"SEDUCED BY THE CHARMS OF A FASHIONABLE BOX": ADDICTION AND THE SNUFF BOX IN EARLY AMERICA

BETHANY J. MCGLYN

Fig. 1. Snuff Box. Winterthur Museum accession no. 1961.1213. Photo by Bethany J. McGlyn

Pennsylvania Senator William Maclay's journal is a treasure trove for those interested in the inner-workings of the First United States Congress. As a vocal member of the then-informal Anti-Administration Party, Maclay's accounts were critical of President George Washington, Vice President John Adams, and Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton. Less well known are Maclay's written frustrations with Connecticut Senator Oliver Ellsworth. Throughout his journal, Maclay refers to Ellsworth as rude, sarcastic, and even verbally abusive, but it is one observation in particular, tucked into a long and heated journal entry from February 26th, 1791, that stands out from the rest: "Elsworth [sic] took a great deal of Snuff about his time."[1]

Maclay's comment on Ellsworth's snuffing habit seems peculiar, even in a journal full of diatribes about the character and motives of his fellow Senators. By 1791, men and women throughout both Britain and America were taking snuff, especially those in the social and economic positions of Maclay and Ellsworth. What, then, led William Maclay to take particular note of Ellsworth's snuffing habits? As it turns out, Oliver Ellsworth's snuff consumption was extraordinary. In an account from 1888, biographer Frank Carpenter wrote that Ellsworth "would take, on the average, a pinch of snuff per minute."[2] William Garrot Brown's *The Life of Oliver Ellsworth* is similarly rich with snuff-centric anecdotes, most notably an account of the day that Ellsworth, "thinking to diminish the number of his pinches… deposited his snuff-box at the top of the garret stairs, so that he would have to climb two flights every time he used it."[3] While both accounts come decades after Ellsworth's death and could be exaggerated, it is clear that the scale of Ellsworth's snuff-taking drew the attention of those around him in ways that are at odds with how many historians have understood snuffing and tobacco consumption in early America. Oliver Ellsworth's reputation was not that of a fashionable or sociable snuffer, but an addict.

"SEVERAL THOUSAND BARRELS OF VERY CHOICE… SNUFF"

While I will focus on snuff consumption and the use of snuff boxes in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century America, it is necessary to discuss the origins of snuff consumption in Europe. Snuff, which is a finely ground tobacco that is inhaled through the nose, rather than smoked or chewed, was first used by indigenous peoples throughout the Americas and Caribbean islands. As European nations began to invade and colonize the "New World," explorers took note of the strange practice and brought knowledge of snuffing tobacco back to the continent. Jean Nicot, French ambassador to Lisbon, Portugal, is credited with introducing snuff to the French court in the 1560's.[4] At that point, snuff was restricted to medicinal uses, as "physicians… and professors in some of the universities became interested in the curative powers of tobacco."[5] However, when Nicot gifted snuffing tobacco to Catherine de'Medici, her embrace of the

substance—which she later called *Herba Regina* (Queen Herb)—led to increased popular use among European aristocrats.[6]

In the sixteenth century, snuff was an expensive, imported product of considerable luxury. While Europe's elites consumed snuff as a mark of status, they also must have enjoyed the practice. When inhaled, the nicotine in snuff is almost immediately absorbed into the blood stream, resulting in the release of epinephrine, adrenaline, and dopamine among other physiological effects. The epinephrine and adrenaline stimulate the body by raising heart rate, breathing rate, and blood pressure, while dopamine releases a pleasurable sensation. Nicotine, then, acts as both a stimulant and a depressant, and snuff users would have experienced an initial jolt of energy followed by a mellow, pleasurable sensation—effects that were highly addictive. In short, the rapid development of snuffing tobacco among elites from the sixteenth century was largely due to the "growing belief in the prophylactic and curative effects," but snuff had also "opened up new avenues of delight in the mysterious regions of taste and smell."[7]

While snuff consumption continued to grow among elites, international warfare made powdered tobacco available to the masses. In 1702, at the outset of the War of the Spanish Succession, Admiral George Rooke and the British fleet under his command captured several French and Spanish ships in the Battle of Vigo Bay.[8] The Spanish treasure ships were stocked with "several thousand barrels of very choice… Snuff," which, when auctioned, saturated the English market.[9] The consequences of The Battle of Vigo Bay for the history of snuff consumption were far-reaching, as "so large a quantity distributed at so low a price," made "snuff-takers of thousands of people hitherto ignorant of its charms."[10] By the end of Queen Anne's reign in Britain, snuff-taking began to replace smoking in every social class, though the quality and price of snuff available for purchase differed dramatically. In his 1822 pamphlet, "The British Perfumer," Charles Lillie discusses methods for testing the quality of one's snuff at length, as well as explaining common counterfeiting practices such as the addition of molasses to London-made snuff in order to imitate finer, and thus more expensive, Cuban and Spanish products.[11]

