is no wonder that George was described as "the ubiquitous George Innes" - he was indeed a man with many interests.[604]

Section 2: Business Correspondence of George Innes

The first four items in this section are titled "business correspondence" (1726-1729) the following fifty-nine are monthly bundles simply called "correspondence" dating from January 1730 to December 1734.

Section 3: Business Papers and Other Correspondence of George Innes

This is a further collection of correspondence relating to George's business dealings dating from 1734-1780. Within this section miscellaneous papers belonging to George are also located and called 'sundries'. Of this section the archivist who collated the catalogue remarked: "a series entitled 'sundries' which contains miscellaneous material collected by George Innes, obviously a man who never threw anything out". This remark would pique the interest of any historian, and the paper historian is especially well rewarded with a rather peculiar set of items to which I shall return.

The first 855 bundles are monthly collections dating from December 1734 to February 1780. The next eight bundles are called "'sundries' miscellaneous material collected by George Innes" each sorted by year, dating from c.1725 to 1733. Many of these items relate to George's employment under Whitefoord, but they also show a man who used and amassed paper in a variety of ways.

[600] NRS GD113/1/267-295, 'Accounts', 18th century.
[601] *The Scots Magazine* 39, (1777), 112; RBS, 'William Simpson', <http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/people/list/william-simpson.html>. [10/03/2014]; RBS, 'Gilbert Innes', <http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/people/list/gilbert-innes.html>. [05/03/2014].
[602] RBS, 'William Simpson'.
[603] NRS GD113/1/296-305, 'Letterbooks kept by Alexander, George and Gilbert Innes', 1734-1777.
[604] Ward, 'The Land Tax in Scotland', 302.

Section 4: Papers of George Innes of Stow and Gilbert Innes of Stow, his son

Everything prior to GD113/4/133 is wanting, the section continues with George's papers, mainly business matters connected to taxation. GD113/4/153 begins Gilbert's papers, including his papers related to the St Christopher's Sugar Warehouse which was run mainly by Alexander, between 1726 and 1797. Hundreds of further items relating to business and personal correspondence follow, including begging letters, letters from women claiming paternity, from Gilbert's mistress Euphemia Burnett and – following her death – their children, from friends on the subject of music and on the Bank. After these letters are what are described in the catalogue as "Miscellaneous scrappy items, accounts, bills of exchange, etc." and finally accounts and correspondence relating to the estate of Stow which George purchased in 1759.

Section 5: Family and Miscellaneous Papers

The catalogue describes this section as relating mainly to Gilbert, Jane and Marion, dating the contents to c.1713-1839. However, with birthdates of 1745, 1748 and 1751 it is clear that some of the papers in this section pre-date this generation of the family. The majority of these earlier papers relate to land ownership, George's role at the bank, and to Innes family matters such as the death in 1766 of Alexander. Additionally there are many letters written to Marion Lauder (and later, after she marries George, to her as Mrs Innes). Also within this grouping are further papers to do with Gilbert's role at the Royal Bank, militia papers, accounts and receipts. However, as well as papers of the Innes family this section contains papers relating to the Robertson (1753-1793) and Moncreiff (1721-1772) families.

Section 6: Imprests and Crown Rents

These papers relate to George's role as Deputy Receiver General.

Section 7: Miscellaneous Papers

A selection of mainly incomplete papers, some described as "scraps", including some related to the Antiquarian Society, the Royal Bank and the Borthwick Estate.

Shaping the Collection

The catalogue is a useful tool for classifying the archive, but it does not reveal all its secrets. A collection like this is not bound by the archive; it has reaches far and wide in terms of the subjects and people it encompasses. Like so many things to do with paper, this collection is multifaceted – it contains items ranging from the inane to the prudent, the everyday to the once-in-a-lifetime, it took hundreds of people to create these documents directly and indirectly and even their retention was not the work of the Innes's alone. As well as the

obvious hands which played a part in terms of the legal team in the court case for which these documents were prepared, the people to whom the papers passed and the archivists into whose possession this collection came, there is internal evidence to suggest a community shaping of this archive. For example, Alexander Smellie (the son of printer and encyclopaedist William Smellie) wrote to Jane, sometimes enclosing paper items he felt would amuse her, in one of his letters he implored: "I hope you are to keep the letters of John of Armagh and of Roden. These letters record another instance of your warm heart and munificent disposition".[605] Sir Andrew Lauder Dick also made recommendations regarding the retention of papers in this collection. In a letter to Gilbert he explained that although he intended to be civil in company, the two families were no longer friends.[606] Dick attributed this to Jane's cold and inhospitable manner towards Dick's sister, as well as to several "irritating expressions" about his family which Dick had seen in letters Jane sent to others. The letter written to Gilbert was unsigned, but stated that the writer believed Innes would know who it was from (which Gilbert obviously did as he annotated the cover "Sir Andrew Lauder Re'd. 24th Nov 1787") and suggested that for propriety's sake the recipient should destroy the letter. Obviously Gilbert ignored this advice, preferring to note its origins and keep it within his documents instead.

While other actors attempted to assert their influence on the contents of the Innes's papers, the Innes's also made attempts to shape the survival of the papers of other individuals and families. Several papers which once belonged to other people are subsumed within the Innes collection. Within the first section of the catalogue are several letter books of London merchants Douglas and Cockburn relating to the dates 1726-76.[607] The letter books of Sir James Cockburn (1729-1804) and Henry Douglas' firm are associated with George because of their acting as London agents for the Land Tax, although why George took possession of their books is not known.[608] Also in this section are papers relating to Dr James Hall, a physician practicing mainly in the Borders. As well as his business books relating to dates between 1772 and 1807, there is the paper Hall submitted for his medical degree in 1771.[609] Dr Hall's relationship to the Innes's is tenuous – Dr Hall's brother, William, was factor of Gilbert's estate at Pirntaiton.[610] Again, how and why Innes came to possess these papers is unknown. Dr Hall's books reveal that he was treating a variety of clients, including some notable Edinburgh names such as the stationer/ bookseller/ cartographer John Ainslie. He was also the doctor who attended the papermaking Nisbets and the workers at the family's

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[605] NRS GD113/5/219b/22, 'Letter from Alexander Smellie […]', 1836.
[606] NRS GD113/4/158/191, 'Letter from Sir Andrew Lauder Dick', 1787.
[607] NRS GD113/1/82-9, 'Letterbooks of Messrs Douglas and Cockburn', 1726-1776.
[608] History of Parliament Online, 'Sir James Cockburn', <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/cockburn-sir-james-1729-1804>. [21/04/14].
[609] NRS GD113/1/437-456, 'James Hall, physician in Duns', c.1770-1780.
[610] NRS GD113/5/193e, 'Letters sent to Mr William Hall following the death of his brother, Dr Hall of Dunse', 1797; NRS GD113/5/192b, 'Estate Papers of William Hall, Factor, Pirntation, for the estate owned by Gilbert Innes of Stow', 1796-1797; NRS GD113/5/192d, 'Estate Cash Book kept by William Hall, Factor, and pages from an Estate Ledger kept by William Maclaurin', 1787-1812.

Waulk mill.[611] In addition to these papers which bear some connection, however distant, to the Innes, papers in section 5 (titled 'Family and Miscellaneous Papers') contains – alongside Innes family papers – papers of the Robertson, Haliburton and Moncreiff families. Connections can be made between the Robertson and Halliburton families by marriage and the Misses Robertson and Moncreiff jointly rented property in Monteith's Close, Giffart's [Giffords?] Park and Alison's Square, Edinburgh between 1770 and 1791.[612] But despite these connections, the reason the Innes's came to possess such personal papers relating to these families such is probably lost to time.

It can be seen that although these are ostensibly the papers of the Innes family they touch many more individuals and the shape and scope of this collection is not limited to paper used exclusively by the family.

An Interest in Paper

Paper was intimately connected to all of the Innes's professional endeavours. George's legal career, his meticulous records of tax collecting and his role at the Bank would all have been closely associated with paper use in preparing documents, keeping records and dealing with paper money. Gilbert's banking life as well as his involvement in the family sugar merchant's business would have seen him buy and use wrapping papers as well as writing papers. These men would have had daily dealings with various kinds of paper - without which they could not have done their jobs.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that both George and Gilbert owned papers which demonstrate an interest in paper as an object and that Gilbert, in particular, also demonstrated his interest in the use of paper in his writings. Both men's archives demonstrate a real engagement with paper technologies. George kept a small piece of blotting paper, wrapped in a paper cover which bore the note: February 6th 1748 "made of woollen rags, got in James Mercers shop".[613] The blotting paper is pink, with obvious flecks of red wool in the surface. That George saved a small piece of this paper, and noted its woollen contents suggests that he felt this paper to be remarkable in some way. There is no history of blotting papers, but perhaps paper made from wool was innovative at this time? It is known that a small quantity of wool was probably a component of wrapping papers, as evidenced by the books of the Balerno Company, but a paper made either wholly or mainly of wool, as this item suggests, would appear to be a new and unusual product.[614] Certainly the literature on the woollen trade in Scotland at this time proves that woollen manufacture was

[611] NRS GD113/1/437, 'Accounts of fees charged by James Hall, physician in Duns, for medical and dental attendance', 1772-1807.
[612] NRS GD113/5/35a, 'Receipts for rent paid by Miss Robertson and Miss Moncrieff for property in Monteith's Close, Giffart's Park and Alison's Square, Edinburgh', 1770-1791.
[613] NRS GD113/3/1032/18, 'Piece of pink blotting paper', 1748.
[614] NRS CS96/1810, Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Rag books, 1795-1796.

in trouble, with wool apparently going to waste due to a lack of skill in turning it into cloth.[615] His family name would suggest that Mercer came from a wool-family and perhaps he tapped into the dearth of skilled labour at this time by putting wool fibres to other uses? Alternatively, if Innes is correct in his annotation that this paper was made from woollen rags (as opposed to being made from virgin wool) it might have been a product imagined as a result of a call from the Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture in Scotland, which regularly offered prizes for innovative uses of materials. George's interest in paper technologies is further demonstrated by his ownership of two menus wrapped in a cover dated 24th July 1762 and inside entitled "Bill of fare at the Paper Miln". The use of 'Miln' as well as the mixed tables of fricassees, blancmanges, ragouts and syllabubs suggest that this meal took place earlier than the cover is dated. [616]

Later items in the archive which display this interest in the technologies of paper might have belonged to either George or Gilbert. A 'receipt for making an ink that will not wash out of linen' dated August 1771 seems to have been written in Gilbert's hand.[617] This period foreshadowed a great concern regarding the forgery of bank notes and Gilbert's involvement with the Royal Bank might suggest that this recipe was of interest to him for the purposes of security. However, it can be seen from other documents within this collection that linen appears to have also interested Gilbert in its own right.[618] A few years later an advertisement for the Edinburgh Ink Warehouse was added to the papers.[619] The advert professed that the proprietor had brought ink manufacture to a level of perfection previously unseen, and that he sold inks of his own manufacture including a black ink which would purportedly never fade or go mouldy, as well as shining and red inks. Again, these properties might have interested George or Gilbert in relation to the manufacture of Bank notes, or simply as curiosities.

Several documents which are incontestably the property of Gilbert show evidence that he too was (like his father) interested in paper technologies. He kept a printed list of the prices of paper agreed upon by the manufacturers at a meeting in Edinburgh, where they blamed rising taxes and the high price of rags for necessitating price increases.[620] As well as this practical list of paper prices, Gilbert had in his archives a note from Mr Ruthven, who he

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[615] C. Gulvin, 'The Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry, 1707-1760', *The Scottish Historical Review* 50, 150 (1971), 121-137.
[616] The use of Miln is an antiquated term, which seems to have fallen out of use in the seventeenth century according to the Dictionary of the Scots Language <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>. [05/03/14]; the foods served are representative of seventeenth-century cooking: British Library, 'Books for Cooks 1600s', <http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/booksforcooks/1600s/1600sfood.html>. [05/03/2014].
[617] NRS GD113/3/1314/6, 'Receipt for making an ink that will not wash out of linen', 1771.
[618] For example, his "miscellaneous" papers also contain a linen merchant's account book NRS GD113/1/326 and Innes's notes on the aerostatic adventures of the Mongolfier brothers are supplemented by James Tytler's discovery that linen made a better material for balloon flight NRS GD113/4/163/144, linen and paper are, of course, closely intertwined.
[619] NRS GD113/3/1391/2, 'Printed advertisement for the Edinburgh Ink Ware-House', 1778.
[620] NRS GD113/4/162/399, 'Printed list of prices of paper agreed on by the booksellers, stationers and papermakers of Edinburgh', 1790.

described as "inventor of the patent printing press".[621] John Ruthven's invention was an iron press, in which the platern moved above a fixed bed and was lowered by a screw to produce impressions. Ruthven's invention was described as revolutionary by his contemporaries.[622] His note suggests that he felt as excited about his press as his peers, writing that he felt it would "begin a new era in engraving". Again, as well as a curio, Gilbert's interest in engraving could be connected to his banking role and contemporary concerns regarding bank note forgery.

Gilbert's interest in paper is also exemplified through the meticulous copying of articles regarding the world's first hot air balloon flights. The Montgolfier brothers were the sons of a paper manufacturer in Annonay, France. They began conducting their *experiments aerostatique* in 1782 and appear to first have come to Gilbert's attention in December 1783 when he copied into a little handmade notebook the "Appendix to Review for Dec 1783 Description des Experiments la Machinic Aerostatique invented by Messers De Mongolfier &c. By M. [Folyey] de St. Fonds". The brothers' invention was made from paper-covered-linen. Gilbert's notebook was then filled with the exploits of James Tytler, the UKs first hot air balloon enthusiast, who flew his Grand Edinburgh Fire Balloon from Comely Gardens to Restalrig on 25th August 1784. Tytler, it is reported, perfected his balloon beyond that of the Montgolfier's by replacing the paper (which was easily torn) with a varnish over the linen to stop the hot air from escaping.[623]

These items, which can each be related to the improvement of printing on paper – inks which do not fade and cannot be deliberately erased, new printing techniques, and special coatings to protect linen –, are all techniques which might all have been applied to making paper money more robust. Paper money was generally held in deep suspicion. There were concerns about the value such items possessed and about what was happening to the "real money" i.e. gold and silver, which the bank notes were being made to stand in for.[624] The complaint was that whereas the banks had previously made payment of gold in exchange for bank notes 'on demand' (that is, immediately when presented at the bank) following aggressive techniques by the Royal Bank in an attempt to take-over the 'Old' Bank; both institutions stopped offering that service. Instead the Edinburgh banks were either paying on demand, or after six months with interest – at their discretion. The situation was still being mocked in the 1790s, with epigrams such as: "Being ask'd why in Scotland they've paper for gold, a satirical jade who let nothing escape her, made an answer at once convincing and

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[621] NRS GD113/4/163/144, 'Letter George H Baird, principal of Edinburgh University', 3rd July 1817.
[622] Anon., 'New Printing Press', *Belfast Monthly Magazine* 12, 69 (April 30th 1814), 297. *JStor,* <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30075448>. [05/03/14].
[623] NRS GD113/1/478, 'Notes of aerostatic experiments, taken from magazines and newspapers', 1783-1784.
[624] See, for examples: James Anderson, *Observations on the means of exciting a spirit of national industry* (Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1777), 289. David Hume, *Essays and treatises on several subjects* Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1793), 638; David Hume, *Political Discourses* (Edinburgh, 1754), 81; Anon., *Proposals for restraining the abuse of paper-credit in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Printed for William Miller. 1765), 5.

bold, where there's plenty of rags, there is always much paper".[625] As this verse shows, the practice of substituting for paper money led to alarm that there was not enough capital to answer demand. A similar situation arose in England during the Napoleonic Wars, with the Bank Restriction Act of 1797. Following the Act, suspicions of bank note forgery rose substantially; almost unchecked by the Bank of England. It is unclear whether forgery was also a major concern in Edinburgh after its banks suspended specie payments, but this interest in indelible inks, printing presses, and coatings which made linen (and thus, perhaps, linen paper) rip-proof, might point to similar concerns. Indeed, the Royal Bank was experimenting with new bank notes at around this time and in September 1777 they issued their first colour bank note.[626]

Physical Use

As well as their active interest in paper technologies, numerous items within the collection exemplify the diverse ways in which paper was treated. These papers show physical evidence of having been cut, folded, stamped, sewn, sealed, filed, torn, and used to store foliage.

