‘To Embroider what is Wanting’: Making, Consuming and Mending Textiles in the Lives of the Bluestockings

Nicole Pohl

> I have to go to market and provide for the family, to look after the servants, to help in taking care of you children, and in teaching you, to see that your clothes are in proper condition, and assist in making and mending for myself, and you, and your papa. All this is my necessary duty; and besides this, I must go out a visiting to keep up our acquaintance; this I call partly business, and partly amusement. […] Now a great many of these employments do not belong to Lady Wealthy, or Mrs. Rich, who keep housekeepers and governesses, and servants of all kinds, to do every thing for them. It is very proper, therefore, for them to pay more attention to music, drawing, ornamental work, and any other elegant manner of passing their time, and making themselves agreeable.[1]

This extract from John Aikin and Anna Barbauld’s ‘Dialogue, on Things to be learned’ (1792) highlights two crucial aspects of women’s work in the eighteenth century.[2] Mamma explains to her daughter Kitty both the gendered division of labour for the middling

---

1 John Aiking and Anna Letitia Barbauld, ‘Dialogue, on Things to be learned’, *Evenings at home; or, the juvenile budget opened: Consisting of a variety of miscellaneous pieces* (London : printed for J. Johnson, 1792-96), Part I, 84-98 (87-88).

2 On women’s work in the eighteenth century, see Bridget Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 1993); Jennie Batchelor, *Women's Work: Labour, Gender and Authorship, 1750-1830* (Manchester: MUP, 2010); Christine Hivet, ‘Needlework and the Rights of Women in England at the end of the Eighteenth Century,’ Isabelle Baudino, Jacques Carré, Cécile Révauger, eds., *The Invisible Woman: Aspects of Women's Work in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 37-46; Chloe Wigston Smith, *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Daryl Hafter, ed., *European Women and Preindustrial Craft* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1995); Pamela Sharpe, ed., *Women’s Work: The English Experience 1600–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Susan Cahn, *Industry of Devotion: The Transformation of Women’s Work in England 1500–1660* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

classes and the dichotomies of textile work for the middling and upper classes. She indicates that whilst the 'work' of making and preserving clothes was part of necessity for the middling class woman (and the labouring classes), textile 'work' was both ornamental and decorative for the upper class woman as part of a wider skills set appropriate to polite society. Mending, as Mamma highlights, was a standard part of making clothes, ensuring that they remained in 'in proper condition' and required the same accomplished skills sets as ornamental textile work.[3] This 'stewardship of objects' was part of 'a *modus operandi* that ran through the whole fabric of eighteenth-century society and characterised several of its key developments.'[4] As Ariane Fennetaux, Amélie Junqua, and Sophie Vasset have argued, the different incarnations of this stewardship, 'recirculation, reuse, repair, refashioning, transformation', 'affected the whole of society'.[5]

However, following on from Mamma's advice to her daughter, there were subtleties in these material stewardship practices that articulated both class and social mobility and that played out in the material variants of textile 'work'. My case study of the Bluestocking Circle, in particular Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800) and Montagu's younger sibling, Sarah

---

3 Mending textiles encompasses a range of skills and techniques; a) darning which, according to the *OED* is a specific way of 'mending (clothes, etc., esp. stockings) by filling-in a hole or rent with yarn or thread interwoven so as to form a kind of texture. (This is done with a darning-needle). […] To ornament or embroider with darning-stitch.'; b) patching, 'in order to repair, strengthen, protect, or decorate it.' Both techniques include a practical, necessary and ornamental element, see "darn," and "patch", *OED Online*. July 2018. Oxford University Press, accessed September 14, 2018. The stitches for mending and patching were part of the traditional sewing and embroidery techniques. See Thérèse de Dillmont, *Encyclopédie des ouvrages des dames*(1884), translated into *Encyclopedia of Needlework* (1886), Chapter 2: Mending. http://encyclopediaofneedlework.com/chapter_2.html; Gail Marsh, *Eighteenth-Century Embroidery Techniques* (Lewes: GMC, 2006), and Kathleen Kannik, ed., *The Lady's Guide to Plain Sewing, by A Lady, Book* I(Springfield, OH: Kannik's Corner, 1993); *The Lady's Guide to Plain Sewing,* by A Lady, Book II (Springfield, OH: Kannik's Corner, 1993).
4 Susan Strasser, *Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash* (NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1999); Ariane Fennetaux, Amélie Junqua, and Sophie Vasset, 'Introduction', *The Afterlife of Used Things: Recycling in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Ariane Fennetaux, Amélie Junqua, and Sophie Vasset, (London: Routledge, 2014), 1-12 (2*)*
5 Ibid., 2-3.

Scott (1721-1795), will explore the complex relationship the two women had with textiles: one that was driven by fashion consciousness, domestic economy and most importantly by the idea that textiles like fashion, were 'an emblem of material self-advancement, [and] … a badge of moral worth'.[6] The contrasting lives of Elizabeth Montagu, coal magnate and the 'Queen of the Blues', and her sister, the writer and reformer Sarah Scott, offer a glimpse of how textiles function as subtle markers of social mobility both within a social circle (the Bluestockings) and a family. As the sisters' mostly unpublished letters demonstrate, even within familial networks material culture and practices could underscore disparities in social status and wealth.

Elizabeth Montagu designed and commissioned unique decorative fibre arts and interiors such as her famous feather work for public display. She profited from her brother working as a Captain for the East India Company who was able to bring her (and her sister) fine art objects and exotic fabrics but was of course able to afford luxury items and clothes herself. Her sister, Sarah Scott, forced by diminished social and economic circumstances, became well versed in practical dress making, mending and alteration, and 'upcycled' home decoration. Sarah Scott also functioned as a project manager and 'proxy shopper' for Montagu, sourcing and managing luxury textiles for clothes and interiors.[7] While the sisters shared a deep and extensive material literacy of technique and handicraft, their letters demonstrate very different textile skill sets and attitudes towards the making, consumption and recycling of textiles which were shaped by costs and circumstances.

