

CURTAIN CALL: DRAPERY AND HARDWARE OF THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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By end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the number of American homes using window curtains had grown enormously, and new styles were developing rapidly.¹ More easily than in any previous period, homeowners had the ability to experiment with decorative elements in their homes. In his 1890 instructional book, *Practical Decorative Upholstery*, Frank A. Moreland wrote, “No part of [a house’s] furnishings contributes so much to the elegance, or to the feeling of cosiness and comfort, as the drapery for windows, doors, bed, etc.; ...there is always an uncomfortable sense of bareness when no drapery has been furnished, no matter how generously the apartment has been supplied with furniture and other appointments.”² Curtains regulated light, temperature, and dirt in a room, but were costly to make or buy, because they were part of a larger constellation of choices tied to fabrics, hardware, and ornamentation. Finding a balance between the function, design, and costs when draping a home involved strategic trade-offs at a time when rapid industrialization during the second half of the nineteenth century reduced costs and expanded choices. For Victorian Americans, who saw fashionably furnished homes as a reflection of a household’s moral character, finding that balance was imperative.

Modern histories of style often emphasize idealized, elite households whose furnishings are elaborate and follow the most recent style trends; however, cost alone was enough to deter most nineteenth century households from such styles. Though exact dates varied greatly in different geographical regions, Clare Jameson estimated that most rooms in American households did not include curtains until at least the mid-eighteenth century. Those windows which did include curtains typically used only a single panel of fabric which pulled to one side.³ Through most of the eighteenth century, the most lavish use of fabrics in a home was an honor reserved for beds, not windows.⁴ Outfitting a bed with hangings and bedclothes was costly, and extremely lavish designs were a luxury used only by the wealthiest who could afford to do so, though most households ornamented beds in ways reflecting their financial status.⁵ Bed hangings remained commonplace throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, but by 1800 curtains and other forms of window dressings were increasingly widespread.

Curtains and other forms of window dressings served multiple practical functions in a household: by opening and closing window draperies, people could adjust the amount of light, heat, airflow, dirt, and pests allowed into a room. Using natural light during the day meant less



Fig. 1. Curtain display in the Portsmouth Room, Winterthur Museum. Photograph by the author.

money spent on lighting a room with artificial light sources such as candles, gas lighting, and fireplaces. In hotter weather and climates, blocking the sunlight also helped to keep a house cool. Opening the curtains and any glass windows could help cool down a space by letting heat from cooking fires escape and allowing cross breezes to blow through the house. Conversely, closing the windows could trap heat inside a home and block out wintry drafts. More tightly sealed coverings helped to keep insects and other forms of vermin out of living spaces, though this was rarely a perfect solution. Additionally, curtains helped give a household privacy from passersby.⁶ To a certain extent, curtains also help reduce the amount of dirt and dust in a home, although this same grime tended to collect instead on the curtains which consequently required regular cleaning. The types of window coverings used in a home varied greatly according to the climate and geography of the building’s location. Layering different forms of window

treatments can help better alleviate these problems when used in the right combinations.

By the early nineteenth century, other types of window dressings were common also. Roller blinds were popular during the Victorian period because they were inexpensive, could be produced at home without much difficulty, and provided equal protection from the sun, insects, and prying eyes.⁷ They were also easier to clean than slatted venetian blinds or shutters which collected dirt much more quickly and generally couldn't be made at home.⁸ A combination of "short blinds" covering only half of a sashed window and wire or mesh gauze blinds helped counteract insects and other pests, especially mosquitos which one fictional anecdote joked could be so large in the South that they could be trained to carry messages like carrier pigeons. Simple, inexpensive window screens as one might see on a modern home were invented at the very end of the nineteenth century and spread rapidly.⁹ "Bonnet blinds" and awnings help provide some protection from the sun and provided a pseudo-architectural design element to a building's exterior.¹⁰

