

Barbara Johnson's Album:

Material Literacy and Consumer Practice, 1746-1823

In 1746, in the small town of Olney in Buckinghamshire, eight-year-old Reverend's daughter Barbara Johnson began a project to record her sartorial and consumer choices.¹ She would continue this account of her consumption consistently for nearly eighty years, until 1823. This record, now deposited at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, contains 122 samples of fabric (or patterns as they were known at the time) including sumptuous silk brocades, rough wool 'stuff', and fashionable printed cottons.² These samples, accompanied by written notes, recorded a wealth of information: the date of purchase, the name of the material, the garment the material was made into, how much of the fabric was purchased, its price, and whether it had been worn at, or purchased for, a specific occasion or life event, such as royal or familial mourning. From 1754, at the age of sixteen, Johnson also started collecting the small, monochrome, fashion plates published in pocket books, which are interspersed between the fabric samples in the Album. The Barbara Johnson Album, as it has come to be known, provides a detailed, meticulous, and persistent record of one woman's interactions with the world of fashion and the consumer market during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Album represents a rich material narrative of consumption: a story told through fragments of garments and snippets of text. However, given the unique nature of the Album, it has previously been difficult to ascertain the motivation and purpose of such a record. This Album was a constant throughout Johnson's life as, unmarried, she moved from home to home, carrying the hefty ledger in which she kept this record wherever she went. This article argues that the purpose of the Album is clarified when examined in relation to the Johnson family correspondence, as well as the didactic materials produced by Johnson's mother Jane Johnson

to educate her young children. Read through the lens of these contextualising documents, the Album reveals itself as a self-regulatory consumer exercise, conceived as material form of account book. Competence in domestic accounting has been highlighted as a key skill for both women and men in this period, and the Album demonstrates that the expressions and formats of this skill available were more diverse than the traditional written account book.³ As such, the Album marries material literacy with consumer rationality, and provides an important contribution to the discussions surrounding consumer culture, accounting, and material knowledge.⁴

Consumption has been the focus of a vast body of historical work over the last three decades, and has been hailed as a key explanatory framework for economic, cultural, and social change in eighteenth-century Britain.⁵ Focus on shopping and consumer practice has been a key element of this scholarship, and Berry's browse-bargain model has made significant advances in reclaiming the agency of the shopper, and in interrogating how choices were made.⁶ More recently, Kate Smith has developed this model, and foregrounded the haptic skills possessed and prized by eighteenth-century consumers.⁷ This research has revealed a great deal about the processes involved in shopping. However, questions remain surrounding how middling consumers managed and mediated their consumption, balancing the 'fashion and frugality' highlighted by Batchelor.⁸ The Album reveals the strategies used by Johnson to navigate this delicate harmony between financial control and fashionable consumption, and foregrounds the importance of rationality and self-regulation, as well as the articulation of the material knowledge highlighted by Berry and Smith.

I. The Johnson Family

Barbara Johnson was born in 1738, and was the daughter of the Reverend Woolsey Johnson. Her father came from an established Lincolnshire family, and had attended Cambridge.⁹ In 1720, he was appointed deacon at Peterborough, and can be described as having been a religious pluralist. He was rector at Wilby in Northamptonshire (1729-56) simultaneously with a post as vicar at Olney in Buckinghamshire (1735-53). He had also held several posts in London. Consequently, he was comparatively wealthy, and could afford to build a manor house at Witham, where he lived for the three years prior to his death in 1756.

Woolsey Johnson inherited the Olney parish from his father, William Johnson, and married his wife, Jane, there. Barbara was his first child and only daughter, and was born to the couple in Olney in 1738. She was followed by three younger brothers, George, Robert, and Charles, the latter being ten years Barbara's junior. Barbara's mother, Jane, oversaw the children's education, and created an impressive array of didactic materials to educate her children.¹⁰ Both of Barbara's parents passed away before she was 21: her father in 1756 and her mother in 1759. The children were left to the care of the executor of Jane Johnson's will, the Reverend Edmund Smythe, a distant relative and family friend. In her will, Jane left each of her children £1,500, which was to be paid to Barbara when she wished, with interest of three per cent in the intervening period, which alone provided her with £45 per annum, a low to average income for single woman of the middling sort.¹¹

For the remaining sixty years of her life, and possibly because she had to care for her younger brothers during her twenties, Barbara Johnson remained unmarried. As an unmarried woman of the middling sort, she provides a fascinating example of dress consumption outside of the traditional household structure, as she was neither wife nor mother. She also provides an excellent contrast to the consumption of spinsters such as Gertrude Savile, who lived financially restricted lives.¹² Johnson did, however, have a difficult task on her hands: how to maintain an appearance of gentility on her £45 per annum; especially when surrounded by her

fashionable relatives. Johnson's brother Robert married the sister of the Earl of Craven in 1773. His new wife was decidedly fashionable, and Johnson's new aristocratic relations were decidedly wealthy. The Cravens commissioned Henry Holland and Capability Brown to design the family seat of Benham Park in the 1770s and, while no record remains of how much the estate was worth, the union undoubtedly brought Johnson into close contact with the fashionable landed elite.

Unusually for a never-married woman, Johnson did not position herself as a dependant in the household of one of her brothers.¹³ Instead, Johnson's lifestyle was rather peripatetic, visiting friends and family in an almost annual rotation.¹⁴ One of the biggest influences on her life, personally and financially, and one of her closest friends, was Catherine Ingram, who married Michael Wodhull in 1761. Johnson stayed with her friend and her husband frequently at both their house in Thenford near Banbury, and their address at fashionable Berkeley Square in London. Johnson had her accounts with mercers sent to this address, and seems to have become a regular part of the household, moving in with them fully at some point in the 1790s.¹⁵

Johnson spent most of her life living off the annuity left by her mother. However, in her later years Johnson benefitted from a series of significant increases to her income. When her brother George died in 1814, he left his elder sister an annuity of £50 per annum. Then, when her friends the Wodhull's died, they left their estate to Catherine's remaining sister Mary, who became a companion to Johnson, and subsequently left her £200 per annum on her death. This left Johnson with the considerable total income of £295 per annum. On 14th April 1814, Johnson wrote to her nephew William, following her brother's death and the discovery of her newfound income, saying that:

I have always learn'd to be content with a slender income and have gone very well thro' the World to an advanc'd age. I have I believe met with as much real friendship, affection and esteem (the true blessings of life) as if I had posses'd a much larger

fortune, I have always kept myself independent and as I have all the comforts of life, I am not likely to grow rapacious in my old age.¹⁶

She was financially astute throughout her life, and invested the money she received from George into stocks, making the most of her steady income.¹⁷ As a financially independent single woman, especially one who was not a permanent resident in a male relative's house, being economically prudent was essential. As Amy Froide has demonstrated, the socio-economic position of the never-married woman was precarious, and financial irresponsibility disastrous.¹⁸ The Album itself provides some insight into how she spent this annual sum, and how she managed this private 'slender' income.