---

6 John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 60.

7 Claire Walsh, 'Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision Making', John Styles and Amanda Vickery, eds., *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 151–87. See also Maureen Daly Goggin, Beth Fowkes Tobin, eds., *Women and the Material Culture of Needlework and Textiles, 1750–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

> Alas, it is plain mankind look upon thought as the greater evil for there is no disease for which many cures have been found out, those who have many ways of killing time are always term'd ingenious, amongst the Diverse Instruments for destroying time how pretty are knitting needles, knotting shuttles, & totums & Cards & Counters, I begin to think no Woman has a chance to be Reasonable who is born with more than one hand & one Eye, for if she can be ingenious with her hands she has no chance to be so with her head ….[8]

Elizabeth Montagu's early insight into the seemingly mutually exclusive occupations of reading and female accomplishments was the product of her own education.[9] Montagu and her sister came from a respectable Yorkshire family, the Robinsons. Matthew Robinson's direct relatives were heirs of the estates of West Layton and Kirby Hall, North Yorkshire and their mother, Elizabeth Drake, was the daughter of Councillor Robert Drake of Cambridge. Elizabeth Drake enjoyed a thorough education by the reformer and scholar Bathsua Makin (ca 1600-ca 1675).[10] In her *Essay To Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manners, Arts & Tongues, With An Answer to the Objections against this Way of Education* (1673), Makin emphasised the tension between female accomplishments and 'higher', intellectual pursuits:

---

[8] Letter of Elizabeth Montagu to Grace Robinson Freind, May 18, 1742. Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 965.

[9] Montagu was only 24 years old at the time of the letter. Her correspondent was her cousin , Grace Freind (1718-76), née Robinson, the youngest daughter of William Robinson (1675-1720) of Rokeby, Yorkshire, and Anne (?-1730), daughter of Robert Walters, of Cundall, Yorkshire. Mr Freind, her husband, was Rev. William Freind (1715-66), Dean of Canterbury.

[10] The education of Drake's own children was paramount and included the services of her stepfather, Dr Conyers Middleton (1683-1750), the famous Cambridge scholar and clergyman, whom the family visited several times per year.

> I do not deny but Women ought to be brought up to a comely and decent carriage, to their Needle, to Neatness, to understand all those things that do particularly belong to their Sex. But when these things are competently cared for, and where there are Endowments of Nature and leasure, then higher things ought to be endeavoured after. Meerly to teach Gentlewomen to Frisk and Dance, to paint their Faces, to curl their Hair, to put on a Whisk, to wear gay Clothes, is not truly to adorn, but to adulterate their Bodies; yea, (what is worse) to defile their Souls.[11]

Makin was not alone in raising this point. Whilst conservative authors of conduct books such as James Fordyce and Erasmus Darwin supported the teaching of needlework and other crafts for young girls and women during the eighteenth century as part of female accomplishments, other authors such as Makin but also Hannah More and Mary Wollstonecraft found little value in these skills and saw them as distraction from more worthy (intellectual) pursuits, a position that the Bluestockings also took.[12]

However, Hester Chapone (1727–1801), another prominent Bluestocking and conduct book writer, identified the occupation of needlework and other crafts less as a marker of virtue and femininity than of class and therefore a necessity. In her *Letters on the*

---

11 Bathsua Makin, *Essay To Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manners, Arts & Tongues, With An Answer to the Objections against this Way of Education* (1673), quoted in Frances N. Teague, *Bathsua Makin, Woman of Learning* (London: AUP, 1998), 109-150 (128).

12 James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women* (1766); Erasmus Darwin, *A plan for the conduct of female education in boarding schools* (1797); Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799). Wollstonecraft wrote for instance, 'I have already inveighed against the custom of confining girls to their needle, and shutting them out from all political and civil employments; for by thus narrowing their minds they are rendered unfit to fulfil the peculiar duties which nature has assigned them.' Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication for the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (1792; London: J. Johnson, 1796), 391.

Improvement of the Mind, Addressed to a Young Lady, Chapone echoed the insights of Aikin's and Barbauld's Mamma:

> Ladies, who are fond of needlework, generally choose to consider that as a principal part of good housewifery: and, though I cannot look upon it as of equal importance with the due regulation of a family, yet, in a middling rank, and with a moderate fortune, it is a necessary part of a woman's duty, and a considerable article in expence is saved by it. […] But, as I do not wish you to impose on the world by your appearance, I should be contented to see that you worse dressed, rather than see your whole time employed in preparations for it, or any of those hours given to it, which are needful to make your body strong and active by exercise, or your mind rational by reading.[13]

Indeed, some middling women such as Mary Wollstonecraft, or impoverished ladies were forced to earn money through needlework. In this context, the 'work' of needlework was valued as economic necessity or as part of middling class 'good housewifery' but any employment of these skills for personal embellishment and vanity was rejected as work and classified as 'fancy', sprung from the idleness of leisure.[14]

This opposition was echoed in the rhetoric of needlework ('fancy work' and 'plain sewing') and reflects the thorny eighteenth-century relationship between rank and virtue,

---

13 Hester Chapone*, Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, Addressed to a Young Lady*. *In two volumes*. (1773, London: H.Hughs, 1774), II, 62-64.