"A NECESSARY PIECE OF PERSONAL EQUIPMENT"

In returning to Oliver Ellsworth, it is clear that the Senator's snuff box was related to his addiction. When Ellsworth attempted to quit his habit, he simply placed his snuff box out of reach. That he did not just throw the box away shows its value, perhaps both monetarily and socially. James Deetz, in his *In Small Things Forgotten*, famously analyzed the preponderance of pipes at Anglo-American archaeological sites from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[12] Deetz used the pipe as material evidence for mapping the changes in smoking tobacco consumption and availability over time, a methodology that can be easily adapted to discussions of snuff-taking by analyzing the snuff box.[13] A snuff box in Winterthur's collection, made of ivory and tortoiseshell and decorated with a miniature watercolor portrait of George Washington, is representative of a category of things that would have helped early American men and women feed their addictions. (Fig. 1).[14]

Each half of Winterthur's box is formed of ivory, with tortoiseshell borders on the outer edges and a veneer of tortoiseshell on the interior. On the top of the lid, resting under colorless glass, is an oval watercolor portrait of George Washington painted on ivory and surrounded by a delicate metal frame. The box is 2 cm (approximately .79 inches) in height and 6.8 cm (2.67 in) in diameter, and when opened the base is about 0.5 cm (.2 in) deep. The shallow base indicates that this box was intended for snuff specifically, as the ground tobacco required much less space than larger, thicker pieces of smoking tobacco. When in use, it would have been essential for the lid and base to close tightly to ensure that no tobacco or snuff would be lost. However, warping of the tortoiseshell veneer inside the lid now prevents a tight fit. The box is small enough to fit comfortably in the palm of a hand or in a pocket.

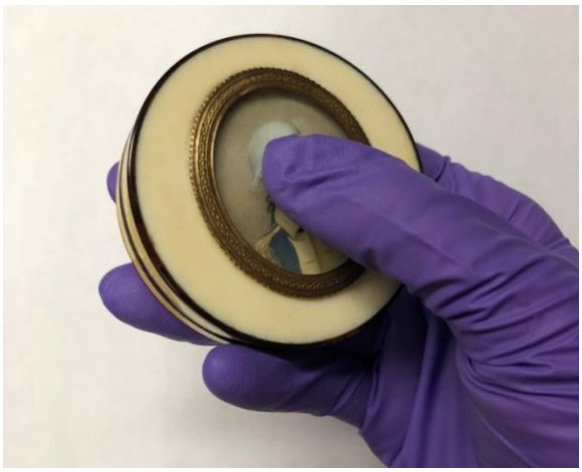

Fig. 2. . Snuff Box, Winterthur Museum accession no. 1961.1213. Photo by Bethany J. McGlyn.

Along with size, some condition changes in the object may hint at how it was held and used. While the metal frame was once directly on top of the glass covered portrait miniature, the glass and portrait have been pushed deeper into the ivory lid, leaving a noticeable gap between the raised metal frame and the glass. This damage may indicate that the owner once held his or her box with a thumb centered on the lid (the pad of the thumb directly over Washington's face) and their other four fingers stabilizing the box from underneath (Fig. 2). This method of holding the box corresponds with the snuff-taker's routine of "rapping" the box—tapping the lid with one

finger and then shaking the box in order to loosen any snuff stuck to the lid before opening.[15] Similarly, repetitive ovular scratches on the tortoiseshell veneer of the base could be an indication that the owner used a small knife or spoon to scrape snuff out of the box instead of using their fingers, a practice often associated with women snuffers who wished to avoid staining their nails and fingers.[16]

