SPLENDID HUES: COLOUR, DYES, EVERYDAY SCIENCE, AND WOMEN’S FASHION, 1840-1875

CHARLOTTE CROSBY NICKLAS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Brighton for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 2009
Abstract

Great changes characterized the mid- to late nineteenth century in the field of dye chemistry, including many innovations in the production of colours across the spectrum, especially the development of synthetic dyes from coal-tar aniline. From 1840 to 1875, textile manufacturers offered a wide variety of colourful dress textiles to female fashion consumers in both Great Britain and the United States.

Middle-class women were urged to educate themselves about dyeing, science, and colour, while cultivating appropriate, moderate attention to fashion in dress. This thesis examines the mid-nineteenth century relationship of fashion, dye chemistry, and everyday science, exploring consumers’ responses to these phenomena of modernity. Paying special attention to the appreciation of chemistry and colour theory during the period, this project considers how the development of new dyes affected middle-class uses and discussions of colours in women’s dress. This multidisciplinary approach reveals that popular attention to science and colour conditioned the reactions to these new dyes and the colours they made, creating an interested, informed group of consumers. Because of the technical accomplishments that led to their production, these dyes were considered visible evidence of scientific progress and the vivid colours provided opportunities for women to employ highly sophisticated rules concerning colour applied to dress. These discussions exemplify the dominant contemporary middle-class ideology of moderation, illustrating a tightrope of taste that women were strongly encouraged to walk.

To explore the uses of and reactions to dyes and colours, a number of sources have been consulted. Surviving objects of dress, in both British and American museum collections, provide fundamental historical evidence of how contemporaries wore coloured textiles. Silk dresses in vivid mauve and magenta, the first aniline dyes, enjoyed popularity and excited comment from contemporary observers, especially because these colours had been hitherto impossible or very expensive to produce. New dye colours, however, more often appeared in smaller amounts; printed cottons and ribbons allowed a great number of consumers to experiment with modern colours.

Textile pattern books and notebooks of dye experts, or colourists, employed by textile manufacturers, surviving in Manchester’s city archives reveal visual similarities and differences among various dyestuffs, as well as the challenges faced in the applications of new products. These books also provide evidence of commonalities in the language of colour shared among professional dyers and colourists, women’s magazines, and popular science writing.

Periodicals, especially those aimed at middle-class women, show many aspects of contemporary discussions of chemistry, colour theory, and fashion. For their everyday domestic responsibilities in cookery, medicine, and education, women were encouraged to learn about chemistry. The magazines also included many of the materials and processes used by colourists to create and fix dyes, indicating a broad culture of dye chemistry that overlapped with that of professional chemists and colourists. This sharing of colours, language, and processes established important cultural contexts for dye developments. These relatively unexplored connections reveal complex, interconnected mid-nineteenth century discussions of fashion, science, and colour.
# Table of Contents

Abstract 2

Table of Contents 3

List of Illustrations 4

Acknowledgements 11

Author’s Declaration 12

Chapter 1 13
The Chemist has Given them a Hundred Delicate Colours: Introduction

Chapter 2 51
No Beauty without Suitability: Fashion, Dress, Taste, and Harmony

Chapter 3 102
One Essential Thing to Learn is Colour: Appreciation, Language, and Theory

Chapter 4 151
A Slight Tincture of Chemical Knowledge: Women, Everyday Science, and Chemistry

Chapter 5 196
A Few Receipts for Dyeing will be Found Very Serviceable: Dye Use by Colourists and Women

Chapter 6 245
Surely the Apotheosis of Colour is at Hand: Colour, Fashion, and Chemistry in Women’s Dress

Chapter 7 294
All the World Laid by Art and Science at her Feet: Conclusion

Bibliography 319

Appendix 338
List of Illustrations


2.6 “Mantle and Undersleeves. La Marguerite.” *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* 43 (December 1851): 368. New York Public Library.


5.2 Sydall Brothers (Chadkirk Printworks). Notebook page. England (Chadkirk, Cheshire), after 1858. Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 114 [Green 1329].

5.3 Thomas Royle (Swaisland Printworks). Notebook page (detail). England (Crayford, Kent) 1850s-1860s. Manchester Metropolitan University.


5.6

5.7

5.8

5.9

5.10

5.11

5.12

5.13

5.14
Sydall Brothers. (Chadkirk Printworks). Notebook page (detail). England (Chadkirk, Cheshire), after 1858. Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 114 [Green 1329].

5.15

5.16
5.17

5.18

5.19

5.20

5.21

5.22

5.23

5.24

5.25

5.26

6.1


6.17

6.18
Notebook page (detail) (Hayfield Printing Company). England (Hayfield, Derbyshire), 1861. Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 92 [Green 1319].

6.19

6.20

6.21

6.22

6.23

6.24

6.25

6.26

6.27

6.28

6.29


6.44

6.45

6.46
Acknowledgements

This thesis would never have been possible without the assistance and support of many. First and foremost, my supervisor, Lou Taylor, at the University of Brighton, has been a wonderful and inspiring guide over the whole span of the project. Her initial interest in my research spurred me to begin the PhD and her unfailing enthusiasm, constant encouragement, and wise advice have been greatly appreciated. My secondary supervisor, Louise Purbrick, also of the University of Brighton, has provided outstanding guidance and much sensible counsel. I thank the Research Student Fund of the Centre for Research and Development and the School of Historical and Critical Studies, both at the University of Brighton, for funding some of my research trips.

I have visited many collections and archives while conducting this research and I thank the staff of all of the institutions I visited: Karen Herbaugh and Diane Fagan Affleck (American Textile History Museum); Joanna Hashagan and Annabel (Bowes Museum); Graham Alcock (Colour Museum); Joanne Dolan and Clare Sauro (Fashion Institute of Technology); Miles Lambert (Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall); Richard de Peyer (Macclesfield Silk Museum); Philip Sykas (Manchester Metropolitan Museum) Ann Coleman, Alex Huff, Pam Parmal, Susan Ward, Tiffany Webber-Hanchett, and Lauren Whitley (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Adam Daber, Jan Hargreaves, and Jan Shearsmith (Museum of Science and Industry); Kristina Haugland, Julie Randolph, and Holly Frisbee (Philadelphia Museum of Art); and Caroline Hill (Quarry Bank Mill). Special thanks to the excellent group at the Manchester Archives: Richard Bond, Sarah Hobbs, Dave Govier, and especially Kevin Bolton.

I thank the reference librarians and staff at the Brighton and Hove City Libraries, the British Library, the New York Public Library, the National Art Library, Neil Parkinson in Special Collections at the Library at the Royal College of Art, the University of Sussex library, the University of Southern Maine Library, the Wellcome Library, Widener Library at Harvard University, and the Women’s Library. A special thank you to all the wonderful staff at St. Peter’s House Library at the University of Brighton, and especially to Monica Brewis, without whom this thesis would be much less.

I also thank others at the University of Brighton: Amira Driscoll, Nicola Keith, Paddy Maguire, Sharla Mann, Anthony McIntosh, Madeleine Meadows, Chris Pierce, Clare Rose, Lena Warming, Leslie Whitworth, Michael Wilson, and especially Lara Perry.

Thank you also to Samuel Alberti, Carrie Alyea, Rosie Baker, David Knight, Michele Majer, Sarah Norris, Melinda Watt, all of whom have provided help and guidance.

My fellow postgraduate students at the University of Brighton have been a immeasurable source of support and advice: Jane Hattrick, Torunn Kjolberg, Yunah Lee, Annebella Pollen, Sorcha O’Brien, and Megha Raguru.

My history of science friends have also given much-appreciated assistance and guidance: Vicky Blake, James Elsdon-Baker, Tom Lean, James Sumner, Leucha Veneer, and especially Fern Elsdon-Baker and Melanie Keene.

I thank Leslie Eckel, Freyja Hartzell, and Stacey Sheriff as academics and friends.

And finally, thanks to Caroline, Tessa, Lily, and Erin, my Brighton family. I thank Amanda, Denise, Erin and Tom, Giselle, Kate, Aunt B., my grandmothers, brother, and parents, all of whom have endured far too many conversations about dress and dyes. And thank you to Iñaki, for essential support, encouragement, and good humour in the home stretch—eskerrrik asko!
**Author’s Declaration**

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

Dated:
Chapter 1

The Chemist has Given them a Hundred Delicate Colours:
Introduction

In June 1863, the editors of the *Leisure Hour*, subtitled “A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation,” included an article called “Colour in the Coal-Scuttle.” This piece provided a brief history of the recent development of textile dyes from coal-tar aniline. It devoted significant attention to the work of William Perkin, the English chemist who created the first of these dyes: aniline purple, popularly known as mauve. The author concluded with an appeal to “our ladies”: “The chemist has given them mauve, magenta, azuline, emeraldine, and a hundred other delicate colours with names as pretty as their hues. Let them use them with taste and judgement, and Regent Street will once more be a flowerbed—the concert-room a rainbow.”

These words provide an appropriate introduction to this thesis, which examines the relationship of colour, dyes, everyday science, and women’s fashion in Great Britain and the United States from 1840 to 1875. As “Colour in the Coal-Scuttle” indicates, great changes characterized this period in the field of dye chemistry, including many innovations in the production of colours across the spectrum, especially the development of synthetic dyes. Textile manufacturers were able to offer a wide variety of colourful dress textiles to middle-class female consumers. Attention to the place of chemistry and colour in contemporary culture informed reactions to dyes, creating an interested, knowledgeable group of consumers.

Middle-class women were urged to educate themselves about dyeing, science,

---

2 A clarification of scientific terms is essential for this thesis. One of the most important distinctions to make is that between “aniline” and “synthetic” dyes. In his discussion of synthetic dyes developed before 1860, Wilfred Farrar defines a “synthetic dyestuff” as “a substance which does not occur in nature and has to be deliberately made by a chemical reaction.” Using this definition, the purple dye produced with the lichen orchil would qualify as the first synthetic dye, because if exposed to oxygen and ammonia, orchil can be used to make a purple dye, a process imported from the Near East to Europe around 1300 (Wilfred V. Farrar, “Synthetic Dyes before 1860,” *Endeavour* 33 (1974): 149). In both popular and scholarly literature, “synthetic dyes” more commonly refer to aniline purple and its successors. For most authors, the coal tar base and the number of steps required to create the aniline dyes differentiate them from earlier dyes, even if those dyes involved chemical reactions.
and colour, while cultivating appropriate, moderate attention to fashion in dress by using their “taste and judgement.” By examining a variety of textual sources and surviving objects, this project considers how the development of new dyes affected middle-class uses and discussions of colours in women’s dress. Because of the technical accomplishments that led to their production, these dyes were considered visible evidence of scientific progress. Discussions of dyes and dyeing highlighted how women were encouraged to engage with a general body of scientific knowledge and with contemporary developments in science for practical purposes and sociocultural reasons. The vivid colours provided opportunities for women to employ highly sophisticated rules concerning colour applied to dress. These discussions exemplify the dominant contemporary middle-class ideology of moderation, illustrating a tightrope of taste that women were encouraged to walk.

Many histories of nineteenth-century fashion note the importance of dye developments, but none of these has made a concerted effort to contextualize these key innovations. This thesis weaves together the history of women’s dress, developments in dyeing and printing technologies, and ideas about colour and science, relating them to contemporary social, cultural, and ideological concerns of the British and American middle classes. This novel multidisciplinary approach reveals many reasons for the appeal and fascination that these dyes and the colours they produced held for the middle-class public. Considering dye developments shows a complex picture of the mid-nineteenth century links among fashion, colour, and science and the place of middle-class women in this relationship.

This chapter provides a general introduction to the sources examined and methodology employed in this thesis. It reviews previous scholarship concerning nineteenth-century colour, dyes, dress history, everyday science, and women and science in periodicals. This introduction then presents the overarching themes that run through the thesis: fashion and modernity; language; and middle-class ideologies, female roles,
and taste. Finally, to provide a foundation for the many contemporary discussions of dyes, this chapter gives a brief overview of the development and production of dyestuffs and dyes during the nineteenth century.

**Sources and Methodologies**

**Periodicals and Textual Sources**

Most of the textual examples in this thesis are drawn from the middle-class women’s magazines of the period with the largest circulations, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* (1852-1877) in England and *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* (1830-1898) in the United States. Both of these periodicals were published monthly and included fiction, poetry, essays on contemporary and historical topics, practical advice about household management, fashion news and patterns, black and white fashion illustrations, and coloured fashion plates. This mixture of content contributed to their success by appealing to the desires for both practical and entertaining subject matter of their middle-class readers. For the years before the introduction of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, material from the English magazine the *Ladies’ Cabinet* (1832-1870) will be considered, although this publication was aimed at upper-middle class women.5

---


5 Jeffrey A. Auerbach, “What They Read: Mid-Nineteenth Century English Women’s Magazines and the Emergence of a Consumer Culture,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 30.2 (1997): 121. As Auerbach notes, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* was the first of its kind in England, a publication “clearly oriented toward the middle-class woman in the home and as consumer” (122). In the absence of an
Developments in printing technology in the first half of the nineteenth century allowed “the low-cost, high-speed dissemination of the printed word…[and] the profitable, high-quality mass reproduction of diverse imagery” in books and magazines.\(^6\) In the United States during this period women’s periodicals contributed significantly to the “magazine explosion” permitted by this publishing revolution. *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, overseen by editor/publisher Louis Antoine Godey and editor Sarah Josepha Hale, exemplified the popular woman’s periodical publication.\(^7\) In Great Britain, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, enjoyed similar success. Edited by Samuel Beeton, the husband of Isabella Beeton of the renowned *Mrs. Beeton’s Book of Household Management*, this magazine went through several series, each offering more engravings of current fashions than the last.\(^8\) The images appearing in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines, especially the coloured fashion plates, played a crucial role in the dissemination of information about fashionable dress and colours.\(^9\)

As Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes and Jonathan Topham underscore in their introduction to *Science in the Nineteenth-century Periodical* of 2004, it is important to consider a periodical text as a whole when analysing nineteenth-century sources. Citing Robert Young’s “common context” thesis, they argue that “the verbal and conceptual interconnectedness of the sciences, politics, theology, and literature were both sustained and revealed by their juxtaposition in periodical articles.”\(^{10}\) In this research, fashion and

\(^7\) Tebbel and Zuckerman 27-35.
\(^9\) Fashion plates in nineteenth-century magazines were usually steel-engraved, although the technique of lithography became more widely used over the course of the century (Alice Mackrell, *An Illustrated History of Fashion: 500 Years of Fashion Illustration* (London, Batsford: 1997) 133). The colours were usually applied by hand and there are sometimes discrepancies between colours and textual descriptions of plates.
dress are also included as subjects in this conversation among pieces in single issues, whole volumes, and different periodicals, to provide a new, multidimensional, sociocultural contextualization of fashion. This inclusive method of examination is essential, so poetry, non-fiction articles, books reviews, fashion reports, and editors’ and readers’ letters have all been considered for what they reveal about the cultures of chemistry, colour, and fashion and what these share and indicate about expectations for middle-class women of the period.

In this thesis, the idea of “conversation” is a second concept highlighted in looking at these magazines. This can refer to the verbal and theoretical similarities just mentioned, but can also approach “conversation” more literally. In their 2005 edited collection of essays, Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell use the word “encounter,” referring to the “multi-vocal discourse of periodical texts by editors, writers, and readers” that occurred in many contemporary periodicals, including the major reviews.11

_Godey’s Lady’s Book_ had a monthly “Editors’ Table” feature in which the editors directly addressed their readers, often in rather exhortatory prose, and sometimes printed and responded to letters received. One of the _Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine_’s most popular monthly sections was called “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” where readers’ letters and the responses of both other readers and the magazines’ editors were printed. The “Conversazione” included an amazing array of topics, encompassing queries about dinner table etiquette, opinions on women’s legal rights, and questions and advice about dyeing and fashionable colours. These features provide excellent evidence of the conversations undertaken in nineteenth-century women’s magazines. Recent scholarship on the construction of feminine identities in these periodicals will be discussed later in this chapter.

---

11 Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell, introduction, _Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers_, ed. Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) 2. Brake and Codell define “encounter” as “any set of articles or letters to the editor, in which the writer, whether journalist or reader, responds to a published article in a periodical.”
Although there were significant differences between British and American women’s magazines, especially with respect to their discussions of systems of government and national identity, this thesis will focus primarily on the shared aspects of the discussions in these periodicals, highlighting differences where relevant. In her discussion of the significance of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in the United States, especially concerning the importance of Christianity to middle-class women, Margaret Beetham notes that in Britain: “There was no single magazine which played a role like *Godey’s* in America, but the cultural similarities extended beyond a common language and certain common publications.” The magazines themselves in fact reveal a shared transatlantic, Anglophone literary culture, most convincingly demonstrated by the appearance of the same texts in British and American periodicals. Authors such as novelist T. S. Arthur and Mary Merrifield, who wrote *Dress as a Fine Art*, were published on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean in 1852 and 1853 respectively.

Other contemporary texts also highlight the great attention paid to dyes and colours in the mid-nineteenth century. Books about colour theory and its uses, especially those by Michel-Eugène Chevreul, were published in many editions and languages, clearly interesting the reading public. The dissemination of Chevreul’s theories through the medium of women’s magazines will be investigated in chapter three. Efforts to spread scientific information led to the establishment of popular science periodicals in the 1860s, such as the quarterly *Popular Science Review* (1862-1879), which provided

---

12 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own* 49.
15 A chemist by training, Michel-Eugène Chevreul (1786-1889) was the dyemaster at the Gobelins tapestry manufactory, widely known for his publications on colour theory.
both news and opinion on a wide variety of contemporary scientific topics. Published dyers’ manuals, often written by established dyers to circulate and perhaps promote their dyeing knowledge, also furnish examples of the mid-nineteenth century language of dye chemistry and colour.

The textual analysis undertaken in this thesis pays special attention to the authors’ use of language, often through the use of particularly significant terms, in an effort to illuminate the literary, social, and cultural contexts in which these words appeared. Biblical, classical, historic, and fictional allusions all revealed common points of reference which readers were supposed to share, acquired through middle-class feminine education. Writers used humour to criticize or undermine assumptions and pretensions, showing the subtle differences and contested meanings that emerged in periodical conversations. New and non-English words often appeared inconsistently spelled, demonstrating the ways in which words entered different vocabularies. The attention placed here on individual words appearing in different texts reveals the connections among disparate sources and the shared terms of contemporary conversation about colour, dyes, fashion, and science.

Pattern Books and Colourists’ Notebooks

Textile pattern books furnish another significant source of information about the chemistry and uses of dyes in the mid-nineteenth century. Philip Sykas, in his 2005 publication *The Secret Life of Textiles: Six Pattern Book Archives in North West England*, identifies several types of pattern books in this ground-breaking study of these materials. Designers and manufacturers used these books to record the production

---

17 Textile pattern books and colour notebooks from the following collections have been examined for this study: Colour Museum, Bradford (UK); Macclesfield Silk Museum, Macclesfield (UK); Manchester Archives, Manchester (UK); Manchester Metropolitan Museum, Manchester (UK); Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester (UK); and Quarry Bank Mill, Styal, Wilmslow (UK). See appendix for catalogue of objects examined.
process, for design inspiration, and as documentation of completed orders and available
merchandise. Sykas underscores that individual books could serve multiple purposes.18
Among pattern books, he includes records and notebooks kept by textile dye chemists, or
“colourists,” as they often contain textile samples.19 In his 2001 study of natural
dyestuffs in industrial Europe, Agustí Nieto-Galan also notes recent scholarly interest in
colourists’ notebooks, emphasizing the insights these objects can furnish about working
habits and professional networks.20

As historic documents, pattern books recorded a broad range of textiles produced
during the nineteenth century, revealing a variety of designs and colours that does not
survive in extant clothing objects. As records of dye use, colourists’ notebooks especially
are an essential source of study for assessing similarities and differences in appearance
among dyes derived from natural and artificial dyestuffs, demonstrating the simultaneous
use of many different dye materials throughout this period. These documents reveal the
challenges faced by colourists, as well as the ingenuity with which they often sought to
resolve these problems.21 Pattern books also provide evidence of commonalities in the
language of colour shared among professional dyers, women’s magazines, and popular
science periodicals. They can also assist in research on the fashion changes in colour use
during the mid to late nineteenth century.

Mid-nineteenth century colourists were working during a time of great change in
the development and use of dyes, as their notebooks and the textile pattern books
demonstrate. Sykas asserts that these documents “provide clear evidence for the
introduction of particular dyestuffs and techniques, for the sources of dyes and

18 Philip Sykas, The Secret Life of Textiles: Six Pattern Book Archives in North West England (Bolton: The
19 Ernst Homburg notes that the term “colourist,” in Great Britain, was used most frequently
within the textile industry. “Chemist” was used more generally, especially “about the more famous members of the
profession.” See Ernst Homburg, “The Influence of Demand on the Emergence of the Dye Industry. The
329.
20 Agustí Nieto-Galan, Colouring Textiles: A History of Natural Dyestuffs in Industrial Europe (Dordrecht:
chemicals, and for the transmission of chemical knowledge. Colour notebooks include recipes for dyes and mordants and notes on dyeing and printing processes and trials, encompassing the whole spectrum of colour. They have proved to be of central significance as a research source for this thesis.