i.   Filing

Selections of Jane Innes's household papers are fortunately still in their original condition of having been filed. The origin of 'filing' ones papers is military in nature and refers to a file of soldiers – i.e. all in a line.[627] The line in paper filing is a piece of string, to which – these documents show – a stopper is attached at one end. There are a variety of such stoppers in these files, the majority being made from pasteboard. These small stoppers appear to have been quite roughly cut-out. Some are simply circles, one of which has writing on it – suggesting paper re-use – while others have red diamonds printed on their surface indicating that these might have been shop bought, rather than homemade.[628] The catalogue description refers to these stoppers as 'buttons' and indeed another bundle had a button, of the kind used on clothing, as its stopper.[629] It appears that the strings were sewn onto the stoppers and a knot tied to stop them slipping. Papers were then sewn onto the thread and when the thread was full, or the owner wanted to end the file, they took the string around to the opposite side of the pile of papers and wound it around the stopper to bundle the papers together. The bundle of papers filed on a clothing button is interesting in that it is almost a ball of papers. The shape suggests that at some point in its history it has been kept not flat as might have been expected had the papers been stored in a draw or chest, but perhaps in a

[625] James Anderson, 'Epigram', *The Bee, Or Literary Weekly Intelligencer* 10, ed., James Anderson, (August 15th 1792), 189.
[626] Rampart Scotland, 'History of Scottish Banks and Banknotes', <http://www.rampantscotland.com/SCM/story.htm>. [14/03/2014]
[627] OED, 'File', <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/70155?rskey=nP1jlb&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>. [12/03/14].
[628] NRS GD113/5/55-56, 'Household accounts paid by Miss Innes', 1809-1815.
[629] NRS GD113/5/334, 'Bundles of household receipts', 1800-1830.

bag which could explain the upturned edges. References to bags of papers appeared in some of the after-death inventories studied in Chapter 4.[630]

ii.   Correct use

In addition to the physical evidence of paper-use which is found in this archive, there is also a strand of internal evidence of the 'correct' use of paper in the writings of the Innes's. Gilbert regularly expressed his interest in the correct use of paper, particularly in his letters to his sister Jane, who responded in kind. Many of Gilbert and Jane's personal letters begin with apologies for their tardiness in writing. When writing intimate letters to each other they continue this convention, but – unlike in their personal letters to others – at times a mockery of the customary act of contrition seeps through into their correspondence. On 29th August 1776 Gilbert sent Jane the customary reproaches for failing to write to him while away, in a jocular tone his letter continued: "I have therefore taken up the pen to tell you that I think myself most uncivilly treated & that on the Case of Correspondence as may be seen in all Compleat Letter Writers & other learned books wrote upon the subject it is the business of the Absentee to strike the first blow".[631] His reference to 'Compleat Letter Writers' may refer to titles such as *The Complete Letter Writer* and similar works which appear in Chapter 4. Gilbert's invocation of this title reads ironically, particularly the reference to letter writing manuals as 'learned.' In her work on Jane Austen's letter writing Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade posits that in genteel families, letter writing skills were passed down through the generations and not acquired from books such as these; which anticipated a less educated readership as evidenced by their inclusion of details such as English grammar, rules of spelling and lists of punctuation marks.[632] Other documents within this archive prove that both Gilbert and Jane were indeed educated and their need for a primer on letter writing would therefore have been negligible. When Gilbert referred to this kind of introductory text as 'learned,' he was therefore likely being facetious as in fact such texts were hardly erudite (see Chapter 4).

Although he used reference to letter writing manuals to tease his sister, Gilbert was a stickler for the rules of correspondence and indeed participated in the familial transmission of these rules as posited by van Ostade, notably in a bundle of letters written to William Mclaurin.[633] Mclaurin was the eldest child of Euphemia Burnet, Gilbert's lover and the mother of eight of his children.[634] It is possible that William's father was William Simpson, Gilbert's cousin.[635]

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[630] NRS CC8/12/15, 'Household Inventory William Niven', 11th December 1802.
[631] NRS GD113/1/229, 'Weekly balances of public cash', 1746-1747, 70-1.
[632] Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 'Jane Austen and the art of letter writing', <http://blog.oup.com/2014/03/jane-austen-letter-writing/>. [17/03/2014].
[633] NRS GD113/5/136a/1-5, 'Letters to and from Gilbert Innes in London concerning the Burnet family in Edinburgh', 1788-1793.
[634] On 28th April 1817 the younger Euphemia Burnett married Major Archibald Menzies of the 42nd Regiment of the Royal Highlanders, in Gilbert Innes' home. *Scots Magazine* 79 (1817), 399. The pair went on to have a child, Mary Stewart, who married George Duncan Robertson in 1839, *County Families of the United Kingdom*, 546.

Gilbert's close relationship with Mclaurin continued long after Euphemia's death despite the fact that he was not the boy's father, with William helping to manage the estate at Pirnataion for a time before their relationship deteriorated severely.[636] At the beginning of 1791 Gilbert and Euphemia were in London and Mclaurin was left in charge of the couple's younger children in Edinburgh. There was Marion, then around eleven years old, Jean who was about nine, Anne aged seven, George five and Euphen/Euphemia who was three; the couple would shortly go on to have Simpson and Wemyss and later another female child possibly called Elizabeth.[637] While in London Gilbert wrote regularly to William. Over the course of several letters Gilbert instructed William in 'proper' letter writing conduct, correcting errors and offering advice on epistolary conduct. He advised William to "write on paper of this size [Innes's own letter is on a sheet of post-sized paper] & folded in the same way with this letter".[638] Later correspondence further instructed Mclaurin to put a "cross so + under the wafer or seal as in this letter", if he was writing to a third party to whom he has previously arranged to have correspondence forwarded. While another letter chastised William for not having sealed his letter properly: "either put a drop of wax betwixt the paper under the seal & afterwards seal it neatly over it or put a wafer without wax which is the easier way as you have not been used to seal w[ith] wax".[639] The earliest of Gilbert's letters to William was written in a large cursive hand, well-spaced on the page with wide margins and deep spaces between lines. As their correspondence continued Gilbert commented on how William's own hand had "dwindled to nothing" praising his increasing competence in writing.[640] Gilbert's own letters reflect this change, with his hand continuing to decrease in size as the correspondence continues, suggesting that he had increasing faith in William's ability to read more challenging writing, as well as to perform it.

The reason Gilbert's tutoring of William on this subject is known, is that in each of these letters he gave William very specific instructions not only to not show his letters to anyone (exemplifying that the sharing of correspondence tended to be customary) but also rather uncustomarily to keep the letters to be returned to Gilbert – instructions with which William duly complied. This bundle of letters was obviously sent and received by William (i.e. they are not copy letters) as each has been sealed and stamped and so was sent through the mail to the address: *William Mclaurin at Mrs Burnet's in Edinburgh*. As the letters refer to Euphemia's children as his own, it must be assumed that in insisting upon the return of his

[635] NRS GD113/5/46, 'Extracts from a journal (which includes copy letters) kept by Jane Innes, relating to the private affairs of Gilbert Innes of Stow, her brother, and her own social affairs', 1793-1800.
[636] NRS GD113/5/141/41, 'Letter William Mclaurin to Jane Burnet', 31st October 1798.
[637] NRS GD113/5/419/3/1, 'Diary kept by Jane Innes', 1793; NRS GD113/5/30d, 'Letter Miss Elizabeth Burnett to Gilbert Innes', 1822 - suggests Elizabeth was the name chosen by William Simpson's family for the child following Effie's death (which was possibly childbirth related).
[638] NRS GD113/5/136a/1, 'Letter from Gilbert Innes in London to William Mclaurin and the Burnet family in Edinburgh', 19th January 1791.
[639] NRS GD113/5/136a/4 and 5, 'Letter from Gilbert Innes in London to William Mclaurin and the Burnet family in Edinburgh', 2nd and 9th February 1791.
[640] NRS GD113/5/136a/3, 'Letter from Gilbert Innes in London to William Mclaurin and the Burnet family in Edinburgh', 28th January 1791.

original letters Gilbert did not want his paternity and paternal actions towards the children to become common knowledge.[641] What prompted Gilbert to keep these letters, rather than destroying them, is less simple to speculate upon.

iii.   Use-less

There are three different kinds of use-less papers within the Innes family papers. Firstly there are papers in George's collection which show a playful use of paper for entertainment and perhaps esoteric education. One example of the use of paper for providing entertainment, perhaps for boasting of one's ability to use paper, is a small scrap, approximately 4cm square, that has been written on with minute writing performed in a spiral.[642] A cover inside which this paper is stored is inscribed: "The Lords Prayer, 1, 2 & 3 Commands, wrote by me in the bredth of a Crown piece, without glasses year 1720".[643] Although its achievement is no more than showing-off, it is quite beautiful to look at and does show a genuine command of penmanship – particularly given that in 1720 it would likely have been written with a quill pen.[644] Another item which demonstrates great skill in paper use has been catalogued as a "printed diagram showing a circle divided into 365 equal parts".[645] However, close inspection of the item reveals it to be hand-drawn, not printed. The centre of the circle has a hole in it, suggestive of the use of a pair of compass to aid the drawing, or of the paper having been weakened by the repeated drawing of lines from this centre point with wet ink. In a few places small errors can also be detected in the trajectory of the line, which have subsequently been corrected. The corrections and the central hole are unlikely to be present had the item been printed, additionally, this item does not show impressions from a printing press. The drawing is unfinished. In the outer rim of the circle the months 'January' and 'February' were lightly written in pencil, although the other ten sections remain empty. An inner circle has indeed been divided into 365 equal parts, which, in turn have been grouped into fives and tens suggesting that this diagram was perhaps intended to depict the ancient Egyptian calendar which had twelve months of thirty days each, with five 'wandering days' at the end of each year. These papers are 'useless' in the sense that they do not serve any practical purpose, writing the Lord's Prayer in the space of a

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[641] Following the elder Effie Burnett's death, correspondence between Gilbert Innes and his cousin William Simpson confirm Gilbert's reluctance to be publicly known as the children's father. He appologised to William for not having shared the information about the paternity of his own illegitimate son's (William Mclaurin) siblings. William Simpson subsequently took on responsibility for the whole family: NRS GD113/5/46, 'NRS GD113/5/46, 'Extracts from a journal (which includes copy letters) kept by Jane Innes, relating to the private affairs of Gilbert Innes of Stow, her brother, and her own social affairs', 1793-1800.

[642] NRS GD113/3/856/4, 'Copy of the Lord's Prayer, Belief, 1-3 Commands, wrote by me [?George Innes] in the breadth of a halfcrown piece, without glasses', 1720.

[643] The catalogue queries this author as George Innes, but given some of his collecting habits which will become apparent later in the chapter there is reason to doubt his authorship, although the date places this item within his collection of papers.

[644] Daniel Defoe's *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Britain* 1724-1726 mentions a "steel pen" in his seventh letter regarding the West Midlands, but it is generally accepted that mass produced steel nib pens did not come about until the early part of the nineteenth-century.

[645] NRS GD113/3/857/35, 'Printed diagram showing a circle divided into 365 equal parts', [n.d.].

Crown can only have been done for fun and there was no apparent need for George to have an understanding of the ancient Egyptian calendar.

The calendar paper, as well as not serving a practical purpose, is also 'useless' in the sense that it is incompletely used; it's purpose has not been completely realised. George's papers also include other paper projects which he started but did not complete, one of these is an account book headed "Memoirs Shires and Burghs".[646] Inside the first few pages were ruled and laid out to receive the accounts of taxation of that area, each having a headed space on a page. The last of the marked pages was ruled, but no heading was added and the rest of the book is blank. No information was ever added to this volume and yet George duly squirreled it away along with completed taxation records.

Despite being incomplete George kept these papers, which is something they have in common with the third category of useless papers. There are several papers within the collection which George himself annotated as "useless" namely three sets of blank papers which had previously been used to wrap other papers.[647] These papers are completely blank, unmarked paper. Their only markings are annotations made by George as to their origins and in one case explicitly signalling their uselessness. In terms of collection it is easier to understand why those papers which have been completely acted upon have been retained by George, whereas his incomplete and to an even greater extent his 'unused' papers present us with more of a conundrum.

The very fact that George's preservation of such 'useless' papers is, in itself, revealing. As G. Thomas Tanselle wrote in relation to collecting:

> Every object that is taken in, that is given entrance to one's house, or room, or personal space, acquires thereby a significance [...] Some objects, of course, arrive unbidden, but if they are retained (even through inertia, and only temporarily) they are still revealing. Every accumulation, whatever additional significance it may be found to possess, has the unity that comes from its telling something about a human being who lived in a particular time and place.[648]

That it is easier to relate to George keeping used papers than unused highlights our own values which prize action above inaction. Unused items tend to be associated with a kind of 'high' collecting (uncut first editions, for example), but such items must have a more universal appeal to hold value. The unused items in George's papers, however, do not have this kind of appeal and even within contemporary collections keeping papers which had been used for wrapping is an unusual practice. That George himself deliberately and explicitly

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[646] NRS GD113/1/489, 'Account book with heading `memoirs shires and burghs', [n.d.].
[647] NRS GD113/3/1227/22, 'Useless papers which lay with Lord Cathcarts bonds', 18th May 1764; NRS GD113/3/1042/19, 'Sundry useless papers taken out of stock drawer', 26th December 1748; NRS GD113/3/1042/13, 'Wrapers that were about Captain Dalrymples papers of no use & folded', 20th December 1748.
[648] Tanselle, 'A Rationale of Collecting', 3.

marks these as "useless" highlights his own awareness of this. In actual fact, blank paper is not useless at all; it is full of use-potential which is why paper is purchased in this form. So, in describing that paper as useless, Innes was actually remarking on its lack of use-value in the context in which he had employed it – by removing it from its intended trajectory (arguably as blank paper it should have been used in the future) Innes himself had deliberately rendered it "useless". Had George not removed this paper from circulation and placed it in his archive it would still have been part of the world of things and could have been put to use, perhaps as kindling for a fire, or lining for a pie-dish. It is precisely George's deliberate act of preservation which makes a blank piece of paper useless. Had it not been devalued in this way it may have gained a place within the re-use category.

iv.   Re-use

Some items in this collection show not one use, but two. As well as items which were reappropriated in order to be put to a secondary use (to which I shall turn shortly) there is a volume of notes on naval experiments which also contains estate accounts.[649] The dual-use of this volume has been achieved by using the book from one side as a space for navel experiments and from the other as a book relating to expenses. It was used over the years 1786 to 1793 placing it firmly within Gilbert's collection of papers; although it is not certain that it was written by him. The multiple use of this volume is not entirely unusual. Ronald J. and Mary Sacarino Zobray's article on 'Whatchamacallits' in New England's manuscript archives examines such multi-purpose items, attributing their existence to parsimony.[650] Despite Zobray and Zobray's focus on literariness in these kinds of mixed-media objects, the accusation of parsimony is a convincing one in the case of this item, particularly as the use of the page – the small-size of the handwriting for example – also points to a very conscious effort to save on paper. An alternative suggestion would be that the volume was a travelling document, the economical use of its pages and structure being the result of a desire to travel light.

Although the nautical/expense book is not unique in its employment as a multifunctional object, the majority of items in the archive which show evidence of paper re-use are things which have been reappropriated, that is, put to more than one distinct purpose. The difference between these items and the aforementioned volume is that in these cases the secondary uses are not related to the original purpose of the paper. Although the multifunction volume was used to record several different types of information; in each use-example its form and purpose remained the same: it was always a volume being used for writing. One such reappropriated item was a wrapper which had covered some money

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[649] NRS GD113/1/148, 'Accounts, charge and discharge, of proceeds of the estates forfeited after the '45', 1748-1766.
[650] Ronald J. Zobray and Mary Sacharino, 'Is it a Diary, Commonplace Book, Scrap Book, or Whatchamacallit?: Six Years of Exploration in New England's Manuscript Archives', *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 44, 1 (2009), 102.

George received on 30th January 1761. On the paper was a draft drawing, covered in scribbles indicating that the artist was unhappy with their work and re-used the paper to contain the money.[651] On part of a playbill advertising 'The Wags of Windsor' Gilbert copied an anonymous letter written to him on 4th April 1806.[652] On a Fifeshire banknote dated April 1756 Gilbert noted that he had "found" accounts of rent paid on 8th March 1700 by tenants of Thomas Fotheringham of Pourie.[653] The paper is filthy, caked in a brown substance (possibly mud?) and looks as though Gilbert may literally have 'found' this paper as his note suggests. Re-using paper in most of these cases has been performed by two separate, perhaps unconnected, individuals. The exception is the paper used to wrap money, which might have been drawn on by the sender of the money and re-purposed because the drawing was not to their liking. In this case the paper appears to have been repurposed so as not to waste it, whereas Gilbert's writing on a playbill and accounts written on old bank notes could also be suggestive of circumstantial re-use, when no other paper was to hand.