Windows treatments and other forms of drapery were and are more than simply functional objects, however; they have a high aesthetic impact on a room's interior and, as Godey's *Lady's Book* put it, "nothing goes so far as curtains in finishing a room."¹¹ Curtains and draperies are endlessly customizable in style no matter where they were placed, and designers frequently encouraged their readers

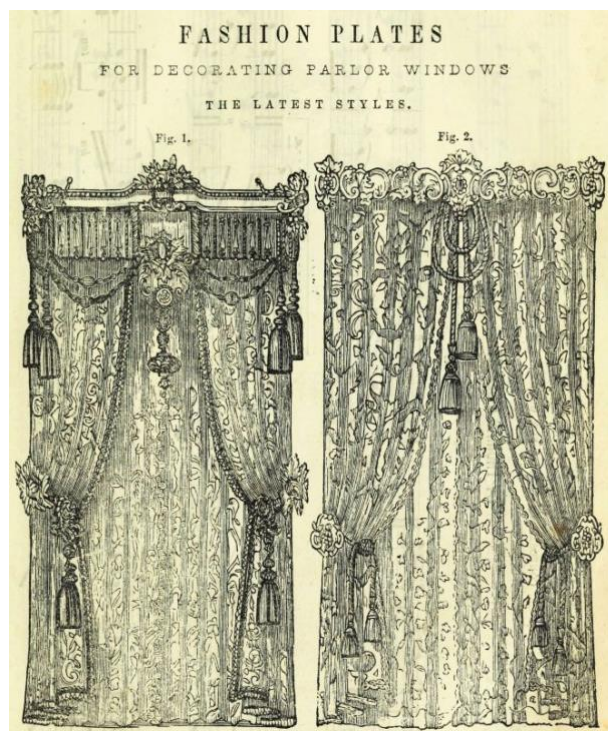


Fig. 3. "Decorated Parlor Windows," from Godey's *Lady's Book*, February 1854. (Internet Archive.)

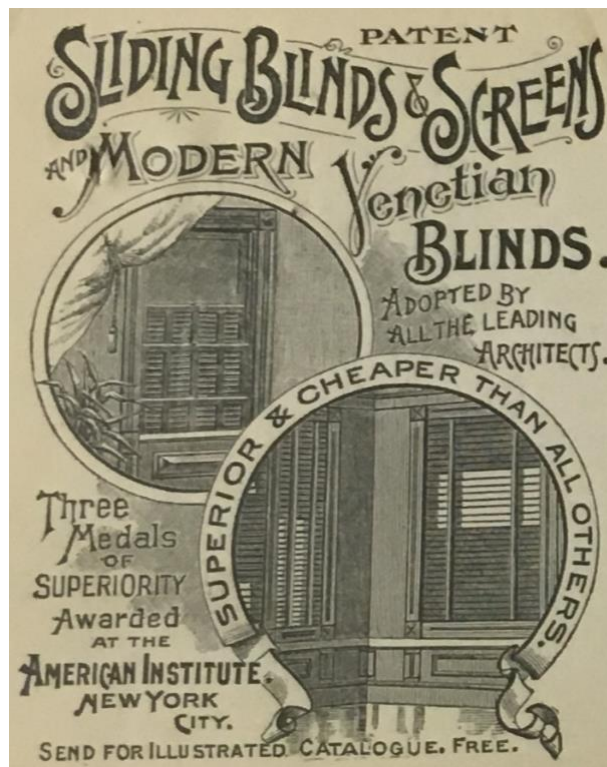


Fig. 2. Detail of receipt from the Burlington Venetian Blind Co., New York City, New York, December 8, 1897. Ink on paper. (Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library.)

to use included illustrations as inspirations for their own spaces, not necessarily as exact patterns to be copied. Frank A. Moreland introduced *Practical Decorative Upholstery* by saying, "The sketches of the various draperies in the usual styles may suggest to the reader something appropriate, or assist in producing some happy combination....and by becoming familiar with the usual method of doing the work, [one] will be competent to successfully carry out any ideas one's taste and ingenuity may dictate."¹² Consumers desired and expected to have this wide variety of design options from which to choose, and manufacturers obliged.