The oval portrait is about 5cm (approximately 2 inches) at its longest point and about 3.7 cm (1.45 in) at its widest. The watercolor on ivory depicts George Washington at bust-length in a three-quarter turn directed toward the viewer's right-hand side. Washington is dressed in his Continental Army uniform with a blue and gold coat, gold vest, and white undershirt. The portrait seems to be a copy of one commissioned by Harvard College President, Joseph Willard, and painted by Edward Savage in the winter of 1789.[17] The original portrait, along with a portrait of Martha Washington, was later incorporated into Savage's group portrait of George and Martha, Martha's grandchildren, and an enslaved man, titled *The Washington Family* (Fig.3).[18]

Fig. 3. *The Washington Family* by Edward Savage, 1789-96. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

How, then, does Winterthur's ivory and shell box fit into a larger examination of snuff boxes? Long before European contact, Native Americans who used smoking, chewing, and powdered tobacco fashioned containers to store and transport their crop. That these organic containers—usually "small animal skins or leather bags," or objects made from horn, bone, wood, and other natural materials—were used shows an early continuity in tobacco culture, but that they were often decorated with paints, beads, or colored thread, shows "wide freedom of artistic taste."[19] An early undated Pueblo snuff box, fashioned from wood and a gourd and decorated with turquoise is one example of these decorative yet functional objects (Fig. 4). As tobacco culture swept through European and American society, fashionable smokers and snuffers added this new type of object—a "necessary piece of personal equipment"—to their material landscape: containers in which to store their powdered herb.[20]

Snuff boxes from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are both a visual and material reminder of snuff's early restricted use in Europe. Early European boxes also resembled the tobacco box, which could be similar in shape and material, but would often be much deeper in order to hold larger, thicker pieces of smoking tobacco. Many of these boxes, often made from gold, silver, or Chinese export porcelain, would have been used by the rich and powerful. For example, a magnificent 1734 snuff box in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, made of gold and encrusted with diamonds, is more of an artistic conversation piece than a practical container for transporting a substance as fine as ground tobacco (Fig. 5). Because snuff-takers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were usually social elites who were stationed at court, in a grand estate, or urban town houses, the early disregard for portability in favor of fashionable display and hospitality emphasized snuff's status.

By the early nineteenth century, when Winterthur's box was created, snuff was no longer reserved for the wealthy. With the commodification of snuff came the need for boxes that were airtight, lightweight, and sturdy enough to accompany owners of any gender, profession, and social status. Winterthur's snuff box, less ornate and luxurious than the gold and diamond box at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is more practical. Unlike the gold snuff box which has a hinged lid, the ivory and tortoiseshell box has a fitted lid and base that were intended to remain airtight. The golden snuff box is substantially heavier, and its delicate inlaid diamonds are vulnerable to thieves and accidents. The Winterthur box is still an object of considerable material luxury as the ivory base and shell interior would have been impressive signs of wealth, fashionability, and global connectedness for its original owner.

Many surviving snuff boxes were made of papier mache. Snuff boxes made of papier mache could have been costly, but were often, along with wood, more reasonable purchases for snuff-takers of lower to middling status. Papier mache boxes could still be similar to Winterthur's ivory and shell box with circular shapes and a conforming lid and base, but would have been more suitable for daily use. Papier mache is lightweight, durable, "never cracks… or warps," and "keeps the snuff cool and moist."[21] It is easy to imagine the simplest of papier mache boxes accompanying their owners, people who may have been sailors, soldiers, laundry maids, or seamstresses, from low income and middling households out into the wider world.

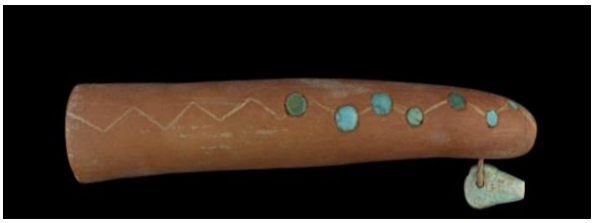

Fig. 4. Snuff Box, Pueblo. Undated. Image courtesy of The British Museum.

"PRETTY TRINKETS IN A … POCKET"

Given the addictive properties of snuff, snuff boxes became an extension of their users whenever and wherever he or she required a fix. This meant that in addition to being airtight and lightweight, personal snuff boxes needed to be small enough to fit in one's pocket. As explained in Warwick, Pitz, and Wyckoff's *Early American Dress*, men's pockets "of both the coat and vest were raised considerably higher… to about the point at which a man could easily put his hands into them," between the years 1715 and 1720.[22] Increasingly accessible men's pockets, as well as women's pockets that were tied around the waist, thus became an environment of their own.