A very deliberate example of appropriation is the well-documented practice of families using their Bible to keep records of major life events such as births, marriages and deaths. Although it is not a record of the Innes family in amongst their papers there is an example of this practice. The Robertson-Ferguson family Bible title page was used to keep details of their family history and had at some time been torn from the book itself, perhaps to aid portability.[654] The events noted on the Bible page are dated between 1698 and 1716, whereas a similar record of the Robertson-Haliburton family, dating from the period 1722-1745, has been kept on a paper taken from an account book rather than a Bible.[655] The paper available to the elder generation of this family appears to have been limited to their Bible, which they like many others put to the dual-use of record-keeping; whereas their offspring appear to have had more liberal access to paper, although they have still taken paper from another source rather than procuring paper specifically for the purpose of keeping family records.

Typical and Atypical Collecting

At this point it may also be worth considering these documents as a 'collection'. Scholarship on collecting has tended to focus on 'high culture' and defined collecting as a conscious practice.[656] Baudrillard's work foreshadows much of the literature on the collecting and his distinctions between *collecting* as a socially defined practice in which related items are intentionally selected from within a larger group of things and removed from their original setting in order to become part of a collection which is organised along thematic principles;

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[651] NRS GD113/1/187/11, 'Receipts and payments made by the Receiver General', 1772-1776.
[652] NRS GD113/5/402/18, 'Copy anonymous letter', 14th April 1806.
[653] NRS GD113/3/1130/8, 'Receipt by Thomas Fothringhame of Pourie to William Ker in Carrall', 8th March 1700.
[654] NRS GD113/5/216, 'Papers relating to the Robertson and Haliburton families', 1698-1790.
[655] NRS GD113/5/216.
[656] For a discussion of the literature on collecting see: Pearce, Susan M. *On Collecting, An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995).

accumulation as the gathering of a set of similar or identical items; and *hoarding* as an introspective amassing of stuff, are still quoted as a basis of studies.[657] Certainly the scraps and shreds encountered as items such as muddy ball tickets and torn-up ship's logs do not constitute high culture. They, along with many other of the Innes's papers also appear to miss the bar in that they appear to be rather randomly acquired rather than being consciously sought-out (as Baudrillard stated true collected items are) for example the papers in this archive which George annotated as being 'found' do not fit with the notion of a collection as a conscious search for items to complement others in the 'collection'. Equally, it is rather difficult to define the Innes's as "collectors" using Baudrillard's definitions. He differentiated between the "connoisseur" as: "one who adores objects because of their beguiling singularity and difference" and the "straightforward collector" "whose passion it is to fit his acquisitions into a set or series".[658] In this sense the Innes's are indeed connoisseurs, as it is the uniqueness of the content of each of these papers that it their defining feature – the Innes's did not accumulate examples of paper per-se – and these items are not organised into any system based on their inherent properties; they are simply filed alongside the rest of the personal paperwork for that month. This lack of systematic organisation following any kind of guiding principles also marks out the majority of these papers as accumulated, or even horded, rather than collected. With this in mind several categories of papers can be identified from within the whole, including, though not limited to:

i.   Recipes

These items may be the exception to the idea that the Innes's archive is an accumulation, rather than a collection. Scholars agree that manuscripts of food and medical recipes were generally female authored texts for female readers and that their collection was, in part, undertaken as a leisurely pursuit which contributed to the maintenance of female friendships.[659] Those within the Innes's papers mainly confirm this picture, although there are two medical cures for toothache that are written in Gilbert's hand and indeed the later of these is stated as being "Mr Francis Sinclair's" cure, suggesting that male cure-collectors acted in much the same ways.[660] With these exceptions, the remainder of the culinary and therapeutic receipts appear to be linked to the female Innes's. Several are addressed to "Mrs Innes" and one to Miss Innes at 6 Picardy Place – which was Jane's address.[661] Overall this is a modest collection of just forty-four items, mainly culinary with a few medical receipts for

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[657] Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting, An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995), 6-8, 21-25; Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 7-24.

[658] Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting,' 9-10.

[659] See, for example, Elaine Leong, 'Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82, 1. (2008), 145-168.

[660] NRS GD113/3/974/18, 'A cure for the toothache', 11th January 1743; NRS GD113/3/975/3, 'A cure for the toothache from mr Francis Sinclair', 29th February 1743.

[661] NRS GD113/5/421/19, 'Recipe for curry',18th century.

minor complaints such as earache, coughs and an unsettled stomach as well as one for the less benign dropsy. Interestingly there are a few medical cures directly and explicitly related to childhood illnesses within the collection.[662] Given that Jane remained unmarried her whole life, these cannot relate to children of her own. It is known from her letters to her brother that she was involved in the care of his illegitimate offspring, but their own mothers would have been more likely to administer their health care. It would perhaps seem therefore that the collection changed hands at some point – perhaps having been passed from her mother – as was very common with such collections. Jane's possession of such information may come simply from things such as weaning and eradicating worms in children being a part of an expected female knowledge in this period and the gifting of these items from other women who expected that one day she would herself have children. These particular cures recall the Egyptian calendar and Lord's Prayer in the space of a Crown kept by her father and brother – things for which no immediate use-value can be perceived. Although those use-less items are harder to pin down, these recipes suggest a more general tendency towards information accumulation and the retention of papers with use-potential rather than simply accumulating esoteric papers.

Given that these receipts were written on a variety of scraps of paper and that some indeed stated their origins, it is clear that these items were collected in the usual fashion for such things: the passing of knowledge from one woman to another. Miss Trotter's receipt for red currant jelly, Miss Campbell's recipe for current wine and Lady Dick's receipt for gooseberry wine all originate with known associates of Jane and her family. They were likely sent to her along with the letters that also exist from these women in the archive, or else shared in person upon meeting.[663] Indeed, the Dicks were second and third cousins of Jane's mother. Others, such as Princess Amelia's puddings were more generic and are further removed from Jane's circle, providing evidence of her participation in a more general culture of sharing and copying recipes sometimes found in printed sources.[664] Overall these items relate to the contemporary fashions in cooking with proportionally large numbers for pickling and currying as well as a number for sweets and for household necessities such as ink and black ball (shoe polish).[665] In relation to findings in Chapter 4 that ink-brewing was expected to be a female domestic task it is interesting to note that these recipes featured within Jane's collection.

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[662] NRS GD113/5/421/12, 'Recipe for curing worms', 18th/19th century; NRS GD113/5/421/15, 'Recipe for weaning a child', 18th/19th century.
[663] NRS GD113/5/421/10, 'Miss Campbell's recipe for current wine', 18th/19th century; NRS GD113/5/421/38, 'Lady Elphinstone's receipt for curing a cough', October 1749; NRS GD113/5/421/44, 'Miss Trotter's receipt for red currant jelly', 18th/19th century.
[664] NRS GD113/5/421/26, 'Princess Amelia's puddings and boiled cheese', 18th/19th century.
[665] NRS GD113/5/421/2, 'Recipe for black ball', 18th/19th century; NRS GD113/5/421/21, 'Recipe for ink', 18th/19th century.

The physical condition of Gilbert and Jane's cures differs notably. Far fewer in number, Gilbert's cures for the toothache are both written in his hand, on paper neatly removed from an account book, each preserved and filed in different places within his monthly collections of correspondence and miscellaneous items. On the contrary, Jane's cures are bundled together as one collection with numerous scraps of paper – written by almost as many people – exemplifying a collaborative effort in their collection. Although varied in terms of paper and handwriting, what unifies Jane's receipts is the physical evidence of their use. Each piece of paper is peppered with pinholes, showing that these receipts were consulted many times during their useful lives. Indeed, it would be possible to count these pinholes in order to estimate the frequency of consultation, and thus pinpoint those used most often.

There are a number of other interesting physical traits within the papers used to collect these recipes. Some were written on the covers of letters, exemplifying paper reappropriation.[666] One was written on wove paper, suggesting perhaps a later addition to the collection which is mainly on laid paper.[667] But potentially the most interesting piece of paper is that upon which one of the cures for worms in children is written. It has three cut edges and one torn edge, and the paper itself, although wove, has very obvious watermarked lines spaced approximately 1cm apart which are perpendicular to the torn edge suggesting that it was taken from a bound book. These lines have been used as a guide to keep the writing level and regularly spaced on the page. It would seem that this was the purpose of these lines as they are quite obvious – even when the paper is laid on a desk.[668] That this is a cure for a childhood illness and that the lines are spaced quite far apart, suggests that this piece of paper was taken from a child's exercise book, designed for aiding learning to write neatly. This would imply that the cure was given to Jane by someone who was themselves a mother and had written the cure on a page of one of their children's exercise books.

ii.   Sentimental Items

Both George's and Gilbert's personal papers exhibit a self-interested streak, which is perhaps unsurprising given that Gilbert has become known posthumously as the man who fathered at least sixty-seven illegitimate children; although items in his father's collection suggest that George was also no stranger to romantic affairs.[669] Each man kept flattering poetry written for them and mementos of their children and other family members. George preserved a Valentine which he received on the 17th February 1734 from Christie Hay, daughter of his fellow Writer Alexander Hay, which reads:

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[666] NRS GD113/5/421/13, 'Recipe for bunn', 18th/19th century; NRS GD113/5/421/18, 'Dr Gregory's instructions and recipes for Janet Stuart, dropsical', 18th/19th century; NRS GD113/5/421/19.
[667] NRS GD113/5/421/26.
[668] NRS GD113/5/421/12.
[669] Katie Barclay, "Illicit Intimacies: The Imagined 'Homes' of Gilbert Innes of Stow and his Mistresses (1751-1832)", *Gender & History* 27 no. 3 (2015): 576-590. Denise Glass, 'RBS Director 'fathered 67 illegitimate children", *BBC Digging up your roots*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/edinburgh_and_east/8457825.stm>. [10/03/2014].

> Mr George Innes hearts myne
> Gloves for my Vallentine
> The rose is reed the violets blew
> The honeys sweet & so art thou.[670]

The status of the relationship between the pair is unknown, but she had taken the trouble of shaping the paper and cutting out three hearts from below her message. Contemporary publication *The Complete Valentine Writer* contained an introduction which explained that verses have been passed between the young of both town and country since "Time out of Mind". [671] While it can be seen that George was engaged in such exchanges, in his thirties at this date; he was no youth. Barbara M. Benedict describes such poesies as "early versions of thing-poems", their purpose being to link sentiment and object.[672] Thus, Christie Hay's verse (and therefore Christie Hay) was supposed to be called to mind each time George wore the gloves she gifted him. Interestingly, in the context of this study, it was not the gloves which Innes preserved, but the accompanying poem; which somewhat turns the gesture on its head. Instead of think-of-me-when-you-wear-these-gloves, George preserved think-of-those-gloves-when-you-read-this-poem. The thing which was perhaps intended to be the most disposable in this relationship between thing and paper has become the most treasured, as (so far as I am aware) the gloves gifted to George have not survived. George's affections were not confined to Christie Hay, and a couple of years later he received another poem, this time from Miss Nanny Campbell, which she had written on the cover of a letter addressed to herself at Lady Whitefoord's lodging (again exemplifying the re-use of paper).[673] In later years George kept a number of items from Elizabeth Graham, who had been a gentlewoman's servant to Lady Whitefoord - Allan Whitefoord's (i.e. George's employer) mother. It might further be posited, based on this information and her choice of paper, that Nanny Campbell also held a post in the Whitefoord's house.[674] In September 1743 George and Elizabeth Graham had a daughter, Jean; but George wrote to his father to say that he did not intend marriage, as he had promised himself to Marion Lauder.[675] Despite his marriage to Marion the same year, George kept in touch with Elizabeth until her death in 1747; though their relationship was fraught.[676] He did however pay for her funerary expenses, and following her death George continued to provide for their daughter, paying for her clothing and education as well as general living costs.[677]

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[670] NRS GD113/3/878/12.

[671] Anon, *The Complete Valentine Writer: or; The Young Men and Maidens best Assistant* (London: Printed and Sold by Thomas Sabine, n.d.) [Thomas Sabine traded between c. 1777 and 1785].

[672] Barbara M. Benedict, 'Encounters with the Object: Advertisements, Time, and Literary Discourse in the Early Eighteenth-Century Thing-Poem', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, 2 (2007), 200-201.

[673] NRS GD113/3/897/17, 'Verses received from Miss Campbell', 2nd August 1736.

[674] NRS GD113/3/981/11, 'Copy letter, George Innes to his father', 26th August 1743.

[675] NRS GD113/3/981/11.

[676] NRS GD113/4/165/999-1175, 'Papers relating to misitresses and illegitimate children of George Innes of Stow', 1742-1757.

[677] NRS GD113/4/165/1011-16, 'Accounts paid for funeral of Elizabeth Graham', June 1747; NRS GD113/4/165/1095-1156, 'Accounts of money paid for George Hamilton Innes and Jean Graham', 1750-1757.

As well as this illegitimate family, George kept items relating to his parental family and to his legitimate offspring. One of the earliest items in the archive is a group of annotated sermons dated between 1705 and 1725, one of which has a "personal covenant written and subscribed the 18 Mar. 1705" by Robert Innes.[678] Robert was George's brother, twin of Alexander who ran the South Sugar Warehouse. Several slips containing "examples of writing by Gilbert Innes" (another of George's brothers) from February 1735 show Gilbert to have been learning to write.[679] George also kept papers which related to his children with Marion Lauder - both items which demonstrated their achievements, as well as ones which documented their failures. In December 1751 George copied a label he placed on the young Marion's trunk as a reward for her learning the Shorter Catechism, and in December 1764 he kept a letter from Alexander Drummond complaining that "your son" is always late to his French lessons, forgets to bring his books and does not do his homework![680]

Like his father, Gilbert retained many items which were very personal. He too kept a poem he received; an acrostic on his name given to him by poet John Craik on February 17th 1818.[681] Like his father, he also had a variety of correspondence relating to an illegitimate family. Despite siring well over sixty illegitimate children, his papers make it clear that Gilbert was very fond of Euphemia Burnet and their children; as theirs is the only connection he appears to have consistently kept up after the children's births. Together the couple had eight living children and Gilbert kept mementos from their childhoods. One particularly amusing item of this kind is a letter written by ten-year-old Jean on behalf of her six-year-old brother George, to their mother.[682] George wrote that he needed a drum costing sixpence for the "grand review" the next day, and promised to not ask for his halfpence pocket-money for six weeks if Euphemia purchased it for him. The letter ended with a postscript instructing Euphemia to leave the money with 'Betty' that night and was signed "Colonel G. Burnet" – the aspirational fantasy of a six-year-old. Gilbert kept in touch with his and Euphemia's children via letter well into their adulthoods and long after her death. Jane appears to have become a milliner or mantua-maker in Glasgow and wrote regular pleasant letters to her father, with news of her visits and work.[683] Euphemia also appears fond of her father when she wrote to thank him for her Christmas present in 1820.[684] George, however, was less impressed with his circumstances and aged twenty-one or twenty-two he wrote angrily to complain of his situation as an illegitimate child and Gilbert's lack of attention to a career for him. In a vexed tone Gilbert noted on one such letter that he thought the East India

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[678] NRS GD113/5/497/5, 'A personal covenant', 18th March 1705.

[679] NRS GD113/3/878/8-13, 'Examples of writing by Gilbert Innes, brother of George Innes', February 1735.

[680] NRS GD113/3/1078/13, 'Copy label placed by George Innes on trunk belonging to Marion Innes', December 1751 ; NRS GD113/3/1234/13, 'Letter from Alexander Drummond, french teacher, to George Innes', 5th December 1754.

[681] NRS GD113/4/163/667-8, 'An acrostic on name of Gilbert Innes', 17th & 19th February 1818.

[682] NRS GD113/4/160/348, 'Colonel G[eorge] Burnet [an infant, son of Gilbert Innes, written for him by Jean Burnet, his sister], to [Effie Burnet,] his mother', 3rd September 1792.

[683] For examples: NRS GD113/5/457/7-8 & 24, 'Letter Gilbert Innes to Jane Burnett', 27th & 31st March & 8th March 1808.

[684] NRS GD113/5/476/134, 'Letter Euphemia Menzies to Gilbert Innes', 8th January 1820.