Competition, technical innovations such as the sewing machine, and industrial production methods during the nineteenth century increased the diversity of standardized products that were available to consumers while simultaneously lowering prices. At the same time, American transportation systems developed and spread at astonishing rates: railroads, canals, and roads made the transportation of goods and people much more efficient and connected parts of the country that were previously too difficult or remote to reach. These changes coincided and influenced the expansion of the national postal service, new telecommunications systems like the telegraph, and an expanding market for newspapers and magazines based on



Fig. 4. Detail of a receipt from the Masonic Hall Curtain Store, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 3, 1869. Ink on Paper. (Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library.)

an increasingly literate population of consumers. Design sources in the form of advertisements, architecture style books, catalogs, and a wide variety of women's magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book* spread images, product descriptions, inspiration, and advice about decorating a home throughout the nation.¹³ Population growth increased the scale of consumer markets. By the mid nineteenth century, manufacturers could cheaply produce their designs in bulk and sell them through catalogues, independent retailers, and department stores newly prominent in America's urban centers.¹⁴

During the second half of the nineteenth century, it also became easier to get all the required pieces and materials for one's window furnishings in the same place. Both inside and outside city cores, other shops began to sell entire pre-fabricated window treatments as well as all the materials needed to make them. An 1869 receipt from the Masonic Hall Curtain Store in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, listed a portion of their broad range of fabrics, trimmings, hardware, and "everything required for furnishing windows."¹⁵ Another, an 1892 receipt from Mahony & Douglass: General Upholsterers, showed a charge "for making & hanging [an] awning" and notified customers that they sold "Window Shades Made to Order and Put Up."¹⁶ Specialized stores like the Masonic Hall Curtain Store and the C. Sidney Norris & Co. in Baltimore, Maryland, served the retail and wholesale trades with the latter also selling curtain hardware manufacturing tools and equipment.¹⁷ Consumers had access to more designs, materials, and pre-fabricated products than ever, and they took advantage of stylistic diversity in order to personalize their homes with unique decorative elements arranged in novel ways.

Without wishing to stray too far from our subject, it is worth noting the gendered elements of curtain design during this period. Design sources like *Godey's Lady's Book*

were targeted at a primarily female audience and women played a larger role than ever in decorating their homes. Both the receipts discussed earlier show that the curtain materials were purchased by women—Mrs. J. D. Potts and Mrs. D. D. S. Brown—and one can imagine that they were likely also the ones selecting the fabrics and design elements would be coming into their homes.¹⁸ Architect W.W. Kent explained that it was important that decorative hardware design selections appeal "above all, to the lady of the house."¹⁹ Nineteenth century women also played a greater and more direct role than ever in determining the interior design styles of their homes; advertisers consequently placed promotional materials for curtain fabrics alongside dress patterns and sewing patterns in both printed advertisements and physical showroom displays.

In addition to changing the fabrics and patterns of the curtains themselves, decorative hardware and adornments were a common and easy way to enhance the aesthetic effect of a curtain, and by extension, the rooms in a home. Valences or elaborately draped "swagging" helped hide and ornament rods and poles.²⁰ Curtains could then be held back using sewn or braided tiebacks, draped over curtain pins or wall brackets, or both. Decorative poles and rods with ornamental end caps, under curtains (also known as "glass curtains"), fringes, gimps, cords, tassels, curtain pins, and brackets all helped dress up a window treatment as well. The availability of curtain and hardware designs also made it possible for consumers to adorn other surfaces of the nineteenth century home with drapery, including doors, archways, walls, looking glasses, pianos, and chimney pieces.²¹