Recent scholarship by Martin Bruckner has illuminated what it meant to be pocket-sized in early America. In *The Social Life of Maps,* Bruckner's section on the development of pocket maps provides a useful exploration into the material world of early American pockets. In the pocket of an early American man or woman, the snuff box may have encountered numerous other objects. As Bruckner writes, the "material world of the pocket" was a lively one; he notes that publications of *Godey's Ladies Book* between the years 1835 and 1860 include advertisements for all manner of pocket-sized things, "keys, handkerchiefs, letters, snuffboxes, pocket almanacs, banknotes…" and so on and so forth.[23] Tied to this is what Bruckner refers to as the "theatricality of the miniature," or, the aspect of performance related to producing "a hidden object in order to surprise the audience, strike up a conversation, or preface a show-and-tell performance."[24] A snuff box would not have had the same effect as a pocket map, but one made of fine materials like ivory and shell and decorated with a miniature portrait likely provoked reactions from others. This idea is further emphasized by a 1745 passage from *The Female Spectator,* claiming "the snuffbox and smelling-bottle are pretty trinkets in a lady's pocket."[25]

The pocket-sized nature of these objects also meant convenient access. For those addicted, the snuff box would have been close at hand as long as the user had pockets. While a "table-top" snuff box, like one from Winterthur made of wood, tortoiseshell, ivory, and brass, situated users in whichever room the box was placed, owners of a personal snuff box could take a pinch anywhere their boxes were at hand.

Fig. 5. Snuff Box, French. Made by Daniel Govaers, 1734-1735. Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

"…A MOST FILTHY PRACTICE"

Although early nineteenth-century snuff boxes were usually portable, their owners still would have spent a good deal of time in a domestic setting. Though Oliver Ellsworth brought his snuff box to work, he also used it—and tried not to use it—in his home. Snuff-taking and other forms of tobacco consumption have been long understood in terms of sociability. Pipe smoking, for example, encouraged relaxing around a fire. However, snuffing was "experienced primarily as a sole activity," that, although "more socially acceptable in public," would have been done whenever the user craved a sniff.[26] The sights, sounds, and smells associated with use of the snuff box would have permeated domestic space and influenced the everyday experience not just of the snuffer, but those who lived and worked in the same physical environment. Emily Friedman's *Reading Smell in Eighteenth-Century Fiction,* written from the perspective of a literary scholar, provides crucial insight into the many sensory stimuli that would have accompanied snuff-taking, and how those stimuli differed from the disruptions caused by tobacco smokers.

Smokers, both before and during snuff's popularization by the mid eighteenth century, had to navigate the often-stigmatizing social effects of the "clouds of acrid smoke" that surrounded them after each use of the pipe.[27] This presence of scent was difficult to mask, so much so that smoking became relegated to "spaces of masculine sociability like the coffee house or tavern," places that, among other things, would not offend the "olfactory niceness" of women and non-smokers.[28] Of course, Early America was a smelly place. Poor sanitation and drainage, paired with the scents of animals and their waste, complicate the assumption that women and non-smokers would be particularly bothered by tobacco smoke. But because snuffers were not engulfed in tobacco smoke, snuff-taking did not need "to be controlled through demarcating spaces or places," as was often the case with smoking tobacco.[29] Men and women consumed snuff in coffee houses and taverns, but also in the home, and in the case of Oliver Ellsworth, on the floor of the Senate. Taking snuff was disruptive. Although snuffers did not fill the air

with the scent of tobacco smoke, they "filled the air with noise."[30]

Fig. 6. Snuff Spoon, Winterthur accession no. 1958.1968. Image courtesy of the Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library.

Aside from the obvious sniffing associated with taking snuff, the first act of auditory disruption comes from the snuff box itself. Snuff-takers began the process by "rapping" the snuff box – tapping the lid with one finger and then shaking the box in order to loosen any snuff stuck to the lid before opening.[31] For those snuffing in the company of others, this practice also served as a sonic cue to those in proximity that someone was preparing to use snuff. A pinch or scoop of snuff was then removed from the snuff box using either the thumb and forefinger or a special snuff spoon (Fig. 6). There were a number of ways in which the snuff-taker would then inhale the finely ground tobacco. Snuff could be inhaled directly from the snuff spoon, the pinched, pointer finger and thumb, the thumb alone, or from the back of the hand.