Surviving Objects of Dress

Although periodicals furnish many relevant illustrations, surviving textiles and clothing will also provide important examples of dye use in this thesis. The central role that surviving objects play in dress history has been long understood by museum curators and more recently incorporated into material culture and consumption studies. This consideration of objects dovetails with more general recent scholarly interest in “the details of bodily life…includ[ing] the way bodies were presented and clothed [and] where and when they could appear on the social stage” in the words of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall. Pattern books, costume accessories such as hats and capes, and dress, including day and evening garments, all made use of textiles coloured with many of the dyes available during the mid-nineteenth century. Although museum collections hold only a fraction of what was actually made and worn, many of the objects that do survive provide valuable evidence of the different ways in which colour was used in nineteenth-century dress and dress textiles, showing how manufacturers and consumers engaged with contemporary colour advice.

Previous Scholarship

22 Sykas, The Secret Life of Textiles 96.
23 Objects of dress from the following collections have been examined for this study: American Textile History Museum, Lowell, Massachusetts (USA); Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham (UK); Fashion Institute of Technology, New York (USA); Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall, Manchester (UK); Philadelphia Museum of Art (USA); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (USA). See appendix for catalogue of objects examined.
Colour

In many ways, colour is a complicated subject to discuss because, in the words of curator Barbara Bloemink, it “is impossible to describe definitively.”

Peter Parks, a filmmaker who specializes in nature subjects, highlights a further difficulty, asserting that in seeing colour “we are utterly dependent upon our individual perception in all cases and other people’s perceptions in many cases.” These challenges are compounded by what David Batchelor argues is a prejudice against colour which stretches back to classical philosophy, highlighted by Immanuel Kant’s classification of colour as secondary in the perception of beauty.

Despite this historiography, in recent years several scholars and popular authors have written about the meanings of individual colours in different cultural contexts and during different time periods, creating a substantial literature about changing attitudes towards colour. John Gage and Philip Ball have produced some of the most significant work, however these authors primarily study painting and refer only parenthetically to colour in fashion or in the popular imagination.

As this chapter mentioned earlier, the publications of Michel-Eugène Chevreul greatly informed mid- to late nineteenth century ideas about colour. In his writings, Chevreul was working in a tradition of commentary on colour that stretched back to

---

28 David Batchelor, *Chromophobia* (London: Reaktion, 2000) 29; Bloemink 9. Kant’s discussion of colour appeared in his *Critique of Aesthetic Judgement*, the first part of his *Critique of Judgement*, published in 1790. Bloemink notes that Plato and Aristotle considered colour a secondary aspect of design, also asserting that it was “dangerous in its imitation of reality” (9).
Isaac Newton and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.\footnote{For a historical summary of colour theories, see Faber Birren, \textit{Principles of Color: A Review of Past Traditions and Modern Theories of Color Harmony} (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1969).} Chevreul’s precepts, especially about contrasting and complementary colours and about colour “harmony,” permeated contemporary fashion and design advice, often inspiring specific instructions concerning the use of colour in female dress. Both Gage and Ball underscore the effects of Chevreul’s work on painters during the nineteenth century, but do not mention his influence on fashion writing or women’s dress.\footnote{See Gage, \textit{Colour and Culture} 173-75; Gage, \textit{Colour and Meaning}, esp. ch. 15; and Ball, \textit{Bright Earth} 175-76. Gage does note the relative neglect of the study of colour by dress historians (Gage, \textit{Colour and Meaning} 51).} Chapter three will examine how Chevreul’s work entered contemporary discussions of colour and fashion.

**Dyes**

Recent scholarly work on the history of dyeing and dyestuffs in the nineteenth century has highlighted the great range of materials and sophisticated processes employed to colour textiles and the complex networks developed by dyers, colourists, and textile manufacturers. Textile production in England was a large, rapidly-expanding, and often lucrative business in the nineteenth century, stimulating many important technological developments. The potential profitability of a successful new dye, therefore, cannot be ignored as an incentive for the work of dye makers. The desire to improve and speed up dyeing and printing processes was related to the business goals of textile manufacturers, so dye chemists worked with these aims in mind. The popularity and fashionability of certain colours also contributed to the development and promotion of specific dyes, as chapter five will discuss.

Robert Fox and Agustí Nieto-Galan observe that artificial dyestuffs have historically received more critical attention than natural dyestuffs, in large part because synthetic dyes have been “treated as a triumphal example of what is presented as a
‘science-based industry’ founded on chemistry.” Providing a comprehensive examination of how natural dyestuffs were used in Europe from the early eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century and paying attention to the socio-cultural context, Nieto-Galan emphasizes “the processes of coexistence and the difficulties involved in establishing a clear historical frontier between natural and artificial colours.” Nieto-Galan notes that dyes are often “relegated to a secondary position” in scholarly work, including that of art, textile, and dress historians. He also acknowledges the importance of fashionable demand for the colourful textiles created by dyers and colourists.

Anthony S. Travis has written important books about the development of synthetic dyes in the nineteenth century, primarily concerned with the changes that synthetic dyes caused in the practice and application of chemistry. Like Nieto-Galan, Travis does consider the social and cultural importance of synthetic dyes, but restricts his remarks about fashion to a few pages. Other historians of chemistry and dyeing including Wilfred V. Farrar, Ernst Homburg, Willem J. Hornix, C. Michael Mellor and Donald S. L. Cardwell, and Christian Simon, give essential background on the nineteenth-century dye industry. Dress and fashion historians must specifically bear in mind Farrar’s stress on the crucial role played by the desire for novelty in dye development. Simon recognizes the importance of the “customer who

34 Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles* xvi.
35 Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles* xiii.
39 Farrar 150.
purchased…dyed or printed textiles and who was eager to follow a fashion” in his
discussion of the dyestuff market.  

development and popularity, providing the background of social history and history of
science and exploring the fashionable appeal of the colour created with aniline purple.  
Ann Buermann Wass, in her 1992 Ph.D. thesis, gives a detailed history and analysis of
the use of synthetic dyes by United States manufacturers, but only briefly discusses
women’s fashion and does not examine surviving objects of dress.  

In her essay on dyes, colour, and fashion, Dominique Cardon makes an essential
point about the nineteenth-century development of artificial dyes. Because they
eventually became inexpensive and easy to use, these dyes “produced a major cultural
revolution that has irreversibly changed the world. They have accustomed people to take
colors for granted.” This key observation underpins the research of this thesis, which
attempts to recover some of the lost meanings of dyes and colours in dress in the mid-
nineteenth century.

**Dress History**

The significant role of colour specifically in fashion and dress history is
beginning to be addressed by the academic and curatorial communities. Several
museums around the world have mounted recent exhibitions exploring the use and

---

40 Simon 322.
Perkin’s discovery of mauve points to a historiographical issue identified and discussed by several
historians of science, the mythologization and decontextualization of Perkin’s work. This is summarized by
William V. Farrar: “The dramatic story of the accidental discovery of mauve by W. H. Perkin in 1856, and
its large-scale development for the dyeing industry, has tended to obscure the fact that there was not only
much contemporary interest in synthetic dyes but a fair measure of existing achievement” (Farrar 149). See
also Farrar 154; Homburg, “The Influence of Demand” 332; and Travis, *The Rainbow Makers* 62-63.
42 Ann Buermann Wass, “Natural and Synthetic Dye Use for Protein Fibers in the American Textile
43 Dominique Cardon, “Fashion in Colors and Natural Dyes: History under Tension,” *Fashion in Colors*,
by Akiko Fukai, et. al. 232.
history of colour in fashion and mentioning developments in dye technology. A catalogue accompanied *Fashion in Colors*, a 2004 exhibition organized by the Kyoto Costume Institute, containing several short essays approaching colour from a variety of different viewpoints, including those of anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss and art historian Claude Imbert. The chapters that address fashion and colour explicitly pay much-needed critical attention to this subject. Akiko Fukai discusses the fashion for particular colors at certain points in the past. She argues that these colors, especially in contemporary painting and literature, serve as visual shorthand for historical moments.

Fashion historians who write about the nineteenth century invariably mention the introduction of synthetic textile dyes, especially mauve and magenta. In her classic history of nineteenth-century dress, Anne Buck focuses on changes in the fashionable silhouette during this period, asserting that “Victorian dress was a sequence of many different styles.” She also refers to the textiles used to make clothes, as well as fashionable colours, noting the use of magenta and solferino dress textiles in the early 1860s. Caroline Goldthorpe also mentions artificial dyes and the bright colours they produced, but again focuses on the development of the silhouette during the mid-nineteenth century.

In his 1995 general history of dress, *The Culture of Fashion*, Christopher Breward emphasizes that the aniline colours of the 1860s were by no means the first attention-grabbing bright colours in dress, mentioning Turkey red and steam colours

---

47 Buck, *Victorian Costume* 37.
from the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ In their 2005 book about nineteenth-century fashion, Lucy Johnston, with Marion Kite and Helen Persson, consider colour in the dress of the period, discussing the printing techniques used for multicoloured textiles, including pencilled blue and Turkey red.⁵⁰ In their section on “Innovations,” Johnston, Kite and Persson devote several pages to “the natural and synthetic dyes…used to generate the dazzling hues that became particularly fashionable in Britain during the 1850s and 1860s,” making the important point that not all bright colours were created with artificial dyestuffs.⁵¹

Nineteenth-Century Chemistry, Everyday Science, and Women

Agustí Nieto-Galan draws upon Frederic Holmes’s concept of “cultures of chemistry” to discuss the “sites and values shared by different groups closely linked to chemistry,” arguing that “the art of dyeing and printing natural colours on textile fibres…can be considered an important ‘culture of chemistry.’”⁵² This thesis suggests that the making, use, and discussion of dyes, shown in a variety of texts and objects, can also be considered a broad culture of dye chemistry, beyond the realm of specialists. Professional colourists, domestic dyers, and writers for women’s magazines shared significant material, practical, and linguistic reference points.

A general desire to understand the world has always inspired much scientific research and this was certainly the case in nineteenth-century chemistry. In an essay on this subject, William H. Brock refers to an 1848 article on chemistry in which physician Sir Henry Holland emphasized “the seminal and central importance of that science in

⁵¹ Johnston 122. For other brightly-coloured dresses from this period, see pp. 124-127.
attaining the union and simplification of the great laws of Nature.” Brock highlights how contemporaries felt that chemistry helped them “to know, to control, and even to supplement Nature.” In the mid-nineteenth century, the fields of chemistry and dyeing were closely connected, as training in chemistry had become crucial to the skilled profession of dyeing. Chemistry was largely an applied, rather than a theoretical, science, with chemists conducting their research to create new and better products for industrial and commercial use. Nineteenth-century chemistry will be discussed in chapter four.

Dyeing and chemistry must also be considered within the broader history of nineteenth-century science. David Knight calls the long nineteenth century the “Age of Science,” arguing that during this period men of science, popularizers, and the broader public believed that science could potentially increase personal and national prosperity and relieve human misery. The work of many historians of science over the past few decades has confirmed the “cultural embeddedness of science” in nineteenth-century life in Britain and the United States. New discoveries and insights in many areas of the physical and natural sciences, such as the discoveries of dinosaur bones and the development of evolutionary theories, ensured continued public interest in science.

As Peter J. Bowler and Iwan Rhys Morus observe in their 2005 history of modern science, “a knowledge of and some level of engagement with the latest science was widely considered to be a mark of culture” for much of the nineteenth century. Science was seen to offer possibilities for both commercial development and personal education,

dovetailing with middle-class ideologies prioritizing industry and self-improvement.\textsuperscript{59}
For social, cultural, and economic reasons, science constituted a significant part of the landscape of interest and knowledge during the mid-nineteenth century.

Over the last couple decades, a number of historians of science have devoted their attention to the history of popular science. As Aileen Fyfe and Bernard Lightman discuss in a recent edited collection of articles, the term “popular science” itself has been criticized by some scholars. The phrase can encompass a great range of activities outside “the boundaries of true ‘science,’ [but] a shared exclusion does not imply the existence of any common characteristics that could be used to construct a self-coherent and independent history.”\textsuperscript{60} Lightman observes that the term was in general use by the mid-nineteenth century, but also warns that contemporary meanings varied and that the words “popular” and “popularizer” were ideologically weighted. Acknowledging the difficulties of these terms, Lightman decides to refer to events and publications as “popular in the sense of being highly successful or because they were intended for a mass audience.”\textsuperscript{61} This thesis will utilize this definition.

A term that is perhaps even more useful for this project is “everyday science.”\textsuperscript{62}

One frequent strategy of popular science writers in the mid-nineteenth century was to

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{62} This is term widely-used in present-day popularizing of science. For example, the BBC/Open University website includes an “everyday science” feature in its “Science, Technology and Nature” section (see “Everyday science,” 2 Sept. 2009, <http://www.open2.net/sciencetechnologynature/worldaroundus/everydayscience_menu.html>) and the magazine Scientific American also includes an “everyday science” section in its online version (see “Everyday Science,” 2 Sept. 2009, <http://www.scientificamerican.com/everyday-science, accessed 2 September 2009>). At the July 2009 British Society for the History of Science conference, held at the University of Leicester, however, Melanie Keene of the University of Cambridge and Katy Price of Anglia Ruskin University organized a session of papers dealing with historical subjects titled “Everyday Science.” Many thanks to Melanie Keene for her help with this term and its use.
\end{itemize}
focus on “common,” “familiar,” or “everyday” examples and objects; specific examples of this approach will be discussed in chapter four. Contemporary books and periodicals often described cooking, dyeing, and household medicine in these terms, educating women about chemistry through their daily domestic activities. These articles also promised women that by understanding the science of everyday life in its practical applications, they would be better wives, mothers, and housekeepers. The idea of everyday science, particularly dye chemistry, can be further extended to include the daily professional activities of dyers and colourists and even the wearing of dyed or printed clothing, as this study will show.

As recent scholarly work has shown, science in nineteenth century Britain “permeated the content of general periodicals” in articles on a wide variety of subjects, utilising many narrative forms. Daniel Thurs observes that in the United States during this period, “science talk” also ran throughout many different periodicals. Quarterly, monthly, and even weekly serial publications became increasingly available to middle- and working-class readers. In large part because of the conversational possibilities afforded by serials, much scholarly work highlights the importance of periodicals as a forum for conversation and debate about science. In her discussion of popular science periodicals, Susan Sheets-Pyenson examines the growing popularity of these magazines, highlighting the importance of readers’ wishes in determining the content and the

---

63 Bernard Lightman discusses many examples of this approach in Victorian Popularizers of Science, including the Ebenezer Cobham Brewer’s Guide to the Scientific Knowledge of Things Familiar (65-68) and John George Wood’s “Common Objects” series (173-175) both of which were very successful. Chapter four of this thesis will discuss, among other examples, the series of articles called “Everyday Actualities” beginning in the July 1852 number of Godey’s Lady’s Book, the first of which was titled “Bleaching of Calico, Muslin, and other Cotton Fabrics.” See also Albert Bernays, Household Chemistry; or, Rudiments of Science applied to Every-Day Life (London: Sampson Low, 1852)


periodicals’ support of amateur scientific interest and research. Barton emphasizes the variety of literary strategies adopted to broaden audiences and encourage public recognition of the uses of science. Barton also asserts that in general-interest publications such as the *Popular Science Review*, “useful arts and applied science were simply assumed to be part of the scientific enterprise,” shown by the inclusion of many feature articles on subjects related to daily life. General and specialized periodicals reported scientific developments and applications, as well as providing a forum in which growing numbers of authors and readers could discuss these changes.

Historian of science Ann B. Shteir points out that the study of women’s periodicals has hitherto neglected to examine the inclusion of science as a subject, but contends that not only is it present but that science is a “suitable thread…for exploring this cultural terrain” of nineteenth-century gender and culture. Scholars have thus begun to address the place of science in two of the women’s magazines examined in this thesis: the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* and *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. Sally Shuttleworth, Gowan Dawson, and Richard Noakes emphasize that analysis of the science included in the *Englishwomen’s Domestic Magazine* articles reveals “the Beetons’ interest in imparting not only useful advice for the kitchen, sick room and garden, but the scientific rationale for such advice.” Scientific knowledge could therefore make domestic duties “more efficient and edifying;” it was “a legitimate sphere of female interest, as long as it remain[ed] outside the public and professional domain.”

In her investigation of literary women and science in the nineteenth-century United States, Nina Baym shows how editor Sarah Hale “persistently advocated science

---

67 Barton 2, 4.
68 Barton, “Just before Nature” 16-17.
71 Shuttleworth, Dawson, and Noakes 63-64.
study for women” in the pages of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. Like the Beetons, Hale did not encourage women to undertake original scientific research; instead “learning and demonstrating scientific knowledge” would help female readers participate in society, understand and appreciate the world, and “carry out their allotted tasks more effectively.” Jan Pilditch echoes these claims in her study of the presentation of science in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* from 1830 to 1860. She notes that science was included in articles about health, medicine, and cookery, asserting that these pieces “did disseminate scientific information but only insofar as it was useful within the limits of the domestic female sphere.” These scholars all underscore the ways in which such articles can illuminate contemporary cultural tensions, such as those surrounding women’s roles and intellectual abilities, as well as the relationship between science and religion.

**Feminine Identities in Nineteenth-Century Women’s Periodicals**

The construction of feminine identities is a major theme in much recent work on nineteenth-century women’s periodicals. Authors foreground the roles these texts played in the complex creation of and insistence upon contemporary feminine ideals and roles.

---

73 Baym 38-39.
75 Shuttleworth, Dawson, and Noakes 62; Baym 5; Pilditch 22.
76 Several scholars of nineteenth-century magazines utilize the work of Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault. In their introductory chapter, Ros Ballaster, Margaret Beetham, Elizabeth Frazer, and Sandra Hebron emphasize Althusser’s argument that ideology is “produced and manifested through human subjects” and how, for Foucault, “discourses are tied to, indeed structure, practices” (Ros Ballaster, et. al., *Women’s Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman’s Magazine* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan 1991) 23, 25). Margaret Beetham stresses Foucault’s “argument that power is productive and not simply repressive throws light on the complex relationships enacted in women’s magazines between readers, writers and editors” (Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own 2*). Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston also discuss Foucauldian discourse, especially with respect to gender, because its power “becomes the major site of either contestation or collaboration.” These authors also describe the way in which periodicals can demonstrate Althusser’s explanation of how ideology turns an individual into a subject by “hailing” him (or sometimes her) (Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003) 3, 36).
Conflicts and tensions within these constructed ideals underscore the magazines’ characteristic multivocality mentioned earlier in this chapter.77

Ros Ballaster, Margaret Beetham, Elizabeth Frazer, and Sandra Hebron assert that “the power of the bourgeois ideal of femininity pervaded the culture of magazines” from the beginning of the nineteenth century.78 This ideal, especially as shown in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, emphasized the private, domestic home as central to middle-class femininity, dovetailed with the contemporary conception of gendered “separate spheres,” which will be discussed later in this chapter. The home, however, represented “both the site of women’s work and the denial of that work…” and also their place of leisure,” indicating some of the complexities inherent in this model.79 In her discussion of Sarah J. Hale, Patricia Okker underscores the way Hale, in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, “repeatedly celebrated the idea of a separate women’s culture” that valued the knowledge and skills associated with the domestic sphere.80

Margaret Beetham, in *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman’s Magazine, 1800-1914*, published in 1996, looks at a number of periodicals in case studies, including the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*. She asserts that these magazines are sites of “fractured” femininity, “simultaneously assumed as given and as still to be achieved.”81 In her discussion of the different feminine identities represented in nineteenth-century magazines, Beetham shows how they often addressed different, sometimes conflicting, ideals and desires. Beetham notes that most women’s periodicals were aimed at middle-class readers and “offered explicitly bourgeois models of feminine behaviour.”82 Acknowledging the central role played by dress and fashion in women’s

77 Brake and Codell 2.
78 Ballaster, et.al. 86.
79 Ballaster, et. al. 88-89. This tension between home as the “contradictory site of work and leisure” is also identified by Beetham in *A Magazine of Her Own* (68).
periodicals, Beetham avers that these magazines often presented a femininity that was “constantly in process of construction through the work of fashion.”\footnote{Beetham, \textit{A Magazine of Her Own} 196.}

In their book \textit{Gender and the Victorian Periodical}, Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston argue that “ideologies of gender and class were always connected, always competing and always under construction in writing for periodicals.”\footnote{Fraser, Green, and Johnston 37.} They also assert that “important debates about gender and class were often displaced into discussion relating to the apparently trivial and ephemeral world of fashion.”\footnote{Fraser, Green, and Johnston 1.} This insight is crucial to this thesis, which will discuss, especially in chapter two, how dress and fashion were far from trivial to many women and integrated into many daily feminine concerns. Fraser, Green, and Johnston claim that “the periodical press was not so much the oppressive organ of a dominant ideology as a crucial site of ideological struggle.”\footnote{Fraser, Green, and Johnston 37.} The multivocality, or “multivalency,” to use their term, of magazines allowed and even encouraged the expression of different points of view.\footnote{Fraser, Green, and Johnston 1.}

This thesis will therefore examine how women’s magazines created feminine identities through text and image, acknowledging the complexities and tensions within these constructions. The female ideals presented to readers incorporated contemporary attitudes to dress and fashion, domestic and scientific knowledge, and colour, as the following chapters will discuss.