II. Barbara Johnson's Album

The Album itself contains fabric samples for garments which Johnson purchased or was given from childhood to death. There are 122 samples in total, with an average consumption of two to three garments per year. The ledger in which Johnson kept this record had previously been used as an account book by a George Thompson, and it remains somewhat of a mystery as to how Johnson came to possess this book.¹⁹ Each of the samples was attached to a small scrap of paper detailing the purchase, and arranged in rough chronological order. As the account book dates from 1738 to 1748, and the first sample is dated 1746, the early samples were certainly accumulated into the book retrospectively, and were probably stored elsewhere, attached to their little paper labels, for the first few years that Johnson kept this record.

That the samples were originally kept loose goes some way to explain why there are several gaps in Johnson's acquisition of garments. Some of these gaps are single years, while other larger gaps, such as 1773-75 and 1783-84 coincide with periods when Johnson was socially active, and was likely to have been active as a consumer. We also know that Johnson

received or inherited items of clothing which do not appear in the Album, such as ‘a flowered silk and a suit of point lace’, which was inherited from a Mrs Williams in 1780.²⁰ This is probably because the samples, even when taken from items described as gifts, must have been taken during or prior to the construction of the garment, as it would have been impossible to take such large samples from a completed garment. Consequently, we can say with confidence that the Album is not representative of Johnson’s full and complete consumption of dress, and accounts only for newly made garments as they entered her possession.

An analysis of a page from the Album reveals the rich information contained within its pages. The seventh page of the Album contains swatches dated 1758 and 1759, as well as one fashion engraving dated 1759, and another undated engraving [Figure 1 near here]. The information recorded with the fabric samples is typical of that recorded throughout the Album. On this page, the brown silk at the top left of the page is accompanied by a note which reads: ‘a brown figur’d lutestring night gown July 1758 3s 6 a yard, half yard wide’.²¹ The blue silk is described as ‘a Strip’d buff & blue Taffety negligee June 1758, four guineas the piece sixteen yards, yard wide’.²² Finally, the red fabric is described as being for ‘a Scarlet Stuff Gown December 1759 1:7 a yard, seven yards’.²³ This pattern of describing the fabric, its intended use, the price, length, and width was Johnson’s standard practise, and very much reads like the contents of a traditional account book.²⁴

This comparison to the traditional account book is significant, and reinforces Johnson’s conception of this record as a means of managing her consumption practice. Although it was only her consumption of dress which was recorded in this way, rather than her full personal accounts, this was not unusual in eighteenth-century accounting. As Vickery has noted, ‘even keen accountants may have chosen to capture only one area of their lives in a record book’.²⁵ Johnson’s focus on fashionable dress clearly marks out her sartorial consumption as an area in which Johnson felt a need for additional tools to mediate her self-regulation as a consumer, and

simultaneously accounts for why garments which she inherited were not included. Gifts of fabric, on the other hand, were included in part to record the exchange, as part of a Maussian culture of reciprocity, and partly because Johnson would still have paid for the making of the gown itself.²⁶ Indeed, Johnson's position as a single woman intensifies this need to account for her financial activity, and goes some way to justify why Johnson maintained this record as an essential part of her financial self-regulation throughout her life. As a single woman, Johnson was more acutely responsible for her personal outlay, but was not required to manage an entire household. If she had married, Johnson's economic responsibilities would have shifted, and the format of the Album would no longer have encompassed Johnson's accounting needs, or would have become supplementary to a more traditional accounting practice.

The fabric samples and notes, which made up the accounting element of the Album, were kept in a loosely chronological order throughout; whereas the fashion engravings were added more haphazardly. Returning to the seventh page of the Album, the first engraving, to the centre right of the page, is contemporary with the samples, being dated 1759.²⁷ Given its style, it is most likely from *The Ladies Complete Pocket Book*, which seems to have been favoured by Johnson, and appears numerous times.²⁸ The second plate is harder to place. It is undated, and considering the style of the garments depicted, is most likely from the 1800 to 1805 period, making it incongruous with the rest of the page. Although the Album does generally follow a chronological structure, these inconsistencies in relation to the fashion plates indicate their secondary importance within the volume.

How, then, should we approach the Album? Is it a material form of accounting, a scrapbook, or an ego document? It bears resemblance to all three genres. The self-observing display evident in the Album recalls records such as that of Matthäus Schwarz's *Kleidungsbüchlein*, his 'book of clothes'.²⁹ Created in Augsburg in the sixteenth century in collaboration with a local artist, the book contains portraits of Schwarz designed to chronicle

his dress.³⁰ As with Johnson's Album, Schwarz noted the date, details of the outfit, and how this outfit related to the current events of his life; however, significantly, he does not include the price. The clear difference between the two projects is Schwarz's self-conscious attention to detail, and the public nature of the collaboratively produced document. The informal, and presumably private nature of the Johnson's Album contrasts with this. The Album does not contain the grandiose overtones of the ego-document: while Schwarz carefully records his exact age to the day, Johnson only mentions the month. Johnson recorded what was important to her as a means of personal, material accounting, and did not design a document intended for posterity.