14 Fancy work included knotting, tambour work, appliqué and tatting. Tatting was fittingly called *frivolité* in French. See Thérèse de Dillmont, *The Encyclopedia of Needlework* (1884): http://encyclopediaofneedlework.com. See also Amanda Vickery, 'The Theory and Practice of Female Accomplishment', Mark Laird and Alicia Weisberg-Roberts, eds., *Mrs Delany and her Circle* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, Yale University Press, 2009), 94-109. On the more subversive potential of needlework, see Ariane Fenetaux, 'Female Crafts: Women and Bricolage in Late Georgian Britain 1750-1820', Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin, eds., *Women and Things, 1750-1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 91-108.

birth and worth, excess and moderation.[15] This is perhaps why the Elizabeth Montagu's friend, the Duchess of Portland, was drawn to 'amusements […] of the Rural Kind, working, Spinning, Knotting, Drawing, Reading, writing, walking & picking Herbs to put into an Herbal'.[16] In a letter to Mrs Port, Mary Delany reported:

> She [Duchess of Portland] desires her kind compliments to Mr. Granville and her spinning mistress, and bids me enclose the remains of her lock of wool, to show you how near she spins it off, and makes *no waste of ends*, all which she hopes you will approve of. In the midst of her philosophical studies she used to start up and go to her wheel for a quarter of an hour's relaxation, and intends that spinning shall be one of her employments, and chief amusements when she goes to town; her last wheel and reel stand in the anti-chamber of her great dressing room.[17]

The Duchess of Portland clearly staged herself as a frugal and accomplished housewife and underscored her simple 'work' as civic virtue. However, in opposition to the middling and labouring poor, the tools and equipment were high-end. In her letter Frances Hamilton of

---

15 In French literature of the time, the opposition is set up between 'tisser' and 'broder' and is on the same ideological continuum as the binary juxtaposition of 'text' and 'textile'. See 'Ouvrages de dame? Ouvrages d'une dame? Présentation du thème', *Cahiers Isabelle de Charriere/Belle de Zuylen Papers: 'Women's work: pens and needles of Belle de Zuylen'*, 1 (2006): 9-17. On the opposition between needle and pen, see Carol Shiner Wilson, 'Lost Needles, Tangled Threads: Stitchery, Domesticity, and the Artistic Enterprise in Barbauld, Edgeworth, Taylor, and Lamb', Carol Shiner Wilson and Joel Haefner, eds., *Re-Visioning Romanticism: British Women Writers, 1776-1837* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 167-190; Kathryn R. King, 'Of Needles and Pens and Women's Work', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 14.1 (Spring 1995): 77-93.

16 Letter of Margaret Cavendish Harley, Duchess of Portland, to Elizabeth Montagu, June 30, 1738. Elizabeth Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 176.

17 Letter of Mary Delany to Mrs Port, 19th November 1771, Mary (Granville) Delany & Lady Llanover, *The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany : with interesting reminiscences of King George the third and Queen Charlotte*, 3 vols. (London: Bentley, 1861), II, 370.

October 10, 1783, Delany described the luxurious materials and tools that Queen Charlotte used:

> I found the Queen very busy in showing a very elegant machine to the Duchess of Portland, which was a frame for weaving of fringe, a new and most delicate structure, and would take up as much paper as has already been written upon to describe it minutely, yet it is of such simplicity as to be very useful. […] The King, at the same time, said he must contribute something to my work, and presented me with a gold knotting shuttle, of most exquisite workmanship and taste; and I am at this time, while I am dictating the letter, knotting white silk, to fringe the bag which is to contain it. .[18]

In 1770, Queen Charlotte visited the Duchess of Portland at Bulstrode and was taken with a new treadle wheel, a 'little' or 'Saxony' treadle wheel that allowed the spinner to sit down. In the same year, the Duchess of Northumberland marvelled at the display of spinning wheels in Paris when Lady Berkeley 'had 100 spinning Wheels brought into Coach to chuse of.'[19]

But the material practice of this work for the actual laboring poor was very different. The skills taught to the labouring poor or financially compromised middling classes were summarized under the umbrella term 'work': spinning, knitting, plain sewing, mending and sampler making to teach also literacy, numeracy and geography. In Wollstonecraft's *The Wrongs of Woman* (1798), Jemima regrets that 'not having been taught early, and my hands being rendered clumsy by hard work, I did not sufficiently excel to be employed in the ready-made linen shops.'[20] The Victoria and Albert Museum Textile Collection in London indicates

---

18Mary Delany, *Letters from Mrs. Delany (widow of Doctor Patrick Delany) to Mrs. Frances Hamilton, from the year 1779, to the year 1788: comprising many unpublished and interesting anecdotes of their late majesties and the royal family: now first printed from the original manuscripts* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821), 33.
19 Groves, 30.
20 Mary Wollstonecraft, *Mary and The Wrongs of Woman*, ed. by Gary Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 113.

that samplers made in Quaker Schools or Charity schools used coarser materials to practice useful stitches such as darning stitches and Hollie point which could be used in the production and refashioning of clothes.[21] Samplers exercised various alphabets in reversible stitches, pious verses or religious symbols, and taught geography in the form of embroidered maps, or mathematics in the form of cross stitch multiplication tables. As John Styles has shown, the textiles used as identifying tokens by mothers who had to leave their babies in the care of the Foundling Hospital, were of different quality and provenance, ranging from cheap to mid-priced textiles, woven and printed. [22] Styles also suggest that labouring class girls, particularly in the country side, were taught spinning and knitting rather than sewing or embroidery as the former skills guaranteed employment; thus, bought and manufactured textiles for everyday use were not uncommon for the labouring poor.[23]

Basic craft equipment such as needles, bobbins and brass thimbles were inexpensive and not reliably mentioned in inventories but more elaborate tools and equipment out of expensive materials such as horn and silver were dear.[24] Whilst genteel and aristocratic women such as the Bluestockings used fiber arts to perform (rustic) simplicity and frugality as emblems of civic virtue and femininity, nevertheless using expensive equipment, middling class women and the laboring poor practiced these arts as part of their everyday household

---

21 Clare Browne and Jennifer Wearden, *Samplers* (1999, London: V&A Publishing, 2010). However, the archives of the London Foundling Hospital qualify the idea that the labouring poor used solely coarse and cheap materials on the one hand, and on the other, that the labouring poor were all proficient in 'plain sewing.'

22 See also Ariane Fennetaux who indicated that re-using fabrics/clothes was motivated by thrift and sentimental reasons, 'Sentimental Economics: Recycling Textiles in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *The Afterlife of Used Things: Recycling in the Long Eighteenth Century*, 122-142.

23 John Styles, *Threads of Feeling: The London Foundling Hospital's Textile Tokens, 1740-1770* (London: The Foundling Museum, 2010), 58-61.