\textit{Overarching Themes}

\textbf{Fashion and Modernity}

Fashion played a fundamental role in discussions of dress, dyes, and colour in the nineteenth century. Elizabeth Wilson defines fashion as a phenomenon of modernity: “dress in which the key feature is rapid and continual changing of styles,” going on to

\footnotesize{83 Beetham, \textit{A Magazine of Her Own} 196.  
84 Fraser, Green, and Johnston 37.  
85 Fraser, Green, and Johnston 1.  
86 Fraser, Green, and Johnston 37.  
87 Fraser, Green, and Johnston 1.}
assert that “[f]ashion, in a sense is change.”\textsuperscript{88} Lars Svendsen argues that the valuing of the new simply because it is new is the defining aspect of fashion in the age of modernity.\textsuperscript{89} Novelty in design is thus required for changes in fashion and “new” colours and combinations of colours, made possible by developments in dye technology, satisfied this need. As the author of an August 1852 article about calico printing in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} claimed, “the [calico] patterns each year must be stamped with the characteristic of novelty, or they will not sell.”\textsuperscript{90}

The importance of fashion and the desire for novelty among consumers was also acknowledged by contemporary dyers and colourists. One of these men, William Crookes, even averred in his 1874 dyeing manual that “dyers have much less inducement to study fastness than was formerly the case, as the rapid changes of fashion leave consumers no time to discover the fugitive character of the shades.”\textsuperscript{91} Recent work on the history of dyes in the nineteenth century recognizes the central importance of consumer demand, especially that of women, as a spur to dye development.\textsuperscript{92}

Christopher Breward emphasizes that one noteworthy aspect of Perkin’s aniline purple was “the way in which it answered, and could be marketed towards, the requirements of a changing market.”\textsuperscript{93} For Breward, this point helps to distinguish aniline dyes from other preceding and contemporary dyes, because of “the immediate connotations of heightened fashionability and a sense of ‘modernity’ that [they were] able to command.”\textsuperscript{94} Lisa Tickner explains that “‘modern’—a term first used in

\textsuperscript{88} Elizabeth Wilson, \textit{Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005) 3.
\textsuperscript{91} William Crookes, \textit{A Practical Handbook of Dyeing and Calico-Printing} (London: Longmans, Green, 1874) 349.
\textsuperscript{92} Travis, \textit{The Rainbow Makers} 37, 51, 56; Nieto-Galan, \textit{Colouring Textiles} 168; and Simon 322. For an earlier acknowledgement of the importance of markets in nineteenth-century dye development, see Homburg, “The Influence of Demand” esp. 326-327, 332.
\textsuperscript{93} Breward, \textit{Culture of Fashion} 161.
\textsuperscript{94} Breward, \textit{Culture of Fashion} 162.
distinction to ‘classical’ or ‘medieval’—was increasingly applied to ‘the way we live now’” by the 1870s.95

Breward and Caroline Evans observe that the study of “modernity” is often “bound up with an analysis of industrial capitalist society as a form of rupture from preceding social systems.”96 Breward and Evans, as well as Wilson, acknowledge the ambiguity of the word “modernity,” but Wilson asserts that the term “attempts to capture the essence of both the cultural and the subjective experience of capitalist society and all its contradictions.”97 She identifies a central paradox in modernity of the rational, industrial age in that it is “not defined by Reason, but by speed, mobility, and mutability.”98 Industrialisation and mass production are fundamental aspects of modernity, as are the pleasures and anxieties of mass consumption. Implicit and explicit references to modernity run through the discussions of dyes, science, and fashion that will anchor this thesis, especially with respect to the novelty of colours produced, seen, and worn.

Language

The use of language, particularly of certain words, is a primary concern of this thesis. When considering mid-nineteenth century fashion, it is important to bear in mind that most information about dress in periodicals was conveyed through text. Descriptions were thus of great importance and authors employed a variety of strategies and references to communicate to their readers. These evocative descriptions demonstrated the pleasure taken in language by both writers and readers. Literary allusions and rhetorical flourishes in articles about fashion place these texts in a broader contemporary

97 Wilson, Adorned in Dreams 63.
intellectual culture. Articles about fashion were often didactic as well as descriptive, engaging with a host of issues concerning morality and propriety.

Using language to discuss colour is a significant challenge, as scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds recognize. David Batchelor notes that some thinkers have even suggested that some colours or coloured objects “represent that which exists beyond the reach of language.”

99 John Gage asserts that the connection of colour to “verbal expression is highly problematic.”

100 As linguist John Lyons asserts, the fact that “colour is in the eye of the beholder” helps to explain this challenge.

101 Emphasizing the importance of context, Lyons argues that “[c]olours…as we know them, are the product of language under the influence of culture.”

102 Language played a key role in nineteenth-century conversations about science as well. As Maurice Crosland observes, “In modern times one of the major obstacles separating the general public from science is its specialised vocabulary.”

103 Crosland outlines the development of the technical languages of botany, chemistry, and measurement, noting that by the early nineteenth century many men of science “generally accepted that science had to distance itself from the use of common language and any ideal of a full democracy of language.”

104 Writers who sought to disseminate scientific knowledge to non-specialist publics, however, could not rely on technical language. Bernard Lightman discusses a great range of strategies used by science popularizers, including “easily understood examples from everyday life.”

105 Some writers stressed the necessity of studying key terms in order to learn about science—

99 Batchelor 76.
101 John Lyons, “Colour and language,” Colour: Art and Science, Lamb and Bourriau 197. Lyons’s essay provides an excellent introduction to recent scholarship on linguistics and colour. In particular, he addresses the work of Brent Berlin, an anthropologist, and Paul Kay, a linguist, on the existence of “basic” colour terms.
102 Lyons 223.
104 Crosland 87.
105 Lightman, Victorian Popularizers of Science 20 and passim.
similar exhortations also appeared in articles about colour and fashion, which often included prescriptive sets of rules or “laws.”

As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall emphasize, language was also a crucial element in the definition and discussion of the ideologies of public and private spheres.\textsuperscript{106} In his study of popular speech in the nineteenth-century United States, Kenneth Cmiel argues that “[e]ducated adults…were marked by their command of technical vocabularies.”\textsuperscript{107} “Learning the language” allowed readers to understand and even participate in periodical conversations; these specialized vocabularies could also function as barriers to separate the knowledgable from the uneducated.

Agustí Nieto-Galan considers the variety and number of experts who participated in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century “‘republic of chemist-dyers,’” urging an understanding of “the technology of dyeing as a sort of ‘language’ that embraced vegetable, animal and mineral sources of colours.”\textsuperscript{108} As this thesis will show, some of this vocabulary also appeared in women’s magazines, as well as in colourists’ notebooks and manufacturers’ promotional materials. These shared ingredients, recipes, and words point to intriguing and hitherto unexplored associations among the histories of chemistry, textiles, dress, and middle-class women in the nineteenth-century.

**Middle-Class Ideologies, Female Roles, and Taste**

The construction of middle-class ideologies and identities during the nineteenth century, especially in Britain, has received a great deal of scholarly attention. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall’s landmark book, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, first published in 1987, remains a key text when considering class and gender during this period. While showing how actual experience

\textsuperscript{106} Davidoff and Hall xv.
\textsuperscript{108} Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles*, xix, xviii.
often diverged significantly from the ideal, Davidoff and Hall emphasize the ideological importance of gendered “separate spheres”—a public male sphere and a private female sphere—to the middle class. In his 1989 study of the urban middle class in the nineteenth-century United States, Stuart Blumin also stresses the growing ideological significance of female domesticity during this period.

Movement up and down the social scale was possible during the nineteenth century in both Britain and the United States and many scholars have explored how these prospects affected middle-class self-definition. Davidoff and Hall argue that members of the English middle class “placed themselves in opposition to an indolent and dissolute aristocracy, and a potentially subversive working class.” In the United States, as Melanie Archer and Judith R. Blau note, cultural historians have generally argued “that high rates of upward mobility combined with accessible codes of middle-class culture helped to shape a common class identity throughout the period of post-bellum America.” Discussing the middle classes in the later nineteenth century, Simon Bell and Rachel Gunn emphasize the importance of “[d]rawing lines, distinguishing between oneself and those below and above one…perhaps precisely because many of them felt so uncertain about their own status.” Anxiety about social position and class membership thus underlay many of the efforts to define middle-class identity.

Davidoff and Hall provide a helpful review of the reception of and reactions to their book in their introduction to the 2002 revised edition (xiii-i).


Despite the anxiety in the nineteenth century about maintaining and possibly losing middle-class status, historians of both Britain and the United States stress that membership in this class was relatively assured. Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell cite J. A. Banks’s 1954 study, *Prosperity and Parenthood: A Study of Family Planning among the Victorian Middle Classes*, in their assertion that during this period in Britain “not only could more people lay claim to middle-class status, but once they did so they found themselves becoming steadily better off” (Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell, *Middle Classes: Their Rise and Sprawl* (London: Cassell, 2002) 37). Melanie Archer and Judith R. Blau review several studies of local populations in the United States, concluding that “[o]nce middle-class status was attained, it was likely to have been retained” (Melanie Archer and Judith R. Blau, “Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: The Case of the Middle Class,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 19 (1993): 30).

Davidoff and Hall xviii.

Archer and Blau 30.

Bell and Gunn 43.
As noted above, this thesis will focus on the construction of female middle-class identities during the nineteenth century, especially through the medium of the periodical. The private, domestic character of the ideologically feminine sphere was closely connected to contemporary ideas about feminine virtue and its power. Writers in magazines asserted the moral influence women could, and should, exert on their families and communities from this private, domestic sphere. Belief in female virtue and moral authority thus informed the domestic and social duties expected of middle-class women.\textsuperscript{115} In July 1846, the \textit{Ladies’ Cabinet} included an article titled “The Wife’s Moral Influence,” which began “Every wife has it in her power to make her husband either better or worse.”\textsuperscript{116}

As well as positioning women as moral guides for their husbands, female goodness was also seen to support national integrity. The first article in the first issue of the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} in 1852, probably written by Samuel Beeton, made this link explicitly, averring “If there is one thing of which an Englishman has just reason to be proud, it is of the moral and domestic character of his countrywomen.”\textsuperscript{117} Echoing this, in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} in August 1865, an editor asked rhetorically, “Are not the WOMEN of America the moral power that, like gravitation in the natural world, holds together the destinies of social life and preserves that ‘righteousness which exalteth a nation?’”\textsuperscript{118} This letter linked this influence to the domestic sphere “such feminine pursuits and attainments as are consecrated to household good and family happiness” and emphasizing that this opinion was held by the magazine’s readers.\textsuperscript{119} These textual examples support Davidoff and Hall’s arguments about the key role that domesticity

\textsuperscript{115} For a thorough discussion of female moral influence in England, see Davidoff and Hall esp. 70, 114-16. Blumin discusses how the elevation of female domestic duties during the nineteenth century “served increasingly as the foundation for the assertion of the moral superiority of women over men” (Blumin, \textit{The Emergence of the Middle Class} 184).


\textsuperscript{117} “Our Address,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} 1 (1852): 1.

\textsuperscript{118} “Editors’ Table,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 74 (1867): 94. The full quotation is: “Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people” (Proverbs 14:34).

\textsuperscript{119} “Editors’ Table,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 74 (1867): 94.
played in middle-class female identity, as well as illustrating Archer and Blau’s assertion of the “increasing importance to middle-class culture...[of] the cult of domesticity.”

Davidoff and Hall emphasize the importance of self-education among members of the middle class, stressing that “[t]he need for information and guidance in the increasingly complex everyday world encouraged advice manuals covering all aspects of business and private life.” Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell also underscore “the desire of a prosperous and literate public to be advised by an ‘authority’ on how to behave and what to do.” Many of the articles in women’s magazines of the period include material that falls into the category of advice or etiquette literature. Andrew St. George and John Kasson, for Britain and the United States respectively, argue that the efflorescence of this genre of literature during the nineteenth century illustrates the contemporary belief in social mobility. Recommendations about dress, colour, and domestic activity reflect the middle-class concern to maintain, and possibly improve, one’s social position. As Kasson notes: “Fundamental to the popularity of manuals of etiquette was the conviction that proper manners and social respectability could be purchased and learned.” This etiquette literature is only one example of the contemporary faith of the middle classes in the power of self-education. As this thesis will discuss, almost every aspect of life could be improved by learning, from domestic activities such as cooking, to fashionable dressing.

This etiquette and advice literature demonstrates how self-education often depended upon reading. This kind of education allowed women to understand better the world that surrounded them. In her 1993 study of female reading, Kate Flint argues for

---

120 Davidoff and Hall esp. ch. 3, 149-192; Archer and Blau 34.
121 Davidoff and Hall 156.
122 Gunn and Bell 37. Gunn and Bell highlight the popularity of Isabella Beeton’s *Book of Household Management* (1859-1861), which sold more than 60,000 copies the year of its publication and had sold almost two million copies by 1868.
124 Kasson 43.
the centrality of “knowledge, and of awareness of the possession and employment of knowledge, to Victorian and Edwardian women’s reading practices.” Flint also underscores the importance of reading as a “leisure activity…and as an essential component of more formal education, whether this education was home based or, increasingly, obtained at school.” In her discussion of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, Margaret Beetham points to the periodical’s emphasis on “the acquisition of practical skills and systemic knowledge.” Underlying much of the periodical content examined in this thesis are these values placed on reading as a means of education and a route to knowledge.

The ideals that informed most middle-class conceptions of appearance, and in fact existence, were propriety, moderation, and harmony. Writers encouraged women to wear clothes that were appropriate to their circumstances and to behave in ways that reflected high standards of diligence and morality, reflecting overlapping middle-class ideals. As Gunn and Bell assert, “Aesthetic achievement, moral improvement and education all went together.” A woman’s public image was paramount in the maintenance and performance of her class position. Gunn underscores how this was especially salient in urban contexts: “Codes of dress and conduct…were clearly crucial in maintaining class and status distinctions in the highly visible world of the city.”

Leonore Davidoff discusses the actual and ideological difficulties of the distinction between “public” and “private” in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as the complexities of female participation in these spheres and argues that “an
understanding of ‘the public sphere(s)’ is central to feminist history…[and] the creation of identity.”

In nineteenth-century conversations about fashion, both public and private meanings must be considered, as dress and appearance were certainly located, in Davidoff’s words, at “[t]he ragged frontiers between public and private” and thus provide an excellent way in which to examine the construction of female identity in both domestic and public contexts.

The injunctions offered by writers in periodicals were tightly bound up with contemporary ideas about taste. In Kenneth Cmiel’s phrase, “the traditional connection between good taste and moral probity” often informed middle-class discussions of taste in the nineteenth century. Leonore Davidoff also examines the growing importance of ideas about good taste in the ideal “of delicate Victorian middle-class womanhood.”

Linda Young further underscores the importance of taste during the nineteenth century and its links to morality, asserting: “The visible expressions of taste in clothes, furnishings, manners and so on were perceived as manifestations of the internal person’s character; refined taste implied refined morality.”

The work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu remains fundamental to discussions of taste and class. Bourdieu highlights “the very close relationship linking cultural practices…to educational capital” and emphasizes that tastes “function as markers of ‘class.’” As Lou Taylor notes, Bourdieu’s notion of taste and its role in indicating social class is extremely useful in discussions of the relationship between class and dress in historical periods as well. In her book about middle-class culture in the first half of the nineteenth century, Linda Young applies Bourdieu’s theories to the

130 Davidoff, Worlds Between 258.
131 Davidoff, Worlds Between 258.
132 Cmiel, Democratic Eloquence 67.
133 Davidoff, Worlds Between 235.
134 Linda Young, Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 88.
construction of middle-class identity during this period, asserting “economic capital
could to some degree purchase cultural capital through self-education.”

This thesis will thus consider the “tightrope of taste” presented to middle-class
women. Suitability and harmony were to inform choices in colour and dress, helping
women to maintain and secure social position. These ideals largely dictated middle-class
rhetoric of female fashion, as chapter two will examine. Before these underlying
assumptions about feminine appearance are discussed, however, a brief historical outline
of some of the major nineteenth-century dye developments is essential. This background
will both introduce and contextualize the specific use and perceptions of dyes by middle-
class women in Britain and the United States and professional colourists in North West
England, providing a foundation for the broad nineteenth-century culture of dye
chemistry.

**Development and Production of Dyestuffs and Dyes during the Nineteenth Century**

There is no doubt that the period from 1840 to 1875 was one of utter
transformation in the manufacture and use of textile dyes. At the beginning of the period,
printers and dyers relied almost completely on natural dyestuffs, supplanted by some
chemical dyes. These had certainly not been replaced by 1875, but synthetic dyestuffs
were increasingly used to produce colours across the spectrum.

It is important to note that the professional making and using of dyes in the
nineteenth century was a key aspect of contemporary developments in the textile
industry. Many of the colourists’ notebooks examined in this study document work with
printed cottons, which comprised a great proportion of British textile production in the
nineteenth century. Technological advances such as power looms and roller printing
machines enabled a remarkable increase in the quantity of textiles produced and these
mass-produced printed cottons were exported all over the world, including to the

137 Young 21.
significant market of the United States. By the 1860s, as Mary Schoeser and Celia Rufey emphasize, both Britain and the United States possessed mass markets for textiles.

It is important, however, not to overemphasize the speed with which manufacturers adopted new printing technology. Nieto-Galan notes that many textile printers used block-printing and roller-printing machines in the same manufactories and cautions that, as with many technologies, adoption of new machines and methods is “no simple linear story.” Stanley Chapman shows that the expense of engraving copper cylinders restricted their use, especially for fashionable designs not planned for long production runs. Dye recipes in colourists’ notebooks “for machine” bore great resemblance to those “for block,” although differing in mordants and adhesives, as Nieto-Galan has established. In the 1840s, at least in Great Britain, however, printing was becoming increasingly more mechanized. Newly-developed printing machines, as Ernst Homburg emphasizes, pushed “the industry to solve the problem of printing the finer colours mechanically.”

The natural dyestuffs used by dyers and colourists in the nineteenth century encompassed a great range of plant and animal substances from all over the world. Most of the dyes created with these dyestuffs were vat dyes or needed mordants. A vat dye is soluble in an alkaline solution and requires oxidation for the colour to fully develop. A mordant is a substance, such as a salt of aluminium or tin, that allows a dyestuff to adhere to textile fibres.

---

139 Schoeser and Rufey 102.
140 Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles* 55.
142 Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles* 62.
143 Schoeser and Rufey, 103; Homburg, “The Influence of Demand” 326-27.
Madder root was the most significant mordant dye, producing reds, oranges, browns, and purples when combined with different mordants.\textsuperscript{144} Cochineal and kermes, both insects that were dried to make dyestuffs, also produced red dyes.\textsuperscript{145} North American oak (quercitron) was a source for yellow dyes, eventually replacing the weld plant in the production of these shades.\textsuperscript{146} Dyers used the indigo plant to make a vat dye that gave a range of blue shades.\textsuperscript{147} The woad plant also produced blues. Tropical hardwoods such as logwood, brazilwood, and peachwood were a source for purple, grey, brown, and black dyes. These dyewoods, with indigo and madder, were the principal dyestuff sources for European dyers and colourists for the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{148} As Nieto-Galan demonstrates, political, social, and cultural issues pervaded professional and public attitudes towards dyestuffs. In the eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth centuries, for example, the exotic or indigenous origins of dyestuffs were of special concern, highlighted in contemporary discussions of indigo versus woad and Prussian blue, cochineal versus madder, and quercitron versus weld.\textsuperscript{149}

Several noteworthy developments in dyeing and printing during the first half of the nineteenth century, many of which are mentioned in the colourists’ notebooks examined in chapter five, underscore the energy and ingenuity of dye chemists and colourists in their work. By the end of the eighteenth century, the complex process for producing the bright, colourfast red called Turkey red, originally developed in the Middle East, had spread to Europe. Work in Britain and Alsace from 1810 to 1825, including the use of the element chromium and special heating processes, further

\textsuperscript{144} For a recent scholarly history of madder, see Robert Chenciner, \textit{Madder Red: A History of Luxury and Trade} (London: Routledge, 2000).
\textsuperscript{146} Robinson 27; Mellor and Cardwell 270.
\textsuperscript{148} Mellor and Cardwell 266.
\textsuperscript{149} Nieto-Galan, \textit{Colouring Textiles} 13-23.
improved dyeing and printing of Turkey red. For many dyers and colourists, mineral colours were one of the most remarkable dye developments of the 1810s. Nicholas Köchlin’s 1820 introduction of chrome yellow, which used the element chromium, was followed by chrome orange and chrome green. This innovation allowed dyers and chemists to achieve other mineral colours, often using sophisticated combinations of dyes, mordants, and discharges. During the 1820s, colourists also began using steam colours, or solid dyes combining dyestuff and mordant attached to cloth with high-pressure steam. These technologies and combinations of various chemical solutions, and their yielding of new dyes, underscore dyers’ growing understanding and application of chemistry.

During the 1840s and 1850s, as C. Michael Mellor, Donald S. L. Cardwell, and William V. Farrar underscore, many important innovations occurred in the dye industry. The number of British patents for dyeing and printing products and processes increased and dye chemists had begun to consider the laboratory, rather than the natural world, as a place to find dyestuffs. Anthony Travis emphasizes that improvements to natural dyeing products and the development of “semisynthetic” dyes such as picric acid and murexide provided fertile ground for the creation of synthetic dyes.

In 1856, William Perkin, a young student of the German chemist August Wilhelm Hofmann at the recently-established Royal College of Chemistry in London,
accidentally made aniline purple, the first of many dyes produced from aniline coal tar. As chapters five and six will show, the bright pinkish-purple colour created with Perkin’s dye captured the attention of the public and the scientific and dyeing communities. Anthony S. Travis emphasizes that Perkin’s eventual industrial production of aniline purple made it the first multistep synthesis of a carbon compound to be performed on this scale, a landmark in the history of applied chemistry.