No matter how genteel or sophisticated, snuff-takers made noise. Experienced and refined snuffers took care to sniff, rather than snort, their snuff. A print by Louis-Leopold Boilly, titled *The Contrast*, depicts two women snuffers, with the lady on the left depicted as much younger and more refined than her older counterpart (Fig. 7). Much can be said about the ages and assumed social classes of each woman, however, Boilly's attention to the facial features and muscles captures the essence of how noisy the more degraded snuffer on the right is compared to the young and seemingly more respectable woman on the left. In addition to the sounds of sniffing or snorting, those who took snuff often coughed, sneezed, and blew their noses after use. In an essay written for *The Connoisseur* between 1754 and 1756, George Colman complained about the auditory disruption caused by snuff-takers:

> It is, indeed, impossible to go into any large company without being disturbed by this abominable practice. The church and the playhouse continually echoe [sic] with this music of the nose, and in every corner you may hear them in concert snuffling, sneezing, hawking, and grunting like a drove of hogs.[32]

Colman also noted visual disruptions caused by snuff-takers, lamenting that the "most filthy practice," was "certainly an enemy to dress."[33] Snuff was dirty. Even the most refined snuffers could not easily escape the staining effect of tobacco. Emily Friedman notes a passage from Sarah Scott's *Millennium Hall,* in which a "miserly old maid" is described as "slatternly and dirty to an excess… from a load of Spanish snuff, with which her whole dress was covered."[34] Those more concerned with the appearance of their clothing might contain their filth within a handkerchief. Even Oliver Ellsworth was often "surrounded by a fine film of powder;" whether on his clothing, his fingers, or in his workspace. Ellsworth's habit was visually unappealing to those around him.[35]

"I GUARD THIS BOX, AS I WOULD… MY RELIGION"

Though snuff-taking and use of the snuff box often disgusted those sharing the same domestic space as the snuffer, those who took snuff, and even those who did not, could admire a fashionable box. Specific patterns of wear, including repetitive ovular scratches that seem to indicate use of a snuff spoon, show how Winterthur's ivory and shell box as in fact used. But forms of social theatricality and "show-and-tell," suggest that many snuff boxes were used to hold other small objects or simply revered as objects for display. Of the boxes that many not have held snuff, some were likely gifts. The ritual of gift giving associated with snuff boxes, "as a public or private gesture," was popular and significant. Emily Friedman points to a scene in Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) when Parson Yorick offers his snuff box of tortoiseshell to Father Lorenzo, saying "do me the favor… to accept of the box and all," to which Father Lorenzo replies, "I guard this box, as I would the instrumental parts of my religion."[36] Oliver Ellsworth was similarly granted a snuff box as a gift, one given to him by Napoleon Bonaparte during trade negotiations with France.[37]

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century portraits depicting sitters who hold snuff boxes reinforce the idea of the snuff box as a point of pride. Charles Willson Peale's portrait of Thomas Willing from 1782 depicts Willing, who, as a partner of the mercantile company Willing, Morris and Company was directly involved in trading sugar, lumber, enslaved people, and tobacco products (including snuff), holding a snuff box made of tortoiseshell and silver in his left hand (Fig. 8). In this case, the box may have signified Willing's financial dependency on the profits from snuff his company traded in. John Russell's 1801 portrait of Mrs. Robert Shurlock, Sr. depicts the mother of Russell's son-in-law, dressed in fine and fashionable garments, taking a pinch of snuff out of a decorative silver snuff box (Fig. 9). In both cases, portrait sitters show pride in the snuff box as a material object and, by extension, the act of taking snuff.