The Album also bares similarities to the nineteenth-century scrapbook.³¹ There are precedents for ladies collecting and making Albums from prints, trade cards, and fashion plates in the eighteenth century, such as the collecting of Sarah Sophia Banks.³² However, these organised collections are based around specific genres of print, rather than incorporated as a supplement to a more personal record. The scrapbook as a genre did not fully emerge until the nineteenth century. Indeed, Johnson's niece, also called Barbara but known as Selina, created a scrapbook in the 1860s that included paintings and drawings of houses, table decorations, the church, fashionable hairstyles, and people she may have known.³³ This record, although begun in 1863, contained earlier scraps from her childhood, and was continued by family members into the following century.³⁴ These scrapbooks, Ellen Gruber Garvey has argued, allowed their creators to 'make a place for themselves and their communities by finding, sifting, analysing, and recirculating' the writing and images that mattered to them.³⁵ They helped to make emotional sense of traumatic experiences, such as war, as well as enabling them to create an object which acted as a material articulation of personal identity and family history. However, Johnson's Album deals almost exclusively with her interest in fashion, and not as a broader articulation of selfhood. Its focus on the point of consumption, as a material account book,

seems to separate it from these established genres. Despite its similarities to these other genres, the Album undoubtedly sits most comfortably as a form of account book. Johnson records garments at the very moment of their purchase and creation as items of dress. This focus on the point of acquisition, and the cost of each item, marks this record out as a material account book; the purpose for which can be traced to the training she received from her mother, Jane Johnson, to be a materially, economically, and commercially literate child in the 1740s.

III. Jane Johnson, Education, and the Child Consumer

Barbara's mother Jane Johnson was a religious and moral woman. In an undated entry in her commonplace book she stated that 'there is nothing in the World so Beautiful as Virtue!...It is more Becoming than Rich Silks, Trimmings, Lace Embroidery, & Brilliants'.³⁶ The words which fill her letters, reading cards, and commonplace books sparkle with religious intensity, and when writing to a friend at the age of thirty-five she wrote that 'reading the scripture has always been my favourite study'.³⁷ The piety and fervent religious beliefs of Jane Johnson seem rather at odds with the traditional picture of her daughter Barbara as a fashion-loving consumer. However, an examination of the pedagogical material which Jane created to educate both Barbara and her sons reveals an inextricable link between the visual and material, and the religious and moral education of her children.³⁸ Self-regulation and rational self-making were prized by the Church, and religiously devout women often used record keeping as a means of expressing this critical religious reflection.³⁹ This link between moral regulation and the material world, taught to Barbara in childhood, provides evidence of the core purpose of the Album.

Jane Johnson was not averse to the pleasures of the silks, lace, and embroidery, which she had classed as being of secondary importance to virtue. In 1749 she wrote to her aunt of

the 'intoxicating pleasure' she felt when she spent her time making 'Prizes, Flowers, Stomachers, needle books, cutting watch papers, & many other pretty things'.⁴⁰ Yet she also felt the disparity of material circumstances when she visited poor families in want of a change of linen, and chastised herself for her own enjoyment of pretty things.⁴¹ Much of this charitable work was carried out as part Jane's role as a churchman's 'incorporated wife', further intensifying her need to balance her appreciation of making and materiality with the charity and Christianity required of her to support her husband.⁴² Jane's love of making things is certainly evident in the educational materials she produced for her four children, of which 438 separate pieces remain, as well as a book in manuscript form, entitled *A Very Pretty Story to Tell Children*.⁴³ The materials focussed on teaching her children, aged between twenty-one and eleven at the time of her death in 1759, the fundamentals of reading, as well as moral tales.⁴⁴ Her methods align with contemporary Lokean views of education, and she certainly took her role as the moulder of her children's young minds extremely seriously.⁴⁵

Something which is striking throughout these materials is the importance Jane Johnson placed upon the visual as a supplementary means of reinforcing text. This was in line with the contemporary pedagogical theory of François Fénelon (1651-1715) and his contemporaries; and this approach was not unique to Johnson.⁴⁶ Visual and material means were often used to reinforce teachings, and were commonplace by the start of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ These visual and textual tales were often moral stories, in which the visual reinforced important ethical codes.⁴⁸ Jane Johnson's use of the visual to strengthen the textual emerges at an early point in her children's education. A set of alphabet cards created by Jane contained phrases to help her children recall their alphabet, accompanied by images of the person or thing which began with that letter.⁴⁹ For example, an Empress was used for the letter E, and a Monkey for the letter M. Perhaps more significantly 'T Was a tra-der, and ga-ther'd pelf', instilling an early weariness of the tricks and greed of merchants in her young children.⁵⁰ The emphasis that Jane

placed on the visual in her children's education in these early years would undoubtedly have had a lasting impression on Barbara, and perhaps explains why the material and the visual dominate her mediation of commodity culture through the Album.

Many of the cards produced by Jane depict ladies and young girls in fine and elaborate dresses, and she took meticulous care in colouring their gowns, revealing her own interest in fashionable dress. As her children got older, Jane placed them as the subjects of some of the images. In one series of cards, Barbara is named as the central figure, with the image depicting her in fashionable dress and dancing a minuet with Lord Mountjoy, possibly referring to Herbert Windsor, 2nd Viscount Windsor [Figure 2 near here]. Through such images, Barbara was both taught how to read, and taught about the social world she would inhabit as an adult.⁵¹ This conception of children as miniature versions of their adult selves was prevalent in the period. In her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Mary Wollstonecraft famously stated that 'females are made of women when they are mere children'.⁵² The educational materials produced by Jane represent a mimetic appropriation of the adult female cultural identity which Barbara was expected to embody.

Other cards in this series, which also included flowers, animals, and country scenes, are explicit in their intention to teach Barbara what she would need to know as an adult woman, especially regarding dress. A series of four cards all depict fashionable young ladies, three mentioning the style and fabric of the gowns they are wearing. For example, card number four of the series depicted 'Miss Carpenter, in a yellow Lutestring Sack, and a red knot, dancing a Rigadoon by herself at Mr Lally's School' [Figure 3 near here]. The other images depict a girl in a 'blue Sattin Coat' walking to church, and an aristocratic lady in a 'red lutestring coat'. In a similar fashion to the paper doll story books that became popular at the beginning of the nineteenth century, such as *The History of Miss Wildfire*, Jane Johnson's story cards brought together fashionable dress, social status, and a specific activity.⁵³

Barbara Johnson began to compile the contents of the Album when she was eight years old in 1746, making the start of the Album contemporary with the production of Jane Johnson's didactic materials. It is therefore likely that the initial exercise of taking fabrics from each gown made, and recording the garment it was made into, as well as its cost, was a didactic exercise in self-regulation and accounting, and part of the broader educational experience which Jane was designing for Barbara. These methods were reminiscent of the virtues espoused in contemporary pocket books for children, which acted as a means of practical financial self-regulation, and aligned moral goodness with economic responsibility. In the 1690s, John Locke had argued that children should be encouraged 'to learn perfectly merchants' accounts, and not to think it is a skill that belongs not to them, because it has received its name from, and has been chiefly practised by, men of traffic'.⁵⁴ Locke espoused the usefulness of accounting as a means of self-regulation. In other words, accounting would enable reflective analysis of an individual's spending habits, rather than to provide absolute dissuasion to consume.