The coal-tar dye industry grew quickly after the appearance of aniline purple. The French dye chemist François-Emmanuel Verguin developed aniline red, known as fuchsine or magenta, in late 1858 or early 1859, and his compatriots Ernest Girard and Georges Ernest Camille de Laire patented a procedure to make aniline blue in July 1860. Beginning in May 1863, Hofmann patented a series of purple dyes, which became known as Hofmann’s violets. Hofmann’s creation of these violet dyes also resulted in an aniline green, introduced in 1864, but not widely successful until 1866.

Chemists also patented aniline yellow, brown, and black dyes, thus using coal tar to encompass the whole range of colours.

In 1868, Carl Graebe and Carl Liebermann, two chemists in Aldolf Baeyer’s Berlin laboratory at the Gewerbe Institut, synthesized alizarin, the colourant in madder root. Travis highlights this development because it was “the first instance of industrial replication of an organic molecule found in nature.” Mellor and Cardwell assert that Graebe and Liebermann’s artificial madder, along with the synthesis of indigo in 1897, signify the true start of the synthetic dye industry. Only when cheaper artificial versions

---

157 The Royal College of Chemistry was established in 1845 by British agricultural and industrial interests, with a particular emphasis on research in chemistry that could be practically applied. Hofmann (1818-1892), a student of Justus von Liebig (1803-1873), was the school’s first director. He encouraged research involving coal tar and his urging of Perkin (1838-1907) to attempt the synthesis of the anti-malarial drug quinine led to aniline purple (Travis, *The Rainbow Makers* 32-36).
158 Travis, *The Rainbow Makers* 40.
159 Travis, *The Rainbow Makers* 67-69, 72.
160 Travis, *The Rainbow Makers* 76-79.
161 Travis, *The Rainbow Makers*, 79.
163 Travis, *The Rainbow Makers* 174
164 Travis, *The Rainbow Makers*, 164.
of the dependable natural staples of madder, indigo, and the dyewoods became available
did the textile industry fully embrace industrially-manufactured dyestuffs.\[165\]

As Willem Hornix stresses, dyes such as aniline red and Hofmann’s violets could
only be produced in factories, because this kind of large-scale manufacture depended
upon specialized equipment and substances, such as aniline.\[166\] These requirements
favoured the success of dye manufacturing companies such as Renard Frères in France
and Simpson, Maule, and Nicholson in England, two of the most prominent firms in the
1860s.\[167\] As industrially-produced dyes became more widely available during in the
mid- to late nineteenth century, dye-manufacturing companies, especially those in
Germany and Switzerland, became more prominent and important to dyers and
colourists.\[168\]

Anthony Travis convincingly argues that the dye industry’s changes in the 1850s
and 1860s were “evolutionary rather than revolutionary.” Chemists, dyers, and colourists
collaborated to develop new dyes and ways of using them. These achievements “were as
much responsible for the acceptance of semisynthetic and synthetic dyes as were the
inventions of the dyes themselves, and thus crucial to the growth of the synthetic dye
industry.”\[169\] Although synthetic aniline dyes garnered a great deal of attention in both
popular and professional spheres, in no way did they universally and immediately
replace their natural predecessors. Dyers, colourists, and chemists continued to work at
developing natural dyestuffs and their use in the 1870s, well after the introduction of
aniline dyes.\[170\]

These remarkable developments and changes in the production and use of dyes
make this period especially fruitful for an examination of the relationship of colour,

\[165\] Mellor and Cardwell 277; Fox and Nieto-Galan xi.
\[166\] Hornix 65.
\[167\] Travis, \textit{The Rainbow Makers} 136, 139; Travis, “Perkin’s Mauve” 77.
\[168\] Travis discusses the growth of the Swiss and especially the German artificial dyestuffs industries in
\[170\] Emptoz, “Chimie des colorants et qualité des couleurs face au changement technique dans les années
1860,” eds. Fox and Nieto-Galan, 44; Nieto-Galan, \textit{Colouring Textiles} 190; Simon 313.
chemistry, and women’s dress. As this thesis will show, the novel colours and methods of production of dyes were often emphasized in contemporary periodicals. To understand these noteworthy events in dye chemistry, however, knowledge of contemporary assumptions about and discussions of women’s fashion, colour theory, and everyday science is necessary. The next chapter will begin to provide this context, examining dress and fashion in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines.
Chapter 2

No Beauty without Suitability: Fashion, Dress, Taste, and Harmony

Introduction

Discussions of female dress and fashion permeated the content of mid-nineteenth-century middle-class women’s magazines, overlapping with contemporary conversations about colour and everyday science. This chapter will consider the British Ladies’ Cabinet during the years 1840 to 1848, the British Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine from 1852 to 1875, and the American Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine during the years 1840 to 1875. As detailed in chapter one, these magazines capitalized on the growing demand for print journalism in the mid-nineteenth century, targeting middle-class female readers. Serials provided opportunities for debate and discussion about fashion and dress, allowing “conversations” among readers, writers, and editors.

Some of the common methods, tropes, and concerns of reporting female fashion in these three magazines will be outlined in this chapter. The broad assumptions and themes that run throughout discussions about fashion, including morality, ideologies of class and gender, moderation and avoidance of extravagance, and Christian duty, will then be addressed. This chapter will also examine the range of criticisms levied against fashion and contemporary references to the wish to systematize fashion into a “science.” In conclusion, the potential enjoyment to be found in dress and fashion by women will be discussed. This is, however, a somewhat arbitrary division of themes, as it is impossible to separate these interlocked conversations. The chapter, therefore, will also highlight key points of intersection.

Fashion news, often with accompanying images, had been a part of women’s magazines since their inception in the eighteenth century. The Ladies’ Cabinet contained separate articles on Paris and London fashions each month, as well as a coloured fashion
plate, or multiple coloured fashion plates in the new series introduced in 1844 (Fig. 2.1).\textsuperscript{1} 

*Godey's Lady's Book* pioneered the inclusion of coloured fashion plates in American magazines (Fig. 2.2), including fashion reports in every issue and frequent articles on general aspects of dress and taste.\textsuperscript{2} The articles on dress appearing in the editorial section of the magazine may very well have been written by editor Sarah Josepha Hale; as biographer Ruth Finley asserts, “she attached great importance to clothes, her individual and editorial viewpoints coinciding.”\textsuperscript{3}

The first series of the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, running from 1852 to 1860, included a monthly “Practical Dress Instructor,” a feature also contained in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, which gave outlines of pattern pieces for a garment, accompanied by instructions and notes about material and colour selection (Fig. 2.3). Monthly fashion news pieces did not begin to appear until February 1854. The New Series of the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, starting in 1860, included coloured fashion plates, black and white engravings, and expanded fashion news, as well as full-size paper patterns (Fig. 2.4).\textsuperscript{4} Isabella Beeton travelled to Paris twice a year to report on the fashions and negotiated the use of fashion plates also appearing in Adolphe Goubaud’s *La Moniteur de la Mode*.\textsuperscript{5} Readers’ letters to *Godey’s Lady’s Book* and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* often solicited advice about matters of dress and sometimes editors acknowledged readers’ queries in the text of fashion news articles.

\begin{itemize}
  \item[2] John William Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990* (New York: Oxford UP, 1991) 27-35. Although editor Sarah Hale apparently considered fashion plates “frivolous,” despite her acknowledgment of the significance of dress, publisher Louis Godey realized their popularity, however, and some historians believe they were a primary reason for the success of the magazine (Tebbel and Zuckerman 35).
  \item[4] The new series of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* beginning in May 1860 is abbreviated “N. S.” in this thesis; the second new series, beginning in January 1865 is abbreviated “N. S. 2.”
\end{itemize}
Fig. 2.1.

Fig. 2.2.
Fig. 2.3.

Fig. 2.4.
Dress also played a significant role in characterization and contextualization in the fiction featured in these magazines.6

**Tensions and Inconsistencies in Women’s Magazines**

Much of the recent scholarship on fashion in women’s magazines has developed from work on periodical history. Influenced by an eighteenth-century aristocratic model, the figure of the “lady” emerged in periodicals of the first half of the nineteenth century. Prioritising “the creation of a self through dress and appearance,” this ideal of femininity would retain great power through the rest of the century.7 In her treatment of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, Beetham describes the “domestic woman,” for whom the work of managing a household and the provision of moral guidance for family and friends were central.8 Strain existed between these two ideals and Beetham argues that Beeton “deployed a doubled discourse of female subjectivity to solve this problem; his reader was defined simultaneously as the desirable woman of the fashion-plate and the domestic woman whose skills brought her fashionable self into being.”9

Some of these tensions appeared in the reporting of fashion in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines. *Godey’s Lady’s Book* and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* frequently provided detailed descriptions of the attire of rich, often titled, women, demonstrating the fashion leadership role of the upper class. Queen Victoria and the Empress Eugénie, with the many members of their respective courts, furnish innumerable examples of fashionable costumes. With the increasing availability of affordable magazines, however, fashion became more and more of a middle-class pursuit during the nineteenth century. While fashion writers and their middle-class readers took many of their sartorial cues from the dress of the wealthy, economy and practicality

---

7 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own* 32.
8 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own* 64-66.
9 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own* 199.
dictated certain concessions. In fact, fashion and etiquette writers frequently stressed the importance of class-appropriate behaviour and attire. This disjunction between elite fashion models and middle-class suitability indicates that following fashion to the proper degree, as a middle-class woman, could be a difficult task. Writers in the magazines surveyed in this study do criticize the paying of excessive attention to appearance, but as this study will show, an appropriate degree of attention to dress was often presented as a female duty.

Christopher Breward and Kay Boardman both usefully consider the woman’s magazine as a commodity itself, as well as a source of information about other commodities. Breward examines “the manner in which feminine stereotypes were both created and sustained through the fostering of an intensified consumer literacy” in fashion journalism during the late nineteenth century, emphasizing the “luxurious fantasy” these magazines offered their readers.10 Boardman argues that “two apparently contrary polarities, display and excess and regulation and restraint” informed the “visual and textual construction of the fashionable female body in women’s magazines.”11 These magazines included different ideals of femininity as well as a variety of attitudes towards commodities. As Beetham, Breward, and Boardman affirm and as this study will explore, the tensions among these different viewpoints show the various, sometimes conflicting, roles dress and fashion could play in women’s lives.

Much of the writing about fashionable dress in these women’s magazines was prescriptive and ideological in nature. Sally Helvenston contrasts the “conservative” advice about dress given in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* with the “progressive” advice of those with dress reform agendas, observing that the conservative advice “reflects an attempt to

---

impose an ideology on women.” Undeniably, writers for these magazines promulgated certain middle-class ideologies, especially of gender and class. As Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston underscore, however, magazines often provided forums for negotiation and questioning, rather than evidence of passive acceptance of ideologies. In fashion news and descriptions, essays, fiction, editors’ letters, and readers’ letters and queries, dress and fashion emerged as subjects weighted with multiple, sometimes contradictory uses and meanings. By examining these multivocal texts, this chapter explores these tensions and inconsistencies.

In some way, most of the discussions of dress in these nineteenth-century periodicals engaged with ideas about female morality, the contemporary significance of which was discussed in the first chapter. The ideal of elevated feminine virtue, it seems, required a great deal of work to attain and potential snares abounded. Commentators fastened on fashions in clothing as physical manifestations of contemporary virtues and vices. In her historical investigation of dress and morality, Aileen Ribeiro observes that assumptions about morality, especially as translated into dress and appearance, work “to assure group solidarity, and…to act as a kind of social lubricant.” She emphasizes that much dress denoted as “immoral” has been perceived as “sexually disturbing” in some way. Ribeiro also highlights the role dress has played in maintaining, or at least trying to preserve, distinctions among the social classes, a concern addressed more explicitly in the magazines reviewed and a subject which will be discussed throughout this thesis. Traditionally, Christianity emphasized simplicity in appearance to reflect the humility of the soul and thus extravagance in dress was considered immoral. These considerations

---

13 Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003) 37. Fraser, Green, and Johnston point to “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” the feature of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in which readers’ letters were printed and answered, as a particular example of a periodical space in which this contestation occurred (74).
15 Ribeiro 15.
16 Ribeiro 14.
of sexuality, class, simplicity, and extravagance all appear repeatedly in discussions of
fashion in nineteenth-century women’s magazines, often overlapping and interlocking,
as this study will show.

Ribeiro also notes that the wish for a pure soul reflected in choice of dress has
often been tied to “a desire to avoid the giddy wheel of fashion, and even to dispense
with it altogether.”\footnote{Ribiero 13.} Throughout the centuries, much criticism of fashion has objected to
its changes, labelling these—and thus the fashion system as a whole—as irrational.
Elizabeth Wilson identifies the desire to describe fashions in functional terms, thereby
explaining its “apparent \textit{irrationality}.”\footnote{Elizabeth Wilson, \textit{Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity}, 2nd ed. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005) 49.} In the wake of the industrial revolution, which
“consolidated the western faith in the rational,” the irrationality of fashion seemed
especially problematic.\footnote{Wilson, \textit{Adorned in Dreams} 59.} Wilson argues, however, that fashion’s very irrationality
provided (and continues to provide) a “field for the expression of fashion of fetishistic

Related to this desire for the rational are the connections between fashion and
modernity. As the previous chapter discussed, both modernity and fashion in the
nineteenth century can be distinguished by constant change. Perceptions of both the
irrationality and the modernity of women’s dress and fashion emerge in contemporary
periodical discussions of this subject, often in the references to change and novelty that
characterize modern fashion. Unlike capricious changes of fashion, novelty and
innovation in science were generally valued, including new developments in dye
chemistry which could directly affect female dress. By examining contemporary
reactions to dyes and the colours they produced, this thesis will explore these tensions.

Attempting to control the unpredictability of fashion, writers for periodicals
frequently referred to the overarching ideal of “harmony,” a central, traditional, and oft-
quoted organizing principle in the colour and design of the toilette. In these magazines, harmony implied order, propriety, and adherence to the rules of good taste. These categories were subjectively defined, if they were explained at all. It is significant in these discussions that writers provided details of bad taste and inappropriate dress more frequently than good examples, which tended to rest on general injunctions of modesty and suitability. Some advice, however, did include particulars of good taste and harmonious dress and suggestions about colours often appeared in these examples. This establishment of notions of harmony as a general goal in dress will help to contextualize more detailed discussions of colour in later chapters.

*Reporting Fashion*

As the first chapter discussed, text communicated much of the fashion news in the nineteenth century. Although wood- and steel-engraved images of fashionably-dressed women did increase in number from the 1840s to the 1870s, the magazines discussed almost always provided general information about fashionable developments, as well as specific ensembles, with no corresponding images. Specific textual descriptions, however, also accompanied the fashion plates themselves. Literary and political references in articles about fashion also placed ideas about clothing in cultural traditions and contemporary experience. Thus, as Lars Svendsen argues, “to understand fashion…[it is] necessary to try to understand the language that constitutes it as fashion.”21 The words and textual strategies employed by mid-nineteenth century fashion writers reveal how contemporaries contextualized and interpreted women’s clothing of the day.

Reporting fashion is, essentially, reporting change. When nothing varied in silhouette, colour, or material, women’s magazines had nothing to tell their readers. Fashion writers sometimes commented upon this phenomenon, as when the

In their narration of developments in dress, mid-nineteenth century fashion reporters often claimed impartial journalistic integrity, emphasized by the authoritative use of the third person, as when a writer for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* claimed, “we have to describe the fashions as they are, and are not answerable for their beauty or ugliness.”\(^\text{24}\) Thus, the first duty of a fashion report was description, as the *Ladies’ Cabinet* had previously observed in March 1840, attesting “we are the describers and not the inventors of fashions.”\(^\text{25}\) Fashion writers, however, often undercut these assertions of objectivity while making them. The just-cited *Ladies’ Cabinet* author expressed the wish for a “modesty piece” to wear with certain dresses, whilst admitting that this suggestion was not his or her role. Comments on current fashions often disapproved of designs on the grounds of aesthetics or propriety, but this tendency was not entirely uniform. In the fashion news of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* for February 1871, for example, the writer and editor Matilda Browne avowed, “It is always considered *bon ton* to criticise the fashion of the day, and yet I must say I think some of the present *modes* are particularly pretty.”\(^\text{26}\) Here she calls attention to the prevailing journalistic convention, but states her personal opinion, albeit with some hesitation.

Margaret Beetham argues that Browne, as fashion editor of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, created a “manifestly feminine” persona for herself “the reader’s


alter ego or friend.”27 Her candid assertion was perhaps a demonstration of this intimacy with her readers.

In presenting the changes in fashion to their readers, fashion writers frequently described developments in terms of novelty. As discussed in the introduction, the modern fashion system depends on the constant introduction of “new” styles. Although, as Elizabeth Wilson convincingly claims, modern fashion was and is equally concerned with the past, the narrative of fashion change does prioritize the process of recording novelty.28 In their reporting, fashion writers again and again declared their journalistic duty was to relay transformations occurring in dress, although they often included aesthetic judgments. Describing a cashmere and cambric dress with sleeves inclining “toward the old style of ‘mutton leg’” in February 1850, the Godey’s Lady’s Book fashion reporter sighed, “An indescribably ugly costume; but new, very new, which may throw a charm around it.”29 After describing some luxurious dress fabrics as “almost…too rich,” the fashion reporter for the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine wrote in March 1863 that these goods were produced because “our fashionables call for novelties, and manufacturers are obliged to provide them, sometimes exceeding the limits of good taste in consequence.”30 New fashions were not always considered ugly, however, as the Ladies’ Cabinet fashion reporter observed in October 1841, proclaiming “There is much novelty as well as taste in these dresses.”31 Novelty was unavoidable, but these new fashions could be judged, by authoritative fashion reporters, as conforming to or defying established tenets of good taste, a key issue explored further in this text.

27 Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own 79, 81. After Isabella Beeton’s death in 1865, her friend Matilda Browne assumed both authorial and editorial roles at the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine until 1875. Her duties included writing the fashion and advice columns, one of which she called “Spinnings” and signed “Silkworm” (Beetham 71, 79). In her biography of Samuel and Isabella Beeton, Sarah Freeman notes that Matilda, known as Myra, began her fashion writing for the magazine in March 1865 (Sarah Freeman, Isabella and Sam: The Story of Mrs. Beeton (London: Victor Gollancz, 1977) 244).
28 Wilson, “Fashion and Modernity” 12.
The Influence of France

Paris was the acknowledged source of most fashion news during the nineteenth century, an orientation clear in British and American magazines. France had been the traditional home of luxury decorative art production since the seventeenth century, including the silk textiles woven in Lyon and the cotton textiles printed in Jouy and Mulhouse in Alsace (which had become part of France in 1798). Historically, Paris was the centre of women’s dressmaking, a position reinforced by the development of the haute couture in Paris in the mid-nineteenth century. In English-language publications, references to Paris denoted authoritative knowledge of fashion and dress. The Ladies’ Cabinet included a feature entitled “Paris Fashions for the Month” in every issue and the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine informed two enquiring readers in April 1854 that a “celebrated Parisian modiste” would be overseeing the magazine’s “Practical Dress Instructor” section.

Perhaps then it is not surprising that fashion writers in American and British magazines often held up an idealized figure of the French woman as an exemplar of good taste in dress. In October 1847, the author “Mrs. Gore,” described the Parisian “dame comme il faut” for her readers, claiming “Education and instinctive good taste are the materials which compose the attractive figure.” As this chapter will discuss later, this combination of innate taste and education presented a potentially-attainable goal to the reader. In this instance, these admirable qualities coalesced in the Parisienne. The most frequently-cited epitome of fashionable good taste during the Second Empire (1852-1870) was the Empress Eugénie, the wife of Napoleon III. Her name lent sophistication to everything from hairstyles to garments and British periodicals.

---

32 Mary Schoeser and Kathleen Dejardin, French Textiles from 1760 to the Present ([London]: Laurence King, 1991).
34 Boardman, “A material girl in a material world” 97, 106.
35 “Notice to Correspondents,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine 2 (1854): 391. Whether this was actually the case is perhaps not as important as the magazine’s need to declare that it was so.
frequently particularly praised her taste as “undoubted” and “perfect”37 (Fig. 2.5 and see Fig. 2.3.) These examples demonstrated the continued fashion leadership of the aristocratic French tastemaker.

Because of this recognized leadership, when mid-nineteenth century fashion writers employed professional, technical words in their reporting, the language used was French. The fashion editor of the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine answered a reader’s question in October 1875, explaining, “It is impossible to write of the fashions without using French words. The materials are named in Paris, and our tradespeople know them by the French names. The modes come to us from the same place, and with French names attached.”38 Terms for fabrics, trimmings, styles and colours, as well as more general phrases, appeared in English-language magazines, underscoring the authoritative knowledge of the authors and giving the fashion reports an elegant cosmopolitanism.

The author just quoted wrote that she “would willingly give a vocabulary of French terms here, but fear it would prove too extensive,” emphasizing the centrality of this language to the world of dress as well as her specialist knowledge of this realm.39 The fashion reports of Godey’s Lady’s Book also used French words, but in October 1849 the monthly article’s author explained, “though it is impossible to avoid the use of a French term now and then, we take especial care that they shall be words in common use, or easily found by reference to an ordinary dictionary.”40 Errors in spelling French

---

37 See, for example, the “Eugenie coiffure” (“Chitchat on the New York and Philadelphia Fashions,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 61 (1860): 288), the “Coraco Eugenie” (“Our Practical Dress Instructor,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 51 (1855): 65) and the “Eugenie Mantelet” (“Our Practical Dress Instructor,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine 2 (1853): 49). For these two compliments of Eugénie’s taste, see “Postscriptum of Gossip,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine 4 (1855): 28 and “The Fashions,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 6 (1869): 147. Eugénie was not a Parisienne, or even French, by birth; she was Spanish. Although contemporary sources often credit Eugénie with introducing various fashions, such as the steel cage crinoline, Aileen Ribeiro contests this, asserting that “as a member of a somewhat parvenu royal family, [she] had to be careful not to be the first to adopt such an extreme or ‘immoral’ fashion” (Ribeiro 129-30).