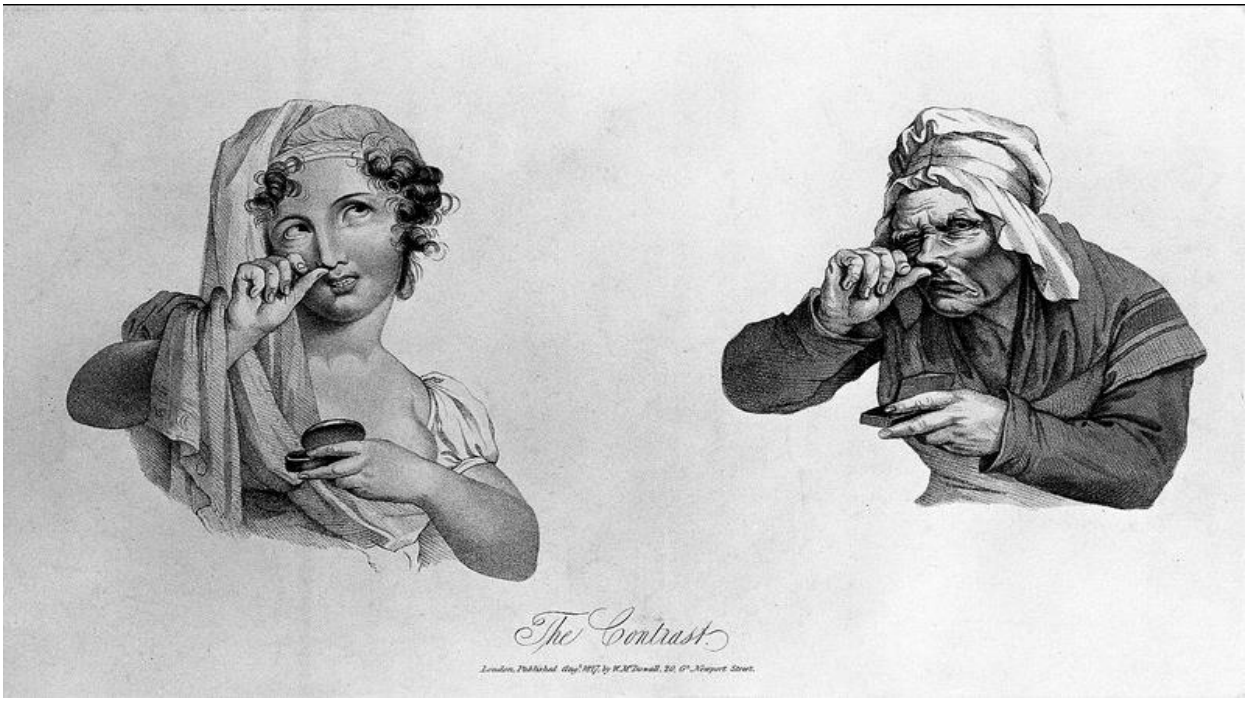

Fig 7. Louis-Leopold Bouilly, *The Contrast*, n.d. (Image courtesy of the Welcome Library)

"A REFINED CRUELTY OF COMMERCE"

Despite the early international trade in smoking, chewing, and snuffing tobacco, much snuff was produced domestically by the early nineteenth century. The finest snuff still came from places like Spain and Cuba, but it is quite likely that Winterthur's snuff box held American-made product.[38] Winterthur's box, however, has additional international connections that are worth discussing. By the time of this box's construction, which can be no earlier than 1790 due to the copy of Savage's portrait, trades in ivory and tortoiseshell were already established. Populations of Asian and African elephants and the hawksbill marine turtle were declining by the early nineteenth-century due to the trade in ivory and shell. Artisans had fashioned ivory, tortoiseshell, and other organic materials like horn and bone into utilitarian and artistic objects since ancient times. By the eighteenth century, the highly decorative and ornamental Baroque and later Rococo styles would further popularize these materials in Europe, especially for use in jewelry and hair combs, furniture inlay, and small boxes.[39]

The eighteenth and nineteenth century ivory trade was shaped in part by European colonizers, originally the Portuguese and Dutch and later the English and French, who arrived in West Africa in search of not only ivory, but gold and enslaved Africans.[40] The ivory lid and base of this box, identifiable as elephant ivory, would have most likely come from the African elephant.[41] Because of the size and might of these creatures, hunters normally killed them (usually, but not exclusively by shooting them) in order to remove their tusks. Upon arrival in Europe, ivory was worked by highly skilled craftsmen who could turn, carve, and shape the material in ways impossible with substances like bone, which was more likely to splinter and break.[42] Aside from its ability to be worked into different forms and its durability, ivory was sought after for its pure color, that artisans could dye or leave in its natural white state.[43]

The trade in tortoiseshell was prevalent across the globe, with hawksbill turtle populations historically present in waters surrounding South America, the Caribbean, Africa, India, and China.[44] The hawksbill marine turtle's shell is comprised of thirteen plates that overlap slightly similar to roofing tiles. While the turtle was still living, each shell plate would be peeled off after having been exposed to heat. The shell-less turtle would then be released back into the ocean, as it was believed that the shells would regenerate. Often labeled as a "natural plastic," the tortoiseshell plates were easily manipulated by heat, making their removal from the turtle and their construction into other objects quite easy compared to other materials. Tortoiseshell's malleability was especially useful for construction of circular rings, similar to the outer borders of Winterthur's snuff box. Tradesmen could construct these rings by heating and melting two ends together, or by molding around a cone that was dipped into boiling water.[45] Like ivory, craftsmen sought tortoiseshell for its workability. Consumers like it for its color, in this case, bright

browns, reds, and golds that could be intensified in the light and backing it with paint or painted paper.