Company took youths even as old as George as servants. Although seemingly unimpressed by George's demands, Gilbert still kept his son's letter.[685]

It was certainly not just the men of the family who kept sentimental papers. Jane became the possessor of a series of letters written by Captain John Row to the Lauder family.[686] Jane and John had a long-standing relationship which may have ended in marriage had it not been for John's untimely death aged thirty-two.[687] Thomas Dick Lauder (Jane's distant cousin) sent these letters with an accompanying note to say that he thought they would be "interesting to you [Jane]" in February 1833 – around fifty years after Captain Row's death. Sending the letters of her deceased friend so long after his death acknowledges that others recognised their relationship as important; while Jane's preservation of them suggests that she felt similarly. These letters additionally represent another example of the way in which this archive was shaped by external forces. Like Smellie's desire that Jane keep her correspondence with John of Armagh and Roden, and Sir Andrew Dick Lauder's hope that his letter complaining of Jane's behaviour would be destroyed, Thomas Dick Lauder's sending these letters to Jane, despite their not having been written to- from- or about her, demonstrates another way in which the archive reaches up and out of itself.

Overall, the attention to the retention of such sentimental items appears less carful than that given to business correspondence. While the latter is systematically organised and appears to be full and complete, the personal items in this archive demonstrate more selective retention or perhaps less comprehensive accumulation, in that they are far from a complete record of the Innes's lives. Despite the vast collection spanning a multitude of subjects there are papers suggested by other documents which are absent from the archive. For example, although the family were well-educated schooling is under-represented in this archive – despite letters from teachers complaining of poor attention to studies, there are no examples of school-work from the children nor notes or papers from Gilbert's time at Edinburgh University. There are receipts for household goods and food within the archive, but they are far from a complete record of every item every member of the family ever purchased. These "missing" items point to the accumulation of personal papers as a more self-conscious representation of the men's lives than their business records, in that it would appear that some things were, deliberately or otherwise, disposed of. Despite this I would still refer to these papers as an accumulation rather than a collection, in that there is no discernible guiding principle behind the retention of these personal documents. When the papers passed into the NRS they became a collection, but their history is one of piecemeal accumulation and even serendipitous happenstance.

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[685] NRS GD113/5/457/98, 'Letter Gilbert Innes to George Burnett', 21st December 1807.
[686] NRS GD113/5/83b/6, 'Letter Sir Thomas Dick Lauder to Jane Innes', 11th February 1833.
[687] Duncan, *"Old Maids"*, 179-212.

iii.   Unusual Collecting Practices

George and Gilbert were both men whose professional lives were intimately connected with paper use; the pair also made significant use of paper for personal reasons and each was also interested in the technologies of paper. One aspect of this personal use of paper, for George in particular, was an apparently fanatical accumulation of pieces of paper, probably best described as hoarding as defined by Baudrillard. Beginning in 1725 George collected items described by the catalogue as "miscellaneous", "sundries" and "pettys". Between 1725 and 1731 George hoarded around fifty such items a year, this jumped to over one-hundred in 1732 and 1733. For the following years these miscellaneous items are catalogued into monthly bundles, rather than yearly ones, and a corresponding leap in the numbers of items is also seen. 1734 saw a two-fold rise compared to the previous year, to almost 230 items and a similar number is seen – with monthly fluctuations throughout the years – until an abrupt cessation in the cataloguing of these kinds of items in June 1766. What makes these papers particularly fascinating is that it would seem that many of them were not intended to end up in George's possession. He has letters written between two third-parties, business books of companies in which he apparently played no role, tickets to balls to which he was not invited. Some of the things he has kept are important documents (albeit not important to him, as they relate to other people), yet others are completely without consequence and even noted by George as "of no use".[688]

Several of these items are related to other men's business endeavours. Such items include the ship's log of the Ann and Agnes (1729-38) of which David Littlejohn was master.[689] Although there are a number of written pages in this book, the majority (over 120 pages) have been ripped out from the second half of the volume, leaving this item rather slim. A similarly perplexing item is a linen merchant's order book from 1767, in which a George Innes in Jamaica and a Charles, David, Gilbert and James Innes in Edinburgh feature as customers, although their relationship to the Innes's of Stow is uncertain.[690] Other customers included the prominent Edinburgh linen manufacturers William Cheape and William Nisbet. William's brother was Alexander Nisbet, whose waulk mill features in the business books of Dr James Hall, physician, (who attended a Nisbet and a number of his workers) which are also a part of the 'miscellaneous' items related to George Innes in the catalogue.[691] Dr Hall's papers include not only his business books, but the paper he submitted to the University of Edinburgh to obtain his medical degree in 1771. As already stated, Dr Hall was the brother of Gilbert Innes's factor at Pirntation. It is possible therefore,

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[688] NRS GD113/3/1042/13.
[689] NRS GD113/1/328, 'Ship's book of the Ann and Agnes', 1729-1738.
[690] NRS GD113/1/326, 'Linen merchant's order book', c.1767.
[691] NRS GD113/1/437-456.

that although this item occurs with papers related in the catalogue to George, it may in fact have been subsumed into the archive by Gilbert.

Personal papers in the collection which relate to individuals other than the Innes's form the majority of papers catalogued as miscellaneous. The types of documents though, are incredibly varied. An undated draft letter from Lord Menzies to the Equivalent Company, which George annotated as "found 14th October 1743", had been torn into sixteen pieces before being painstakingly reconstructed using sealing wax to attach it to another piece of paper.[692] It is the paper it is attached to upon which George wrote that this was a "draught letter" a fact which he presumably gathered from the fact that it was not sealed or addressed before it was torn to bits. Putting this letter back together was a very definite and deliberate act of preservation, presumably undertaken by George after he "found" the ripped-up pieces. Like a number of other items in his collection there is nothing to directly connect him to this letter or its contents, and no apparent justification for his possession; although Gilbert would later marry his illegitimate daughter Euphemia to Major Archibald Menzies.[693]

The torn-up letter is one of four items in the collection which George has explicitly noted as being 'found' objects. A letter dated February 21st 1746 from James Currie to David Wight, Innes annotated as "Dropt in my room in april 1746 Concerning flax dressing".[694] Another letter from James Hallan[d?] to William Gray, writer, dated 9th July 1746 Innes annotated "found in my stair".[695] Finally, Innes collected what he described as "Recipt by T. Fotheringham of Pourie for all Tennents Rent dated in the year 1700 found on the back of a Bank Note from Fifeshire april 1756".[696] Another item which may belong to this type of found-paper is the previously discussed part of a torn and filthy ticket to the Hunter's Ball in the name of Alexander Hepburn which is caked in what appears to be dried mud.[697] Given its condition and the annotations on later items, it would appear that George may have picked this up in the street. In each case there is nothing apparent to link George to the men named in the papers, or to the events to which the items relate. However, George's helpful notes regarding his method of acquisition of these objects suggest that in the case of the letter concerning flax dressing which was dropped in his room he might have known either the writer or recipient. This does however raise the question: if he knew the person the letter belonged to, why did he not return it? Innes must have had his reasons for not returning the letter to its owner, but what they were he did not reveal, he simply annotated the letter and added it to his hoard. Loosing paper could be distressing for its owner, as demonstrated by instances of adverts for lost things in contemporary newspapers. Often the papers which

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[692] NRS GD113/3/983/10, 'Draft of a letter to the Equivalent Company, found 14th October 1743'.
[693] *Scots Magazine* 79 (1817): 399.
[694] NRS GD113/3/1010/17, 'Letter from James Currie to David Wight', 21st February 1746.
[695] NRS GD113/3/1013/9, 'Letter from James Hallan [or Halland] to William Gray', 9th July 1746.
[696] NRS GD113/3/1130/8, 'Receipt by Thomas Fothringhame of Pourie to William Ker in Carrall', 8th March 1700.
[697] NRS GD113/3/937/13, 'Part of a torn ticket for the hunters' ball, addressed to Alexander Hepburn', [n.d.].

turned up in these advertisements were in pocket books, though occasionally individual items also appeared. For example, a handsome reward was offered for the recovery of "TWO SHEETS OF PAPER – mostly filled with writing" which had been dropped near Edinburgh's Luckenbooths between ten and eleven at night on the 23rd of February 1778.[698]

Piecing together torn-up drafts, keeping other people's letters, picking up papers in his stair – George certainly had a penchant for paper. The cataloguer of these papers inserted their own remarks next to some of these items in the catalogue, describing George as "obviously a man who never threw anything out" and "a perfect magpie". There were also other items which demonstrate Innes's inability to dispose of papers. Particularly the two pieces of blank paper which George annotated as: "Wrappers that were about Captain Dalrymples papers of no use & folded 20 decemb. 1748".[699] These are perhaps the most futile pieces of paper in the archive, George himself clearly stated that even to his magpie-mind these papers were "of no use" and yet, there they are, catalogued and collated within his archives. It seems preposterous that these pieces of paper were kept and even more so when there has been such an obvious effort in annotating their specific uselessness. It is also difficult to explain the use of the diagram of Noah's Ark which Innes annotated as "a wrapper came about the money paid by Roxburghshire the 30 january 1761".[700] On this paper is a drawing of three rows of boxes, each box contains a wavy line, some are also crossed through or have the letters A,B,C and D in them. Although this drawing claimed to depict "the ichnography of the lower story of Noah's Ark whereby the contents of the two upper storeys may be understood" there is no detectable key to understanding the drawing. Indeed, it was catalogued as a "rather unhelpful diagram". The paper has been scrunched into a ball at one time. With the number of scribbles crossing out parts of the drawing it looks very much like workings-out, or a draft gone wrong. The very fact that this particular piece of paper was discarded in using it to wrap money suggests that the original owner deemed it superfluous. George, however, did not. He took the time and effort to annotate it and neatly fold it, as well as finding a place for it among his other papers.

As well as those miscellaneous items which appear to have come into George's possession by serendipity, he retained a number of other people's papers which are more readily linked to him. These are items which, although George's reasons for wanting them are inexplicable, his ownership was entirely legitimate. For example, he had a copy in his own hand of an account due to the wright Charles Butter for Lady Fergusson's funeral dated as paid on 8th

[698] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 20th – 24th March 1778.
[699] NRS GD113/3/1042/13; Philip Carter, 'Dalrymple, John, fifth earl of Stair (1720–1789)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7054>. [16th April 2014].
[700] NRS GD113/3/1187/11, 'Rather unhelpful diagram, entitled `the ichnography of the lower story of Noah's Ark whereby the contents of the two upper storeys may be understood'. Endorsed by George Innes as `a wrapper came about the money paid by Roxburghshire the 30 january 1761", [n.d.].

March 1740.[701] Lady Fergusson was born Jean Whitefoord in 1655 and was Allan Whitefoord's aunt.[702] George duly annotated the paper as "got from himself February 1742" so, although his reasons for wanting a copy of monies paid for the coffin of his employer's aunt two years previously are not immediately discernible, it would appear that Innes came to have this copy in his possession legitimately. Also in this category of documents is the letter from Andrew Majoribanks to his father (also Andrew) regarding a monetary arrangement. George noted on this letter that it was given to him to be "put into a more proper form".[703] Again, although there is no indication as to why George kept this letter, the writer was apparently aware of his possession. The same cannot presumably be said of a printed invitation dated 12th July 1765 and addressed to "Brother William Simpson" at the Royal Bank, inviting him to the next meeting of his Masonic lodge. It was signed simply "J.B.".[704] Simpson was George's nephew, and when George was made First Cashier of the Bank in 1777 he appointed Simpson as his Second Cashier. [705] This item proves that Simpson had already joined the Bank's staff by 1765, ten years earlier than previously thought, however this still fails to explain why his invitation to a lodge meeting was possessed by his uncle and why George kept the item long after the end of its useful life.[706]

George's children Gilbert and Jane may have continued their father's practice of accumulating other people's papers as there are further items of this kind dated after the death of their father. The notebook of an unknown merchant containing accounts and memoranda regarding items such as gin and cinnamon is dated 1785.[707] Like the ships' book of the Ann and Agnes which was added to this archive by George, this volume has also had pages torn from it; though far fewer. Notably, the first page of the book is missing – the very page which would usually carry any identifying marks; had there been any. As George died in 1780 this item must have been collected by one of his children (the other possessors of the archive) It is worth noting here that in many cases it cannot actually be known which of the men was responsible for the subsuming of these items into the family papers. In many instances George helpfully annotated the items, placing responsibility for their accumulation firmly with him, though, like the merchant's book, some items were collected after George's death, in which case I have assumed Gilbert's hand was at work in most cases and vice versa for items dated prior to Gilbert's coming of age. Where it is unclear who added these items to their papers I have tended to assume George if it was chronologically possible, and Gilbert

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[701] NRS GD113/3/963/16, 'Account due to Charles Butter, wright in Edinburgh, for funeral of Lady Fergusson, paid 8th March 1740', [n.d.].
[702] Darryl Lundy, 'Jean Whitefoord', *The Peerage* <http://www.thepeerage.com/p40590.htm#i405897>; Darryl Lundy, 'James Whitefoord', *The Peerage* <http://www.thepeerage.com/p40590.htm#i405896> [16/04/14].
[703] NRS GD113/3/964/4, 'Letter from Andrew Marjoribanks to Andrew Marjoribanks of that ilk, his father', 17th November 1740.
[704] NRS GD113/3/1241/5, 'Printed message from J B, secretary of Lodge St David's, desiring Brother William Simpson, Royal Bank, to attend meeting of lodge on tuesday next', 12th July 1765.
[705] *The Scots Magazine 39*, (1777), 112; RBS, 'William Simpson', 'Gilbert Innes'.
[706] RBS' own Heritage site gives Simpson's date of employment as 1774: RBS, 'William Simpson', http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/people/list/william-simpson.html [16/04/2014].
[707] NRS GD113/1/327, 'Merchant's notebook of accounts and memoranda', 1785.

after George's death, however this may place too much of the burden on the father and hide some of the activities of the son.

Conclusion

The Innes's of Stow archive is full of papers created, addressed and possessed by other people. Letters between third parties, letters returned to their writer, invitations not given to the Innes's, business books of businesses they did not manage, things forgotten or dropped, things deliberately destroyed by others but pieced back together to be added to this collection. In George's papers in particular, but to a lesser extent in Gilbert's and Jane's too, a deliberate accumulation of items which did not belong to them is clearly seen. George was a hoarder – of odds and ends, scraps and snippets. He was also what Elsner and Cardinal called an "appointed collector".[708] It was George's job to keep records of the tax collections made in Scotland; indeed George helped to reform and shape the collection of tax in Scotland.[709] This makes him a professional collector and as Tanselle relates "those who collect as public officials also inevitably have other private collections of their own".[710] Gilbert was a slightly different kind of accumulator; he amassed mainly piles of his own writings, including those which had previously been sent by him. As it contains so many items not created for or by them, the family's collecting habits must inevitably lead us to the question of ownership. To whom can it be said these papers relate, especially if they were designed neither for nor by the possessor; as is particularly the case with George's 'found' objects? Did Gilbert have any right to ask for the return of letters he sent to William Mclaurin; to whom did these items 'belong'? To return to Kopytoff's introductory chapter in *The Social Life of Things*, these are items which have been "diverted from their expected trajectories" they are things out of sync with their creator's intentions. This is the 'anti-social' life of paper.

However, in his examination of eighteenth-century lost things Jonathan Lamb looked at the practices of Jonathan Wild and the writings of Daniel Defoe and John Locke. Lamb argued that an object's value, when such objects had no market value "such as pocketbooks and shopbooks", came from a feeling of the object belonging to you – "the opinion or sentiment of the owners, who wanted back what had been theirs for little better reason than that it had been theirs".[711] "[T]he trace of personal identity in the thing" was not erased by its loss, nor was it considered erasable, it was simply put into a suspended state until it was reunited with its original owner.[712] Equally, the law was clear that lost items were still the property of their

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[708] John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994).
[709] Ward, 'The Land Tax in Scotland', 297-299.
[710] Tanselle, 'A Rationale of Collecting', 19.
[711] Jonathan Lamb, 'The Crying of Lost Things', *ELH* 71, no.4 (2004), 951.
[712] Ibid., 952.

original owner and that the owner was entitled to repossess such things at will.[713] George's 'found' papers are, therefore, neither legally, nor conceptually "his". However, alongside these conditions – that lost items remained the property of their originators, and that their identity was somehow bound up in the thing – there ran another chain of thought that the losers of things were somehow at fault. That, probably due to less than desirable behaviour, they had brought the loss upon themselves.[714] This offers a powerful justification for the retention of lost things: I can possess this because its original owner should have taken better care of it.