Fig. 2.5.
words appeared occasionally, although sometimes these were corrected. A *Godey’s Lady’s Book* responded to a confused reader in March 1855:

> We do not wonder at the inquiry. We never heard of a *bache* ourselves; we had written *barbe*, probably not very distinctly, and were not at hand to correct the error. She will probably understand the description now without further explanation. As others of our readers may be equally in the dark, we refer to the paragraph in our last fashion article, descriptive of a headdress for married ladies.  

The French terms in these articles seem to have perplexed many readers, however, and one calling herself “A Puzzled Reader” wrote to “The Englishwoman’s *Conversazione*” in July 1874, admitting that “the nomenclature of fashion is beyond her powers of comprehension.”

> She received little sympathy from the magazine’s fashion writer, who responded

> It is impossible to convey information upon any subject whatever in science or in art without making use of technical words, understood by the professors of each particular science and art. Young students in geology must learn geological terms; students of music must become acquainted with the terms, notes and signs of music; she who would wish to practise advantageously the science of dressmaking and the art of costume must consent to learn the terms employed by the artists who invent, design, and illustrate, and the writers who, like myself, describe their works.

An understanding of fashion was seen to depend upon learning a specialized language, which women were expected to learn. The readers’ letters, such as those above enquiring about French terms, and the writers’ selecting and responding to these queries represented a process of fashionable education taking place in the pages of these magazines, with readers joining—or at least attempting to join—this cultured group. This process, outlined by Bourdieu and already discussed in chapter one, illustrates middle-class efforts to acquire educational, and thus cultural, capital. The similarities between this technical instruction and expectations of women in the world of science will be examined in chapter four.

---

41 “To Correspondents,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 50 (1855): 286.
42 “The Englishwoman’s *Conversazione*,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 17 (1874): 54.
Education and Economy

Articles in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines also attempted to provide economic education for their readers with respect to dress. This advice often included another kind of technical education, that of dressmaking. Readers’ letters suggest that the practical suggestions and instructions that magazines such as *Godey’s Lady’s Book* and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* provided were greatly appreciated. In December 1860, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* published a letter from a reader, part of which read, “Taste does not necessarily include or require expense. The printed muslin may fit like a moire [sic] antique and look altogether more suitable.”44 The editor affirmed, “Have we not hundreds of thousands among our readers who would warmly respond to the sentiments we have quoted from the letter?”45 The different voices of editor and writer, with the implied agreement of many other readers, reinforced one another in this statement of responsible economy in dress.

The very first issue of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, in May 1852, introduced the “Practical Dress Instructor,” giving pattern pieces and instructions for making a jacket and vest.46 In March 1854, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* also included an item called “Our Practical Dress Instructor” that included a pattern and instructions for “A Lady’s Walking Dress.”47 As well as demonstrating connections between the periodical presses of the United States and Britain, this common transatlantic example pointed to a demand for dressmaking advice in both countries. Other articles encouraging home

44 “Editors’ Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 61 (1860): 565.
45 “Editors’ Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 61 (1860): 565.
46 “Our Practical Dress Instructor,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* 1 (1852): 17. The “New Series” of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, launched in 1860, included full-size pattern pieces. Beetham highlights the importance of the inclusion of “explicitly functional” pattern pieces in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, arguing that “it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this innovation on future publications for women and on the dissemination of ‘fashion’” (Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own* 67, 78).
47 “Our Practical Dress Instructor,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 48 (1854): 453. “Our Practical Dress Instructor” was not a monthly feature in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, as it was in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, but it did appear in the magazine every few months over the next few years.
dressmaking and providing instructions and suggestions appeared regularly in both magazines.  

Advice about economy in dress for middle-class readers took many forms and was often integrated into fashion news reports. The *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* provided a model budget for a woman with £20 a year to spend on clothing in its 1873 almanac and claimed in May of that year “[i]t is not difficult for ladies to make up their chapeaux for themselves this season” and thus save money.  

In April 1857, the same magazine included an article titled “Altering the Mother’s Dress for Children” and many other pieces suggested ways to reuse different kinds of dress textiles and garments. In her fashion report for July 1868, Matilda Browne asserted, “An old black silk dress will make a capital lining, or rather under-slip, for a black grenadine dress,” a material recommended for “ladies who wish to study economy as well as elegance.” The coexistence of news about Parisian fashions with suggestions for home dressmaking and reusing hint at the range of consumption practices employed by middle-class women, mixing the aspirational and the more realistic. Evidence of domestic dyeing and professional re-dyeing, discussed in chapter five, furnish related examples of practicality in dress.

The preface to the first volume of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* referred to the many “congratulatory letters” received about the “Practical Dress

---


Instructor” feature that had allowed “those who have the time and opportunity to study the cultivation of dress in its most useful and becoming form.”\(^{52}\) This comment perhaps verged on the disingenuous, as the comments and queries in these magazines about economy in dress were most likely the result of financial need, not aesthetic desire.

The fashion writers for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* frequently encouraged their readers to purchase high quality dress textiles, explaining in December 1854, “We have always contended that a really good silk that does not spot, and can be turned, is one of the most economical dresses.”\(^ {53}\) This philosophy, urging long-term investment, dovetailed with the criticism of quickly-changing fashions, perhaps made of cheap, poor-quality fabrics. In Marion Harland’s story “Rich or Poor?” published in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in 1870, the rich Mrs. Craig espoused this strategy as well, informing her less financially comfortable cousin, “‘I never buy anything but the best fabrics, my dear!...The most expensive things are invariably the cheapest in the end.’”\(^ {54}\) The author observed that this was, “An excellent motto for those who can command money to purchase the best of everything,” but not useful if one has “not the money for the first outlay.”\(^ {55}\) In December 1855, the *Godey’s Lady’s Book* fashion report recommended shawls as “perhaps the most economical wraps, for those who cannot afford to change every year, or do not care to follow out all the changes of fashion.”\(^ {56}\) These acknowledgements that readers may not be able (or may not even wish) to follow the advice dispensed by these very magazines exemplify the divergent, coexisting attitudes towards fashion during this period, as well as the yawning gap between ideal and reality.


\[^{53}\] “Chitchat upon New York and Philadelphia Fashions for December,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 49 (1854): 570. “Turning” referred to the practice of unpicking the seams of a garment and re-making it using the reverse side of the material. This process usually occurred after a garment had faded; the reverse of the material would have retained its colour.

\[^{54}\] Marion Harland, “Rich or Poor?” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 80 (1870): 35.

\[^{55}\] Harland 35.

Broader Assumptions and Discussions about Fashion

Duty, Morality and Virtue

Although articles in these mid- to late nineteenth-century women’s magazines often objected to extravagance in women’s fashion, they generally accepted that fashionable dress did and would change and that moderate interest in dress was appropriate for their respectable readers. In the February 1840 issue of the American magazine *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, the popular writer and poet Lydia Sigourney considered dress in an article entitled “Taste.”  

![Image](https://example.com/image)

She wrote that taste,

> when visible in dress, furniture, or the arrangements of a household, seems often like an instinctive discernment of delicacy, propriety, or adaptation, which though not entitled to rank so high as the severe conclusions of an accurate judgment, are, in woman, neither unimportant attainments or trifling indexes of character.

This sentiment also appeared in the 1844 *Ladies’ Cabinet* preface, in which the author argued that “elegance, refinement, and delicate discernment in everyday affairs—in regard to dwellings, furniture, and dress…transmit their spirit to feeling and conduct in the higher departments of thought and enterprise.” Neither of these authors denigrated attention to dress, instead connecting it potentially to laudable female character traits. They do, however, use the term “dress,” not “fashion,” which often carried more pejorative connotations.

The writer of a December 1856 *Godey’s Lady’s Book* advice article contended, “Dress being so essential to a pleasing appearance, is a subject which should not be considered beneath the attention of any sensible woman.” Although the author warned readers not to “waste time over their mirrors,” she asserted that “[p]urity and propriety, or, as we have elsewhere designated it, harmony, are the secrets of a pleasing toilet; and

---

57 In her study of Sarah Josepha Hale, Ruth Finley states that Sigourney (1791-1865) was listed as an associate editor of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, but that “[t]here is no evidence, however, of her having done any actual editorial work on the magazine, although generous were her poetical contributions” (94).


these, if properly carried out, result in good to others, as well as to ourselves." A Godey’s Lady’s Book editors’ letter even more explicitly connected dress and duty:

“Duty is invariable, fashion is fluctuating,” and, therefore, we give the highest prominence to woman’s duties; still we do not think these include a total disregard of things fashionable….It is right and proper that ladies should pay attention to their costume, and, so far as consistent with delicacy and condition of life, conform to the prevailing modes of dress.62

An article in the 1872 Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine almanac, probably written by Samuel Beeton, echoed this opinion, asserting, “It is every woman’s duty to make herself pleasant and attractive by such raiment and ornament as shall accord with her own beauty.”63 Two years later, in the same magazine, the author of an article titled “An Ideal Woman,” observed of this exemplar, “She avoids being outrée, but she does not object to being in the fashion. Her object in dress, as in all else, is to please others rather than herself.”64 A “sensible” interest in one’s dress was thus considered a responsibility for middle-class women, part of the requirements of their familial and societal positions. In encouraging the following of “the prevailing modes of dress” and “being in the fashion,” these writers defended a moderate attention to changing fashions, which they figured as part of a respectable, pleasant appearance.

Nineteenth-century conceptions of middle-class female obligations were inextricably bound up with Christian duty and morality. The influence of eighteenth-century evangelical revivals in both the United States and Britain lasted well into the nineteenth century, encouraging personal virtue and domestic harmony.65 The Godey’s Lady’s Book editors pointed to the Bible to justify attention to dress, emphasizing its

---

62 “Editors’ Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 29 (1844): 281.
64 “An Ideal Woman,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 16 (1874): 103.
65 For a comprehensive discussion of Christianity and female morality in the first half of nineteenth century in England, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002) esp. chs. 1 and 2. For a discussion of female, especially maternal, virtue and Protestantism in the United States, see Colleen McDannell, The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900 (Bloomington, IN: IUP, 1986) 128-36. In these magazines, in both Britain and the United States, a specifically Protestant, often Anglican or Episcopal, Christianity is supported.
place as “the first symbol of Divine mercy to our fallen race” and thus promises “hope of salvation through being clothed upon by Christ’s righteousness.” In the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* of September 1873, Matilda Browne looked to Proverbs rather than Genesis and asserted, “We have evidence in Sacred Writ of the propriety of a due attention being paid to dress. ‘The virtuous woman,’ whose ‘price is far above rubies, maketh herself coverings of tapestry; all her household are clothed with scarlet.’” These references to expensive textiles seem to contradict the Biblical passage Sally Helveston cites as most often used as guidance for women’s dress in the nineteenth century, from Paul’s letter to Timothy, “‘I will that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with embroidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, but with good works.’” These different uses of potentially conflicting Biblical texts underscores the variety of interpretations and opinions about matters of dress, even within a relatively circumscribed, conventional female middle-class periodical culture.

As Arthur Marwick has discussed, the idea that a beautiful appearance reflects inner virtue exists in the Christian tradition, but also stretches back to Plato. Matilda Browne in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in September 1873 clearly related striving towards this correspondence between interior and exterior states when she exhorted her readers, “let us show the order and purity of our minds in our outward clothing.” In their February 1856 letter, the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* also made this link: “We consider the innocent desire to appear pleasing and agreeable in the eyes

---

67 “Spinnings in Town,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 15 (1873): 146. The references are “Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies.” (Proverbs 31: 10) and “She is not afraid of the snow for her household: for all her household are clothed with scarlet. She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple” (Proverbs 31: 21-22).
68 Quoted in Helvenston 39. The reference is 1 Timothy 2:9-10.
of one’s family and friends, emphatically a feminine merit, nearly akin to that Christian
loveliness which seeks to keep the heart pure and fit for the reception of angelic
thoughts.” They were, however, quick to warn, “This true appreciation of the innate love
of dress is not an apology for its abuse.”71 Danger lurked in inappropriate dress. The
author of an 1860 article in Godey’s Lady’s Book entitled “Well-Dressed” explored these
themes, observing, “Dress has been described as affording an index to a woman’s
character. It does more; it actually affects her character. A woman well dressed, and
conscious of being well dressed, becomes a very different person when she is put into
slatternly clothes.”72

This example hinted at the instability of this aesthetic association between
character and appearance. Ideally, a pleasing, but not exaggerated, exterior would
indicate inner virtue and moral integrity would manifest itself physically in an attractive
manner. Reality, however, did not bear this out and criticism of this supposed correlation
also appeared in these women’s magazines. Fictional figures were used to provide useful
illustrations, typified by beautiful, selfish Ida Leslie in “Effie Stanley,” an 1853 Godey’s
Lady’s Book story: “Fair and lovely, indeed, was the outward form—beautiful the casket;
alas, the spirit within so sadly differed!”73

It is important to note that most of the commentary and advice focused on the
possibility of justifying or improving the appearance to reflect assumed goodness. This
strategy reflected the condition endemic to the woman’s magazine as a genre, the
assumption of constant work needed to pursue an ideal, in Margaret Beetham’s words,
“simultaneously assumed as given and as still to be achieved”.74

The Dangers of Extremes and Extravagance

71 “Editors’ Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 52 (1856): 177.
73 “Effie Stanley,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 47 (1853): 22. The author’s name is given as “Lucretia,” most likely a pseudonym.
74 Beetham, A Magazine of One’s Own 1.
A modest, pleasing appearance could reflect a woman’s inner virtue and be an asset in her role as moral guide, but dressing in too extreme a manner, or to attract attention was condemned. A clear understanding of the boundaries of this carefully-moderated self-presentation was expected as part of a woman’s Christian duty. The instructions about how to do this, however, as with counsel about what constituted good taste, were often more general than specific.

Many contemporary writers constantly cautioned about the pitfalls of following fashion too closely, warnings that appeared in all of the magazines studied here. Writers urged their readers to consider appropriateness in dress and also furnishings with respect to season, climate, occasion, figure, age, complexion, income, and social class, as well as a host of other circumstances. The avoidance of extremes, in fact, was the maxim that resounded loudest throughout middle-class fashion advice of the nineteenth century. In promulgating this principle, writers exhorted their readers to pursue modesty, propriety, suitability, delicacy, and harmony in their appearance and dress. All of these ideals, as will be discussed, are essential to the themes raised in this thesis.

Writers in women’s magazines frequently inveighed against the dangers of extravagant dress. As Aileen Ribeiro observes, dress seen as overly lavish has often been condemned as indicative of immorality.75 Stuart M. Blumin points to the “fear of extravagance,” especially as displayed in excessive expenditure on clothing, voiced by middle-class writers in the nineteenth-century United States.76 In 1840, the editors of Godey’s Lady’s Book made this a subject of their monthly letters, writing in May, “There is much useless, we might say wicked, expense incurred when one yields to a passion for dress. It shows a weak judgment, or perverted taste, to strive to be always fine.”77 A few months later, they attacked female acts of supposed economy, claiming,

75 Ribeiro 14.
76 Stuart M. Blumin, The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900 (Cambridge: CUP, 1989) 185-186.
77 “Editors’ Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 20 (1840): 236.
You will meet with none who advocate extravagance, however unthinkingly they may practise it. Hence, those who purchase the “dear and far fetch’d” materials for their dresses, will tell you that it is good economy, because of their superior durability, colours, lustre, or some other excellence, never taking into account how soon the forms or patterns may become unfashionable.78

The editors went on to elide the embarrassment of the country’s foreign debt with the personal extravagances of the citizens of the United States, urging true economy in their readers.79 This argument was part of a self-conscious effort to create an identity for a young nation in part through virtuous, controlled, female self-presentation. Extravagance in dress and excessive attention to fashion was seen to weaken the individual and thus the state.

British readers were also urged to guard against excesses and extremes. The author of one part of a serialized article entitled “What We Wear Now,” published in the 1859 issue of the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, sounded a dire warning:

“Extravagance in dress is now unfortunately one of the leading features of the day on both sides of the Atlantic, and it can no longer be concealed that this excessive love of finery is ruining hundreds.”80 This kind of comment continued throughout the period. The monthly fashion report in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* of December 1865 observed,

“Excessive luxury now prevails in every article relating to a lady’s toilet” and in September 1875 the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* referred to an article from the *London Times* that pointed to women “who dress as a rate far beyond their income” as part of “that boundless and ruinous extravagance which introduces all the vices and disables all the virtues even to decay and extinction.”81

As with many of the broad themes woven into conversations about fashion, the discussion of extravagance was not one-dimensional. Although the editors of *Godey’s*

78 “Editors’ Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 21 (1840): 45.
79 “Editors’ Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 21 (1840): 45.
Lady's Book would never have condoned fashionable excess, in October 1843 their letter began, “The ‘extravagance of fashions,’ and the injury inflicted on the health of woman by absurd modes of dress, have probably been themes of lamentation to ‘reformers’ in every age since the arts of millinery and mantua-making were practised.”82 This article acknowledged that denunciations of profligacy were in themselves part of an established trope of criticism of fashion. This recognition coexisted with ongoing admonitions, such as those condemning “excessive luxury,” underscoring the many voices in the contemporary discourse of fashion.

The Ideal of Moderation and Harmony

Articles discouraging extremes and supporting moderation in dress are thus, unsurprisingly, legion and the examples that follow are typical. In September 1852, the author of the Godey’s Lady’s Book monthly fashion report quoted “some invaluable hints on dress, taken from the ‘London Quarterly [Review],’” a demonstration of the connections between the British and American periodical presses. This article presented an ideally dressed woman, contending that “there is no great art either in her fashions or her materials. The secret simply consists in her knowing the three grand unities of dress—her own station, her own age, and her own points.”83 A writer in the same magazine in September 1857 insisted that in female fashion, “a becoming modesty is always to be retained.”84 The preface to the second volume of the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine praised modesty as “our subscribers’ own peculiar household deity” and a writer for the same magazine in January 1861 declared that “[t]o dress really in good taste, extremes should always be avoided, and a little moderation exercised in

---

82 “Editors’ Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 27 (1843): 190. The article went on to rehearse many of the familiar arguments tying modest dress to moral character, but also declared “[j]udged by the criterion of dress…we think the moral taste of the present day is decidedly more pure and perfect than in any preceding age of the Anglo-Saxon race” (190). The letter’s beginning may have been partly rhetorical strategy, addressing potential criticisms before they could be made and demonstrating the progress and achievement, as exemplified by dress, of the modern world compared to the past.
seeking for fashionable novelties.”85 In an article on dress in February 1856, the editor of Godey’s Lady’s Book quoted the American writer Oliver Wendell Holmes’s advice to “always err upon the sober side” and Matilda Browne in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine asserted in November 1872 that “there can be no beauty without suitability.”86

Articles that dispensed fashion advice often presented harmony as the ultimate goal in appearance; the prose sometimes assumed an almost mystical tone. In an article entitled “Maternal Counsels to a Daughter” from Godey’s Lady’s Book of November 1856, the author opined, “Now the great secret of good dress is Harmony; harmony with our position, harmony with our persons, harmony of each part with the other.”87 A few months later, in June 1857, the writer of an article entitled “Hints on the Art of Dress” revealed that “[t]he true secret of dress is to make it harmonize so perfectly with the style of countenance and figure as to identify it, as it were, with the character of the wearer.”88

Echoing earlier examples given, these directives implied that an appropriate, well-coordinated costume provided an index to a woman’s good character.

Many injunctions of moderation, suitability, and harmony were general in tone, broadly referring to dress but encompassing female character and virtue as well. Magazines also, however, provided illustrative examples, usually negative. For example, one of the fashion writers for the Ladies’ Cabinet in October 1847 observed that fashionable wide skirts were “very unbecoming, even in tall women, while those of an under size, particularly if they are inclined to be stout, have really the appearance of Dutch dolls.”89 In December 1851, Godey’s Lady’s Book provided a description of a “La Marguerite” mantle of “deep purple velvet” decorated with fringe and embroidery, cautioning that “it should only be worn in a carriage, being too showy for the street”

86 “Editor’s Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 52 (1856): 177; “Spinnings in Town,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 13 (1872): 278.
89 “Paris Fashions for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 2, 8 (1847): 253.
(Fig. 2.6). The May 1862 fashion report in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* observed that Scarborough hats “are sometimes seen, but not on ladies who have any pretensions to good taste. There is a certain amount of conspicuous vulgarity connected with them; therefore they should be shunned by all moderate people.” These objections on the grounds of figure, circumstances, taste, and style represent a sampling of perceived infringements of universal recommendations of propriety and harmony.

The general and particular were united in the “Editor’s Table” feature of February 1856, in which the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* wrote:

> Let every woman regulate her attire according to her circumstances and situation; let her remember that there are places and times when and where a six-penny calico is far more suitable, and therefore, more tasteful and elegant, than a brocade—that industry, neatness, and ingenuity can do much towards giving a fashionable appearance, where money can only procure splendid incongruities.