It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that pedagogical writing and materials aimed at girls began to acknowledge the importance of a girl's economic literacy. The Abbé D'Ancourt, in the anonymous 1743 translation of *The Lady's Preceptor*, encouraged that girls be taught 'enough arithmetic to prevent her being deceived by merchants'.⁵⁵ Although D'Ancourt considered other skills, such as handwriting, as being more 'improving' occupations for young girls, this early acknowledgement of the importance of the development of female economic literacy directly relates to the tensions and concerns felt about the softness and susceptibility of female consumers. If taught at an early age how to manage her money, and to have the skill and confidence in her arithmetic to challenge untrustworthy merchants, the woman whom this girl would become would be a more effective consumer and household manager. This would save her from the pitfalls faced by the gadding female consumers of contemporary satire.

The enactment of this childhood training in arithmetic and accounting is most clearly evident in contemporary pocket books, which were purchased and used by both girls and women.⁵⁶ John Newbery, the prolific publisher of pocket books for both adults and children, explicitly stated that by keeping accounts children would learn to maintain their social and economic security: '[h]e that keeps his Accounts may keep his family, but he that keeps no Account may be kept by the Parish'.⁵⁷ Indeed, the influence of Newbery on Johnson's education is evident both in the Album and in Jane Johnson's didactic materials. As Victor Watson has pointed out in his work on Jane Johnson's writing, it is an extraordinary coincidence that she wrote her short story, *A Very Pretty Story to Tell Children* in 1744, the very same year that Newbery published *A Little Pretty Pocket Book*.⁵⁸ Similarly, when Johnson began to include pocket book fashion plates in the Album at around the age of sixteen, it is images from Newbery publications which she chose.

During these early childhood years, Johnson purchased an average of two to three garments per year.⁵⁹ The terminology used by Johnson refers to 'gowns' and 'robe-coats', as well as the adult terminology of nightgowns and negligees. In this early period of her life, the sack appears to have dominated her purchasing, along with the coat. Previous analysis of the Album has queried what Johnson may have meant by the term 'coat', as this term was used both as an abbreviated term for petticoat, or a name for a specialised children's garment.⁶⁰ However, comparison to the terminology used by Johnson's mother in her teaching materials in enlightening. Two of the cards depict young girls wearing what is described as a 'coat' [Figure 4 near here]. In both cases, this appears to have been a gown with a closed skirt and bodice, with the blue example appearing to have a short peplum over the hips. The style depicted in Jane Johnson's drawings, and referred to as a 'coat', bears a strong resemblance to extant children's dresses. Younger children were carefully demarcated through their dress as a means of visually and materially signalling their junior status.⁶¹ This reinforced their

subordinate situation, theoretically making them receptive to the authority and instruction of adults.

There were several key features of this coat style which differed from adult dress. The skirt tended to be cut all in one, rather than with an open front over a petticoat. Furthermore, they fastened with lacings down the centre back, with no opening at the centre front, which would also have given the gowns more flexibility regarding sizing and fit, extending their wearability as the child grew.⁶² Both these characteristics are in line with Jane Johnson's drawings. The fabrics, however, remained fashionable, although very little trimming was used, perhaps with the view that the gown would shortly need to be remade again. The last garment which Johnson describes in the Album as a 'coat' was purchased in 1755, when she was sixteen or seventeen, and on the cusp of adulthood. After this point, she never used the term again, further supporting the assertion that this coat was a child's or adolescent's garment rather than an abbreviation for petticoat, which, considering the fashionable styles of dress at the time, it is certain she must have continued to purchase and wear into at least the 1770s. At eight years old, the sack gowns were probably Johnson's first adult-style dresses, which perhaps explains why the Album was started at this age. If the Album was part of Jane Johnson's wider pedagogical plan, then it must have been conceived as a means of training adult Barbara to manage and self-regulate both her love of fashion, and her consumption of it, in line with the puritanical and moralistic religious environment in which she was raised.⁶³ In essence, it was her primer for her economic and material literacy.

IV. Material Literacy

The material literacy of consumers was central to how the 'world of goods' was navigated. Consumers browsed, touched, smelt, and viewed objects to gauge their quality, placing them

within an existing schema of material knowledge. This knowledge of goods could encompass how goods were made, the quality of materials, and the correct terminology for styles, fabrics, and techniques. In the Album, the notes accompanying the fabric samples reveal a diverse and complex vocabulary of textile knowledge. Johnson was fluent in the language of textiles; and there is a clear link here to the didactic tools created by Jane Johnson, which specifically used terminology such as ‘lutestring’ rather than simply the basic fibre, ‘silk’. An exploration of Johnson’s consumption choices reveals how she understood the goods she purchased and so meticulously recorded. While many of the consumption trends recorded in the Album can be explained through contextualising Johnson’s consumption within a broader narrative of trade and industry, it is the terminology and material knowledge displayed in the accompanying notes which highlight her material knowledge.

The shifting dominance of silk and cotton textiles reflects the influence of changes in global trade and domestic economic priorities. An examination of Johnson’s relative consumption of cotton and silk textiles throughout her life reveals a distinct shift [Graph 1 near here]. During her teens and young adulthood in the 1750s and 1760s she showed a clear and decided preference for silk textiles, and an awareness of terminology used to denote varieties. Silk brocade, tabby, satin, and lutestring dominate the samples Johnson collected, following fashionable trends. However, during the final decades of the eighteenth century, purchases of calico, muslin, and chintz, which were scattered in the early years of the Album, become dominant, before levelling off in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Silk and cotton had consistently been the most popular import items into Britain.⁶⁴ However, during the late eighteenth century the domestic cotton industry was growing, and this cheaper, novel fabric was popular with consumers, and enjoyed an increasing presence in household inventories.⁶⁵ Further nurtured by the mercantilist banning of imported Indian cottons earlier in the century, this protectionist attitude to domestic economics had fostered a shift in consumer spending.