In all styles, hardware was crucial for facilitating and complementing the design elements of the drapery. Frank A. Moreland's specifically noted in his book *Practical Decorative Upholstery*, that long curtains should be hung on a five-eighths inch polished iron rod because, in addition to

being a relatively strong metal, “[an] iron rod is more slippery than one of brass, and curtains traverse more freely over them.”²² Decorative adornments also required careful consideration, he noted, observing, “Brass tassels are apt to break the glass [of the window] by careless handling.”²³ Curtain pins were made of any number of different materials; the most common was brass, but they could also be made of wood, fabric, other metals, glass or a combination. As one example, *Godley’s Lady’s Book* described decorating a window like this: “One method [to arrange curtains] is by a long loop or silk or worsted cord, with or without tassel, suspended from a hook three or four feet above the floor, which is the usual height....Curtain pins—that is, handsome rosettes of wood or metal—are also used for the same purpose—[also pins] in the shape of some well-known fruit or flower, in Bohemian glass, mounted on a rich gilt foliage; tulips, lilies, and fuchsias being the favorites, given in different tints of glass to correspond with the curtains...”²⁴ Each material had unique aesthetic and functional properties including color, texture, opacity, weight, surface reflection, commercial availability, and durability – all of which influenced the room’s designer or customer to prefer one over another.

Size, shape, and color also played a large role when choosing hardware for curtains and draperies. The Boston and Sandwich Glass Company made pressed glass curtain pins like the one in Figure 5 (above) in a wide range of sizes from very small—2.5” in diameter—to very large—8” in diameter—allowing the same design to be matched proportionally to nearly any curtain arrangement.²⁵ The company made this design in many colors between 1830 and 1870: clear, yellow, opaque white, “fiery opalescent”, and opal (also called “pearl”). Twentieth century reproductions have also been made in pink, blue, opalescent, clear, green, purple, ruby (Fig. 6, below), and white and a few also feature silver gilding on

the detailing, a lasting testament of consumers’ desire to match the pins to changing designs over time.²⁶ The opalescent color seems to have been favored and produced most prominently around 1850.²⁷



Winterthur’s opalescent curtain pin shows faint remnants of press marks on the reverse, evidence that it was made using a press mold, a production process allowing many identical pieces to be created with relative ease.²⁸ Created by pressing molten glass into re-usable iron molds, manufacturers could produce huge quantities of identical glass forms that resembled luxury cut glass for a very low cost. The company also offered other floral-shaped curtain pins, though their designs seem to have been more fragile and fewer have survived than the style of Winterthur’s pin. Thanks to their readily available materials, low unit costs, and simple construction techniques, manufactured curtain pins like Winterthur’s example helped middling consumers manage the significant costs of outfitting a room with curtains and draperies.

Having so many different design choices available did not mean that all consumers could always afford to buy them (or regularly replace them with updated, more fashionable styles). Determining the exact costs of adorning a room with curtains is very difficult, in part due to the number of variables to consider. Of these, the number of windows in a room and a house could vary widely, and not every window in a home had curtains. One source recommended that curtains should *not* be placed in every room as some rooms, especially nurseries, presented higher fire risks.²⁹ Furthermore, the large variety of designs shaped in the amount of fabric needed; homeowners often chose designs in accordance with their budget.

Lavish display or simplicity varied in most homes by room as aesthetics and function encouraged owners to keep the costs in check—a reality not often



Fig. 5. (Above) Curtain pin, front, c. 1850, 4.76” diameter, glass. Accession No. 2011.0039.002.001 (Winterthur Museum, Garden & Library, photograph by the author.)