Care is also a theme of Tanselle's writing on collecting: "the human need to find order should be thought about as a fundamental – and possibly the most fundamental – explanation of collecting".[715] George Innes carefully annotating, folding and filling these apparently useless and rubbish papers was his attempt to make order from chaos. What appears to us is a rather random collection of oddities, but it is possible that to Innes his actions in preserving these papers actually 'rescued' them from the disarray of having been discarded (intentionally or otherwise) by their original owners. Instead of focusing on disorder in his selection, it is possible to re-frame these things as redeemed by being reunited with other pieces of paper. It is interesting that we tend to talk of 'a piece' of paper, a phrase which implies part of a whole. Instead of thinking of Kopytoff's 'commodities out of place' as relating to these papers in that they were not possessed by the person to whom they technically belonged, Kopytoff's concept could be interpreted as these papers being 'lost' *prior* to George's acquisition of them; their assimilation into his papers rescuing them from abandonment and thus redeeming their existence in the world of things. As discussed in the Introduction, linen paper was so intimately connected with the human, the body, etc. that for it to be lost (i.e. dislocated from its human) might be considered where paper least belonged in eighteenth century society. By assimilating these papers into his own papers, George redeemed each scrap, putting them back where they belonged, in fact stopping them from being 'anti-social.'

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[713] Ibid.
[714] Ibid., 958.
[715] Tanselle, 'A Rationale of Collecting', 8.

Conclusion

> In short, the scenes I have passed through have been as various as human nature.
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> Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' (1779).

Paper is a useful lens through which to consider late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century society because it reached into every crevice of people's lives. From high to low, city to country, at home and abroad; there was paper. Paper things permeated the culture: reading books, note books, letters, newspapers, playing cards, sheet music, bank notes, promissory notes, bills of exchange, notices, pamphlets, notes, certificates, invitations, drawings, prints, papier-mâché trinkets and furnishings, calling cards, account books, receipts and recipes, to name just a few. Often, paper was present at important life events: births, marriages and deaths; indentures; invitations; summonses; dismissals. Paper provided entertainment in forms such as reading and writing materials, pictures to view, music to perform, games with cards and the creation of decorative objects for the home. Business was increasingly conducted via paper – there was correspondence with customers, bills and receipts, account books and ledgers, bill posters, letter heads, price tickets, packaging labels and wrapping paper in which goods were transported and sold. Paper served necessary functions, like containing loose or messy foodstuffs and medicines, lighting fires, bandaging wounds and wiping after toileting. Birth and death; education, work and play - there was very little in the lives of people who lived at this time which did not, or could not, involve paper in some way.

To write a complete history of the use of paper in the eighteenth-century would, therefore, go beyond the realms of one doctoral thesis; perhaps beyond the work of one career. It's myriad of uses touched so many people, practices and institutions that very narrow limits had to be set in place for this thesis. Edinburgh was a natural choice relating to the location of my institutional affiliation, but it was also a very purposeful choice. It is a city well-known for its educational, legal and financial institutions – all of which relied heavily upon paper and which left a wealth of notable records and resources. As well as being about paper this project relies heavily on papers and would not have been possible without access to the incredible wealth of libraries and archives in the city from the NRS to the NLS as well as the University of Edinburgh's own library and numerous smaller local libraries and collections. Edinburgh is also a city which still has a (now very feint) trace of its papermaking history. The Water of Leith runs right across Edinburgh from the Pentland hills through Balerno, Currie, Juniper Green, Colinton, Slateford, Longstone, Saughton, Balgreen, Roseburn, Dean Village, Stockbridge, Inverleith, Canonmills, Warriston, Bonnington and finally to Leith –

where it meets the Firth of Forth. Along this river several mill-based trades were based, one of which was paper milling. This connection to both the manufacture and use of paper made Edinburgh an excellent location on which to base this study.

Early on it became apparent that this history of manufacture had resulted in some excellent archival resources, particularly in relation to the Balerno Company. The Balerno Company was already known to paper historians, although no substantial work had been published on its history. From industrial histories of papermaking I was able to ascertain that the company was believed to have been begun in 1770. This date, therefore, became the starting point for my investigations. However, as my research progressed it became apparent that previous knowledge of the Balerno Company's operations was flawed and the company was actually begun a little later. Given the life-cycle approach fifty years seemed an appropriate length of time to consider, and provided a manageable limit to my research. Taking fifty years from 1770 took me to 1820, again a useful juncture in relation to paper. This date was around the point at which machine-made paper appears to have been gaining prominence over handmade paper. The new method of manufacture brought with it new tensions and before long new materials from which paper would be made. Concluding my investigations prior to these changes allowed me to frame my studies within a social life perspective. Continuing after these changes in manufacture and raw materials from this perspective would have been akin to studying another generation of paper; perhaps with a different culture, opinions and tastes.

The social life approach, inspired by *The Social Life of Things* edited with introductions by Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff, is a fitting compliment to late eighteenth-century paper. Social life theory maps rather neatly onto handmade paper and suggests the life stages used as chapter boundaries in this thesis. Rags represent a family-history of sorts – paper's ancestry, where it came from, its life influences. Manufacture can be thought of as conception and birth; wholesale as youth and retail as adolescence; while ownership and use can be related to maturity and old age. Thus, this thesis has always had an eye on Igor Kopytoff's guiding questions about the cultural biography of things, namely:

- What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized?
- Where does the thing come from and who made it?
- What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things?
- What are recognized "ages" or periods in the thing's "life," and what are the cultural markers for them?
- How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?[716]

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[716] Kopytoff, 66-67.

Paper can be conceived of in this way because *use* is its pinnacle of being, its purpose. It is where paper is at its most vital. But also because its method of creation - the transmogrification of one form of matter (rags) into another (paper) - is neatly analogous to the 'life-cycle' approach and Appadurai's notion of 'exchanges' where one thing was made equivalent to another through the process of exchange. According to Appadurai, when something is exchanged for another thing the two are culturally held to have equivalent value and the exchange highlights that cultural value(s). Given that value is a problematic concept for eighteenth-century paper, for which no universal monetary value has been established, this approach offers an illuminating alternative; examining the value of paper in non-monetary terms as well as using paper as a lens through which to see societal values. There are also many layers to the notion of paper's life cycle. Not only does paper itself have a life-cycle of being created and circulated within a society, but the raw materials of handmade paper – rags – also had their own life-cycle, and 'used' or 'rubbish' paper could continue into an after-life of re-use and even re-manufacture. However, what really makes this approach to eighteenth-century handmade paper so interesting is that people recognised these life cycles at the time. This is exemplified in their stories of paper as protagonist, with works such as the It-Narrative 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' and poetry such as 'The White Rag' tracing the paths of rags to paper and beyond.

Choosing this approach to the study of eighteenth-century paper let me take a series of snapshots at these various stages in the life of paper from which to construct this thesis and from which to make suggestions about the cultural value of paper to the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries. These revealed that paper was a material fraught with a series of tensions. These tensions relate to contemporary concerns – wealth, gender, status – but also to current and emerging areas of historical interest such as dirt, waste and recycling as well as material culture and the world of things. However, Price has questioned whether it is possible for a social life approach to fully do justice to a subject of enquiry due to the vast number of interconnected subjects which arise.[717] Having undertaken this study I feel this is a very valid question. Paper by its very nature goes above and beyond even a traditional social life approach; it takes in so many disparate uses and was connected to an even vaster array of trades and shops than has been previously noted in historical literatures. One of the problems with this study is that paper is an almost infinitely adaptable resource. It is, and has been, put to so many disparate and diverse uses, combined with all manner of other commodities and used by almost every stratum of society and across the world. It is open to so many approaches and emphasises that it would never be possible to include them all in one work. Larger-scale projects might benefit from a collaborative approach, including scholars with a variety of backgrounds in much the same way as *The Social Life of Things*

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[717] Price, 'Getting the Reading Out of It', 19.

was conceived. In single studies of this type the conclusions may be imperfect and incomplete, but I believe more is lost by not attempting to consider material culture in this way. This study has made strides into areas previously deemed unresearchable.[718] It has found discrepancies between literary and historical approaches to paper history. It has opened up horizons previously unconnected to paper, or noted but not researched. The broad approach offered by the social life theory allows connections to be made where a more narrow focus would not.

Histories of papermaking have presented rags in an overly simplistic way as a minor part of the papermaking process. There are very few sources relating to rag-gathering in eighteenth-century literature, even fictional accounts tended to gloss-over how rags were collected and who brought them to the paper mill. The majority of sources regarding the portrayal of rag-collecting were made during the nineteenth-century and presented rag-gatherers as dirty tramps. It has been suggested that the nineteenth-century was a prime time for this type of writing because of the reformation projects, which recognised the transformation of dirty rags into clean white paper as analogous to the intentions of reformers who hoped to transform ragged children into upstanding members of the community.[719] While this has been portrayed as a nineteenth-century notion, even the eighteenth-century paper-making fictions emphasised the emergence of paper from the mills as a refining process which significantly improved the material which had gone in.[720] Culturally rags were rubbish. This was reflected in the language of rags, and the reluctance of rag-merchants to advertise the rag-collection aspect of their businesses. Nineteenth-century rag-men, such as Burrows, suggested that the history of rags could not be reconstructed. He portrayed a secretive and insular community which actively shunned outsiders for fears of competition.[721] Eighteenth-century treatise regarding appropriate occupations for children had noted that rag-merchanting was a highly lucrative business, which required little capital or knowledge.[722] This can perhaps explain why rag-men were so secretive – if it were true that it was an easy way to make money they needed to guard their interests.

However, the Balerno Company books prove that rags for papermaking were complex. There were many varied types and different understandings of rags based upon a person's associations with them. These different understandings could underscore the notion of secrecy – perhaps not even members of the same company shared their knowledge. These books also highlight that there were many different types of people associated with rags – not just the tramp. There is evidence of families selling scraps of rags, perhaps servants

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[718] Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*, 15.
[719] Wynne, "Reading Victorian Rags", 34-49.
[720] Anon., *The Spectator* 367; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper'; Maxwell, 'A Poem on the Manufacture of Paper'; Alchemy, 'The White Rag'.
[721] Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*.
[722] Campbell, *The London tradesman.;* Collyer, *The parent's and guardian's directory.*

selling old clothes, and businesses selling large volumes of rags. The persistent image of the tramping rag-gatherer is that he collected tiny amounts of rags – working for pennies, and yet the Balerno company books show that some individuals were being paid incredibly large sums. It is clear that tramps were not the only people to sell rags to papermakers, and were perhaps not even the most important to the papermaker. Established notions of rag-selling as the preserve of tramps and vagabonds are destabilised in light of this evidence. The company books give the only known example of the names of actual rag sellers during this period. Of those that could be identified it became clear that numerous other city retailers were collecting rags for sale to the paper trades. Most notably, perhaps, were the stoneware sellers. Contemporary testimonies in both factual and fictional sources confirm that this kind of retailer collected rags for sale to paper-makers. There is also corroborative evidence to demonstrate that rags were collected by this class of trader in other areas of Britain, demonstrating that the practices of the Balerno Company were not an isolated example. With this in mind there is scope for further investigation into the businesses which collected rags. With the knowledge that stoneware and chinaware merchants traded in rags in Edinburgh (and other parts of Britain, such as Bath) it might prove fruitful to undertake an examination of extant business books of these companies to determine of records of these activities were kept. This might provide answers to outstanding questions such as whether these types of rag-buyers bought from trampers and sold onto paper-mill owning rag-collectors, or whether the tramping rag-gatherer was further removed from the process.

As well as collecting rags for papermaking the Balerno Company also owned the mill in which the paper was made, and they sold the paper wholesale and retail. This way of doing business has been described as "vertically integrated" as there is a core business at the heart of different stages of production and selling, but it has generally been seen as a later phenomenon.[723] As such, scholarship on wholesale and retail for the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries has tended to approach them as separate entities. This makes the Balerno Company difficult to define as both types of transaction were recorded in the same books and were taking place in the same shop. Additionally, only wholesale customers were afforded credit, while retail customers paid cash. Again, research into shopping habits have suggested that credit and cash businesses operated in different ways, meaning that the Balerno Company does not fit neatly with these understandings of eighteenth-century shopping.[724] However, it was clearly a successful business and Macniven profited socially as well as financially, which suggests that whatever the company was doing their customers and Macniven's contemporaries felt he was getting it right. Further, research suggests that the Balerno Company were not unusual in operating this way in Edinburgh – many other Edinburgh paper warehouses also appear to have collected their own rags and made their

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[723] Bidwell, 'The Industrialisation of the Paper Trade', 207.
[724] Walsh, 'Shop Design', 171.

own paper before selling it wholesale and retail. There are also hints that this was a practice known in London and in other large cities in Britain. An examination of business records in these cities might shed further light on how wide spread this way of doing business really was.

Research has suggested that cash-based businesses as well as those selling items which were expected to be of a similar standard each time were likely purchased by "proxy shoppers" in the form of servants.[725] The Balerno Company shoppers were probably of this type, as suggested by the fact that paper was sold by an independently verifiable standard (i.e. weight). Once an individual had decided that they liked writing on Balerno Company paper they could easily send a servant to stock up, safe in the knowledge that X amount of paper would cost Y. If the warehouse were also serving customers dropping off bundles of rags, then sending a servant to the shop would also have saved the noses of the elite. More elite customers may have visited bookseller-stationers if they wished to purchase in person. In such establishments they are more likely to have been able to take part in the polite rituals of shopping such as taking tea with the proprietor and being afforded credit. Of course, as the bookseller-stationers purchased their papers from wholesale stationers such as Balerno Company the product was the same, but the retail ambiance was likely different. Although this thesis looked only at stationers' trade cards to determine a general lack of evidence for the interior of stationers' shops there are plenty of examples of booksellers' interiors in such sources.[726]

While the Balerno Company sold papers to some of Edinburgh's most eminent booksellers the papers purchased by these men were largely wrapping papers, as were the papers bought by the numerous traders that the company served. Wrapping paper provided protection. Cushioning grey paper (and other types) softened the landing of a ripe pear, while moisture-resistant tea paper saved meat-juices from spoiling the ribbon in a lady's basket. However, it also afforded protection to the shopkeeper, who knew a product had not been paid for if it were not wrapped.[727] Wrapping paper also has a tension in being both a "cheap" and "expensive" commodity. It was cheap as a type of paper (i.e. less costly than writing paper), but research has demonstrated that paper was regularly stolen to be sold into the wrapping-paper markets.[728] It was suggested that this was because wrapping paper was actually more expensive than some of the commodities it contained, particularly sugar and medicines![729] Wrapping paper has been almost entirely overlooked in historical research. Noblet's study of wrapping cheese is the only such examination of which I am aware. It is clear that there is

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[725] Smith, 'Sensing Design and Workmanship', 4.
[726] See cards in the John Johnson (Bodlien) and Heals (British Library) Collections for examples.
[727] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, 'October 1784, trial of Catherine Spencer otherwise Camp and Sarah Baker (t17841020-18)' <www.oldbaileyonline.org>. [25th September 2013].
[728] Noblet, 'Cheese, Stolen Paper and the London Book Trade'.
[729] Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* 64, 188.

more to be done in this area, and that wrapping was not a simplistic practice. It is however, not an easy area to research, as by their very nature wrapping papers were destroyed. Noblet proved that theft is a useful lens through which to consider wrapping papers, but more work might be done seeking examples of wrapping in depictions of shop interiors, examinations of literary fictions or diaries and travel memoirs.

Macniven was participating in what appears to have been a growing trade in Edinburgh. In addition to the paper-sellers listed as stationers in the SBTI, advertisements in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* newspapers expand our knowledge of the number and types of retailer selling paper in Edinburgh. Whereas the SBTI only includes paper-sellers who were allied to the book trades, newspaper advertisements reveal that the businesses which retailed paper were far more disparate than that. They included seed sellers, grocers, hardware dealers and florists. As previous research into stationers has been conducted from a bookish perspective, connections with these retailers have been overlooked. More work on non-stationery shops which sold paper could examine the shop-books of retailers of the types identified by this study to find further evidence of their dealings in paper. Of course, these findings only apply to Edinburgh in a narrow time-frame and suggest that it was a practice fading into the nineteenth-century. It would be interesting to see how far back in time an association between Edinburgh's paper trade and its seed-sellers and other types of paper-sellers goes and indeed to look for evidence of parallel associations outside of Edinburgh. This is probably part of the wider story of retailers moving from general to specialised offerings and the provincial store becoming more metropolitan, but it would be interesting to compare how quickly this process took place for paper compared to other types of commodity.