These fabrics were comparatively inexpensive, meaning better prices for consumers and better profits for retailers and merchants, as well as being brightly printed and visually appealing. This led to a significant increase in cotton consumption, as has been observed in household inventories.

Johnson's material literacy is foregrounded through her accompanying notes. She carefully recorded specific attributes of the cottons she consumed, and confidently uses the correct vocabulary. For example, it is apparent that she was aware when, in the 1780s, Viscount Stormont protested in Parliament against the weaving industries leaving British shores, and set up his own mill.⁶⁶ Johnson engaged with Stormont's patriotic action, purchasing a Stormont cotton in 1788, and explicitly recording it in the Album as such. Johnson's specific recording of this Stormont cotton demonstrates her knowledge of the contemporary textile market, and is evidence of her conscious decision to support the British textile industry in an act of politically inspired consumption. Johnson was materially literate enough to identify and record the key characterising features of the fabrics she acquired, for example whether they were domestically produced, woven in a certain way, or connected to a political stance. Johnson used the Album not only to chart when and why she purchased garments, and how much she paid for them, but also how her consumption related to the wider political and commercial stage. We know from her letters that she took a keen interest in politics, and did not approve of Lord North's taxation policies.⁶⁷ Johnson's actions as a consumer went far deeper than aesthetic taste and material preferences, and are remarkable for the inherent display of self-aware material literacy.

In contrast with Johnson's patriotic purchases of British manufactured cottons in her middle age, during her old age she did record her acquisition of French imports. She accepted a gift of French silk from her friend Mrs Wodhull in 1795, and another of French sarcenet from her brother in 1811, a time when the two countries were at war. Her brother had given her gifts

of gowns throughout her life, possibly as a signal of fraternal patronage and familial care.⁶⁸ These significantly intensified as she progressed in age, as did gifts from Johnson's friend Catherine Wodhull, with whom she lived from the 1790s [Graph 2 near here]. Between 1799 and 1804 all the garments recorded were gifts. Undoubtedly, Johnson's status as a never-married single woman played a part in this kinship network of gift-giving.⁶⁹ Following the death of Catherine Wodhull in 1808, her husband continued in the footsteps of his wife, gifting Johnson the material for two further gowns. This is particularly remarkable considering that Johnson acquired additional wealth in these years, and her income increased significantly. That there is not a correlating increase in consumption is not in itself remarkable; however, the simultaneous increase in gifts is surprising. The most compelling explanation for this shift is that it was her advancing age, her greater regular proximity to, and, importantly, domestic dependence upon, the Wodhulls which caused this increase in gifted garments. Shifting in status from an independently-living single woman to a member of the household of her kin altered Johnson's social status, irrespective of her personal wealth. As a single, domestically dependant woman, gift-giving was a core aspect of familial patronage.

In her old age, Johnson overwhelmingly favoured plain fabrics, often in dark colours. The earlier dashes of deep and dark shades which had entered her wardrobe had been specifically for mourning wear; however, these later occurrences have no specific purpose recorded. Amanda Vickery has commented that this preference for darker colours and small, busy prints and figured silks, as opposed to the fashionable light muslin gowns which were depicted in the fashion plates scattered amongst these samples, indicate a clear decision to dress for older age.⁷⁰ To some extent this is reflected in the Album. On the few occasions Johnson records purchasing a muslin, it is either a printed muslin, or a dark coloured Chambery muslin, which was a silk and cotton mix. However, despite not engaging with the fashion for white muslin in her old age, Johnson did consume several new fabrics, such as a sarsanet, given as a

gift by her brother in 1809 and made into a gown. This soft, flowing silk contrasts with the stiff silks of Johnson's youth, which would not have been appropriate for the contemporary fashionable garment styles. From this, we can infer that Johnson was wearing the high-waisted fashionable styles, and was intent upon continuing to engage with the latest fashions and maintaining her material literacy into old age.

The terminology used in these later years also reveals that Johnson continued to be keen to wear the latest styles of garment. From 1798 she regularly used the terminology of round gown, as well as purchasing two pelisses in 1803 and 1811.⁷¹ Both styles were unique to this period, and followed the new raised waistline. The round gown, or closed gown, was a garment made to close at the centre front, with the skirt attached. This was termed a round gown as opposed to the open robe styles of the negligee and nightgown, which were worn over a petticoat. The pelisse was a coat-style over-garment, constructed with the newly fashionable high waistline. Neither of these styles would have functioned without the appropriate undergarments, meaning that they could not be worn in conjunction with Johnson's earlier purchases of negligees and nightgowns.⁷² These were new styles, implying that even as Johnson got older, her full wardrobe, including her stays and petticoats (items which are notable for their absence from the Album, along with all other accessories), must have shifted with the new fashions.

Although Johnson speaks about dress surprisingly little in her letters, they do show that she could be scathing towards ladies of advanced years who dared to wear youthful fashions. When attending a ball, she commented that 'Lady Say...dresses as youthful as ever, a yellow gown with pin gawz ornaments, so that she very much resembles a cousin Betty', meaning a strumpet in eighteenth-century slang.⁷³ It is unclear exactly what it was about Lady Say's appearance which Johnson disapproved of. Vickery has argued that Johnson's own consumption of pink gowns into her middle and old age makes this comment confusing.⁷⁴

However, the key difference is that Johnson's use of colour appears to have been as part of gentle prints in her older age, or else she chose more muted tones, such as the pink-brown satin she purchased in 1820.⁷⁵ In general, Johnson's colour palette deepens and darkens becoming, if not sombre, then subdued.