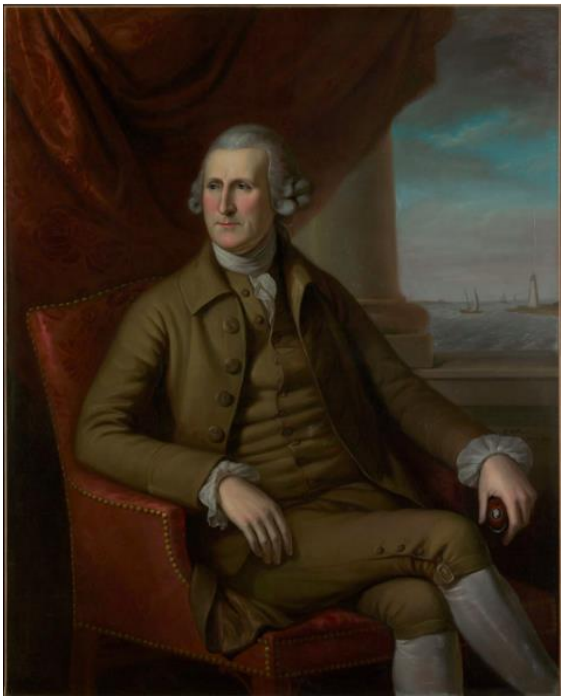

Fig. 8. *Thomas Willing* by Charles Willson Peale, 1782. (Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Fig. 9. *Mrs. Robert Sherlock Sr. (Ann Manwaring)* by John Russell, 1801. (Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

The trades in ivory and tortoiseshell were intertwined with slavery and the trade in human cargo. In West Africa, European and African traders often dealt in both ivory and enslaved men and women, while also forcing those enslaved to transport ivory across substantial distances by foot. Similarly, tortoiseshell obtained from Africa and the Caribbean was often transported with and obtained by the labor of enslaved people.

It seems fitting to close with Oliver Ellsworth, whose story of nicotine addiction, was not exceptional in comparison with other early American men and women of various ranks and stations. Ellsworth's relationship with the snuff box was one of intimacy and repetitive use; while early snuff boxes were crafted, decorated, and marketed as genteel objects of sociability, the box's refined presence was at odds with the negative reputation of chronic snuffers. Whether as lavish as the diamond encrusted golden box from the Metropolitan Museum of Art or a modest box of wood or papier mache, the object was linked to its users.

The addictive qualities of nicotine and its convenient accessibility in pocket-sized boxes enabled early Americans cravings for a sniff wherever they went. While made for an American market and capped by the quintessential American patriot, Winterthur's snuff box was the product of international sources and was used in many different places. From tobacco's early international history, to the transatlantic trade in ivory and tortoiseshell—and thus entanglement in the transatlantic slave trade—this tiny snuff box exemplifies the many layered complexities associated with a single, seemingly inconsequential, object.