24 See, for instance, the trial of Sarah English in 1744 where she steals aprons and handkerchiefs in order to pawn the goods for a spinning wheel which would secure her a future income: *Old Bailey Proceedings* Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 25 October 2012), April 1744, trial of Sarah English (t17440404-4).

duties, and as work.[25] In the following, I will focus on the unpublished epistolary exchanges between Elizabeth Montagu and Sarah Scott which reflect these tensions between leisure and work, social mobility and economic standing.

Feathers and Artichokes: Elizabeth Montagu

Elizabeth Montagu, the 'Queen of the Blues', was infamous for her 'laboured' finery and display of ostentatious wealth in her residences and personal attire. When at one of the Bluestocking assemblies at Hill Street, Delany complained, 'Was dazzled with the brilliance of her assembly. It was a moderate one, they said, but infinitely *too numerous* for *my senses*'.[26] Montagu herself strived towards the exemplary display of 'Virtue, prudence and Temperance, [that] should sometimes keep open House, and shew there is a golden mean between churlish severity of manners and lean and sallow abstinence in diet; and indecent gayety of behaviour, and that swinish gluttony which ne'er looks to Heaven' midst its gorgeous feast but crams and blasphemes its feeder'. However, temperance in display, as we will see, was not always Montagu's forte.[27]

Elizabeth Montagu met the fellow Bluestocking Mary Delany, then still Pendarves, in 1735 through their mutual acquaintance the Duchess of Portland.[28] Their correspondence contained items such as feathers and shells, flowers and fabrics that were gathered and collected from all sources. Montagu went so far as to instruct her naval brother Robert to bring back shells and feathers from his journeys, asked her sister Sarah Scott to obtain

---

[25] The Bluestockings had to carefully negotiate gendered discourses on feminine virtues and intellectual accomplishments. See Nicole Pohl and Betty A. Schellenberg, 'Introduction: A Bluestocking Historiography,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 65.1/2 (2002): 1-19; and Harriet Guest, *Small Change: : Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
[26] Delany, *Autobiography,* II, 97.
[27] Letter of Elizabeth Montagu to William Pepys, 14 August 1781, Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 4069.
[28] E.J. Climenson, *Elizabeth Montagu*, I, 18.

feathers and order 'people upon all our Coasts to seek for shells, but have not yet got any pretty ones.'[29] She even asked her infamous cousin Sir Thomas Robinson, Governor of Barbados, to send some shells to the Duchess:

> He shall get some shells for your Grace. He should pay you the homage of old when the conquered Nation sent some of their Earth and water to their Conquerers; he ought to do your Grace homage in every element where he has any command, and if you want either fish, beast, or bird, give him your orders, and with more than the power, take the style, of a Queen.[30]

Objects in the exhibition *Brilliant Women: Eighteenth Century Bluestockings* (National Portrait Gallery, 2008) document these tokens of friendship and mutual intellectual interests in the shape of 'natural curiosities', friendship boxes, snuff boxes, poems and manuscripts. [31] Luxurious objects such as these commemorated the networks of Bluestocking friendship as distinct, personal and most importantly, exclusive.

When Elizabeth Montagu purchased her house in Portman square in 1775, she not only employed renowned artists and architects such as James Stuart, possibly Angelica Kauffman, Giovanni Battista Cipriani and Matthew Boulton but added her own designs and ideas.[32] The refurbishment and decoration of the house took ten years and resulted in, as James Harris praised, 'an Edifice which for the time made me imagine I was at Athens in a

---

29 E.J. Climenson, *Elizabeth Montagu*, I, 18. Letter of Elizabeth Montagu to Margaret Harley Cavendish Bentinck, Duchess of Portland, 5th May, 1741, Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 297.

30 Letter of Elizabeth Montagu to Margaret Harley Cavendish Bentinck, Duchess of Portland, January 1741/42, Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 317. On the exotic materials for the feather screen, see Ruth Scobie, "To dress a room for Montagu": Pacific Cosmopolitanism and Elizabeth Montagu's Feather Hangings, *Lumen*, 33 (2014): 123–137. doi:10.7202/1026568ar.

31 Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz, *Brilliant Women: Eighteenth-Century Bluestockings* (London: NPG, 2008), 37-39.

32 See Rosemary Baird, *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2003), 284 (note 129), on Kauffman's involvement.

House of Pericles, built by Phidias.'[33] The pinnacle of taste and ornament was the 'Feather Room', decorated with Montagu's original designs made of feathers and later immortalized by William Cowper in his poem, "On the beautiful Feather-Hangings, designed for Mrs Montagu.'[34] The screens were assembled and mounted on canvas in Sandleford, Berkshire, by Montagu's chief seamstress, Betty Tull and her assistants Miss Pocklington and Mrs Fry, and managed by her sister Sarah Scott.

Montagu had some experience with feather work, notably with her friends the Duchess of Portland and Mary Delany. Her sister Sarah had also tried her hand at feather painting in the 1750s and Mary Anstey, Christopher Anstey's daughter and frequent visitor to Montagu's assemblies, also dabbled in the art. Anstey however deplored that her feather work was not as sophisticated: 'My feather screen makes but a poor figure yet. Could I carry it with me into company, as one does a piece of knotting it would be soon finished. But as I can only imploy that time upon it wch I have to myself it goes on but slowly. For when one can retire onto ones chamber & be still the houres may be better spent in the sorting of feathers.'[35]

Montagu was blessed that Sarah Scott supported her by collecting feathers and co-ordinating some of the work. Elizabeth Montagu wrote to her enthusiastically:

> I have orderd some whole feathers to be sent out of my stock for present use. I will get some fine goose feathers for them as soon as Gees are slain. In the mean time I am collecting some white feathers which I will send by some opportunity from hence.

---

33 Letter of James Harris to Elizabeth Montagu, 4 November 1780, Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 1133
34 *Gentleman's Magazine* 58 (June 1788), 542.
35 Letter of Mary Anstey to Elizabeth Montagu , 1752, Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 108.