Fig. 6 (Below) Ruby glass tie back, 1920-1929, 5.5” diameter, glass. Accession No. 2010.4.116 (Corning Museum of Glass.)

recognized by contemporary studies. Modern histories of style have often emphasized idealized, elite households whose furnishings are typically elaborate and (in theory) follow the most recent style trends. Influenced by published period design sources, our curatorial reconstruction of these spaces are often skewed towards elites, leaving middling and lower-class households absent from the records. As an example of price variations, an 1869 receipt shows that Mrs. J. D. Potts paid \$750.00 to outfit three windows with lavish damask, satin, and drab curtains with fringe.³⁰ In comparison, historians Gail Winkler and Roger Moss have shown that a middle-class family with an annual income of \$1,000 simply could not afford to spend upwards of even 25% of their income to outfit their home with elaborate curtains and accessories.³¹ A more moderate estimate might be closer to the \$16.00 Mrs. D. D. S. Brown paid in 1887 for one pair of curtains of an unspecified material.³²

In non-elite homes and in “secondary rooms” of wealthier households (i.e. not bedrooms or public-receiving rooms) simpler adaptations of styles as well as older designs remained popular.³³ Using different fabrics also changed costs. In middling and lower-class households, more readily available fabrics like muslin and cotton replaced silks, satins, and damasks, and many women also used their sewing and embroidery skills to imitate professionally made items like trims and tassels to adorn their curtains.³⁴ For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to acknowledge the highly variable range of costs of fabrics and accessories. Customers typically did what they could afford.

Hardware costs are somewhat easier to determine from shop receipts, catalogue listings, and daybook entries, in part because costs can be assigned to individual items. An 1874 price listing of silvered glass wares issues by the Union Glass Co. of Boston, Massachusetts—a local competitor of the Boston and Sandwich Glass Company which produced Winterthur’s curtain pin—showed prices ranging from \$0.10 to \$0.67 per curtain pin (if bought by the dozen) depending on which color, design, and size one purchased.³⁵ In his 1868 daybook Charles P. Morse charged three customers similar prices for unspecified “curtain fixtures” which were likely made of iron or brass.³⁶ In 1862, Nathaniel Manley sold a ball of curtain cord and two curtain tassels for a total of \$1.70.³⁷ These costs could add up very quickly, particularly when considering the additional cost of fabrics, thread, labor, additional hardware, and trimmings, etc. Customers could adjust designs to their purse by selecting cheaper materials and styles or by doing some of the work themselves.

Buying the materials for curtains and installing them wasn’t just a one-time expense: upkeep also added costs. Then and now, curtains collected dust, dirt, and debris both from being exposed to the elements and “puddling” on the dirty floor when not looped back. This meant laborious cleaning and washing, made particularly

difficult by the types of fabrics used for making curtains. Either owners lost time cleaning them or shouldered the expense of hiring someone to do it for them. If curtains ripped, faded, or otherwise failed, they could be costly to replace—particularly if that meant replacing other fabrics in the room to maintain the continuity of a design. Glass, and to a lesser extent wood and metal accessories were also prone to breakage. To return to our example, Winterthur’s opalescent curtain pin has several sharp edges where it has been chipped, probably from use. Additionally, its set of four pins are not perfectly identical suggesting that pins may have broken or been replaced over the years.³⁸

Despite the costs of adorning windows and rooms in often expensive materials, nineteenth-century homeowners continued to do so because they believed that creating an aesthetically beautiful space reflected well on their moral character. Charles Wyllys Elliott’s 1878 collection of illustrations of American interiors begins with this belief:

We have tried all sorts of panaceas, —free trade, free-press, free-schools, free and ignorant suffrage: they avail not. Vice, crime, folly, and discontent riot abroad. Whenever a man’s home becomes to him the most attractive place on earth, he will not leave it to seek either the grog-shop, the gambling-room, or the “ring.” Whenever a woman’s house shall be her palace, her pride, her delight, she will not be a victim of ennui, or vanity, or ambition, or discontent. Who doubts this? None—not one.³⁹

If we accept Bernard Herman’s argument that taste is a “system of social and cultural values” which “functions as a coded material and performative language strategically employed in a process of self-identification,” it is easy to see how people in nineteenth century could see parallels between having good taste in furnishings and their reputation and standing in their communities.⁴⁰