Additionally, when looking at stationers', book historians have tended to approach the subject with an unconscious bias towards books. This is particular apparent in the work of Fergus and Portner, who examined the business of the stationer Clay. Clay had previously been examined by Feather, who had suggested that Clay's business proved that stationery was an important product, not a marginal one. Fergus and Portner disputed Feather's findings, proving that Feather had mistaken the shop books of a small satellite shop in Rugby, for the main Daventry shop of the Clays. However, Fergus and Portner's reassessment of the Clay's business also fell afoul of a misunderstanding. In attempting to prove that stationery was not a major aspect of the Clay's business they divided his stock into two categories – "printed material" and "stationery".[730] Fergus and Portner showed a clear bias towards books in the way they chose to divide the products, both misunderstanding eighteenth-century production methods of stationery items and ignoring contemporary understandings of what constituted a stationery item. To their category of printed materials

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[730] Fergus and Portner, 'Provincial Bookselling'.

they added anything which was a book – yet notebooks, ledgers and music books were clearly defined in the eighteenth-century as stationery items, as were the pre-printed stamped forms used for things such as indentures. Indeed, eighteenth-century definitions of stationery even included maps and prints.

This thesis has made a case for looking beyond the book trades when examining paper, but there may also be room to re-examine some of our current knowledge about the relationship between the book trades and the stationery trades in light of the book-bias which appears to have highlighted. Although uncertainties relating to the definition of stationer have existed since at least the seventeenth-century, the knowledge that paper was sold outwith the booktrades unsettles the categorisation further. This has implications for the study of paper history, which has thus far been concentrated mainly within the field of book history, and suggests paper as a subject relevant to a wider range of scholarly enquiry. It also problematizes some of the work which has already been done in this area, which has posited that stationery selling was a minor aspect of the book sellers' business. A re-examination of conclusions drawn about stationery sales in light of an understanding of the trade more allied to contemporaneous notions of what comprised stationery goods might require adjustments to be made to the prevailing view that stationery was a relatively minor product within the book trades. On the flip side, there appears also to have been an assumption made that when a retailer sold both stationery and another product (asides from books) that their primary interest was in stationery.[731] Publications dealing with entrance into occupations for youths suggested that in the earlier part of the eighteenth-century the stationery trade was perceived as one for which little prior knowledge was necessary, and indeed that the information it was necessary to procure could be gained in a very short time.[732] Increases to the numbers of papers in tables of taxation undoubtedly added to this knowledge, but even at the end of the eighteenth-century these numbered no more than eighty. With a printed shopbook such as *The Paper-maker's and Stationer's Assistant* and paper which arrived at shops in labelled packages (in printed ream wrappers) all that remained for the stationery shopkeeper to do was to sell the papers at the appropriate rate. It seems doubtful that stationery was a particularly difficult product to get to grips with, given the number of retailers in Edinburgh who sold it alongside other goods. Additionally, other stationery items, such as quills and inks, were readily produced at home and there were numerous published accounts dealing with how to create these items circulating in print.[733] This suggests that these articles of the stationery trade were also relatively simple products, which retailers of other commodities might easily turn their hand to as a sideline – just as they

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[731] Fergus and Portner, 'Provincial Bookselling'; Gardner, 'The Eighteenth Century Book Trade'.
[732] Campbell, *The London Tradesman*; Collyer, *The parent's and guardian's directory.*
[733] See,for examples: Anon., *The Accomplished Housewife*; Anon., *The Art of Writing Illustrated*; Anon., *The Female Instructor* ; Leekey, *The Young Clerk's Assistant;* Wilkes, *The Art of Making Pens;* Wise, *The Newest Young Man's Companion.*

could do to provide their own needs at home. With readily available published guides, and the belief that stationery was an easy way to turn a quick profit, it is no wonder it can be seen on sale at so many different kinds of retailers. It would be naive, however, to presume (as has been done) that these retailers were primarily stationers who added other products to their shops. Advertisements in the *Caledonian Mercury*, for example, described these businesses with reference to their "other" products rather than in relation to paper and stationery wares; suggesting that the business owners did not perceive themselves primarily as stationers. In short, stationary may have had a more prominent position in the booktrades than current scholarship allows, and a wider presence in many other kinds of shop; where it was a secondary product.

Just as traders (both rag and stationery) were said to have not necessarily required any great skill, the notion of domestic paper users and their technical abilities has been subject to examination. Dierks argued that a modernisation of the trade was taking place in the early years of the nineteenth-century, with a shift from skills being prized as the signifier of an elite stationery-user, to a commodity-based relationship in which ownership of elite products was more highly prized.[734] However, Dierks's work was flawed by comparing a pen-cutter's advert to stationer's advertisements in order to argue for an increasing emphasis on the quality of the materials owned, rather than the ability of the owner to use writing materials correctly. As pen-cutters were deemed lower than stationers in terms of their abilities to perform writing correctly, the pen cutter's advertisement could not have convincingly promoted correct use as the perception was that pen-cutters were incapable of correct use. Additionally, eighteenth-century literatures derided the notion that the ownership of the correct stationery wares correlated with quality output with verses such as that written by Pope which rebuked the notion that a "silver standish" correlated with "writing of good sense".[735] In many instances this thesis has examined conclusions reached by literary critics and book historians and found them wanting. Where my conclusions echoed or mirrored theirs I was able to offer additional evidence for these beliefs, and where they did not I can offer alternative explanations. I believe that the historical approach has also opened up some new questions, things which literary sources do not address. However, in this instance a historian's perspective might have been enhanced by looking to eighteenth-century literatures. Yet, Dierk's conclusion may not be entirely misguided. Advertisements for paper-selling in Edinburgh moved away from describing paper as one among many types of products and increasing numbers advertised paper as the primary product of the business. Whereas in the 1770s and 80s seed-sellers and the like were advertising paper for sale among their other wares, as the century drew to a close there were fewer alternatives to the

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[734] Dierks, 'Letter Writing'.
[735] Alexander Pope 'Sandy's Ghost', in *Miscellanies* the last volume, (London: Printed for Benjamin Motte, MDCCXXXIII [1733]).

stationer's shop for those who wished to purchase paper. Though advertising may not tell the whole story, as there is evidence of companies (such as the Balerno Company) advertising paper alone, but selling a wider product range even at later dates. The relationship between advertisements and the contents of these shops may not always have born an exact correlation. The most frequent stationery wares advertiser in Edinburgh was the Thomson Company. The NRS hold several of the Thomsons's books, which surely deserve investigation.

Once paper had been sold it was taken to individual's homes to be used. There is a substantial literature on reading and writing, but far fewer works about the physical context in which those activities took place. This thesis, therefore, dealt with paper-use in terms of the desks at which people in Edinburgh sat to write. While previous research into desks and writing has placed heavy emphasis on the appearance of women as writers – their delicate drawing-room performance – my research found an association between men and their appearance as writers, particularly lower status men.[736] The penmanship manuals which were used to teach young men of the lower social orders to write placed marked emphasis on properly choreographed writing technique. The correct posture, correct pen-grip, correct ink-brewing and quill-cutting techniques.[737] The notion of a correct way in which to use a desk and the associated stationery equipment was made into a medical problem in the early nineteenth-century, with the coining of the term "desk diseases". The assertion was that in spending increasing lengths of time sat at their desks in sedentary pursuits men were at risk of a long list of health problems, and ultimately death. However, this concern was not aimed at all men, but at men who might previously have partaken in manual labour – making this a status-oriented problem.[738] The fear of these types of men getting "desk diseases" is mirrored in Edinburgh's desk ownership, which appears to show that the emerging merchant class spent a significantly higher proportion of their income on desks for their homes compared to men with other occupations. Their desks were worth quite substantial percentages of their overall moveable goods, suggesting that these were valued possessions. Equally, this study found that there were growing numbers of paper-sellers in Edinburgh, suggesting that people in Edinburgh were using increasing amounts of paper and suggesting that fears of people spending increasing amounts of time engaged in these sedentary pursuits was rooted in reality. However, not all paper users and desk owners were merchant men. Whereas research has previously suggested that women performed publically at their desks, the desks found in Edinburgh homes do not appear to back up this assertion.[739] Most desks were kept in private areas of the home such as bedrooms and closets, and when desks were kept in

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[736] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* 280.
[737] See,for examples: Anon., *The Accomplished Housewife*; Anon., *The Art of Writing Illustrated*; Anon., *The Female Instructor* ; Leekey, *The Young Clerk's Assistant;* Wilkes, *The Art of Making Pens;* Wise, *The Newest Young Man's Companion.*
[738] Reid, 'Report of Diseases'; Wallace, *A Treatise on Desk Diseases.*
[739] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* 280.

public areas the owners also often had more expensive desks which were kept in private. This was true of both men and women. Unfortunately there were only a small number of probate inventories available for Edinburgh at this time. A more expansive survey might be able to confirm or amend these findings using other types of household inventories (of which there are a few at the NRS) or by considering a longer period or wider geographical area. Comparisons might also be made with other locations.

The final part of this thesis demonstrates how the types of knowledge gathered in previous chapters can be put to use in understanding the archive of the Innes's of Stow. Gilbert and George Innes were fascinating characters, as their archives demonstrate. Their working lives involving tax collection, banking and sugar, were strongly connected to paper and their private collections bear witness to that. The men collected notes and advertisements related to innovations in paper and printing. They were also interested in the etiquette of paper-use. Gilbert Innes had an affectionate relationship with his mistresses' son William Maclaurin to whom he wrote while in London. Gilbert's letters demonstrate the passing of information about how to conduct writing to William. Maclaurin's background was clearly not as educated as Gilbert's, as demonstrated by his comparably poor handwriting and his lack of knowledge about how to fold and seal a letter properly. As the pair's correspondence continued Gilbert adjusted the way in which he structured his letters. In earlier letters Gilbert wrote in large and writing and leaving a lot of white space. As their correspondence continued Gilbert praised William's increasing mastery of the letter form, and in turn his own form changed. He began to use smaller handwriting and leave less white space on his page – signalling his belief that William would be able to read as well as write more competently as their exchanged continued. However, Gilbert also eschewed convention when he instructed William not to show their letters to anyone and to keep each one to be returned to Gilbert. It is likely that he did not want his relationship with Mclaurin or the Burnett's made public, however this was not the only example of Gilbert asserting control over the retention of papers.

Within the archive are all kinds of scraps and snippets of paper which did not need to be kept, but were. There are examples of the use of paper for entertainment and showing off – the Lord's Prayer and the first, second and third commandments were written as a tiny spiral, the size of a Crown coin. There are unfinished items – a visual representation of the ancient Egyptian calendar. But more unusual than the papers which were incompletely used are those which George Innes kept because they were useless. George himself recognised that these papers – particularly blank papers which had only been used to cover letters – were useless, even writing a note using that description on one of them before stashing it with his other papers. In fact it was his act of retention which rendered this particular paper useless, because as other chapters have shown, blank paper could be put to many uses and

re-uses. Annotating the paper as useless also proves that Innes himself was aware that there was no reason for him to keep this paper – but he did. Jane Innes collected medical and household recipes. This was a common female practice at the time and demonstrates Jane's participation in polite female culture. However, like her brother and father she occasionally kept papers which were of no use to her. For example she kept recipes for cures for children's illnesses even though she never married or had children. Perhaps these papers suggest that she hoped to use the cures in future, perhaps she collected them simply to participate in exchanges of information? Both George and Gilbert kept personal, affectionate papers. George retained letters of admiration from young ladies, and mistresses, one of whom he appears to have had a particular fondness for. He kept in touch with and provided for their daughter, and paid for the mother's funeral expenses. However, George was completely outdone in this respect by his son. Gilbert is known to have fathered over sixty illegitimate children, though one family was clearly his favourite. Gilbert wrote many letter's to Euphemia Burnett and their children, including a boy from another of Euphemia's relationships. The tone of the letters makes the father's devotion to his children plain, although their relationships were not always straight-forward. Again Jane participated in this type of collecting – becoming the owner of a series of letters written to Captain John Row. Jane and Row had intended to marry before he was killed in service. The letters came into her possession many years after his death, and were gifted to her by a mutual friend. This relates to the connection between a person and their writing.

Whereas the business portions of the archive demonstrate (as far as it is possible to tell) complete and comprehensive retention, the personal items kept by the Innes's are less encompassing. Decisions were clearly made about which items each individual kept and how. George Innes, however, took the collecting of paper to the extreme. Part of his accumulation of items consists of bundles of papers, organised by year. Each year contains around fifty or so items described in the catalogue as "miscellaneous" "pettys" and "Sundries". Many of these items bear no discernable relation to George. They are not created by him or addressed to him. In many cases he noted on them that he found them. He picked up pieces of paper – in the street and in his stair – and he carefully added them to his own collection of papers. This practice appears strange because these things did not belong to him. Ownership in the eighteenth-century was determined on the basis of who made an item, who created a document. So George had taken papers which did not belong to him and put them with papers which did. This might be thought of as removing papers from their "intended trajectory" as Kopytoff would have it – making these items the "anti-social" life of paper.[740] But they could also be considered from another perspective. If paper – as seen in the introductory texts – was so intimately connected to the human, the body, its being away

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[740] Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', 64-91.

from people was not its 'natural' state of being. George was perhaps 'rescuing' these papers from obscurity and placing them amongst their own – other papers.

In the Introduction I proposed that contemporary literatures suggested that there was a cultural awareness of the social life of paper in the eighteenth-century. With its reused paper, useless papers and commentary on paper-use the Innes's collection of papers provides the practical proof of this literary awareness. With an understanding of the methods and values which underpinned paper and paper-use in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries it is possible to consider the archive's paper in a way which brings much insight into the people to whom the papers once belonged. Examining the archive in this way proves that there is value to looking beyond the words on the page. Just as an understanding of books as objects informs the book historian, an understanding of paper as an object can help historians to gain insights into archives.

A major theme running throughout the thesis is the notion of use, usefulness and uselessness. Although this was particularly apparent in the final chapter, the work on desks and prescribed-use drew out the notion that paper use was expected to conform to societal norms. The Introduction identified that use was depicted as related to manufacture, for example in the 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' it was very clear which types of rags were made into which kinds of paper to be used for particular purposes. This awareness of connection to previous incarnations can be seen in the Innes's use of paper. In particular in their retention of papers which did not belong to them. Chapter 4 discussed use in terms of propriety, and the expectations of the way in which certain groups of people interacted with paper – the extent of their assumed knowledge about paper use and the expectations of the way in which they would interact with paper. The counterpoint to expected use encountered in Innes's deliberate act of marking paper as "useless" provides a fascinating tangible piece of evidence of paper's propriety. The "useless" paper is blank. As blank paper it is, in fact, full of use-potential. Blank paper, as seen throughout this thesis, was employed in so very many different ways. Blank paper in itself was not useless. These blank papers were rendered useless by Innes' subsuming them into his collection, where they became impotent by remaining unused. As other sources, such as 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', revealed; paper such as the Innes's useless paper were often re-used. A letter's cover could have been made to perform a variety of secondary functions. The acquisition of useless paper not only reveals that the 'natural order' of paper was to be used, it also tells us something about the urge to collect, to find order and reason. That even blank paper was deemed worthy of collection, worthy of a place within the family papers, is a strong indicator that paper meant more than the sum of any writing upon its surface. The physical association with another human being was felt in paper, as seen with the case of the stationer who signed the blank papers he sold and in the letter cover having been associated with a letter from a particular

person. Like 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper' and other literatures suggested, paper had a memory, a soul. Just as in the Kula system described by Appadurai, emotionally paper retained an essence of all those it had come into contact with before. Prizing blank paper enough to award it a place in family archives cannot be explained as anything other than emotional, especially when that paper is so explicitly labelled as "useless".

If paper carried with it associations with those who had come into contact with it, what does that imply about the rags from which it was made? One question I do not feel I've been able to answer is how a material object which was formed from something so reviled with so many negative connotations was so valued and cared for and about. I have a hunch that the answer lies in the method of manufacture and in the fictions encountered in the introduction. Making paper was not always represented very accurately in published fictional or even factual accounts. However, the language and imagery used to describe papermaking contains many similarities across multiple literatures. "The mills refining motion", paper "renewed" that "emerged from the water purer than before" - all have a distinctly Christian, baptismal air to my ears.[741] I am not a religious scholar, but my hunch is that there was some relationship between the use of water to create paper and a symbolic use of water to wash away past sins. This would have allowed paper, made from the vilest substance imaginable, worse even that dog dung, to become exalted as a substance worth keeping – even if it were blank or useless.