In using the Album to chart the Johnson's life-long consumption habits, we must also keep in mind that the Album is a representation of garments specifically at the point that they entered Barbara's possession. Consumption, and indeed an individual's material life, was articulated not only through the goods they brought into their possession, but also the circulation of goods within and back out of their possession, and the alteration and evolution of the goods owned.⁷⁶ There is a clear decline in the number of garments acquired by Johnson each year, from an average of two to three per year in her youth, to only one per year in her old age. However, it is well established that the consumption of garments is a cumulative process.⁷⁷ While some are disposed of, others are kept, and most change form or purpose while in the ownership of a single wearer. It is impossible to know whether the fabrics purchased by Johnson for earlier garments were remade or altered to reflect changing fashions, elongating their wearability, and consequently their presence in Johnson's wardrobe, but it is highly likely.⁷⁸ The material possessions of an individual are dynamic: changing, getting worn out, and being worn with varying degrees of intensity. The initial investment in a fabric might relate to a garment that experienced various lives within one wearer's ownership, as it was updated due to changing tastes, wear and tear, or to correspond with the latest fashions.

V. A Chronicle of Fashion

Johnson was keenly interested in the evolution of fashionable styles, and she used the Album to chronicle not only her own consumption, but also the changing styles and trends of the day.

This hybrid purpose becomes evident through an examination of the fashion plates contained within the Album. During her early years as an adult consumer in the 1750s, fashion plates from pocket books began to appear in the Album. These images depicted fashions from a specific year, and provided descriptive terminology, enabling Johnson to maintain her material literacy and update her vocabulary. That these images originate from pocket books, established to have played a significant part in Johnson's education, is key to understanding their integration into what is otherwise a material account book. Johnson was an early consumer of the ladies' pocket book, and the Album is believed to contain the first dated fashion plate from a pocket book, dating 1754.⁷⁹ They were undoubtedly significant to her throughout her life, and their self-regulatory connotations correspond with the act of establishing the Album.

Pocket books appeared under an enormous number of different titles, and were published both in London, and by local booksellers. Although their titles were diverse, their content was remarkably similar. Their format was heavily indebted to the almanac, and they often contained diary space, as well as advice on etiquette, poems and stories, and practical information about hackney coachman rates, and tables of social precedence. However, it is possible to trace several of the prints within the Album to the pocket books from which they originated. This process reveals that Johnson was not loyal to one title or publisher through her life, but that she purchased a variety of different publications, with occasional exceptions and favourites. Most of the titles were printed in London, and can be identified clearly through the text which accompanied the image, such as the *English Ladies Pocket Companion or Useful Memorandum Book* of 1792, the title page of which was included in the Album.⁸⁰

In the 1750s and 1760s it seems that Johnson was relatively loyal to the *Ladies Complete Pocket Book*, with at least twenty-one of the prints probably originating from this publication. This pocket book, published by Newberry, was one of the earliest which appeared, and it has been established that Newberry's works influenced her mother's pedagogical

methods. Other titles which Johnson sporadically purchased include *Wayland's Annual Present or Pocket Book*, *Lane's Pocket Book*, *The Ladies Museum or Complete Pocket Memorandum Book*, and the *Polite and Fashionable Ladies Companion*. There are plates from at least nineteen different pocket books published in London which are identifiable in the Album, and Johnson certainly showed a preference for these metropolitan editions of the pocket book.

Collecting the images from these books was not unusual. Johnson's contemporary, Sarah Sophia Banks, sister to the celebrated botanist Sir Joseph Banks, collected over 400 such images between 1760 and 1818.⁸¹ Although it was not until later in the nineteenth century that a relative compiled the images into an album, as Banks had collected the images in a portfolio. There is significant crossover between the images collected by both Sarah Sophia Banks and Barbara Johnson. For example, the 1761 print 'A Lady in the Dress of the Year' appears in both albums.⁸² Similarly, Catherine Hutton, daughter of successful merchant William Hutton, also wrote in her memoirs about collecting images of dress: 'I have been a collector of costumes...and I now have 650 English figures...They are composed eight large folio volumes...I have written on each opposite page of the English figures explanations and remarks of my own, which constitute a history of the habits of this country'.⁸³ Both Banks' and Hutton's collections reflected the interest of the creator, but were made explicitly as historical narratives of fashionable dress, with an eye towards posterity.

In contrast to these collectors, Johnson's consumption of fashion plates, and the juxtaposition of these images with records of her own consumption, implies a more active engagement with these images, based firmly in the present and without an eye to posterity. Significantly, she does appear to have been influenced by their contents, not because she copied verbatim the garments they depicted, but because they helped to maintain her material literacy. It is well documented that the slow production process of pocket books meant that those consumers who did copy the styles in them were mocked and ridiculed for being out of date.⁸⁴

Instead, Johnson's Album reinforces the idea that fashion plates were obtained as a means of maintaining fashion knowledge and learning new sartorial vocabulary. They performed a role as educational tools, updating the knowledge Johnson had learnt from her mother in childhood, especially regarding terminology. In other words, pocket book fashion plates provided a regular refresher for the consumer's material literacy.

The four earliest pocket book images which appear in the Album depict a lady wearing a sack, also known as a robe à la française, or negligee. During these years between childhood and youth, Johnson seems to use this terminology of sack and negligee interchangeably for what is, essentially, the same style of garment. The negligee was a long, robe-style gown, with pleated fabric flowing from the centre back, which was attached to the lining at the sides to form a fitted bodice in front. This was the primary fashionable style of the period, and dominated Johnson's consumption. The sack, negligee, and short sack (meaning a jacket length version of the negligee) account for half of Johnson's purchases during the 1760s and 1770s. The last reference to a nightgown or negligee was in 1777, with the more general term of gown then becoming almost universal until the round gown of the 1790s.

Johnson's changing terminology was undoubtedly influenced by the fashion plates and their descriptions. As the styles depicted in these images became more specific, it becomes clear that there were direct links between the consumption of the fashion plate images, and Johnson's own consumer choices. In 1772, Johnson records purchasing a Brunswick made of Manchester cotton in a checked pattern.⁸⁵ A Brunswick was a very unique garment: a three-quarter length jacket with a hood and detachable lower sleeves. An undated print shortly before this record in the Album specifically depicts and names this style of jacket [Figure 5 near here].⁸⁶ Although we cannot know what other sources Johnson utilised to obtain knowledge of fashion, this clear, direct link in terminology implies that the pocket book images did directly influence her material vocabulary and consumer choices.