In short, nineteenth-century Americans’ relationships with their curtains were complex. Maintaining and demonstrating high moral character required men and women to display evidence of good taste in their living spaces, a task frequently accomplished by draping windows, walls, doorways, and furniture in decorative fabrics. These draperies in turn required an investment in hardware and furnishings, that, though often beautiful, were also costly and time consuming to acquire and maintain. Curtains and drapery hardware, then, were always more than bit players in class-based social performances because the range of consumer choices deeply complicated our current taxonomies of domesticity. Middling and working-class women had to improvise strategies that balanced aesthetics, labor inputs, and household budgets in the presence of their friends and neighbors. For most of them curtains were

practical. They were pretty and helped regulate household interiors by controlling light, heat, airflow, and dirt. In subtle ways, objects like curtain pins empowered women to

shape creatively and cumulatively the interdependent relationships of industrial production, transportation networks, shifting retail markets, and popular design.

¹ Jane C. Nylander, "Bed and Window Hangings in New England, 1790-1870," in *Upholstery in America & Europe: from the seventeenth century to World War I*, ed. Edward S. Cooke, Jr. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1987), 179.

² Frank A. Moreland *Practical decorative upholstery: containing full instructions for cutting, making and hanging all kinds of interior upholstery decorations, illustrated with numerous working diagrams and designs* (Boston: Lee and Shepherd, 1890), 10.

³ Clare Jameson, *Pictorial treasury of curtains & drapery design, 1750-1950* (Nr. Thirsk, N. Yorkshire: Potterton Books, 1987), vi.

⁴ Caroline Clifton-Mogg and Melanie Paine, *The Curtain Book: A sourcebook for distinctive curtains, drapes, and shades for you home* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995), 11.

⁵ Nylander, "Bed and Window Hangings," 175-176.

⁶ Gail Caskey Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration: American Interiors 1830-1900*, (New York: H. Holt, 1986), 55, 95-97.

⁷ Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration*, 40-41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 96-97, 206.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

¹¹ Louis Antoine Godey and Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine, February 1854* (Philadelphia: L.A. Godey, 1854) 166.

¹² Moreland, *Practical Decorative Upholstery*, 10.

¹³ As one example, a brass curtain pin from the Winterthur collection (Accession No. 1968.0865.006) can be matched to an identical curtain pin design found in the 1770 design book *Livre de garniture de comodes* by G K & G; Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration*, 1-3, 62-64.

¹⁴ Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration*, 114.

¹⁵ Receipt, Masonic Hall Curtain Store. Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

¹⁶ Receipt, Mahony & Douglass General Upholsterers, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

¹⁷ Receipt, Masonic Hall Curtain Store, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera; C. Sidney Norris & Co, *Illustrated Catalogue of Cabinet Hardware and Upholstery*, 150-151, 166, 174, 180.

¹⁸ Receipt, Masonic Hall Curtain Store, September 3, 1869. Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Printed Bills Collection, Col. 71, 17 C3-17 C4, Folder 2; Receipt, Mahony & Douglass General Upholsterers, June 17, 1892, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Printed Bills Collection, Col. 71, 17 C3-17 C4, Folder 1.

¹⁹ Quoted in Liz Gordon & Terri Hartmann, *Decorative Hardware: Interior Designing with Knobs, Handles, Latches, Locks, Hinges, and Other Hardware* (New York: Regan Books, 2000), 43.

²⁰ Nylander, "Bed and Window Hangings," 179; Jameson, *Pictorial Treasury*, vi; Clifton-Mogg & Paine, *The Curtain Book*, 14; Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration*, 49.

²¹ Clifton-Mogg & Paine, *The Curtain Book*, 16; Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration*, 173.

²² Moreland, *Practical Decorative Upholstery*, 111.

²³ *Ibid.*, 162.