Yet, despite this association of rags with the basest and most inhumane of substances – lower even than animal faeces – the way in which rags were traded does not conform simply to this perception. The books of the Balerno Company demonstrate that rags were sold not just by vagrants and vagabonds, as per contemporary newspaper reports and moralising nineteenth-century social narratives, but also by respectable business people. Some individuals selling rags to the company made a handsome living from the sale of rags. This relates to the notion of use, rags were only rags because they had become "useless" as clothing or household linens. But that uselessness changed when these linen items changed hands, what might be useless to one person is better than anything another owns, and what is a useless ladies' dress might be repurposed into a useful child's outfit, for example. Rags that were turned into paper were, perhaps, the most useless things imaginable because even beggars couldn't do anything more with them – the only way they could be used was by turning them into something else. Which, conversely, renders them immensely useful! So useful, in fact, that rags were financially valuable and there were shortages and entreaties to

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[741] Anon., *The Spectator* 367; Rusticus, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper'; Maxwell, 'A Poem on the Manufacture of Paper'; Alchemy, 'The White Rag'.

save more of them.[742] This tension, this dichotomy, is reflected in blank paper, which is at once full of use-potential; but which George Innes described as "useless".

Alongside the narrative of paper this thesis has identified some recurring themes which might prove interesting jumping off points for further research. Across many of paper's life stages there was a seasonal element. Rags were said to be mostly collected during dry weather, meaning that more were available in the summer months. It has been suggested that rag-gatherers picked up mostly bones and metal in the wet weather, or else undertook lengthy drying out of their wares.[743] However, we have no notion of whether papermakers suffered annual rag-shortages in the winters because of this, or whether they were able to obtain enough raw materials from their other sources. It has been suggested that there was less work for the female rag-sorters in winter due to fewer rags being purchased.[744] Although the Balerno Company books are corrupted they may provide some suggestion of differing volumes of rags over the course of the year. As well as in rag-collecting, papermaking was apparently affected by the weather. Winter papers dried more slowly, and so required less processing in terms of flattening and smoothing. The converse was true in the summer.[745] Did this translate into different working patterns for the women in the Salle at different times of year as has been suggested for female rag-sorters? What was the effect of shorter winter working patterns on the women who worked in the paper mills and on their families? This study found that the advertising of paper in Edinburgh was also seasonal, with a marked drop-off during 'the season' (and also April). It also noted that advertisers were soliciting legal-men to buy their "winter stocks of paper", suggesting that paper-purchase might also have been seasonally related to particular occupations.[746] It would be possible to expand this examination of advertising to a longer period to see if it changed over time, and to look for similar patterns outside of Edinburgh. Both could be done using the British Newspaper Archive database. Further work might consider paper, and other products, in terms of seasonality.

Paper might also be framed in terms of legal issues. As well as the legal-men being advised to buy their stocks of paper for winter, this thesis touched upon tax and the excise as well as paper theft. From a social life perspective paper and crime, and paper and paper-misuse (for example, paper which was removed from its intended context – as was the case with Innes's "found papers") could provide enough material for a second thesis! There is a vast number of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sources regarding paper and innovation. This thesis mentioned some new papers which were advertised in Edinburgh, and also some

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[742] See, for examples: Anon, 'Scarcity and Dearness of Paper', 968; Gossipania (pseud.), 'A Request to the Ladies', 14; A Paper Mill (pseud.), *'To The Worthy Females,* 276.
[743] Quennell, ed., *Mayhew's London,* 265-270.
[744] Burrows, *A History of the Rag Trade*, 5.
[745] Anon, 'The Influence of the Seasons on Papermaking', 48.
[746] *Caledonian Mercury*, 17th September and 6th October 1787.

innovative furnishings connected to paper use, but there were many more. There were also innovative uses for paper, such as the Fourdriner brothers and their hot air balloon, and paper being used in place of glass in glasshouses.[747] Additionally, experiments were being made into different materials to use to make paper and of course into ways of making larger sheets of paper.

Eventually those experiments began to work, and from mid-nineteenth-century paper was mainly machine made. From later in the century it stopped being made from rags and began to be made from wood pulp. These changes put a stop to the intimate physical connections people had with producing paper. Paper was no longer made from bodily clothes, women did not sort dirty linens and men did not work the stuff with their bare hands. It might be expected that this led to a distancing of people from paper, but that does not appear to have been the case. For example, at a recent exhibition 'Fashion on the Ration' at the Imperial War Museum showcased silk maps from World War Two which had been turned into ladies' underwear and trousers made from Draughtsmen's paper.[748] Although the maps were printed on silk, rather than paper, the connection between the body and stationery is still perceptible and provides yet another avenue ripe for exploration. The current academic and media interest in our human relationship with e-paper (and a wider, more general interest in our relationship with the world of things) suggests that we are still very aware of the relationships between people and paper – in much the same way at eighteenth-century it-narratives were. This current interest might be called I.T.-narratives, as their focus has moved away from physical paper and towards e-paper, but notions of how people interact with this stuff is still very much on the agenda for the foreseeable future.

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[747] See: "A Paper House for Growing Melons," *The Quarterly: the journal of the British Association of Paper Historians* 30 (1999).
[748] Katherine Hughes, 'The line of duty: how the British followed fashion during the second world war.' *The Guardian* 20th February 2015: http://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2015/feb/20/in-the-line-of-duty-fashion-during-second-world-war?CMP=fb_gu [28/02/2015]

Appendices

Appendix A

The Ninety-Nine Different Names Used to Describe the Paper Sold by the Balerno Company.

Taxation Table	Quality	Size	Finish	Type	Thickness	Largeness	Format	Unknown
2nd		crown		tea				
		crown		tea				
		crown		tea				complete
		crown		tea		small		
	fine	crown				small		
		crown					24ths	
		crown	broke				24ths	
2nd		crown	broke					
		crown	broke			small		
		crown			Bible			
		crown				small		
		crown	plain		thin			
		demy		blossom				
		demy		blue				
		demy		wove				
		demy	broke	wove vellum				
		demy						
	fine	demy						
	fine	demy	broke					
	fine	demy	broke	wove				
	fine	demy	wove vellum					
2nd		demy						
2nd		demy	broke					
3rd		demy						
3rd		demy	broke					
		demy	broke					

		demy, writing					
		double crown					
		double crown	broke				
		elephant		brown			
		elephant		cap			
		elephant		cartridge			
		elephant					
		foolscap		grey			
		foolscap					
	fine	foolscap					
2nd		foolscap					
	fine	foolscap English					
		foolscap post					
		imperial		cap			
		imperial		cartridge			
		imperial					
		large demy		grey			
		medium					
		post					
	fine	post					
	fine	post			thin		
	fine	post		black	thin		
2nd		post			thin		
3rd		post					
		post				large	
		post			thick	large	
		post	gilt		thick	large	
		post	plain		thin	large	
		post			thick		
		post		black	thick		
		post	gilt		thick		
		post	plain		thick		
		post			thin		
		post		black	thin		
		post	gilt		thin		
		post	plain		thin		
		post English			thin	large	
	fine	pott					
	fine	pott	part				

			broke				
1st		pott					
2nd		pott					
2nd		pott			thin		
3rd		pott					
4th		pott					
		pott			thin	large	
		pott	plain		thin	large	
		pott			thin		
		pott	gilt		thin		
		pott	plain		thin		
	fine	pott English					
		royal		grey			
		royal					
		royal	broke				
				bag cap			
			white	bag cap			
				blossom			
			broke	blossom			
				brown			
				cartridge			
				cartridge		small	
				grey			
				grey		large	
				grey		small	
				tea			
			broke		Bible		
							carbled/carded?
						large	
			gilt		thick	large	
			plain		thick	large	
	middle hand						
			cream			small	
			wove, part		thin		
							ticket card

Source: NRS CS96/1797-8, John McNiven, merchant, Edinburgh, Account Book (1791-1798).

Appendix B

Named Rag Sellers in the Balerno Company Books.

Female

Surname	First name
Hen	
Hume	
Low [Law?]	
Mill	
Ogilvie	
Ramage	
Smith	
Swan	
Taite	Agnes
Wheet [Whyte?]	
Whyte	
Wilson	

Male

Surname	First name
Bagnall	Robert
Brown	John
Crystie, Leith	
Cuthbert	
Davidson	
Dawson	George
Donald	James
Douglas	John
Drummond	
Garretry	James
Gordon	George
Grant	
Hatton	
Henderson	
Howard	William
Johnson	John
Laker	James
Leishman	Thomas
Luchman [Leishman?]	
Macnab	
Maren [Moren?]	
Marlay	
Mickle	James
Murphy	
Murthey [Murphy?]	
Napier	James
Neil	
Smith	John
Tuidel [Tweddle?]	
Williamson	John

Source: NRS CS96/1807, Nisbet, McNiven and Company, paper manufacturers, Edinburgh. Rag books 1794-1795.

Appendix C

Examples of Stationer's Trade Cards.

1.

Source: John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 355.

2.

JAMES MACKENZIE,
BOOKSELLER and STATIONER,
At No. 80, in *Newgate-Street*, near *Cheapfide*:

SELLS all Sorts of Stationary Wares; Makes, Binds and Sells all Sorts of Books in Vellum, Leather, &c. Bibles, Prayers, Teftaments, and all Sorts of Spelling Books, Primers and Hornbooks; a large Affortment of gilt little Books, with Pictures, Wholefale and Retail, at the loweft Prices.

N. B. Paper-Hangings and Printing in general.

3.

Charles Bigg, Stationer
The Corner of King's Head Court near Fetter Lane Holborn
LONDON
Sells all Sorts of Paper & Parchment (Stampt or Unstampt) and other Stationary Wares Wholesale & Retail at y very lowest Prices
Likewise
Binds all Sorts of Account & other Books either in Vellum Leather or otherwise in the Strongest & Neatest manner
AND
Engrosses Copies Deeds & other Writings in any hand with the greatest Care & Expedition

4.

Charles Stokes.
STATIONER
at the Red-Lyon near
Bride-lane, in Fleet-street,
SELLS Books for Merchants Acc.ts Brewers,
Shop, Pocket, or Table-Books, Letter-Cases, large
Porto-Folio's for Prints, or Drawings, Drawing-
Paper, Card-Boards, Writing-Vellum, Abortive-
Skins, black & red-Lead-Pencils, hair-Pencils,
right Indian-Ink, & variety of Water-Colours, for
Drawing-Architecture, shading Ground-Plans, or
Gardning.   At very Reasonable Rates.

Satis 1716

5.

Images 2-5 from John Johnson Archive, 'A Nation of Shopkeepers' exhibition (2001): <https://wayback.archive-it.org/org-467/20110531165718/http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/johnson/exhibition/>.

[21/02/2014].

Appendix D

Table of Eighteenth-Century Papers.

Name[749]	Weight Lb. (per Ream or Bundle)[750]	Reams a Day's Work[751]	Dimensions[752]	Watermark[753]	Date[754]	Country of Origin[755]	Variant Name / Measurement [756]	Use[757]
			or printing papers]	writing, drawing	First Class [these are all			
Atlas Double	236 R		56 x 31 ½					Writing and printing
Atlas	98 R		26 ¼ x 34					Writing and printing. Drawing paper originally developed for printing maps (Turner, 1998)
Atlas Inferior	96 R		26 ¼ x 34					Writing and printing
Atlas Small			25 x 31					Writing and printing

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[749] John Paine junior., *The paper-Maker's and stationer's assistant: … By John Paine, Junior.*
(London, MDCCLXXXIV [1784]) and R. Johnson, *The Paper-Maker and Stationers Assistant…* (London: sold by Debrett, 1794), A4r – A8.
[750] Ibid.
[751] Ibid.
[752] Ibid. These are maximum sizes. Paper made at each mill could differ by up to ½ an inch, as some mills measured from the outside of the deckle and others from the inside: Sylvie Turner, *The Book of Fine Paper*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 209.
[753] Gaskell, *A New Introduction,* 73-75; Gaskell, 'Notes on Eighteenth-Century British Paper', 34-42
[754] Date of earliest description found in Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 73-75.
[755] Ibid.
[756] Ibid.
[757] Unless otherwise stated: Gaskell, 'Notes on Eighteenth-Century British Paper', 34-42.

Columbier	100 R	2 ½	23 ½ x 34 ½					Drawing (Wiktionary) Writing and printing
Copy Writing	17 R	9	16 x 20 ¼					Writing and printing
Crown Single	30 B	10	15 x 20	Fleur-de-lys	1781	England	Crown	Printing
Crown Inferior	30 B	10	15 x 20					Printing
Crown Double	48 B	5	20 x 30					Printing
Crown Double Inferior	46 B	5	20 x 30					Printing
Crown Tissue	10 B	5	15 x 20					Printing
Cartridge Square	56 R	5	24 ½ x 25 ½					
Cartridge	56 R	5	21 x 26					Wrapping and drawing (Turner, 1998)
Cartridge	50 R	5	19 ¼ x 24					

Name	Weight	No.	Dimensions	Watermark	Date	Country	Paper	Use
Copy Plate	25 R	9	16 x 20 ¼					Printing
Crown Plate	22 R	10	15 x 20					Printing
Demy Single	41 B	7	17 ½ x 22	Fleur-de-lys	1781	England	Printing Demy	Printing
Demy Inferior	36 B	7	17 ½ x 22					Printing
Demy Plate	30 R	6	17 x 22					Writing and Printing
Demy Plate	26 R	6	15 ½ x 20	Grapes	1674	France	Large Demy	Writing and Printing
Demy Short	25 R	9	14 x 20 ¼	Grapes	1674	England	Small Demy 20 x 14 ¾	Writing and Printing
Demy Tissue	14 B	7	17 ½ x 22					Printing
Demy Writing	24 R	6	15 ½ x 20	Strasbourg Lily	1713	England	19 x 15 ¼	Writing
Demy Large Double	120 B	3	28 x 40					Newsprint

Name	Weight	Number	Dimensions (inches)	Watermark	Country	Year	Use
Demy Double	100 B	3 ½	26 x 38 ½		England	1781	Newsprint
Eagle Grand (a.k.a. Double Elephant)	120 R		26 ¾ x 40				Writing and Printing
Elephant	40 R	4 ½	23 x 28				Writing and Printing
Elephant Common	38 R	4 ½	23 x 28				
Fan Large	19 R		23 ½ x 20 ½				Writing and Printing
Fan Small	8 R		22 ¼ x 13 ¼				Writing and Printing
Fool's Cap	15 R	10	13 ½ x 16 ¾	Britannia, propatria, vryheit	England	1781	Writing and printing. Drawing (Turner, 1998)
Fool's Cap Second	15 R	10	13 ½ x 16 ¾				Writing and printing
Imperial Writing	80 R	3	22 x 30 ¼				

Imperial Plate	80 R	3	22 × 30 ¼					Writing and printing
Imperial Littress	17 R	10	13 ½ × 17 ½					
Medium Writing	34 R	5 ½	17 ½ × 22 ½		1781	England		
Medium Printing	44 B	6 ½	18 × 23		1781	England		
Post, Thick Large	21 R	6	16 ½ × 21					Writing
Post, Thin Large	16 R	6 ½	16 ½ × 21					Writing
Post, Thick	18 R	6 ½	15 ¼ × 19 ½					Writing
Post, Thin	13 R	7	15 ¼ × 19 ½					Writing
Post, Extra Thin	8 R		15 ¼ × 19 ½					Writing

Post, Small	10 R	10	13 ½ x 16 ½				Writing
Pott, Fine	10 R	12	12 ½ x 15 ½	England, London	1713	England	Writing
Pott, Second	9 R	12	12 ½ x 15 ½				Writing and printing
Pott, Double	36 B	6	17 x 25 ½				Printing
Royal Writing	45 R	5	19 ¼ x 24	Strasbourg bend	1781	England	
Royal Plate	46 R	5	19 ¼ x 24				
Royal Super Writing	54 R	4	19 ¼ x 27 ½				
Royal Printing	56 B	6	19 ¼ x 24				
Royal Inferior	50 B	6	19 ¼ x 24				Printing. Wrapping (Turner, 1998)

Writing and Printing				
Royal Long	45 R	5	27 ½ x 18	
				2nd Class [these are all coloured and whited-brown papers]
Blue Demy	36 B	7	17 ½ x 22	
Blotting	36 B	7	17 ½ x 22	
Blue Elephant		4 ½	23 x 28	
Blue Crown Single	28 B	10	15 x 20	
Blue Royal	50 B	6	19 ½ x 24 ¼	
Blue Couples	20	10 dble	33 x 10 / 9 x 7 ½	
Double 2 Pound	36 B	4 ½ dble	24 x 16	
Double 2lb. Single	18 B	9	16 x 11	
Lumber Hand	38 B	7	23 x 18	

							Printing and board (Turner, 1998)
Middle Hand	38 B		22 x 16				
Purple Royal	26 R	6	19 ½ x 24 ¼				
Royal Hand Thick		6	24 x 19 ¼				
Royal Hand	45 B	6	24 x 19 ¼				
Small Hand	24 B	10	19 ¾ x 16				
Small Hand Double	48 B	5	32 x 20				
Sugar Blue	150 R		21 ½ x 33				
Smaller Size	112 R		18 ¾ x 27				
Demy Size	70 R	6	17 ½ x 22				
Crown Size	50 R	6	15 x 20				

Blue Double Crown	48 B	5	20 x 30				
Middle Hand Double	60 B		33 x 21				
3rd Class [wrapping papers]							
Bag Cap	50 R	6	23 ½ x 19				Wrapping
Four Pound	40R	9	20 x 16				Wrapping
Double Four Pound	80 R	4 ½	22 x 20				Wrapping
Pound and Half Pound Couples	24	10	12 x 10 9 x 7 ½				Wrapping
Havin Cap	56 R	6	24 x 20				Wrapping
Imperial Cap	90 R	4 ½	29 x 22				Wrapping
Kentish Cap	36 R	7	21 x 18				Wrapping

								Wrapping
Small Cap	16 R	12	20 x 15					Wrapping
Single 2 Brown	30 B	10	16 x 11					Wrapping

Appendix E

Names Given to Papers Advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser* 1770-1820.