It is important to consider these prints within the context of the pocket book. They were not purchased independently as fashion engravings, but were purchased by Johnson as part of the complete publication of the pocket book. The pocket book was a key instrument in female financial self-regulation, fulfilling the same dual purpose – as consumer and fashion regulator – as Johnson’s Album. Both acted as a vehicle through which the fashionable female consumer could enjoy fashion, and simultaneously record, track, and manage her engagement. The significance of this observation is intensified by Johnson’s decision to only include these small, monochrome images, and to forgo including the larger, coloured images which appeared in English periodicals from the 1790s. Evidently, it was the characterisation of these books as proponents of frugal fashion, self-regulation, and indulgence in moderation, which enhanced their appeal.

VI. Conclusion

Barbara Johnson’s Album acted as material form of account book, which was used to manage and regulate Johnson’s consumption of dress. When considered in relation to the pedagogical materials created by Johnson’s mother, Jane Johnson, it becomes apparent that the Album was conceived during Johnson’s childhood as part of a broader scheme of material and moral education. Heavily influenced by her religious upbringing, Johnson used the Album as a means of reflective self-regulation. Consistent threads, such as the inclusion of images from Newbury pocket books within the Album, reinforce the influence of this childhood moral education on the lifelong labour of maintaining the Album. Begun as a girl of eight years old, the Album was Johnson’s charter as she navigated the commercial market, and her moderator as she balanced the social requirement to dress well, with the financial restraint and control required as a never-married, independent woman. Accounting has been established through the work of

Vickery, Lemire and others to have had a profound influence on women's lives in the eighteenth-century. Johnson's Album reinforces the significance of this self-regulatory exercise, and broadens our understanding of the forms and methods used by women to maintain such records.

Considered within the emerging framework of material knowledge and material literacy, the Album provides important evidence of how consumers maintained and developed their awareness of fashionable goods. Material knowledge was not only something which had a profound effect on consumption practice and cultures of shopping, it was also something which had to be nurtured and maintained. Johnson's deployment of specific and specialised textile terminology reveals her in-depth knowledge of the material world. Through bringing together the previously independent areas of women's economic and material literacy, the Album forces us to consider the financial and sartorial skills of eighteenth-century women as intertwined.

¹ Victoria and Albert Museum, London (hereafter VAM), T.219-1973.

² The Album was reproduced in facsimile in the 1980s, accompanied by short introductory essays on the key themes of the Album. See Natalie Rothstein, ed., *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashions and Fabrics* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1987)

³ Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London: Yale, 1998), 159; Vickery, 'Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth-Century England' *Past & Present* 2006 Supplement (Vol. 1) pp. 12-38; Beverly Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England, c. 1600-1900* (2005), pp. 187-226.

⁴ Helen Berry, "Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, no. 12 (2002): 375-94; Kate Smith, "Sensing Design and Workmanship: The Haptic Skills of Shoppers in Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of Design History* 25 (2012): 1-10; Kate Smith, *Material Goods, Moving Hands: Perceiving Production in England, 1700-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

⁵ Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5; Jon Stobart, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

⁶ Berry, "Polite Consumption."

⁷ Smith, "Sensing Design and Workmanship."

⁸ Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 32 (2003): 1-18, doi:10.1353/sec.2010.0086.

⁹ Natalie Rothstein, "The Family and the Album," in *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashions and Fabrics*, ed. Natalie Rothstein (London: Thames & Hudson, 1987), 9-17.

¹⁰ Lilly Library, Indiana University (hereafter LLIU), Set 19.

¹¹ The National Archives, PROB 11/844/305.

- ¹² Gertrude Savile, *Secret Comment: The Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-1757*, ed. Alan Saville (Kingsbridge: Kingsbridge History Society, 1997).
- ¹³ Amy M. Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- ¹⁴ Rothstein, "The Family and the Album," 9–17.
- ¹⁵ Rothstein, "The Family and the Album," 11.
- ¹⁶ Bodleian Library (hereafter BOD), MS. Don. c. 192, fols. 1-86.
- ¹⁷ Evelyn Arizpe, Morag. Styles, and Shirley Brice. Heath, *Reading Lessons from the Eighteenth Century: Mothers, Children and Texts* (Lichfield: Pied Piper Publishing, 2006), 25.
- ¹⁸ Amy M. Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- ¹⁹ Rothstein, *Barbara Johnson's Album*, 147.
- ²⁰ Rothstein, "The Family and the Album," 16.
- ²¹ VAM, T.219-1973, 7. Lustring, alternatively spelt lustring, was a fine, glossy silk with a lustrous finish. Satin was a smooth, glossy silk, created by the weft floating over three or four warp threads at a time.
- ²² Taffety was crisp, smooth, plain-woven silk with a slight sheen.
- ²³ Stuff was a general term for woven fabrics not made of silk. These stuffs were originally wool, but could also be linen or cotton blends.
- ²⁴ For more on account books and women in the eighteenth century, see Connor, Rebecca E. *Women, Accounting and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- ²⁵ Vickery, 'Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting', pp. 12-38.
- ²⁶ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).
- ²⁷ However, it would not have been published until 1760, given the publication process for pocket books. Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 32 (2003): 1–18, doi:10.1353/sec.2010.0086.
- ²⁸ Anne Buck, "The Fashion Engravings," in *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashions and Fabrics*, ed. Natalie Rothstein (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 36.
- ²⁹ Ulinka Rublack and Maria Hayward, eds., *The First Book of Fashion: The Books of Clothes of Matthäus and Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).
- ³⁰ Ulinka Rublack, "The First Book of Fashion," in *The First Book of Fashion: The Books of Clothes of Matthäus & Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg*, ed. Ulinka Rublack and Maria Hayward (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 1–26.
- ³¹ James A. Secord, "Scrapbook Science: Composite Caricatures in Late Georgian England," in *Figuring It Out: Science, Gender, and Visual Culture*, ed. Ann B. Shtier and Bernard V. Lightman (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), 164–91; Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- ³² Arlene Leis, "Displaying Art and Fashion: Ladies' Pocket-Book Imagery in the Paper Collections of Sarah Sophia Banks," *Journal of Art History* 82, no. 3 (2013): 252–71.
- ³³ Northampton Archives, ZB0702/02.
- ³⁴ Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book of Fashion*.
- ³⁵ Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance*.
- ³⁶ BOD, MS.Don.c.190, ff. 103-118.
- ³⁷ BOD, MS.Don.c.190, ff. 21-22.
- ³⁸ LLIU, LMC 1649.
- ³⁹ Elizabeth Bennis, *The Journal of Elizabeth Bennis, 1749-1779*, ed. Rosemary Raughter (Columba Press, 2007); Misty G. Anderson, *Imagining Methodism in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Enthusiasm, Belief, and the Borders of the Self* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).
- ⁴⁰ BOD, MS.Don.c.190, fols. 11-12.
- ⁴¹ Arizpe, Styles, and Heath, *Reading Lessons*.
- ⁴² This aligns Jane Johnson with the concept of the 'incorporated wife', see Rabow-Edling, Susanna, *Married to the Empire: Three Governors' Wives in Russian America 1829-1864* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2015), 174; Callan, Hilary, and Shirley Ardene, *The Incorporated Wife* (London: Croom Helm, 1984). Barbara Johnson's letters (primarily written after her father's death) display an interest in the Church, but lack the piousness of her mother's writing, making it difficult to ascertain the extent to which she was an 'incorporated daughter'.
- ⁴³ LLIU, LMC 1649; Victor Watson, 'Jane Johnson: A Very Pretty Story to Tell Children,' in *Opening the Nursery Door: Reading, Writing, and Childhood, 1600-1900*, ed. Mary Hilton, Morag Styles, and Victor Watson (London: Routledge, 1997), 31–46..
- ⁴⁴ Arizpe, Styles, and Heath, *Reading Lessons*.