> Betty Tull served me a sad trick in leaving y^e^ feathers, to be moth eaten. I have a great proposal in my head in y^e^ feather way.[36]

In a later letter of Oct 14, Montagu wrote to her sister: 'I have sent Miss Pocklington some Goose feathers, let me know if they want more. I have done or rather they have done for me, part of a feather trimming for a Sack. Betty & M^rs^ Fry soon dispatch a trimming in y^e^ mosaick way.'[37] A letter to Elizabeth Carter of 1786 gives us some indication of the seamstresses who contributed to Montagu's ambitious design:

> My Feather work, tho of a tedious nature, had made a great progress since I left it; the ingenious Betty Tull, y^e^ clever little girl her elève, an elderly Virgin, & two old Widows having been constantly employ'd at it, besides casual assistance. Betty & y^e^ little Girl are y^e^ only Persons who can do ye fine parts but ye inferior artists do ye ground, & y^e^ mosaic, one Widow Gentlewoman has been employd for above 4 months in stripping y^e^ feathers of ye downy part, & preparing them for use, and, an expence I did not regret, as I had y^e^ pleasure of observing that in the time she moulted her own threadbare garments, & acquired new & warm ones. She is y^e^ Widow of a Farmer reduced to parish Allowance, not by his or her late Husbands fault, but various misfortunes.[38]

Whilst Montagu was instrumental in the design of her interior décor, she clearly relied on the expertise and skills of her staff which were acknowledged in private letters between Scott and Montagu, for instance, but not publicly.

---

36 Letter of Elizabeth Montagu to Sarah Scott, August 28 [1774], Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 5959.
37 Letter of Elizabeth Montagu to Sarah Scott, 1774, Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 5964.
38 Letter of Elizabeth Montagu to Elizabeth Carter, 25 September 1781, Montagu Collection Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 3517.

But Montagu was not completely removed from the processes of making as she clearly possessed the relevant skills. In a letter of October 1755, Sarah Scott wrote to Elizabeth Montagu, 'I much doubt whether Mrs Tull may not understand the quilting of a petticoat almost as well as you.'[39] Though keen to display her wealth in extravagant interior designs, Montagu was mindful of waste and did not want to squander away valuable resources – tapping into her public display of 'Virtue, prudence and Temperance'. In her letter of 1785, Elizabeth Montagu asked Scott again, 'Pray when you eat Artichokes don't be wastefull & throw away ye little leaves round ye choak we sue them in our Mosaic work.'[40] This thrift fitted in with Montagu's charitable work. She was conscious of the responsibilities and duties her immense wealth brought and exercised paternalistic charity and benevolence to her colliery workers in Northumberland and the chimney sweeps in London, all displays of charity that, as Eger has rightly argued, were very public.[41] The employment of impoverished gentlewomen, the financial support of Sarah Scott and fellow writers such as Sarah Fielding was less ostentatious and was mentioned in private letters between Montagu and her close friends or her sister Sarah. Montagu's letter to Carter also indicates the scale of the project and the mixed abilities that the seamstresses and impoverished gentlewomen had. Elizabeth Montagu certainly was a hard taskmaster and Betty Tull's health suffered greatly during the project. When she was ill in 1788, Montagu eulogized:

> Poor Betty Tull is I fear going to take her flight to another World. As a virgin she might claim y^{e} white plumes of the Ostrich for her Hearse, but her triumphs over the

39 Letter of Sarah Scott to Elizabeth Montagu, October 1755, Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 5250.
40 Letter of Elizabeth Montagu to Sarah Scott, [Aug 26 1785], Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, MO 6113.
41 Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 78.

whole feather'd Race may give her pretensions to evry feather, of every bird, from the Eagle to y^{e} Wren; from the Croaking Raven to the chattering Parrot.[42]

The room however was a legendary success, as affirmed by the *St James Chronicle*'s glowing praise: 'Wholly covered with feathers, artfully sewed together, and forming beautiful festoons of flowers and other fanciful decoration. The most brilliant colours, the produce of all climates, have wonderful effects on a feather ground of dazzling whiteness'.[43]

Elizabeth Montagu marked her social advancement from a modest companion and friend to the Duchess of Portland to the 'Queen of the Blues' and a wealthy coal magnate by producing and commissioning decorative work that moved from the category of private 'fancy work' to public art that was to celebrate 'the warmest approbation of the taste and magnificence of Mrs. MONTAGU'.[44] As Ruth Scobie has argued, the feather screen was an emblem of Montagu's social rise in polite society; '[l]ike the collection of feathers, such a collection of exotic guests within one English house proved social and economic status, but also privileged access to British colonial and commercial networks around the world.' [45] The material and social properties of her 'objectscape' underpinned the idea of a cosmopolitan 'cultured feminine community' which the Bluestockings represented.[46]

'To embroider what is wanting': Sarah Scott

Sarah Scott did not rise in the world in an equal fashion to her sister. Scott married, against the will of her family, the sub-preceptor to the Prince of Wales and mathematician

---

42 Letter of Elizabeth Montagu to Elizabeth Charlton Montagu, December 17, 1788, Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 2975.
43 *St. James Chronicle*, 11-14 June 1791, quoted in Beard, 189.
44 *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (London, 11–14 June 1791).
45 Scobie, 'To dress a room for Montagu": Pacific Cosmopolitanism and Elizabeth Montagu's Feather Hangings', 126.
46 Jo Dahn, 'Mrs. Delany and Ceramics in the Objectscape,' *Interpreting Ceramics* 1 (2000) (http://www.interpretingceramics.com/issue001/delany/delany.htm), n.p.

George Lewis Scott on 15 June 1751. Her father, Matthew Robinson, reluctantly provided Sarah Scott with a dowry. There are still speculations about the hastened separation that was clearly manoeuvred by Scott's family. In April 1752 Matthew Robinson and his sons removed Sarah Scott from her marital home in London. George Lewis Scott refunded half of Sarah Scott's dowry to her father but continued to support her with £150 per annum.[47] In the ensuing years, the correspondence frequently refers to Scott's general financial worries. George Lewis Scott was not always diligent in his payments and thus compromised his wife's financial security. Thus, Sarah Scott returned to Bath as a neither single nor married woman to set up a household with her life companion Lady Barbara Montagu.