²⁴ Quoted in Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration*, 105-106.

²⁵ Winterthur's collection includes four very small curtain pins otherwise identical in style to the opalescent pins discussed previously, those these pieces lack any accompanying hardware. Winterthur collection, Accession nos. 2011.0039.005-008; the largest size of this curtain pin design were used for theater curtains. Barlow and Kaiser, *A Guide to Sandwich Glass*, unpagged, entry no. 5138.

²⁶ *Ibid.*; Barber, "Old Glass and Its Imitations"; Spillman, *Glass Bottles*, 234; Opalescent fragments from the Boston and Sandwich Glass

Factory in the Winterthur Collection, Accession Nos. 1971.0024.041-.042; Spillman, *American and European Pressed Glass*, 267.

²⁷ Spillman, *American and European Pressed Glass*, 266.

²⁸ The reverse of the curtain pin is covered in tightly-packed, very crisply impressed stippling which sandwich glass expert Lenore Wheeler Williams refers to as "snake-skin" and which might mean that it started with a hand-carved pattern; Williams notes that sandwich glass patterns made beginning in 1875 have more indistinct, "merged" stippling from being made in machine-cut molds. Lenore Wheeler Williams, *Sandwich Glass: A Technical Book for Collectors* (Bridgeport, CT: The Park City Eng. Co., 1922), 15-16.

²⁹ Gordon & Hartmann, *Decorative Hardware*, 55.

³⁰ Examples of sales records like this one are unique; rarely will receipts or sales notations show the purpose of items bought. Far more frequently, records will simply mark that a customer bought X number of yards of fabric but whether that fabric was for making curtains, clothing, etc. is simply lost. Receipt, Masonic Hall Curtain Store, September 3, 1869. Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Printed Bills Collection, Col. 71, 17 C3-17 C4, Folder 2

³¹ Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration*, 109.

³² Carroll, Southard, & Co. Receipt.

³³ Nylander, "Bed and Window Hangings," 179.

³⁴ Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration*, 48-49; Clifton-Mogg & Paine, *The Curtain Book*, 11.

³⁵ Winterthur's collection holds several silvered curtain pins, though they are from a slightly earlier date range (1810-1860), Accession Nos. 1971.0024.041-.042; Union Glass Co., *Price list of silvered glass ware, curtain pins, reflectors, &c.*, (Boston: Union Glass Co., 1874), Winterthur Library Archives, unpagged.

³⁶ The hardware Morse sold was likely unadorned iron or brass – these being the most common materials used for hardware at the time as well as the metals most commonly worked into various other products at Morse's shop. Charles P. Morse and Co., *Daybook, 1868*, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, 8, 42, 158.

³⁷ The costs listed in Manley's invoice book are also consistent with prices per unit found in William Clapp's 1854 store inventory. Nathaniel Manley, *Invoice Book, 1862-1863*, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library, Doc. 238, pg. 132; William Clapp, *Store Inventory, 1854 Feb. 1*, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Doc. 290, pg. 23.

³⁸ Originally donated to the collection as set of four pins with matching hardware, comparisons between the four show marked variations in color which, in combination with slight stylistic differences of both the pins and the hardware sets, suggest that the pieces were not originally part of a single group, but were combined by later collectors. Additionally, the hexagonal hilt is designed to fit snugly within the recessed hexagon on the reverse of the glass pin to prevent the pin from rotating on the shank. However, the hexagons here do not match in size, which suggests that this metal shank was created for a smaller curtain pin but has been married to the larger glass pin by a previous owner. Winterthur collection, accession nos. 2011.0039.002.002-.004.

³⁹ Charles Wyllys Elliott, *The Book of American Interiors: Prepared by Charles Wyllys Elliott from existing houses* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1876), 1.

⁴⁰ Bernard L. Herman, "Tabletop Conversations: Material Culture and Everyday Life in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World," in *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-*

1830, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 43.