1770s	1780s	1790s	1800s	1810s
Writing papers	Writing papers	Writing papers	Writing paper	Writing papers
Gilt edged	Post	Ruled paper	Music paper	Antiquarian
Black edged	Black cards	Pot	Post	Double elephant
Message cards	Ornamental cards	Royal	Wove	Colombia
Embossed	Gilt cards	Medium	Hot-pressed	Imperial
Marbled	Foolscap	Demy	Gilt	Super royal
Vellum	Pot	Post	Mourning	Royal
Prussian blue	Demy	Foolscap	Bankers post	Medium
Glazed	Music paper	Printing papers	Bath post	Demy
Elephant	Message cards	Machine ruled	Pot	Post
Atlas	Vellum	Imperial	Imperial	Bankers post
Imperial	Parchment	Super royal	Super-royal	Foolscap
Royal	Drawing paper	Wove	Medium	Wove
Super royal	Botanical paper	Hot-pressed	Demy	Laid
Demy	Lapping	Copperplate	Foolscap	Pot
Treasury	Blossom	Brown	Reeves' paper	Drawing paper
Post	Crown	Lapping	Watman's paper	Shop and packing
Attorney's copy-paper	Cartridge	Grey	Coloured paper	Printing
White cards	Royal hand	Tea		Blotting
Spotted cards	Elephant brown		Tissue	Blue
Waste cards	Royal brown		Pasteboard	Pasteboard
Black lines	Small brown caps		Vellum	Cardboard
Camp paper	Calendar paper		Music	Coloured
Medium	Sugar blue		Waste cards	Marbled
Foolscap	Pressing papers		Marbled	Message cards
	Grey		Bristol boards	
	Pasteboard			

Source: *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Advertiser.*

Appendix F

Family Tree of the Innes Family Members Discussed in Chapter 5.

Glossary

Bag. English term for grocery and other bag papers, can be glazed or unglazed.[758]

Bag Cap. Size of brown paper 24 " x 20 ".[759]

Bible. Very thin printing paper, good quality, strong, opaque, originally used for printing Bibles, later also for commercial printing where many pages were required in a slim volume e.g. catalogues, dictionaries, encyclopaedias. [760]

Black. Paper made from black stockings, sometimes waterproofed. Used for covers, wrapping needles; cambric and lace.[761] Or, **Black-edges**. Book pages edged in black using ink and ivory black, lampblack, or antimony. Used in devotional and funeral publications.[762]

Blossom. Sugar paper of low quality. Size 22 " x 17 ".[763]

Blue. Blue coloured sugar paper.[764] Made from blue-coloured rags. Chiefly used by chemists for wrapping.[765] aka self-blue, fast-blue.

Blueing. Heavily absorbent paper, saturated with indigo. Used for laundry blueing.[766]

Bookcase. Set of shelves with sides for storing books.[767]

Bookpress. Cabinet with doors, which contains shelves for books.[768]

Bookshelves. Individual shelves for storing books.[769]

Broke. Unfinished paper (i.e. un-sized?) [770] Waste paper.[771] Broken ream is an incomplete ream.[772]

Brown. Wrapping paper made from rope.[773] "frequently stronger than cloth of the same weight."[774]

Bureau. Type of desk with drawers under the writing surface.[775]

Cambric. Writing paper impressed with a design resembling cambric fabric.[776]

Cap. Thin wrapping used by a variety of trades. Also: conical bag for holding groceries made by twisting a sheet of paper - aka "Coffin".[777]

Capping. Highly glazed, bright pink or crimson paper used by chemists to cap bottles.[778]

Cartridge. Originally for making shotgun cartridges, later a tough, hard, rough-surfaced wrapping paper. Used for covers, often associated with hosiery.[779]

Cream. Off-white writing paper. Made from un-bleached rags. Aka "Yellow", "**Wove**".

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[758] Labarre, *Dictionary*, 13.

[759] Ibid.

[760] Ibid., 19.

[761] Ibid., 21.

[762] Matt T Roberts and Don Etherington, *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books, A Dictionary of Descriptive Terminology* <http://cool.conservation-us.org/don/dt/dt0333.html>. [12th March 2012].

[763] Labarre, *Dictionary,* 23.

[764] Ibid., 25.

[765] Ibid., 237.

[766] Ibid., 26.

[767] Petrowski, *The Book on the Bookshelf*, 74-99.

[768] Ibid.

[769] Ibid.

[770] 'Mill broke', *Paper machinery* <http://www.paper-machinery.com/dictionary/Mill_Broke.asp>. [12th March 2012].

[771] Labarre, *Dictionary,* 372.

[772] Ibid., 33.

[773] Ibid., 34.

[774] Ibid., 368.

[775] Dena Goodman, *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: what furniture can tell us about the European and American past* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

[776] Labarre, *Dictionary*, 37.

[777] Ibid., 39.

[778] Ibid.

[779] Ibid.

Crown. A size of paper measuring 15 x 20 inches, sometimes identified by a watermark of a crown.[780]

Elephant. Size of drawing, writing, and wrapping paper. Long elephant is wallpaper.[781]

Escritoire [also, Secretaire/Secretary]. Type of desk which closes to hide its writing surface.[782]

Fine. Book paper of superior quality.[783]

First [paper]. Finest quality of paper in that designation.

Gilt. –edges. Cut paper, with gold leaf applied to the **head**, **fore-edge** and **tail**. –top. Cut paper, gilt head only.[784]

Grey. Cheap wrapping paper.[785]

Journeyman Layer. Man who lays the sheets of paper. Has his freedom and is entitled to work for a day's wages.[786]

Layer. Apprentice **Journeyman Layer**.[787]

Laid [Paper]. Handmade paper with lay-lines (i.e. wire and chain marks).

Lapping. A coarse brown paper used to wrap reams of paper. Not 'ream wrappers' but a paper that secures several wrapped reams together for transportation.[788]

Littress. A smooth kind of cartridge paper used for making cards.[789]

Loftman. Man who hangs paper to dry in the drying loft of a papermill. aka dryer-man.[790]

Medium. Size of paper, 18 x 23 inches.

Octavo. Size of book, in which each sheet of paper has been folded to produce eight leaves.

Parchment [Paper]. Paper rendered strong, transparent, grease-proof by prolonged beating of pulp. Chiefly used to pack greasy foodstuffs (meat, butter, fats) coffee, tea & biscuits. aka imitation parchment.[791]

Paper Book. Blank book.[792]

[paper-] Picker. "Girl who prepares paper in the salle "she turns down the corners, lays the sheets the correct way for watermark, throws out bad or broken sheets, and removes surface defects."[793]

Post [paper size]. 15 x 19 inches, sometimes identified by a watermark of a post horn.[794]

Post [-of paper]. Stack of waterleaf, ready for pressing.

Pott. Size of paper, 12 x 15 ½ inches, sometimes identified by the watermark of a pot.[795]

Quire. 24 sheets of paper.[796]

Rag-man. Literally Rag-(warehouse)man. Manager of a business involved in the purchase of rags so as to supply a paper mill.

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[780] Gaskell, *A New Introduction,* 73-75.
[781] Labarre, *Dictionary*, 87.
[782] Goodman, *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*.
[783] Labarre, *Dictionary,* 104.
[784] Ibid.*,* 85.
[785] Ibid.*,* 370.
[786] Ibid., 139.
[787] Ibid., 139.
[788] Great Britain, Parliament, *House of Commons Papers* Vol.31 'Appendix to the Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of Excise Enquiry', <http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GU0SAAAAYAAJ&pg=RA1-PA145&lpg=RA1-PA145&dq=lapping+paper&source=bl&ots=bUEJz21XZ0&sig=6OrWBcR-egW1CyWqz5tSyg_HaZU&hl=en&sa=X&ei=2xZeT4zIE9Gp8QOt4Jz1Dg&ved=0CEYQ6AEwAjgK#v=onepage&q=lapping%20paper&f=false>. 144-5.
[789] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, 1989, online version June 2012, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/109275>. [7th August 2012] Earlier version first published in *New English Dictionary*, 1903.
[790] Labarre, *Dictionary*, 149.
[791] Ibid., 129.
[792] Ibid., 180.
[793] Ibid., 198.
[794] Gaskell, *A New Introduction,* 73-75.
[795] Gaskell, *A New Introduction,* 73-75.
[796] Ibid.*,* 59.

Rag-gatherer. Person who collected large quantities of rags for sale to the rag-man. aka kennelraker, kennelsweeper.[797]

Rag-picker. aka **rag-sorter**.

Rag-sorter. Woman or girl employed by a paper mill to organise rags into appropriate mixtures suitable for making paper.

Ream. 20 **quires** (i.e. 480 sheets of paper).[798]

Ream-wrapper. Paper (usually blue) which was secured around a bundle of paper to prove that duty had been paid on it.

Retree. see **Second [paper]**.[799]

Royal. Size of paper, wrapping, or board. Named for its watermark, which included a fleur-de-lye design – the Royal arms of France.

Salle. Large well-lit room for examining and sorting finished paper.[800]

Salleman. Foreman of the Salle.[801]

Scrow. Strips of clippings of skin or hide.[802]

Second [paper]. Inferior quality to **First [paper]**.

Secretaire/Secretary. See **Escritoire.**

Small. Size of card 3 5/8 ” x 2 3/8 ” aka Ladies cards (there is also a Gentleman's Card of a slightly larger size)[803]

Small hand. Middle quality wrapping and cartridge paper. Became known as "Scotch" because of its chief place of manufacture.[804] See also **Whity/Whitish Brown**.

Stationery Ware. The accoutrements of writing, i.e. pens, ink, sand, wafers, wax, etc.

Tea. Tough, non-porous wrapping paper favoured by the tea trade.[805]

Tea Copy. Size of paper 20 ” x 16 ”.

Thin. Size of boards 30 ” x 21 ”.[806]

Thick. Post-size writing paper 19 ½ ” x 15 ¼ ”.[807] Or **Thick**. Binding term for a book of more than average thickness.[808]

Twentyfourmo'. Sheet of paper folded to form 24 leaves (i.e. 48 pages). Also a book of this format.[809] Written as **24ths** or **24s** in Nisbet Macniven documents.

Vellum [Paper]. See **Wove [Handmade Paper]**.

Whity/Whitish Brown. Middle quality wrapping and cartridge paper. Became known as "Scotch" because of its chief place of manufacture.[810] aka **small hand**.[811]

Whole Imperial. Size of boards 32 ” x 22 ½ ”.[812]

Wove [Handmade Paper]. Paper made on a wove wire, as opposed to a **laid** wire. From 1755. aka **Vellum [Paper]**.[813]

Wrapping. Papers used to contain and protect. Term is not "packaging".

Writing Table. Diverse item of furniture with many different features.[814]

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[797] Labarre, *Dictionary,* 220.
[798] Gaskell, *A New Introduction,* 59.
[799] Gaskell, 'Notes on Eighteenth-Century British Paper', 34.
[800] Labarre, *Dictionary,* 232.
[801] Ibid.
[802] Ibid., 236.
[803] Ibid., 274.
[804] Ibid., 274.
[805] Ibid., 302.
[806] Ibid., 304.
[807] Ibid., 304.
[808] Roberts and Etherington, *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books.*
[809] Labarre, *Dictionary,* 312.
[810] Ibid., 274.
[811] Ibid., 365.
[812] Ibid.
[813] Ibid., 368.
[814] See, for examples: Hepplewhite and Chippendale catalogues.

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    William and Alexander Nisbet 1795-1796.

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E371/150 Alexander and William Nisbet (Nisbet & Co.), papermakers, Balerno: debt to
    king for duties on paper. By commission. Edinburgh, 24 July 39 Geo. III.

E371/151 Alexander and William Nisbet (Nisbet & Co.), papermakers, Balerno: goods
    and chattels, with schedule of papermaking machinery, household effects and stocks
    of paper. By writ of extent. Edinburgh, 10 Dec. 40 Geo. III.

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    Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1777.

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    Court and J. Ashburner in Kendal, 1779.

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    the Chapter-House in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1745.

Anon. *The Art of Writing Illustrated with Copper-Plates* [...]. Printed for John Newbery at
    the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1746.

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    London: Printed and Sold by Thomas Sabine, n.d.

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Anon. *The Devil*. London: [n.p.], [1755].

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Anon. *For the improvement of the agreeable diversion of card-playing, there are publish'd twenty six entertaining packs of cards, curiously engraven on copper-plates, sold by J. Lenthall, stationer, at the Talbot against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, London, viz.[...].* [London]: [n.p.], [1717].

Anon. *Henry Mugg, bookseller and stationer, two doors below the Guildhall, in the Fore-street, Exeter, sells, at the lowest prices, wholesale and retail. Books in all arts and sciences [...].* Exeter: [n.p.], [1780?].

Anon. *J[ohn], Southern, stationer, opposite Park Place, St. James's Street, sells all sorts of bibles, common prayer books, children's books [...].* [London]: [n.p.], [1780?].

Anon. *James Mackenzie, bookseller and stationer, at no. 80, in Newgate-Street, near Cheapside: sells all sorts of stationery wares; makes, binds and sells all sorts of books in vellum, leather [...].* [London]: [n.p.], [1770?].

Anon. *John Osborn, stationer and bookseller, at the sign of the Ship at St. Saviour's Dock-head, selleth all sorts of Bibles [...].* [London]: [n.p.], [1720?].

Anon. *Joseph Heath, printer, bookseller, stationer & bookbinder, near the trees on the middle of Timber-Hill, in the Market-Place, Nottingham. Sells all sorts of bibles, common-prayer books, school-books & modern books, &c. ... cephalic & best Scotch snuffs, &c.* [Nottingham]: [n.p.], [1775?].

Anon. *Richard Worley, bookseller and stationer, near the Fish-Market, in Boston: sells as cheap as in London [...].* [Boston]: [n.p.], [1765?].

Anon. *S[hirley]. Woolmer, bookseller, stationer, bookbinder, and printseller, Fore-Street, Exeter, constantly keeps a large stock of goods, consisting of about twenty thousand volumes of books [...].* [Exeter]: [n.p.], [1785?].

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Athenaeum; a magazine of literary and miscellaneous information.

Belle Assemblée; or Court and fashionable magazine.

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Caledonian Mercury.

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Daily Advertiser.

Daily Courant.

Daily Gazetteer.

European Magazine, and London Review.

Figaro in London.

Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser.

General Evening Post.

Gentleman's Magazine.

Grub Street Journal.

Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and Scientific Mirror.

Lady's Monthly Museum, or, Polite repository of amusement and instruction.

Literary Chronicle.

Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review.

Literary Magazine; or, Monthly epitome of British literature.

Literary Panorama and National Register.

London Magazine, or, Gentleman's monthly intelligencer.

London Spy.

Methodist Magazine.

Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction.

Monthly Magazine, or, British Register.

Monthly Visitor, and Pocket Companion.

Morning Chronicle.

The Morning Post.

Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

Public Advertiser.

Reading Mercury.

Scots Magazine.

Theatrical Observer.

The Lady's Magazine.

The Spectator.

The Wonderful magazine, and marvellous chronicle; or, New weekly entertainer.

Town and Country Magazine, or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction, and Entertainment.

Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure.

Walker's Hibernian Magazine, or, Compendium of entertaining knowledge.

Weekly Entertainer or, Agreeable and instructive repository.

Weekly Magazine, or, Edinburgh amusement.

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