Sarah Scott thus belonged to a different social network than her sister.[48] This is marked not only by the gaps between their finances, homes and locales, but also by the nature of the objects they exchanged. Montagu supported Scott with food, materials and money during her financially lean years. She advised Scott on the latest fashion trends from London, so that Scott could refashion her clothing into a respectable and current state. Both Montagu and Scott profited from their brother Robert Robinson's frequent journeys to the China but his gifts could also present new challenges. As Scott wrote to Montagu in 1752:

> I am afraid the Captain has been tardy in sending the blue lutestring. the largeness of the flowers on your sleaves & part of the body will be a fault. Upon examination I find my gown is one third plain only, has no sleeves & but one side piece instead of a whole body; I am in some hopes the Captain may find another piece with these little

47 Climenson, *Elizabeth Montagu*, II, 7.
48 On the different social networks that Elizabeth Montagu belonged to, see Anni Sairio, *Language and Letters of the Bluestocking Network: Sociolinguistic Issues in Eighteenth-Century Epistolary English* (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2009).

parts on it, but if not I shall be extremely obligd to You for any indian white silk, for the only way will be to embroider what is wanting … '[49]

Scott clearly mastered the skills of embroidery and appliqué but does not mention darning, mending, or quilting *per se* in any of her extant letters.[50] It is possible to assume however that those skills were essential to Scott to maintain her wardrobe to a proper standard. Scott frequently refers to refashioning clothes and buying and maintaining different kinds of fabrics, ranging from flannel, poplin, different cottons and wool as well as silk.[51] Ribbons and trimmings became essential items to refresh or remake her wardrobe.

Given her sister's more prominent status in polite society, Scott often asked for advice. In a letter to her sister in February 1740/41, Scott worried 'if there is much alteration in the gown sleeves this year' as she considered how to update her wardrobe.[52] In October 1743, whilst in Bath, Scott indicates that updating her gown was part of her routine to appear respectable in polite society. She 'endur'd the pain of curling to make my countenance appear proper to be admitted to the rooms, & sow'd my trimming on to my buff gown…'.[53] Scott even relied on her sister's advice to guide the shape and size of the hoops which provided foundations for her garments:

---

49 Letter of Sarah Scott to Elizabeth Montagu [1752], Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 5228.

50 Scott likely acquired mending/darning skills as part of her education in needlework and embroidery. Print sources suggest that such mending knowledge was assumed: *The Lady's Magazine; or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, Appropriated Solely to Their Use and Amusement* (1770-1847), does not give specific guidance on mending or darning in the period between 1770-1818. https://www.kent.ac.uk/english/ladys-magazine/index.html. I thank Jennie Batchelor for her help with this question.

51 Flannel: fine woven woolen fabric made from carded wool or worsted (*OED*); Poplin: strong plain-woven fabric that is made of various fibres (*OED*).

52 Letter of Sarah Scott to Elizabeth Montagu, February 4 [?1740/41], Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 5164.

53 Letter of Sarah Scott to Elizabeth Montagu, [?October 7 1743] Walpole Collection, Lewis Walpole Library.

> I shou'd be obliged to you if you wou'd in your next letter send me word what sized hoops moderate people; who are neither over lavish or covetous of whalebone, wear; because I intend to write to my hoopmaker to have one ready for me against I come to Town, …

Unlike her sister, Scott remained sceptical about the waves of ostentatious fashion:

> I hope our hoops will not increase much, for we are already almost as unreasonable as Queen Dido, & don't encircle much less with our whalebones, than she did with her bulls hide, & I am afraid we are not so excuseable for her ground was to build a Town, whereas what we gain is only for a sort of wall, which in some measure hinders the trade & use of the Citty.[54]

In addition to updating or altering clothes, appearances required also that clothes would be clean which was neither straightforward nor cheap. When Scott wrote to her sister about the state of her clothes, she expressed embarrassment and shame but recognized the representational value of a more expensive fabric:[55]

> My flower'd gown & petticoat is very dirty I shou'd be oblig'd to you if you wou'd tell me whether you think it will be necessary for me to buy a lutestring gown & petticoat as the flower'd is so dirty & my night gowns are shabby enough; but answer this in private.[56]

In the early years of the correspondence between the sisters, Montagu and Scott also exchanged embroidery and appliqué patterns for the fashionable aprons and shared in detail the progress of their fancy work:

---

54 Letter of Sarah Scott to Elizabeth Montagu, Feb 25 [1740/41], Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 5167.
55 On the importance of cleanliness, see John Styles, *The Dress of the People*, 78ff.
56 Letter of Sarah Scott to Elizabeth Montagu, [June 29, 1744], Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 5189.

> I return you my thanks for the leaves[57], & desire you will not abuse them. they are as distinct as need be, & if I can but make them big enough will be of great service to me; I am afraid the drawing them may have hurt your eyes, ~~&~~ if I had not been just then a little forgetfull of their weakness I wou'd not have set them so hard a task.[58]

Whilst Montagu was able to furnish her homes with silk, feathers, rare shells and lacquer work, Scott decorated her homes with found and natural materials – an early form of upcycling:

> we gilded cones corn acorns poppy heads & various evergreens with flowers & leaves in lead & some fruit in pipe makers clay, with these she [Mrs Isted] made a frame to the glass, & continued the work in a light pattern with small bracketts for eleven pieces of small china, from the top of the room to the chimney spreading over the whole pannel; it is really the lightest & prettiest thing I ever saw, & suits the rest of the room ….[59]

Aware of the greater plight of impoverished gentlewomen and the labouring poor, Lady Barbara Montagu and Sarah Scott took impoverished servant girls into their houses in Bath and Batheaston, employing them to produce silk flowers and other crafts to teach them skills and economic independence. Scott and her helpers supplied her sister with silk flowers which served as ornaments to Montagu's wardrobe:

> You have not answered me about your Tissue silk[60], if it is for a Gown I woud advise all the Roses shoud be red, which will be excessively pretty mixed with the green leaves, &

---

57 Leaves: used for embroidery work. Whilst embroidered aprons were fashionable, they were not always acceptable. The Duchess of Queensbury was publicly criticized by Richard Nash, then Master of Ceremonies at Bath, for wearing an apron to the Assembly Rooms.
58 Letter of Sarah Scott to Elizabeth Montagu, 11 [? November 1741], Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino , MO 5170.
59 Letter of Sarah Scott to Elizabeth Montagu, [1752], Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 5223.
60 Silk Tissue is an Organza type of fabric from India. Scott used it for the silk roses as it can be perfectly transformed by crumpling a piece in water.