These words illustrate several themes in the dominant nineteenth-century middle-class ideology of taste, providing an example of the kind of advice for self-education valued by the middle class discussed in the previous chapter. There were clear injunctions to acknowledge and accept one’s social position and reflect this in outward appearance. Middle-class identity, and by implication social stability, could only be maintained by boundaries that were self-imposed and self-policing by members of the middle class itself. In this case, the simple, appropriate cotton calico represented a middle-class criticism of the elite grandeur and display of silk brocade. “Fashion” was defined differently according to class and, according to this writer, a printed cotton could allow a woman to be fashionable as well as appropriately dressed.

Differing from the more frequent condemnations of immodest, unsuitable dress, this example furnished the specific example of an inexpensive dress textile that could potentially provide a reader with taste and elegance, provided she knew when to wear it.

---

90 “Mantle and Undersleeves, La Marguerite,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 43 (1851): 368.
92 “Editor’s Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 52 (1856): 177.
Fig. 2.6.
In this excerpt, awareness of precisely what was appropriate could be seen to trump the availability of riches, emphasizing rather the importance of knowledge and propriety, reinforcing the middle-class ideology that valued these above wealth. Expensive brocades were probably beyond the means of most readers of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, so passages such as this may have comforted the many readers for whom economy in dress was a primary concern.

**Appropriate Individuality in Dress**

In modern times, Elizabeth Wilson observes, dress is and “was both used as an indicator of social conformity, and, paradoxically, also individualized to the wearer’s taste and personality.” Discussing modern-day choices in dress, Alison Clarke and Daniel Miller argue that “it is the larger social context that determines clothing choices” and that this is felt “primarily as a form of anxiety over potential social embarrassment.” This tension between the group and the individual emerged in the women’s magazines of the mid-nineteenth century.

In urging harmony of a person’s dress and character, fashion writers for women’s magazines commended specificity. Matilda Browne, in her fashion report in the *Englishwomen’s Domestic Magazine* of October 1869, asserted “a lady must bring her own taste to bear upon the choice of every part of her toilet.” The author of the November 1853 fashion news report in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* observed that “It is very rare in the city to see two bonnets precisely alike, or even approaching each other….Every lady abides by her own taste and judgment, aided by her milliner’s advice,

---

93 In his discussion of etiquette literature, John Kasson emphasizes that they were informed by the assumption that respectability and manners could be acquired through education. See John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Rudeness in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990) 43.

94 Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams* 35.


as to shape, material, and color.” This article presented personal taste as essential in
navigating the shoals of fashion successfully, urging women to change their appearances
as fashions change, but modifying dress according to personal circumstances. The piece
referred directly to the experience of life in a modern city, underscoring that women
could (and wished to) retain their personal characters in a modern metropolis.

The lack of specificity about what constituted suitable dress, however, placed the
responsibility for this recognition and display of cultural capital on readers themselves.
This strategy could exonerate writers from potentially providing bad advice, but also
gave women agency in constructing their own appearances. Regular fashion articles with
no descriptions of individual clothes and accessories, however, would undercut the entire
genre of reporting, so these generalized exhortations had to be integrated with more
detailed sections. This tendency to evade particulars when identifying proper dress and
good taste, however, point to the difficulty, perhaps even the impossibility, of arriving at
clear definitions of these ideals.

In the eyes of mid-nineteenth century fashion writers, dress appropriate to one’s
social class was one of the crucial elements of suitable attire, as Aileen Ribeiro notes.98
The editors and authors in Godey’s Lady’s Book and the Englishwoman’s Domestic
Magazine addressed their middle-class readers directly on this point, as when the author
of the September 1857 Godey’s Lady’s Book article “How to Dress with Taste” declared:
“Nothing is so silly nor so contemptible as to see a young person dressed beyond her
station and her means. It is a lie, a deception which discovers itself.”99 In April 1854, the
same magazine included a story, “Mrs. Murden’s Two Dollar Silk,” which centred
around the protagonist’s recognition of the folly of aspiring to dress more expensively

---
98 Ribeiro 127.
and fashionably than appropriate for her position. In *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in May 1863, the popular writer Alice B. Haven described a trip to the New York department store Stewart’s, detailing the great quantity and variety of textiles and accessories available. Recognizing that the plenty of the store might inspire longing for expensive goods among her readers, Haven concluded “Let us be content, my sisters, with our neat muslins and our simple merinoes, and admire Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Jones in their moirés and cashmeres…. ‘Each in their own sphere, and happiness to each.’” These words epitomize the middle-class desire to maintain social status, sometimes a difficult task in times of economic instability.

In the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in June 1858, the writer of the serialized “What We Wear Now” asserted the importance of appropriate dress, but concluded, “let no woman be persuaded to dress above her station or beyond her means; for the first will strand her on the shores of contempt and disdain, and the latter wreck her on the shoal of insolvency.” In the same magazine in September 1873, Matilda Browne chided her readers: “we are sufficiently severe on our maidservants for their absurd aping of ourselves, yet we do not consider how utterly ridiculous we are in attempting imitations of the toilettes we see among the aristocracy.” Complaints about overdressed, clothes-obsessed servants appeared relatively frequently in these magazines, but the explicit elision of this criticism and the readers’ own potential behaviours was unusual. Because of the familiar tone of Browne’s authorial

---

100 “Mrs. Murden’s Two Dollar Silk,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 48 (1854): 317-22. The heroine covets a purple silk, having overheard a rich, fashionable woman admire it. Mrs. Murden has a dress made, straining the family finances, and cannot afford undersleeves and a chemisette to accompany it. By the end of the story, she is wearing the dress, although it is no longer at the height of fashion. She learns to be content with what she can afford and her husband “did not consider the lesson dearly bought at thirty-three dollars and twenty-nine cents [the price of the textile, trim and making up], since it was to last a lifetime” (322).


personality, as noted earlier in this chapter, this frank connecting of unfortunately similar behaviours of different social classes can be seen as friendly concern for her readers, laced with the familiar injunctions to know and keep one’s social position.105

The Importance of Good Taste

In much nineteenth-century fashion writing aimed at middle-class women, good taste was inextricably united with and venerated alongside suitability and harmony. The possibility that good taste (as well as manners) could be acquired constituted a fundamental element of nineteenth-century advice literature, as discussed in the previous chapter. Writers, however, disagreed to what degree taste could be learned. Many referred to the gifts of an innate aesthetic sense or good taste, but often qualified or elaborated these statements and provided many more examples of bad taste than good. Bourdieu’s linking of social class and taste indicate that these debates about taste and the possibility of its improvement can reveal anxiety about the performance of social roles.106

When referring to taste, Mary Merrifield, the author of Dress as a Fine Art, appealed to certain immutable precepts: “we know that taste is not an instinctive perception of the beautiful and agreeable, but is founded upon the observance of certain laws of nature.”107 This claim implied that these laws could potentially be learned by the reader. Using more colloquial language, the author of “How to Make a Bonnet and Cap” in Godey’s Lady’s Book in October 1856 wrote:

It is a common expression of many persons, “I have no taste!” “She has no taste!”…This is a great mistake; it is quite possible to teach a person taste that is willing to learn; nine out of ten have never had an opportunity of

---

105 Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own 81.
107 Mary Merrifield, Dress as a Fine Art (Boston: John P. Jewett; Cleveland, OH: Jewett, Proctor, and Worthington, 1854) 11-12.
acquiring pretty ideas. Nor have they had pointed out to them the difference between vulgar and genteel. I can never admit we cannot do things, or not acquire that difficult affair called taste.\textsuperscript{108}

Of course, more magazines and books will sell if readers believe the publications will reveal the secret of the difference between vulgar and genteel, but these quotations also struck an essential chord in middle-class culture in the mid-nineteenth century. The combination of diligent study, optimism, and opportunity promised readers certain success.

In her November 1872 “Spinnings,” Matilda Browne underlined the centrality of good taste for her readers, asserting,

I want to see good taste prevail in the persons and in the households of all Englishwomen. Taking a slight liberty with Shakespeare, “If it be a sin to covet taste, I am the most offending soul alive.” I believe good taste is the handmaid of prudence and economy, and I endeavour by every means in my power to cultivate in myself, and in all over whom I have any influence, the love of beauty, and there can be no beauty without suitability.\textsuperscript{109}

Drawing authority from Henry V, one of Shakespeare’s renowned English heroes, Browne hoped to draw her readers into her project of taste improvement, as the recipients of her advice, but also as the cultivators and promulgators of good taste. Once attained, good taste enabled women to negotiate successfully fashion’s whims and novelties. A writer for \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} in 1857 emphasized the importance of taste over fashion, asserting “Fashion should be sacrificed to taste, or, at best, followed at a distance.”\textsuperscript{110} In 1870, a writer for \textit{The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} made a similar claim, asserting that it was possible to follow fashion and yet remain “a lady of taste,” but that “the lady’s taste must ratify the inventive mantua-maker’s choice.”\textsuperscript{111}

\textsuperscript{109} “Spinnings in Town,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2, 13 (1872): 278. The original lines are from Henry V’s famous St. Crispin Day speech: “But if it be a sin to covet honour, I am the most offending soul alive” (\textit{Henry V}, Act iv, Scene 3).
\textsuperscript{111} “New Year Paris Fashions,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2, 8 (1870): 34. The use of the term “mantua-maker” here and above is unusual for the mid-nineteenth century; the word was used more widely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. “Mantua-maker” seems to have a slightly pejorative, or
Good taste was always presented as moderation in dress, instead of blind adherence to the dictates of fashion.

**Criticism of Fashion**

Although nineteenth-century women’s magazines acknowledged that fashion in dress could not be ignored and could be followed sensibly, readers and writers did criticize fashion. As examples in this chapter show, writers disapproved of certain garments and trends, usually on the grounds of propriety or extravagance.

In the 1870s, both *Godey’s Lady’s Book* and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* quoted letters from other serials criticizing female attention to fashion. The October 1871 “Godey’s Arm-Chair” section included the following piece:

“Miss E. Stuart Phelps, writing in the *Independent*, thinks a reason for the mental inferiority of woman is to be found in the amount of intellect that is wasted upon the preparation and preservation of her dress. Taking this for her text, she goes on in the following impetuous style…”

The daughter of a Congregational minister, Phelps wrote novels and essays, many of which addressed the contemporary position of women. Although an editor for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* considered Phelps’s writing remarkable enough to deserve mention, the introduction is archly-worded, especially in its analogy to a sermon. The editorial voice neither explicitly supported nor challenged Phelps’s claim, but implied that her arguments perhaps should not be accepted entirely.

---

112 “Godey’s Arm-Chair,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 83 (1871): 380.

In June 1875, the author of the “Flittings” column in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* referred to a similar argument presented in the *Examiner*, a London newspaper. The *Examiner* author

...attacks her country-women, bringing, so to speak, a double-barrelled accusation against them in the following sentence:—“The vast proportion of English feminine lack of intelligence is given up to a strict following of the fashions.” First, Englishwomen lack intelligence; secondly, this “lack” is given up to a following of the fashions. Here is English that needs some intelligence to follow! However, the writer’s meaning is clear from the context. But if Englishwomen fail in intelligence, what women are intelligent? And do they strictly follow the fashions? No; for it is inferred further on that they do not dress so well as other nations, and we and our correspondents are requested to “display some aesthetic feeling.” Here is a strange jumble of contradictions, contradictions that must be patent to the meanest intelligence; and, indeed, I only allude to the article because, strange to say, it appeared in the columns of an established weekly paper.114

In this passage, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* author underscored the illogical argument of the *Examiner* writer and she went on to lament the focus on the perceived faults of Englishwomen. She concluded, “We really do try to make this magazine useful to our subscribers, and if we fail it is through no want of will. It must be ‘lack of intelligence.’”115 Not afraid to use sarcasm and humour, this writer mounted a spirited defence of the moderate fashionability she espoused in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*. These heated debates about female intelligence and fashion, and the connections between the two, underscore the range and importance of opinions on this subject and provide an excellent example of the “conversations” carried on in nineteenth-century periodicals.

Although contemporary commentators, and even fashion writers, might have found certain aspects of fashionable dress ridiculous, it was generally acknowledged that mockery would not effect change. As the author of the November 1862 article “Fashion versus Satire,” in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* averred “it has never yet been

given to the satirist to reform a milliner’s bill.”116 The editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in September 1870 quoted an unnamed English writer who criticized the fashionable Grecian bend silhouette, but then sighed “it is useless to remonstrate or revile….No folly in dress was ever laughed down.”117 In the February 1870 “Englishwoman’s Conversazione” of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, a reader criticized vulgar, extravagant dress, but concluded “These things pass, others take their turn; and no fashion amongst women was ever rebuked, satirized, or cartooned out of fashion, let me do what they will with pencil, pen, or speech.”118 These writers resigned themselves to both the constant change of fashion and to its absurdities. There is also perhaps a recognition of a subversive element in some fashionable “follies,” an acknowledgment that women will continue to dress in ways deemed foolish, even if criticized.

**Fashion as Tyrant, Goddess, and Demon**

In these women’s magazines, articles frequently described fashion as an absolute ruler, often a despot or tyrant. The author of the October 1845 fashion report for the *Ladies’ Cabinet* asserted, “we, who are fashion’s ministers, must not presume to give her laws; for be it remembered, she is an ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGN.”119 In the June 1858 part of the series of articles “What We Wear Now,” the author acknowledged the reign of fashion, pleading “Make it a monarchy with limited power, and we bow to our sovereign; but alas! for the people who submit to a tyranny, even in dress.”120 In a traditional English magazine, this favourable allusion to limited monarchy was unsurprising. In January 1858, the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* discussed fashion or, the “despotic queen of dress” by referring to contemporary political events: “It is strange that, through all the revolutions, the changes of Old World dynasties, the heaving up and

jostling down of thrones and empires, on the surface of our ‘dark terrestrial ball,’ this
one tyrant, ‘Fashion,’ everywhere rules the nations of mankind.”\textsuperscript{121}

Occasionally, fashion writers claimed to see tyrannical Fashion loosening her
hold. Matilda Browne emphasized in September 1873, two years after the establishment
of the Third Republic in France, that women should not adopt unsuitable styles because
“in these republican days \textit{Madame La Mode} is anything but despotic or exclusive in her
decrees.”\textsuperscript{122} Although these writers acknowledged the general tendency towards greater
enfranchisement in nineteenth-century Europe, they also alluded to more repressive
governments of the recent past. By describing fashion as controlling and arbitrary, they
attempted to explain the seemingly irrational and unpreventable changes of women’s
dress, but with sometimes revolutionary spirit, also encouraged resistance to these
seemingly inflexible dictates.

The figure of the fickle goddess was another common method used to personify
fashion in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines. In August 1843, an article in
\textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} announced an upcoming series of illustrations of historical dress,
which would “show the various mutations of that fickle goddess FASHION” and a June
1858 article in the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} began by referring to “fashion,
motley goddess, changing still.”\textsuperscript{123} This figure of speech was extended by calling
fashion’s followers “votaries,” as when a writer for the \textit{Ladies’ Cabinet} observed in
August 1846, “Never was fashion more accommodating to her fair votaries than at
present” and in September 1870, as the Franco-Prussian War escalated, Matilda Browne
predicted in the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} that war would “in some way have
a sobering influence upon even the votaries of \textit{La Mode}.”\textsuperscript{124}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[121] “Editors’ Table. Fashion—Its Influence and Results,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 56 (1858): 80.
\item[123] “Fashions,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 27 (1843): 96; “What We Wear Now,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic
    Magazine} 7 (1858): 103.
\item[124] “Paris Fashions for the Month,” \textit{Ladies’ Cabinet} N. S. 2, 6 (1846): 125; “The September Fashions,”
    \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2, 9 (1870): 160.
\end{footnotes}
Unpredictable developments in fashionable dress have always unnerved some observers, but much fashion writing has acknowledged that this change is endemic. The author of the May 1876 “Flittings” in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* referred to the “arbitrary decrees” of fashion that “resemble the ancient bed of Procrustes.”\(^{125}\) This classical allusion to compulsory conformity reinforced the notion that the change in fashion was perpetual. The changeability of fashion complicated the recommendations of moderation and suitability in fashion. As the author of an August 1861 article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* observed, not every fashion will flatter every woman: “The fashion of dress is not only mutable, but its perfection is arbitrary.”\(^{126}\) In one article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, the inherent transience of fashionable dress was even presented as a potential restraint: “The ephemeral nature of fashionable superiority would seem to be sufficient check to all vanity of display. What looks so odious, or rather ridiculous, as our antiquated fashions?”\(^{127}\)

These discussions of fashion touched upon differences in contemporary attitudes towards change. In a different context, Wendy Parkins distinguishes between mutability and modernisation, whether “change is an inevitable, organic—rather than historical—process.”\(^{128}\) The references in these magazine articles to constantly-varying fashions of the past in part placed fashion in the tradition of mutability, but the frequent suggestions to readers to adapt dress to their circumstances echo Parkins’s argument that acceptance of change is only possible through “positioning [oneself] within the flux of modern life.”\(^{129}\) Adjusting to changing social roles and economic positions, as well as taking advantage of new technologies, products, and shopping methods, were all ways of managing the change and novelty that were defining features of nineteenth-century

\(^{127}\) “Editors’ Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 29 (1844): 281.
\(^{129}\) Parkins 512.
modernity. All of these developments and changes had to be negotiated with great care and consideration by respectable middle-class women.

_Fashion as a Science_

_The Wish for Laws_

As these examples have shown, the irrationality and unpredictability of fashion was a topic of much discussion in the mid-nineteenth century. Matilda Browne explicitly contrasted fashion with rationality in her fashion writing for the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*. In July 1866, she wrote, “we must not expect to see Fashion on the same side as Reason” and three years later she sighed, “[i]t is in vain we look out for anything rational in the shape of bonnets this winter.”¹³⁰ This opposition of fashion and rationality was implied in much mid-nineteenth century fashion writing. Men also joined this conversation. In an 1864 article titled “On Proper Clothing” in the *Popular Science Review*, Edwin Lankester hoped to help “make an effort to rescue the art of dressing from the domain of Fashions, and place it under the laws and direction of Reason.”¹³¹ Thus, some authors, affiliated with different parts of the nineteenth-century periodical press, allied reason to science and looked to this tradition to order and control this illogicality, wishing to apply “scientific laws” to fashion.

The search for laws or rules to explain scientific phenomena had long been a feature of research, and a variety of nineteenth-century writers suggested that similarly logical laws could also be applied to developments in fashion and then followed by women.¹³² These would thereafter control the objectionable unpredictability and ephemerality of fashion. It was proposed that these rules, properly followed, would

---

guarantee that women fulfil the female duty of an appropriate, but rational attention to fashion. As Elizabeth Wilson suggests, rules dictating fashionable dress could also potentially provide a feeling of security to their followers.133

References to laws or rules that do or should control fashion appeared with relative frequency in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines. Sometimes these were quite specific, as when the April 1866 *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*’s monthly fashion report declared, “The one universal law imposed by fashion at present it that of the gored skirt.”134 Much of this commentary, however, was more general in character. In February 1856, the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* wrote that in dress “the laws which govern human nature, physically and metaphysically, should be represented here as elsewhere; these laws require that due attention be paid to body as well as mind.”135 The author of an 1875 article in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* entitled “Classical Dress” argued, “Costume, as the very word implies, clothes more than the body; it clothes ideas too….Though nothing seems more capricious than the laws of fashion, yet the essential laws are no caprice; they obey the laws of necessity. By the ways nations dress we recognize their religious and political principles.”136 Both of these examples alluded to the wish, discussed earlier in this chapter, for correspondence between outward appearance and inner character.

Matilda Browne, in her May 1872 fashion report for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, connected the laws of dress more explicitly to science in particular, declaring

There are general rules to be observed in the art of dressing which will preserve a lady from the danger of ridicule, and by following which she need never be exposed to producing anything like a disagreeable impression by her toilette. These laws are founded upon principles which resume every idea of beauty both in the physical and moral world.

133 Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams* 125.
135 “Editors’ Table,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* 4 (1856): 177.
When thus understood, dressing becomes a science in which each detail has its own peculiar expression.\textsuperscript{137}

Throughout this period, other writers also referred to dress—not fashion—as a science, sometimes as a goal, sometimes as a fact. The author of a March 1840 fashion report in the \textit{Ladies’ Cabinet} described “demi saison costume” as “that elegant melange of the summer and winter toilette which ladies well acquainted with the science of dress declare to be so becoming.”\textsuperscript{138} A series of articles in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} in early 1859, entitled “The Science of Dress,” promised to teach readers the rules of this discipline. Much of the advice given related to the recurring concerns of modesty and suitability in dress, centring around appropriate colours for different occasions and complexions. In the final piece, the author asserted “[o]ur aim in the foregoing remarks has been to induce a study of natural philosophy.”\textsuperscript{139} The use of the archaic phrase “natural philosophy,” rather than “science,” evoked a historic idea of an inclusive body of knowledge of nature and the world and perhaps underscored the author’s desire to establish lasting laws for appropriate dress.