- ⁴⁵ Andrew O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child: Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 4.
- ⁴⁶ François Fénelon and George Hickes, *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter Done into English, and Revised by Dr George Hickes* (London: James Reid, 1713).
- ⁴⁷ VAM, T.360:1-3-1998.
- ⁴⁸ Arianne Baggerman, "The Moral of the Story: Children's Reading and the Catechism of Nature around 1800," in *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts, 1400-1800*, ed. Pamela H. Smith and Benjamin Schmidt (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 143-163.
- ⁴⁹ LLIU, LMC 1649, Set 5: 'Jane Johnson's Nursery Library'.
- ⁵⁰ 'Pelf' meaning money, usually gained in a dishonest or dishonourable way.
- ⁵¹ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, ed. Miriam Brody (London: Penguin, 2004), 145.
- ⁵² Arizpe, Styles, and Heath, *Reading Lessons from the Eighteenth Century: Mothers, Children and Texts*.
- ⁵³ VAM, T.360:1-3-1998: 'The History of Miss Wildfire, 1832'.
- ⁵⁴ John Locke, *The Works of John Locke*, vol. 8 (London: Rivington, 1824), p. 199-201.
- ⁵⁵ Abbé d'Ancourt, *The Lady's Preceptor. Or, a Letter to a Young Lady of Distinction upon Politeness* (London: J. Watts, 1743), 59.
- ⁵⁶ Rebecca Elisabeth Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 5.
- ⁵⁷ *The Important Pocket Book* (London: John Newbery, 1765), 1.
- ⁵⁸ Watson, 'Jane Johnson: A Very Pretty Story to Tell Children,' 32.
- ⁵⁹ Barbara Johnson records only fashionable outer garments. She does not include stays, shifts, or other smaller items.
- ⁶⁰ Madeleine Ginsburg, "Barbara Johnson and Fashion," in *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashions and Fabrics*, ed. Natalie Rothstein (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 21.
- ⁶¹ O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child*.
- ⁶² Clare Rose, *Children's Clothes Since 1750* (London: Batsford, 1989), 35.
- ⁶³ Anja Müller, "Fashioning Age and Identity: Childhood and the Stages of Life in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals," in *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Anja Müller (London: Ashgate, 2006).
- ⁶⁴ Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy, eds., *How India Clothes the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850* (Leiden: BRILL, 2009), 10.
- ⁶⁵ Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700-1870* (London: Routledge, 1985); Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 97; Beverly Lemire, ed., *The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 78; Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 124.
- ⁶⁶ I have been unable to trace the original source for this, quoted in Will Bowden, *Industrial Society in England Towards the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Frank Cass, 1965), 115.
- ⁶⁷ Rothstein, "The Family and the Album."
- ⁶⁸ Linda Zionkowski, *Women and Gift Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Richardson, Burney, Austen* (London: Routledge, 2016), 131; For further work on the nature of gift giving, see Alan Schrift, *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity* (London: Routledge, 1997); Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002); C. Klekar, ed., *The Culture of the Gift in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- ⁶⁹ Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, eds., *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England*.
- ⁷⁰ Amanda Vickery, "Mutton Dressed as Lamb? Fashioning Age in Georgian England," *Journal of British Studies* 52, no. November 2013 (2013): 858-86.
- ⁷¹ VAM, T.219-1973, 45, 55, 75.
- ⁷² For insight into these changing styles, see Cristina Barreto and Martin Lancaster, *Napoleon and the Empire of Fashion: 1795-1815* (Milan: Skira, 2010).
- ⁷³ BOD MS. Don. c. 192.
- ⁷⁴ Vickery, "Mutton Dressed as Lamb?"
- ⁷⁵ VAM, T.219-1973, 89.
- ⁷⁶ Lorna Weatherill's work using inventories is particularly enlightening on the fate of consumer goods within the household. See Lorna Weatherill, "Consumer Behaviour, Textiles and Dress in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," *Textile History* 22, no. 2 (1991): 297-310; Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1996).
- ⁷⁷ Ariane Fennetaux, Amélie Junqua, and Sophie Vasset, eds., *The Afterlife of Used Things: Recycling in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2015).

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- ⁷⁸ Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*.
- ⁷⁹ Batchelor, “Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women”; VAM, T.219-1973, 2.
- ⁸⁰ Buck, “The Fashion Engravings.”
- ⁸¹ Leis, “Displaying Art and Fashion: Ladies’ Pocket-Book Imagery in the Paper Collections of Sarah Sophia Banks.”
- ⁸² VAM, T.219-1973, 9.
- ⁸³ Catherine Hutton, *Reminiscences of a Gentlewoman of the Last Century*, ed. C. H. Beale (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1891), 214.
- ⁸⁴ Buck, “The Fashion Engravings”; Batchelor, “Fashion and Frugality.”
- ⁸⁵ VAM, T.219-1973, 16.
- ⁸⁶ VAM, T.219-1973, 11.