[1] William Maclay, *Journal of William Maclay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania 1789-1791,* ed. Edgar Stanton Maclay (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1890), 406.
[2] Frank G. Carpenter, "Our Chief Justices off the Bench," *The North American Review* 147, no. 381 (August 1888): 211.
[3] William Garrot Brown, *The Life of Oliver Ellsworth* (New York: Da Copo Press, 1905), 342.
[4] Though Jean Nicot is credited with the introduction of snuffing tobacco to France, Matoon Curtis notes that the French Court likely knew of snuffing tobacco before it was announced by Nicot. I have mentioned Nicot because of his central role in the adoption of snuff consumption in France, and I understand that the history of tobacco's introduction to Europe is more complex and nuanced than the timeline I have presented here. Nicot claimed, in his time, to have invented, discovered, and introduced tobacco to France, and tobacco's botanical name, *Nicotiana,* is named after him. Matoon M. Curtis, *The Book of Snuff and Snuff Boxes* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1935), 34.
[5] Matoon M. Curtis, *The Book of Snuff and Snuff Boxes* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1935), 31.
[6] Hugh McCausland, *Snuff and Snuff-Boxes* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1951), 2.
[7] Curtis, *Snuff Boxes*, 33.
[8] McCausland, *Snuff and Snuff-Boxes*, 18.
[9] English capture of snuff from Spanish treasure ships at Vigo Bay also established early on that snuff-taking was associated with sailors and seamen. Each man on Admiral Rooke's crew was given between fifty and one-hundred barrels to keep or sell as he saw fit. Even into the nineteenth century, socially elite snuff-takers continued to be joined in the practice by men and women of lower sorts. Curtis, *Snuff Boxes*, 44.
[10] McCausland, *Snuff and Snuff-Boxes*, 18.
[11] Charles Lillie, *The British perfumer: being a collection of choice receipts and observations made during an extensive practice of thirty years, by which any lady or gentleman may prepare their own articles of the best quality, whether of perfumery, snuffs, or colours,* edited by Colin Mackenzie (New York: W. Seaman, 1822), 312-319.
[12] James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996, orig. ed., 1977), 27.
[13] Ibid., 28-29.
[14] A note on terminology: although referred to as tortoiseshell in historic and contemporary sources, the shell used came not from the tortoise, but the hawksbill marine turtle.
[15] Alexandra Ward, "Boxing Venus: cowrie shell snuff boxes in the British Empire, 1680-1800," Winterthur Thesis, (Newark: unpub. M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 2017): 31.
[16] McCausland, *Snuff and Snuff-Boxes*, 34.
[17] "Life Portraits of George Washington," George Washington's Mount Vernon, accessed August 20, 2018, https://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/artwork/life-portraits-of-george-washington/.
[18] I have chosen not to focus much of my research on the Washington portrait, as it seems to have little impact on how this snuff box was actually used by its owner. Further research into Washingtoniana and the manufacture of Washington-themed objects abroad for an American market would be a next step if I were to continue with this research. "Life Portraits of George Washington," George Washington's Mount Vernon, accessed August 20, 2018, https://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/artwork/life-portraits-of-george-washington/.
[19] Curtis, *Snuff Boxes*, 17, 79.
[20] McCausland, *Snuff and Snuff-Boxes*, 101.
[21] Curtis, *Snuff and Snuff Boxes*, 88.
[22] Edward Warwick, Henry C. Pitz, and Alexander Wyckoff, *Early American Dress: The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1965), 154.
[23] Martin Bruckner, *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750-1860,* (Williamsburg and Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of American History and Culture and University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 268.
[24] Bruckner, *Maps in America*, 269.
[25] Emily Friedman, *Reading Smell in Eighteenth-Century Fiction,* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2016), 47.
[26] Ibid., 47.
[27] Ibid., 27.
[28] Ibid., 28, 37.
[29] Ibid., 38.
[30] Ibid., 41.
[31] Ward, "Boxing Venus," 31.
[32] George Colman, *The Connoisseur Volume I,* (Lausanne: J. Parsons, 1793), 149.
[33] Ibid., 149.
[34] Friedman, *Reading Smell*, 49.
[35] Christopher Collier and James Collier, *Decision in Philadelphia: The Constitutional Convention of 1787,* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2007), 193.
[36] Friedman, *Reading*, 41, and Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy,* (Philadelphia: Sterling House, 1999), 57, 59.
[37] William Garrot Brown, *The Life of Oliver Ellsworth* (New York: Da Copo Press, 1905), 125.
[38] Lillie, *The British perfumer*, 312-319.

[39] J.A. Mortimer and M. Donnelly, "Eretmochelys imbricate, Hawksbill Turtle," The IUCN Red List of Threatened Species, 2008, Accessed: August 17, 2018; Geoffrey Wills, *Ivory* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1968), 39.
[40] Harvey M. Feinberg and Marion Johnson, "The West African Ivory Trade during the Eighteenth Century: The '…And Ivory' Complex," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 15, no. 3 (1982): 444.
[41] William Mann and Charles Marts, *Ivory Identification: A Photographic Reference Guide.* (Temple Hills: Ivoryman Publishing, 2013), 2.
[42] Charles Holtzapffel, *Working Horn, Ivory & Tortoiseshell* (Portland: The Caber Press, reprint ed., 2000), 24.
[43] Ibid., 25.
[44] Mortimer and Donnelly, "Eretmochelys …," Accessed: August 17, 2018.
[45] Holtzapffel, *Working Horn*, 14-15.