In discussions of dress as a science, authors echoed other contemporary examples of praise for Frenchwomen. The editors of \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} in March 1854 included an excerpt from a piece by a “New York writer” that described the women of Paris as “matchless in their taste, and perfect in the most refined science of costume.”\textsuperscript{140} In the September 1875 issue of the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine}, the author of an article in a series called “Dressmaking at Home,” quoted from several contemporary periodicals, including a piece from \textit{Blackwood’s Magazine}. This writer had lauded the dress sense of the Frenchwoman, claiming,

[H]er innate sense of the laws of harmony in outward things attains the nature of a science. And the word science is employed here in its purest

\textsuperscript{138} “London Fashions for the Month,” \textit{Ladies’ Cabinet} N. S. 4 (1840): 437.
meaning, as significative of knowledge which has been controlled and systematised by the application of method....it is an infused faith, matured and verified by patient study, thought, and observation.\textsuperscript{141}

This key quotation, as well as exemplifying the conversation held among different nineteenth-century periodicals, defined “science” more specifically than the other examples given. The wish to order, or systematize, appeared especially clear. This would, of course, control fashion’s unpredictable irrationality and provide wished-for stability.

\textit{Knowledge, Education, and Progress in the Civilized World}

The emphasis in the above \textit{Blackwood’s} quotation on the necessity of study resonated as part of the broader middle-class ideology that presented education as a means to knowledge and power. As Kate Flint emphasizes, education was a key motivation for female reading in the nineteenth-century.\textsuperscript{142} This assumption appeared throughout the middle-class women’s magazines of the period and is another significant theme of this research. In a November 1847 article in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book}, the writer averred that “the attentive student will soon discover that Fashion, like the animal or vegetable, or mineral kingdom, has laws and boundaries of her own, deep seated in the nature of things.”\textsuperscript{143} The author of the June 1867 fashion news in the same magazine reported from the Paris exhibition of that year, asserting “it is in the galleries of the Great Exhibition that fashions can best be studied just now.”\textsuperscript{144} The author of a “letter to the Editress” in February 1870, also in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book}, made this claim on a more general scale, writing “the general air which comes of familiarity with all the best modes,

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{141} “Dressmaking at Home. No. IV,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2, 19 (1875): 129-130.
\textsuperscript{142} Kate Flint, \textit{The Woman Reader, 1837-1914} (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993) 10, 40.
\textsuperscript{144} “The Fashions,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 74 (1867): 312.
\end{footnotesize}
and which makes the dress and appearance what the French call *comme il faut*, can only be gained through education.”¹⁴⁵

Occasionally, fashion writers employed allusions to specific sciences, as when the May 1876 monthly report in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* observed that “[f]ashion has a thousand caprices which appear and disappear, like meteors” or when the November 1876 report in the same magazine claimed that “[f]ashion has often to exercise considerable force in her evolutions.”¹⁴⁶ The clearest connections of fashion to the laws of science, however, perhaps appeared in the analogy of dress to phrenology.¹⁴⁷ The author of a November 1847 article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* wrote of dress as “a sort of symbolical language—a kind of phrenology…to a proficient in the science, every woman walks about with a placard in which her leading qualities are advertised.”¹⁴⁸ In December 1862, the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included a very similar quotation, attributed to “an English writer…quoting an old authority,” in one of their letters: “Dress is a personal glossary, a species of body phrenology.”¹⁴⁹ Although phrenology was eventually discounted as a legitimate science, its status was fiercely debated during the mid-nineteenth century and it enjoyed great popularity.¹⁵⁰ The potential interpretative ease that phrenology offered for understanding personal character found parallels in the prospective use of dress in a similar way.

Many of these attempts to systematize dress and link it with science dovetail with contemporary emphasis on the importance of science in the progress of the modern age, which Peter J. Bowler argues was essential to the Victorian understanding of the

¹⁴⁵ “Editors’ Table. Fashions and Educational Influences,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 80 (1870): 190.
¹⁴⁷ Phrenology was the “science” of identifying and predicting personality and behaviour from the shape of the skull.
¹⁴⁸ “The Treasury. Old and New Fashions,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 35 (1847): 244. Sections of identical text, including the second quotation, appeared in the monthly *Godey’s Lady’s Book* fashion report in September 1852, where they were attributed to an article in the *London Quarterly* (“Chitchat for September,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 45 (1852): 302). In fact, the original source is Elizabeth Eastlake’s 1852 book, *The Art of Dress*. Many thanks to Anna Marie Kirk for this information.
¹⁵⁰ For a discussion of the popular appeal and dissemination of phrenology, see John van Whye, “The Diffusion of Phrenology through Public Lecturing.” Fyfe and Lightman 60-96.
world. These developments existed within broader contemporary assumptions about linear, forward progress in science, art, and civilization, correlations made using a common vocabulary in different periodicals.

Commentators noted that fashion in dress also figured in contemporary progress and Margaret Beetham stresses that “[f]ashion recreated the idea of progress as constant change.” The August 1847 monthly fashion report in the Ladies’ Cabinet asserted that “the march of fashion keeps pace with the progress of the age” and an article called “On Dress,” appearing in Godey’s Lady’s Book in October 1851 declared: “If we observe the march of civilization, we everywhere see good taste in dress following the progress of intelligence.” In a May 1868 editors’ letter in Godey’s Lady’s Book, the author made the connection between scientific progress and the development of fashion explicit, contending, “The spirit of the age produces scientific discoveries…also it changes the style of feminine costume!” Perhaps the baldest statement equating Western fashionable dress to the civilizing mission appeared in an editorial titled “An Indication of Progress” in the April 1871 issue of Godey’s Lady’s Book. The author wrote about the increasing adoption of Western clothing by men in Turkey, lamenting that “[t]he change in fashions has not yet reached the women.” The writer predicted, however, that this disparity would not persist long:

When all the men have given up the cumbrous dress which so well suited and indicated their indolent habits, and have adopted what may properly be called the working garb of the Western nations, their wives and sisters must soon follow their example. And then wonderful changes will ensue. When the fashion-plates are as much studied in Damascus and Pekin as they are in Berlin and London, we shall be sure that the old Eastern conservatism has finally given way, and that Western ideas, in art, science, government, and religion, are to rule the earth.

152 Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own 208.
This unequivocal statement epitomized a contemporary Western attitude of supremacy, inextricably bound up with the religious and political imperial ambitions of the late nineteenth century. The particular focus on Western dress as representative of modernity demonstrated the contemporary wish to see physical manifestations of Western culture, always presented as the ideal towards which “backward” Eastern countries were to progress.

As with many of the discussions involving fashion, however, these assumptions were by no means universal. An article in the January 1856 issue of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* began by acknowledging that many are “willing subjects” of the tyrant Fashion’s rule, but then claimed: “Its authority is perhaps the only one universally recognised in the civilized world, and, strangely enough, the more highly cultivated and refined nations have become, the more slavishly have its fetters been worn.” The author of an April 1853 editors’ letter in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* commented in a similar vein, asserting, “The improvements, now so rapidly progressing, in the intellectual and civil condition of nations must, we think, be followed by a corresponding improvement in the tastes and pursuits of those who are the élite of society. Etiquette and the fashions cannot be the engrossing objects of pursuit, if people become reasonable.”

These quotations displayed the tensions between different contemporary conceptions of fashion. The first presented it as a tyrant, but also as an index of civilization; the second, anticipating Herbert Spencer’s famous argument at the end of the century, anticipated that the progress of civilization will lead to fashion’s end. “Civilization” proved just as mutable as fashion, complicating attempts to link the two. Fashion again became a lens through which to examine—and criticize—contemporary

---

158 “Editors’ Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 46 (1853): 369.
mores. The attempts to discuss fashion with respect to historical progress, however, dovetailed with contemporary regard for scientific developments. As chapters four and five will show, science appeared in women’s magazines in other contexts as well, notably in discussions of dyeing and everyday domestic applications of chemistry.

_Enjoying Fashion_

_Pleasure in Writing and Reading_

Although much of the contemporary commentary on nineteenth-century fashion was edifying or critical in tone, writers also acknowledged the pleasure to be found in clothing. Critics such as Gilles Lipovetsky argue that in the age of industrial capitalism, desire for security and happiness underpinned the consumption of commodities.160 Discussions about fashion often reveal anxiety about social position, but the enjoyment of dress was also a significant thread that ran throughout women’s magazines.

Because images were expensive to include in nineteenth-century women’s magazines, textual descriptions of textiles, garments, and accessories were essential, as already noted, to inform readers of fashionable developments. As Christopher Breward argues, the authors of these descriptions made them detailed and exact, but these requirements did not preclude literary efforts.161 A summary of winter dress materials in the November 1853 issue of _Godey’s Lady’s Book_ typified these illustrative attempts:

Many of the cashmeres and mousselines, as well as the silks, are woven in patterns, à disposition, as the French call it; that is, a heavy border of stripes, or a wreath around the skirt, while the material intended for the sleeves and waist is in a smaller corresponding pattern. Many of the silks have flowers woven with borders, the palm-leaf being the reigning style, and having a beautiful effect when woven in a contrasting shade. Some of the richest are in scrolls or bars of satin, as crimson on a stone or pearl-colored ground; velvet dots, figures, and wreaths of the same general style are perhaps still newer….For plainer tastes and shorter purses there is an

---

161 Breward, “Femininity and Consumption” 76.
unusually large variety of plain, striped, and checked silks to select from.162

This passage comprised many of the pleasurable aspects of fashion writing and reading, especially the delight in the creation of evocative images for the reader. The piece conjured up the colours and textures of different textiles, painting specific pictures with words. Certain examples were pronounced especially beautiful or rich, but the final sentence included readers with more modest financial or aesthetic requirements. The text informed the reader what was available, introducing a necessary French term for her education—learning about the new could also be considered a pleasure of modernity.

Fashion writers sometimes articulated their personal enjoyment of their reporting. Pleased by her correct predictions, the author of a May 1840 piece in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* practically crowed, “Certainly nothing can be prettier or more tasteful than the bonnets that have just come out. Our fair readers will find that our anticipations with respect to materials have been correct.”163 In the April 1870 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, the monthly report writer happily recorded, “when it becomes our pleasant task, as the seasons roll around, to note the new goods seen, we always find something new, something beautiful.”164 After describing a variety of new muslins in March 1871 in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, Matilda Browne exclaimed, “Pour moi, I revel in muslins.”165 These examples expressed satisfaction in what the writers perceived as fashionable and beautiful.

The possible acquisition of beautiful things also constituted a pleasure, but writers sometimes presented this as a potential danger. The author of the April 1866 monthly fashion report in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* wrote, “The new goods now displayed are exceedingly tempting.”166 In her report on “novelties” for September 1876, the

164 “Chitchat on Fashions for April,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 80 (1870): 397.
fashion writer for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* made a more dramatic appeal to her readers, lamenting “how often in my search for novelties on your behalf I am led into temptation, and into repeated breaches of the tenth clause of the Decalogue.”[^167] For readers who considered covetousness a sin, the existence of many desirable things very well may have been considered a peril.[^168] Both of these writers, however, also hinted at the pleasure of temptation, as well as perhaps the pleasure, or at least the moral satisfaction, of resisting it.

In general, writers presented the great variety of consumer fashion goods available in a positive light. “Mrs. M. L.,” the author of the March 1860 article “Dress: How to Adorn the Person” in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, avowed, “We have no paucity of material to complain of now; the varieties of texture and design are endless. Our chief difficulty lies in the selection.”[^169] In the May 1862 monthly report for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, the writer similarly claimed, “All the largest and most fashionable *magasins de mode* in Paris, and the first-class West-end houses in London, are literally overflowing with charming, fresh, and elegant novelties for the coming season. An endless variety of new materials has been manufactured.”[^170] This presentation of an atmosphere of plenty ran through much of the fashion reporting of this period, furnishing readers seemingly unlimited choice, at least in the abstract.

As Christopher Breward notes, women’s fashion magazines highlighted the potential pleasure of browsing, especially in relatively new department stores which provided a larger variety of objects to buy than their smaller predecessors.[^171] In these detailed textual descriptions, readers were also invited, vicariously, to enjoy this luxurious plenty. These offers also presented mid-nineteenth century society as a


[^168]: The potential danger represented by temptation also evoked traditional feminine fallibility as represented by Eve (Davidoff and Hall 114).


[^171]: Breward, “Femininity and consumption” 82, 87.
spectacle, of the kind later proposed by Thomas Richards. In a short story, “The First and Second Marriage,” which appeared in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in January 1852, a male character recognized this, saying “‘Your plain, little people like society as well as others….Society is to them a kind of *spectacle*; they like to see how people dress, and what they are doing. They don’t go to talk, but to look.’” The increasing public visuality of nineteenth-century life, especially in metropolitan shopping, could therefore afford enjoyment.

### The Feminine Community

The desire, even need, to feel part of a feminine community was another central aspect of social existence addressed by these periodicals and is another significant theme in this study. As Kate Flint notes, reading in the nineteenth century provided women with “a means…of becoming part of a broader community.” Women’s magazines especially afforded women this opportunity. Margaret Beetham underscores that “[t]he imagined community of women was both the premise on which the woman’s magazine rested and a promise” to be realized in future issues. Fashion and dress comprised an important body of knowledge and topic of conversation. Writers for periodicals acknowledged the pleasure shared amongst women of knowing fashionable news in their fashion reports. In March 1851, the author of the monthly fashion report for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* declared “We describe these things in our chit-chat, because we know that ladies love to hear about ‘pretty things;' but though we read with interest of Queen Victoria’s point-lace and brocades, we do not expect to copy them.” Although this author did lecture her readers to avoid “recklessness of expenditure,” she also admitted the

---

pleasure to be found in learning about and imagining beautiful objects. The writer of a February 1867 article, also in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, reiterated this approach to fashion, maintaining, “Though we cannot indulge in all the capricious oscillations of fashion, still, we like to have a peep at what is going on in the gay world, and catch ideas for making up our new *toilettes* or remodelling our old ones.” Recognizing the appeal of knowledge of “the gay world,” but also suggesting modifications for new and old clothes, this author recommended a strategy, combining awareness of fashionable developments with practical choices and maintenance of clothing, for a middle-class woman negotiating the world of fashion.

As with so much nineteenth-century commentary on fashion, ideas of propriety, another key theme in this study, nonetheless also informed this writing. Most of this advice sounds dictatorial to modern ears, but for many women knowing about and acquiring appropriate dress provided the pleasure of comfort and security. In the January 1851 monthly fashion report for *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, the writer confirmed this negatively, contending, “Of all the uncomfortable sensations one can experience in society, that of being over or *under*-dressed is the most uncomfortable.” The author of an article titled “Well-Dressed,” in the November 1860 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, wrote more positively, “A woman well-dressed, and conscious of being well-dressed…respects herself.” This advice suggested that the anxieties of finding and maintaining one’s social place could be in part tempered by appropriate dress.

Both the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* and *Godey’s Lady’s Book* offered shopping services for their readers, thus allowing women geographically removed from metropolitan centres to participate in fashionable life. In March 1856, the fashion

---

180 See “Notice to Lady Subscribers,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 44 (1852): 521 in which the “Editress of the Fashion Department” offered to “execute commissions” for “ladies living at a distance” and “Novelties of the Month,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 19 (1875): 134 in which the writer agreed to
writer for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included an engraving of a fashionable bonnet, “[f]or the benefit especially of those ladies to whom the displays of Regent-street are not accessible, and ‘Le Follet’ tiresome.”

In September 1851, a writer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* underscored the particular appeal of the fashion information in the magazine for readers in the far reaches of the rapidly-expanding United States, proposing to the reader that “in the very natural course of human events, you may consent to share the fortune of some noble-minded adventurer in the new country—California or Minesota [sic]; or, if your lover happens to be in the army, Fort Leavenworth or the Mexican frontier may become your abiding-place.” The writer asserted that “while our magazine lies upon city centre-tables, by far its warmest welcome is in the far-off homes of the North, West, and South, where our countrywomen are, in a measure, dependent upon their own resources of fancy and invention.”

Considering these geographically remote locations, some so newly-formed that the writer does not even spell them correctly, a magazine such as *Godey’s Lady’s Book* could very well have made readers feel part of a larger female middle-class community. In January 1870, the editor included extracts of a letter received which further underscored the value of this kind of magazine. The writer explained, “I have pictured to myself scenes which indeed I have often literally witnessed, where your magazine was almost the only link between a secluded life, without grace or variety, and the distant world which seemed full of visions of brightness and beauty.” This underscores the imaginative pleasure that could be found in a periodical community, in which fashion, dress, and issues of respectable femininity played key roles.

---

183 “Editors’ Table. Fashion and Educational Influences,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 80 (1870): 190.
Conclusion

In discussing mid-nineteenth century fashion reporting in women’s periodicals, this chapter has introduced the following issues: the emphasis in this reporting on novelty as well as topical and, occasionally, national specificity; the encouragement of self-improvement through education, including the learning of taste and fashionable language; the construction of a dutiful, virtuous feminine ideal centred around the idea of moderation; the anxieties about the irrationality of fashion and the wish to control this; and, also, the pleasure in fashion that women could enjoy as part of a feminine community. As the following chapters will show, colour and science were woven into many of these discussions.

Much fashion news relayed the changes that occurred in the silhouette, colours, and wearing of clothes. These reports highlighted change and novelty, which, as Elizabeth Wilson argues, characterizes fashion in the age of modernity.\(^{184}\) Issues concerning political and national identity also emerged in fashion writing. These specific references in fashion reporting, whether to particular colours, political events, or national identities, firmly located examples of fashionable dress in their particular historical moments. Because of this constant change and variety of fashion, it distinguished one day from another in personal lived experience and also gave individual women the opportunity to construct their own identities.

Writers encouraged middle-class women to educate themselves about dressmaking and fashion in order to dress well, implicitly and explicitly acknowledging the economic constraints that many women faced. The French words used in fashion articles constituted another opportunity for reader self-education. By learning this specialized language of fashion, women could demonstrate what Pierre Bourdieu calls “cultural competence.”\(^{185}\) The practical skill of dressmaking and the verbal ability in

---

\(^{184}\) Wilson, “Fashion and Modernity” 12.
\(^{185}\) Bourdieu, *Distinction* 4.
fashion language were specific examples of knowledge that could be acquired, with the help of magazines, to allow middle-class women to understand fashion better. They could thus be assured that they were dressing wisely within their social circles and cleverly within their incomes, yet also displaying their awareness of the world of fashion centred in France. These aspects of mid-nineteenth century fashion writing exemplify the middle-class virtues of frugality and self-improvement.

 Discussions of fashion, as this chapter has shown, were closely connected to concerns about female morality and virtue, as physical appearance was often figured as the outward expression of these characteristics. Aileen Ribeiro details how dress seen as excessive or showy has frequently been denounced as representative of immorality and the magazines examined in this study confirm this. Articles strongly forbade extravagance and extremes in fashion, enjoining readers to aspire to a moderate, harmonious ideal in dress. Dress was to suit a woman’s age, appearance, and social position, to be attractive and flattering, but not attention-grabbing. Ribeiro also emphasizes the importance to nineteenth-century fashion writers of class-appropriate dress. As Alison Clarke and Daniel Miller note, anxiety about propriety can be a powerful factor in clothing choices and this is evident in nineteenth-century texts. Victorian fashion writers constantly referred to this ideal of moderation and harmony, pronouncing it the essence of good taste. As shown here, many of these articles assured readers that taste could be learned through careful observation and study, providing another example of the great emphasis placed on self-education in these magazines. Learning and employing good taste was thus fundamental to a middle-class woman’s successful performance of her social role and continued membership in her social group.

 Readers and writers also addressed criticisms of fashion, often arguing that a moderate, controlled engagement with fashion was not necessarily harmful to women or

---

186 Ribeiro 14.
187 Ribeiro 127.
188 Clarke and Miller, “Fashion and Anxiety” 192.
society as a whole. The unpredictability and irrationality of fashion, however, was frequently acknowledged. As Elizabeth Wilson argues, this seeming irrationality of fashion was especially troubling during a period with such confidence in rationality and progress.  

189 The wish to make fashion into a science with clear and logical laws advocated by some writers was an attempt to temper its irrational aspects. These criticisms of and anxieties about fashion reflected broader apprehensions about the social and cultural changes occurring in mid-nineteenth century life: social position could shift, economic circumstances could alter, and even science could raise more questions than it answered. These comments all indicate women’s efforts to understand and thus in some way manage or control the sometimes anxiety-causing phenomenon of fashion.

Finally, this chapter concludes that, fashion in these magazines provided pleasure for middle-class women in textual descriptions, images, and vicarious visions and experiences, offering readers a “luxurious fantasy,” in Christopher Breward’s words.  

190 Kate Flint and Margaret Beetham both underscore the importance of the feminine communities constructed by and through women’s magazines, another source of pleasure.  

191 Understanding and wearing what was fashionably appropriate could give women the satisfaction of knowing that they were welcomed in their social group, because their dress conformed safely to its standards. Readers also could enjoy being connected to a larger feminine community through the medium of the periodical, demonstrating that these magazines provided a place in which women could participate, even if only imaginatively, in the wider world of fashion.

As the criticisms and discussions of fashion and dress in these magazines demonstrate, these subjects were also regarded with suspicion, sometimes even with hostility. Whether seen as a friend or foe to women, however, fashion and dress undeniably bore great ideological weight in the mid-nineteenth century, invested with

189 Wilson, Adorned in Dreams 59.
190 Breward, “Femininity and consumption” 89.
191 Flint 42; Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own 209.
often contradictory injunctions and expectations about female morality, duty, and taste. These inconsistencies, however, should not be seen as simple oppositions presented to a passive female reader. Instead, the great range of opinions and the frequent discussion of these issues of appearance and propriety in the magazines show the variety of complex and subtle ways in which women could, and did, negotiate the unstable conditions of modernity.