> I know you have no dislike to Rosecolour. Till I know its destination, I make them do only such a number as at all Events will be red, & the remainder will be done according to your order. If You determine to have this all red Roses, those in that I sent You that are not so, I think we can so far take the colour out of & have them done over with red that it will not be perceived when put least in sight that they have ever been otherwise.[61]

Scott's charitable enterprise echoed the principles of charity and empowerment in her successful reformist novel, *Millenium Hall* (1762). *Millenium Hall* is based on the principles of vertical friendship and self-help that unite the household, tenants, the wider family and villages in the manner of a country estate. The charity work described in the novel does not only keep every member of the estate in their place but more importantly, helps the poor and disadvantaged to provide for themselves. The women in the alms-houses sew, spin and cook for the benefit of the whole community with the understanding that everyone contributes as best as they can. The community's carpet and rug manufactory functions as a social enterprise, where the profits are invested in a 'fund for the sick and disabled.'[62] Scott was a social reformer, her political convictions and charity projects were informed and by principles of Practical Christianity and self-help. Her own charity projects and the fictional *Millenium Hall* community slot into contemporary practices of textiles as basic economic work for the labouring poor or impoverished gentlewomen. The work promoted in *Millenium*

---

61 Letter of Sarah Scott to Elizabeth Montagu, [1763], Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, MO 5308.

62 Sarah Scott, *A Description of Millenium Hall and the Country Adjacent Together with the Characters of the Inhabitants and such Historical Anecdotes and Reflections as May excite in the Reader proper Sentiments of Humanity, and lead the Mind to the Love of Virtue by 'A Gentleman on his Travels'*. In the following, citations are from the edition Sarah Scott, *A Description of Millenium Hall, e*d. by Gary Kelly (1762, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1995), 247.

Hall was thus plain sewing, embroidery and rug making, skills crucial to the flourishing mercantile economy.[63]

Ariane Fennetaux, Amélie Junqua, Sophie Vasset have suggested that '[p]oised between the early modern economic model of scarcity and want and the modern world of consumerism and waste, the eighteenth century was marked by a special relationship to the material where objects went through not one but several lifecycles.'[64] This is apparent in the correspondence between Elizabeth Montagu and her sister Sarah Scott. Whilst Elizabeth Montagu had no qualms in displaying luxury and wealth, she claimed unimpeachable credentials in the pursuit of 'a golden mean between churlish severity of manners and lean and sallow abstinence in diet' which also included the careful consumption of material objects. Her social ascent to the 'Queen of the Blues', wealthy coal magnate and business woman was counterbalanced by Montagu's self-fashioning of herself and her salon as a civilizing force. Her display of quasi-public art in her house at Portland Square marked the boundary between polite and enlightened society and the vulgar.[65] Sarah Scott was in many ways Elizabeth Montagu's moral monitor. Her implementation of principles of Practical Christianity in her local community countered Montagu's ostentatious wealth.

Ellen Kennedy Johnson has shown that '[t]he type of needlework a woman performed was often determined by her social standing or class position. Notions of propriety that were linked to needlework were also affected by class or social rank.'[66] Needlework, textile arts, and the basic production and maintenance of textiles and clothes were not only markers of

---

63 On material practices in the novel, see Chloe Wigston Smith, 'Gender and the Material Turn', Jennie Batchelor and Gillian Dow, eds., *Feminisms and Futures* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 159-178.
64 Fennetaux, Junqua, Vasset, 'Introduction', p. 2.
65 See Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), see also: Emma Major, 'The Politics of Sociability: Public Dimensions of the Bluestocking Millennium', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 65(1–2) (2002), 175–92.
66 Ellen Kennedy Johnson, 'Alterations: Gender and Needlework in the Late Georgian Arts and Letters' (PhD Dissertation, Arizona State University, 2009), 5.

gender and rank but recorded very sensitively how women within the Bluestocking circle negotiated ideologies of femininity and domesticity. But, as I have argued, social aspirations or circumstances were also mirrored in the materiality and maintenance of textiles. Whilst we have to acknowledge that the correspondence between Scott and Montagu is not complete, the indication is that Scott was much more pre-occupied by a 'make-do and mend' approach to textiles and clothes and had the appropriate skills to do so.[67] She was dependant on her sister Elizabeth and her brother Robert, an East India captain, to acquire more precious fabrics for her outfits and took particular care to maintain and recycle them to maintain a level of respectability in eighteenth-century polite society. Reusing, repairing, refashioning and transforming were necessary socio-economic practices to uphold respectability and propriety for women such as Sarah Scott who found themselves in economically compromised situations but who mixed in genteel circles.

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

Montagu Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino

Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0)

Printed Sources

[67] For a printed version of Scott's letters see Nicole Pohl, ed., *The Letters of Sarah Scott*, 2 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014). *The Elizabeth Montagu Collection Online* (*EMCO*) will publish the remaining letters by Elizabeth Montagu to her sister Sarah Scott and indeed all extant letters by Elizabeth Montagu. See http://www.elizabethmontaguletters.co.uk/emco.

Aiking, John and Anna Letitia Barbauld, 'Dialogue, on Things to be learned', *Evenings at home; or, the juvenile budget opened: Consisting of a variety of miscellaneous pieces* (London: J. Johnson, 1792-96)

Rosemary Baird, *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2003)

Batchelor, Jennie, *Women's Work: Labour, Gender and Authorship, 1750-1830* (Manchester: MUP, 2010)

Bellhouse, Mary L., 'Visual Myths of Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century France', *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*, 12. 2. (Apr., 1991): 117-135

Browne, Clare and Jennifer Wearden, *Samplers* (1999, London: V&A Publishing, 2010

Cahn, Susan, *Industry of Devotion: The Transformation of Women's Work in England 1500–1660* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

Chapone, Hester, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, Addressed to a Young Lady*. *In two volumes.* (1773, London: H.Hughs, 1774)

Climenson, Emily J., *Elizabeth Montagu: The Queen of the Bluestockings*, 2 vols. (London: 1906)

Dahn, Jo, 'Mrs. Delany and Ceramics in the Objectscape,' *Interpreting Ceramics* 1 (2000) (http://www.interpretingceramics.com/issue001/delany/delany.htm)

Delany, Mary, *Letters from Mrs. Delany (widow of Doctor Patrick Delany) to Mrs. Frances Hamilton, from the year 1779, to the year 1788: comprising many unpublished and interesting anecdotes of their late majesties and the royal family: now first printed from the original manuscripts* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821)

Delany, Mary (Granville) & Lady Llanover, *The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany : with interesting reminiscences of King George the third and Queen Charlotte*, 3 vols. (London: Bentley, 1861)

Dillmont, Thérèse de, *The Encyclopedia of Needlework* (1884): http://encyclopediaofneedlework.com

[Diverse], 'Ouvrages de dame? Ouvrages d'une dame? Présentation du thème', *Cahiers Isabelle de Charriere/Belle de Zuylen Papers: 'Women's work: pens and needles of Belle de Zuylen'*, 1 (2006): 9-17

Duncan, Carol, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995

Eger, Elizabeth and Lucy Peltz, *Brilliant Women: Eighteenth-Century Bluestockings* (London: NPG, 2008)

Eger, Elizabeth, *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010

Fennetaux, Ariane, Amélie Junqua, and Sophie Vasset, eds., *The Afterlife of Used Things: Recycling in the Long Eighteenth Century*, (London: Routledge, 2014)

Goggin, Maureen Daly and Beth Fowkes Tobin, eds., *Women and the Material Culture of Needlework and Textiles, 1750–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015)

Groves, Sylvia, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories* (Newton Abbot: David &Charles, 1973

Guest, Harriet, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)

Hafter, Daryl, ed., *European Women and Preindustrial Craft* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1995)

Hayden, Ruth, *Mrs Delany: Her life and her flowers* (London: The British Museum Press, 1980

Hill, Bridget, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 1993)

Hivet, Christine, 'Needlework and the Rights of Women in England at the end of the Eighteenth Century,' Isabelle Baudino, Jacques Carré, Cécile Révauger, eds., *The Invisible Woman: Aspects of Women's Work in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 37-46

Johnson, Ellen Kennedy, 'Alterations: Gender and Needlework in the Late Georgian Arts and Letters' (PhD Dissertation, Arizona State University, 2009)

King, Kathryn R., 'Of Needles and Pens and Women's Work', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 14.1 (Spring 1995): 77-93

Major, Emma, 'The Politics of Sociability: Public Dimensions of the Bluestocking Millennium', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 65(1–2) (2002), 175–92

Pohl, Nicole, ed., *The Letters of Sarah Scott*, 2 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014

…… and Betty A. Schellenberg, 'Introduction: A Bluestocking Historiography,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 65.1/2 (2002): 1-19

Retford, Kate, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

Sairio, Anni, *Language and Letters of the Bluestocking Network: Sociolinguistic Issues in Eighteenth-Century Epistolary English* (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2009)

Scobie, Ruth, “To dress a room for Montagu”: Pacific Cosmopolitanism and Elizabeth Montagu’s Feather Hangings, *Lumen*, 33 (2014): 123–137

Scott, Sarah, *A Description of Millenium Hall and the Country Adjacent Together with the Characters of the Inhabitants and such Historical Anecdotes and Reflections as May excite in the Reader proper Sentiments of Humanity, and lead the Mind to the Love of Virtue by 'A Gentleman on his Travels'*. In the following, citations are from the edition Sarah Scott, *A Description of Millenium Hall, e*d. by Gary Kelly (1762, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1995)

Sharpe, Pamela, ed., *Women’s Work: The English Experience 1600–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Strasser, Susan, *Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash* (NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1999)

Styles, John, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007)

……..., *Threads of Feeling: The London Foundling Hospital’s Textile Tokens, 1740-1770* (London: The Foundling Museum, 2010)

Teague, Frances N., *Bathsua Makin, Woman of Learning* (London: AUP, 1998)

The Gentleman’s Magazine, http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=gentlemans

Thunder, Moira, ‘Object Lesson: Designs and Clients for Embroidered Dress, 1782-94, *Textile History*, 37 (1): 82-9

Walsh, Claire, ‘Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision Making’, John Styles and Amanda Vickery, eds., *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 151–87

Wigston Smith, Chloe, *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

……, ‘Gender and the Material Turn’, Jennie Batchelor and Gillian Dow, eds., *Feminisms and Futures* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 159-178

Williamson, Liz, "Darning: A Visible Thread" (2004). *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*. 457.http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/457

Wilson, Carol Shiner, ‘Lost Needles, Tangled Threads: Stitchery, Domesticity, and the Artistic Enterprise in Barbauld, Edgeworth, Taylor, and Lamb’, Carol Shiner Wilson and Joel Haefner, eds., *Re-Visioning Romanticism: British Women Writers, 1776-1837* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 167-190

Wollstonecraft, Mary, *A Vindication for the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (1792; London: J. Johnson, 1796)

……, *Mary and The Wrongs of Woman*, ed. by Gary Kelly (1798, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980)