These periodical conversations about, and navigations of, the complicated and ever-changing world of fashion in the mid-nineteenth century provide a context in which to examine perceptions of colour and dye developments of the period. These, when related to the world of fashion, offered aesthetic and scientific opportunities for the specific application of middle-class standards of moderation and harmony in dress. Conversations about colour and dyes took place in a middle-class print culture which esteemed self-education, moderate good taste, and scientific knowledge and ultimately these values conditioned reactions to new dye developments. The next chapter will consider colour in women’s magazines, examining how language, science, and taste all entered the sophisticated contemporary discussions of colour.
Chapter 3
One Essential Thing to Learn is Colour:
Appreciation, Language, and Theory

Introduction

Continuing to elaborate on the methods of nineteenth-century fashion writing investigated in the previous chapter, this chapter will help to contextualize later discussions of dyes and dyeing by exploring how readers and writers described and discussed colour, especially in female dress. This examination will focus upon the language of colour—how colours were named, characterized, qualified, and defined, especially in relation to the natural world. Contemporary colour theory, especially that of Michel-Eugène Chevreul, exerted a strong influence on writing about colour and authors often emphasized that readers could learn principles such as contrast and harmony of colours with relative ease.

It is significant in this context that the understanding of colour and its proper use were presented as key elements of good taste. Further developing the discussion of taste begun in the previous chapter, it is clear that “harmony” in the mid-nineteenth century could refer to both colours that were agreeable together and to those that were suitable and proper for the wearer with respect to social class, complexion, age, and occasion. These comments and opinions about colour provide a fundamental context for the understanding of the remarkable dye developments of this period researched and discussed in this thesis.

During the nineteenth century, as Jonathan Crary has discussed, attitudes towards vision changed dramatically, as physiological understanding of the eye and technologies of seeing developed. Crary underscores how Arthur Schopenhauer, in particular, argued that colour, far from being a “secondary quality” in fact “constitute[s] our primary image
of an external reality.”

Colours and colour combinations in women’s dress certainly attracted special notice and efforts of description in the mid-nineteenth century, underscoring the contemporary attention to vision and perception of colour.

Middle-class women’s magazines provide evidence of this awareness, highlighting the contemporary importance of colour, especially its visual effects. In December 1862, the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* quoted from an “English writer’s” comments on women’s scarlet cloaks: “The eye has been gladdened and refreshed by the warm, bright red, set off by the black dress beneath; and the welcome effect it produced proved to our minds how much pleasure we insensibly derive from the presence of color.” Matilda Browne, in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, was also aware of the effect of colour in dress on vision. In her “Spinnings” column in October 1869 she exclaimed: “the poplins! once seen, never forgotten! Such colours! such varieties! such shades!” Several years later, in July 1874, she used similar language in her descriptive efforts: “An idea of the beauty of the new silks can only be gained by seeing them; the shades are more decided, but dark shades of each colour are the fashion.” These examples demonstrate how writers acknowledged the effects and importance of seeing colours.

*The Appreciation of Colour*

David Batchelor, as mentioned in the first chapter, has argued that since antiquity, “colour has been the object of extreme prejudice in Western culture,” frequently allied with the foreign and underpinned by a suspicion of pleasure and

---

sensory experiences.⁵ Art historian John Gage, who has written extensively about the use of and attitudes towards colour in the fine arts, also explores these views of colour, remarking that, in many western cultures, “disdain for colour has been seen as a mark of refinement and distinction.”⁶ Gage also notes “the recurrent assumption that a feeling for colour is itself a peculiarly female province” and Batchelor argues that the denigration of colour has often characterized it as feminine and also superficial.⁷ These attitudes certainly did appear in writing about nineteenth-century fashion, but often the focus was not on the rejection of colour, but rather its control and proper use.

Fashion writers, especially in their descriptions of dress and textiles, in fact delighted in the variety, subtlety, and beauty of available colours, often appealing to the reader’s imaginative ability. The author of the fashion report for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in January 1863 wrote that Messrs. Grant and Gask in London carried “light chiné silk dresses of every imaginable shade and colour.”⁸ In May 1864, a description of dresses worn at a Ball in the Tuileries in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* noted that the “tunic of poppy-red velvet” worn by “Mme. de F——” was of “the brightest red which can be imagined.”⁹ The profusion of available colours appeared as a frequent theme, gently satirized in a poem called “Bonnets,” included in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in May 1840. The second and third stanzas provided examples of several common techniques used by fashion writers to discuss colour:

```
Dizzily your tints perplex us;
Satin, velvet, leghorn, crapes,
Rise, like Hamlet’s ghost, to vex us,
With your strange, unearthly shapes.
As the rainbow’s colours, various
Are the hues which ye display;
And chameleon-like precarious,
Changing one by one away.
```

---

Black, then purple—pink, then yellow;
Green or scarlet, gay or grave;
Now, like sunset, soft and mellow,
Now ye mock the deep-blue wave.
Both in tint and form fantastic,
As the dreams that mock poor men,
Changing shape, like gum-elastic,
Only to be changed again.¹⁰

These lines illustrate the abundance of colours and materials, as well as the exuberance of design, in contemporary bonnets. Writers often used natural referents when trying to describe colour; this author mentions colours resembling a rainbow, a sunset, and the sea. Colours are characterized as “gay or grave” and “soft and mellow,” in language similar to that of fashion reports, as this chapter will discuss. To portray the changeableness of “tint and form” in bonnets, the writer mentions a chameleon, dreams, and Hamlet’s ghost, the Shakespeare reference being another occasional appearance in fashion writing. The inclusion of modern “gum-elastic,” or rubber, however, cleverly undercuts these lofty allusions and the deliberately archaic, mock-heroic language of the poem.

The humour of “Bonnets” underscores the way in which discussions of colour pervaded nineteenth-century fashion writing. Amusing pieces such as this, as well as the more common examples of colour description in fashion reports, appealed to readers’ imaginations. Building on the discussion of the enjoyment of fashion begun in the previous chapter, these examples provide a compelling illustration of the pleasure taken in fashion and dress in the mid- to late nineteenth century.

These detailed descriptions and sense of obvious enjoyment reflected a desire for and an appreciation of colour in clothing. Occasionally, this wish was explicit, as in an excerpt from the comments of the English writer in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in December 1862 mentioned above: “We dearly love and duly appreciate color; we have hailed with

delight the resumption of the scarlet cloak this winter by our fair countrywomen.”\footnote{11} The author of an article called “Color—In Dress, Furniture, and Gardening,” published in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in October of the same year, asserted “Color delights both wise and simple, young and old.”\footnote{12} “Delight” is a key word in these declarations, underscoring the joy that colour can bring to the eyes.

Pleasure in colour often provided an opportunity to praise the beauty of Nature, frequently acknowledged to furnish the best examples of colours. Describing some textile samples in June 1873 in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, Matilda Browne wrote, “The colours are truly beautiful, the purity of the silk and the fineness of the wool combining to produce that delicate bloom and freshness which characterises the works of Nature rather than those of art.”\footnote{13} The next year, Browne continued to use natural examples as the benchmark for beautiful textile colours. In February 1874, she informed her readers that a Austrian silk manufacturer “The great Reichart, of Vienna, who took the prize medal for colour over all other makers, has sold his Exhibition silks to Mr. [Peter] Robinson [in London]….Reichart’s silks are peculiarly soft and thick, with that peculiar bloom which is seen on fruit and which is noticeable on many flowers.”\footnote{14} In both these examples, the suggestion that manufactured goods could even approach the beautiful colours and textures found in nature underscored the textiles’ quality and loveliness.

The beauty and variety of colours seen in nature were sometimes included in the broader contemporary convention of Christian praise. As the previous chapter demonstrated, religious belief guided many of the assumptions about and judgements of women’s dress during this period and this worldview could inform perceptions of colour. In their December 1843 letter, the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* wrote that “shop

\footnote{11} “Editors’ Table. The Influence of Dress and Colors,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 65 (1862): 606.  
\footnote{12} “Color—In Dress, Furniture, and Gardening,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 65 (1862): 367. This significant article will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.  
\footnote{13} “Spinnings at the Seaside,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 14 (1873): 315.  
\footnote{14} “Spinnings in Town,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 16 (1874): 90.
windows are gay with all the colours of the rainbow” in dress materials. They go on to specify,

We are not, however, among the number of those who would proscribe variety of colours in our clothing. We like to see that ingenuity and taste have been exerted in fabricating the materials. After all the care and pains of the artists and manufacturers, the work of man’s device will never rival the skill of the Great Architect, who decks the earth with beauty, and ornaments the shells of the oceans with a thousand curious tints. We were by Him endowed with the capacity of enjoying pleasure from the sight of delicate and varied hues.15

Again, manufactured textiles could not compete with the colours of the natural world and the editors rested assured in the superiority of God’s creation. This piece is significant, however, because the editors presented the enjoyment of colour in both natural and man-made objects as divine gifts.

Meanings of Colours

As the first chapter noted, scholars from a variety of academic fields have recently focussed on historical and cultural meanings of colour. Many of the traditional associations of colours that dated from the medieval or early modern periods in Europe, such as the connection of blue with the Virgin Mary, had lost much of their power by the mid-nineteenth century, at least in periodical literature aimed at middle-class women. As chapter six notes, however, different colours of dress textiles did still possess varying monetary values during this period and historical precedents were occasionally cited. In January 1856, the author of an article discussing the history of dress in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine observed, “Dress speedily became a symbol of rank—royal forms and colours were restricted to royal wearers, and so on, in downward gradation.”16 Echoes of a traditional hierarchy of colour therefore still sounded softly.

A couple colours mentioned in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines, however, occasionally evoked historical or specific cultural meanings. In February 1857,

an article in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* mentioned that in China, “Yellow is the imperial colour, and that of the Lamas.” In two short stories, yellow was singled out as a particularly unappealing colour to the hero, thus making the heroine less attractive. In “Meredeth Chichester,” serialized in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in the early 1860s, the eponymous heroine’s husband cried out, “‘when there are so many other colours to choose from, why must you deck yourself out in that wretched yellow gown?’” A short story called “That Hateful Color” in the July 1871 number of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. The plot turned entirely upon the heroine Libbie Seeley’s awareness that the hero, Wadsworth, does not like the colour yellow. Libbie’s friends and relations help her to tease Wadsworth about this idiosyncrasy and the story finishes with Wadsworth’s marriage proposal accompanied by a topaz ring. The reason why yellow in particular inspired such dislike in these heroes was unclear, but traditionally the colour had been associated with inconstancy, cowardice, and deceit.

As Victoria Finlay notes, purple was “the color most legislated about over the longest time.” This was the other colour singled out for attention in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines, which included references to “Tyrian purple.” Classical educations meant that literate commentators of the nineteenth century knew of Caesar’s exclusive right to wear a full-length toga in imperial purple and of Pliny’s descriptions of the Phoenicians of Tyre making the valuable dye from the murex shells of the Mediterranean. The same article about the costume of Palestine and Syria appeared in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in October 1852 and in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in June 1854, noting that “Tyre, once the ‘Queen of Nations,’ was formerly celebrated for

---

the renowned purple dye, which is often mentioned by ancient writers, particularly by Homer and Virgil, who generally arrayed their heroes in vests and tunics of Tyrian purple.23 The article then quoted lines from the Aeneid describing the garments of Tyrian purple worn by Dido and given by her to Aeneas.24 These associations of purple with royalty, power, and prestige persisted, underpinning many nineteenth-century references to purple. A character in a story by the popular American writer Marion Harland, published in Godey’s Lady’s Book in March 1871, described another as “not born to the purple” and the heroine of an Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine serial explained in preparation for a dinner, “I feel it a duty to array myself in ‘purple and fine linen.’”25 In these references to purple, the colour was therefore shorthand for prominent social position or the appearance of it. The use and meanings of this word points to some of the complexities of colour language in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Language of Colour Description

As discussed in chapter one, describing colour often poses a linguistic challenge, especially in the great range of colours seen by the human eye. John Gage observes that


24 The vests embroidered of the Tyrian dye; (Aeneid, Book V, line 148)...

Then two fair vests, of wondrous work and cost,
Of purple woven, and with gold embossed,
For ornament the Trojan hero brought,
Which with her hand Sidonian Dido wrought (Aeneid, XI: 103-106)....

The queen at length appears; on either hand
The brawny guards in martial order stand.
A flowered cymarr, with golden fringe she wore;
And at her back a golden quiver bore:
Her flowing hair a golden caul restrains;
A golden clasp the Tyrian robe sustains. (Aeneid, IV: 194-199)

“[l]anguages have never been used for labelling more than a tiny fraction of the millions of colour-sensations which most of us are perfectly well equipped to enjoy and, we might have supposed, to name.”26 A colour consultant who published widely in the 1960s and 1970s, Faber Birren, also emphasized the small number of “primitive colour terms—red, yellow, green, blue, white, black.”27 Most of the other words used to describe colour are borrowed from the natural world, a practice very much in evidence in nineteenth-century fashion writing for reasons already explained.

Mid-nineteenth century fashion writers were aware of the difficulties of describing colour. Matilda Browne, in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, explicitly acknowledged this problem in a couple of her articles in the early 1870s. Writing about velvets in March 1874, Browne referred to one of “a soft, indescribable shade of blue, which I have not seen in any other material.”28 In September 1872, Browne asserted of some Irish poplins she had seen: “The softness of the colours and the brilliancy of the fabric cannot be rendered by mere description.”29 Admitting the limits of language in representing colour, Browne was inviting her readers to see or imagine these textiles for themselves.

As the previous chapter discussed, most of the fashion information in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines had to be conveyed through black and white words. Colour presented a particular challenge and writers adopted a variety of strategies in their efforts in description. As John Lyons notes, “English has several words that may be used to qualify or modulate…colour-terms…[including] such adjectives as deep, pale, light, dark, bright, vivid, and brilliant.”30 All of these words, as well as several other qualifying terms, appeared in these magazines. A report of walking dresses in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* of January 1844 typified fashion writing about colour, including several

26 Gage, “Colour and culture” 180.
kinds of descriptive language: “Bright claret-coloured satin robe…Velvet pelisse of the
darkest shade of green, lined with ruby satin….Pink satin chapeau…Robe of stone-
coloured silk, striped in a deeper shade of the same hues…Green velvet chapeau.”

“Light,” “dark,” “deep,” and “pale” were used with great frequency to
c caracterize colours in fashion writing in all the magazines studied. Writers in particular
periodicals seem to have preferred specific qualifying terms in their descriptions. When
discussing muted hues, fashion reports in the Ladies’ Cabinet in the 1840s included
several references to “quiet colours.” Describing new foulards in April 1841, the author
tells her readers that “the colours are generally of a quiet kind, and the patterns small”
and in July 1846 the monthly report mentions “a new and very quiet shade of grey” for
walking dress. In May 1844, a fashion writer observed, “Most of the new ribbons have
a mixture of colours, but in a quiet style.” Although “quiet” seems to have been
especially favoured by the writer, or writers, of the Ladies’ Cabinet, the fashion writer
for the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine also used this term. In November 1862, she
reported, “There is a tendency to quietness in matters of the toilet, and for that reason we
now see browns, greys, and shades of that description.”

In related efforts of description, fashion news reports in the Englishwoman’s
Domestic Magazine sometimes described colours as “soft.” In July 1858, the monthly
report noted that “[i]n dresses generally soft colours continue fashionable” and Matilda
Browne, in May 1876, described a natté dress textile “striped of soft shades of blue and

32 See, for example, “Paris Fashions for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 3 (1840): 339; “Paris Fashions
for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 6 (1841): 134; “Paris Fashions for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N.
33 “London Fashions for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 5 (1841): 269; “Paris Fashions for the Month,”
Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 2, 6 (1846): 61.
35 “The Fashions,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 6 (1862): 44.
rose-colour.”36 In October 1868, Browne had detailed the characteristics of a good serge, noting that, perhaps somewhat confusingly, “the colour is soft yet bright.”37

Reports in the Ladies’ Cabinet also included descriptions of “delicate” colours, as in April 1840 when the fashion writer remarked that velvet evening dresses “are of such delicate colours, and trimmed in such a light style, that they have a very elegant effect.”38 In September 1842, a report commented that shot silks remained popular for evening dress “in general of delicate hues, as pink, blue, and blue shot with white.”39 A fashion writer for Godey’s Lady’s Book in November 1852 also used this term, asserting that the silks available at Levy’s in Philadelphia were “richer in material, and more delicate in shades of color, than any that have ever been imported before.”40 In the final example, “delicate” seems to have implied a sophisticated subtlety of colouring, as well as light hues. These nuances hint at the difficulties of colour description, as well as the importance of context to interpret meanings of different terms.

A few of the fashion articles in the Ladies’ Cabinet described dress textiles as “vivid.” The fashion writer referred to an elegant silk for “half dress” in November 1841: “the Allamha [sic], a rich ground of a neutral tint, thickly covered with moorish [sic] patterns in vivid colours.”41 In November 1846, one of the fashion reports contained descriptions of French and Indian shawls in which “black and deep blue seem favourite colours for the grounds; the patterns, mostly of the oriental kind, are in rich vivid hues.”42 These examples indicate that, at least for this periodical’s fashion writer (or writers), “vivid” was especially appropriate for conveying colours considered “exotic.”

Writers for both Godey’s Lady’s Book and the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine described colours as “bright.” In the 1860s, fashion reports in the

38 “Paris Fashions for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 3 (1840): 271.
41 “London Fashions for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 6 (1841): 337.
42 “Paris Fashions for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 2, 6 (1846): 317.
Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine noted “bright blue” and “bright green” dresses and Godey’s Lady’s Book observed that “[b]right colors are now very much used.” Matilda Browne used this adjective to denote a kind of youthful energy in colours when she wrote in May 1867 of dress fabrics of “very bright fresh tints” and in June 1873 of “designs in bright colours of charming and coquettish character” available at the shop La Malle des Indes. Colours described as “bright,” however, are not always entirely clear to modern reader, as when the April 1855 fashion report in Godey’s Lady’s Book mentioned “all-wool mousselines and cashmeres of bright medium colours.” More confusing still, despite obvious efforts at specificity, is an April 1875 description in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine of an “exquisite dress was of a very bright delicate shade of mauve, almost what our mothers called ‘peach.’” As with other words used to qualify colours, the mid-nineteenth century context seems to have given “bright” different meanings and nuances, some of which are difficult to determine or recover.

It is significant in this study that authors used “brilliant” to characterize colours of textiles and garments in all of the periodicals examined, before and after aniline dyes became available. The fashion in the 1840s for changeable or shot silks (woven with one colour warp and another colour weft) occasioned several uses of this adjective in the Ladies’ Cabinet. A May 1844 report observed that these textiles continued to be very fashionable and that their “hues are more brilliant than ever, particularly in the evening silks, in which lilac and rose predominate.” In May of the previous year, a fashion writer described a mantelet of “a changeable silk, which, under three different points of

43 “The Fashions,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2 (1861): 189; “The Fashions,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. s. 2, 3 (1867): 146; “Chitchat upon New York and Philadelphia Fashions for January,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 70 (1865): 105. Some of these “bright” colours of the early 1860s were probably created with synthetic dyes. These connections will be discussed in chapter six.
46 “Flittings in March,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 18 (1875): 203.
view, gives three distinct colours, and these tints are extremely rich and brilliant.48 In these examples, “brilliant” seems to have denoted the high sheen of the silk, which would have added to the visual effect of the definite colours described.

“Brilliant” distinguished bright colours as well. In the October 1848 issue of Godey’s Lady’s Book, the fashion reporter informed readers that “Silk cashmeres are in cheque patterns, of brilliant colors, crimson predominating.”49 The January 1857 fashion article in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine noted that “[v]ery brilliant colours, such as cerise, rose, and amber, are very much worn for ball dresses” and Godey’s Lady’s Book in October 1870 underscored the popularity of “plain dress goods” in “all the brilliant shades of green, blue, brown, purple and maroon.”50 The hues mentioned in these examples provide clues to what colours readers might have imagined in more general uses of the word. A fashion article in Godey’s Lady’s Book in May 1864 reported that “[a] very pretty grenadine-like material has come out in white grounds, crossbarred with brilliant colors in satin.”51 In January 1848, one of the monthly fashion articles in the Ladies’ Cabinet noted that bonnets of satin and velvet were “usually trimmed with velvet flowers of brilliant hues, or bouquets of short feathers shaded in the various tints of the hue of the bonnet.”52 Especially in this final example, there would have been substantial latitude in which to exercise personal preferences about which “brilliant hues” to choose for a bonnet’s trimming.

The Use of Natural Referents, Geographical Referents, and French Terms

As well as using such qualifying adjectives, writers of fashion news employed many other modes of description to convey colours to their readers, the natural world providing the majority of colour references. All of these magazines included countless

evocative colour terms and a few representative examples are provided here. Fashion reports mentioned colours such as: “myrtle green,” “the colours of wild violet,” “emerald green,” “fire colour,” “lavender bloom,” “cabbage green, and sea green,” “serpent blue, frog green, flax grey, dove purple” and “raven’s wing.”53 Some descriptions drawing on nature were more elaborate as in December 1868, when a fashion writer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* mentioned “a pure, faint gray, called Star of the Morning, like the mists broken upon by early light” fashionable for bonnets.54 The changeable silks of the 1840s required especially fanciful phrases in the fashion articles in the *Ladies’ Cabinet*. Reports noted a dress silk that had “a ground resembling mother-of-pearl, shaded in the colours of the rainbow” and “a shot silk of the colours called *gorge de Pigeon* [pigeon-throat]” for a morning visiting dress.55 Such descriptions reveal the contemporary pleasure taken in both colour and language. The constantly-changing colour names comprised another aspect of the contemporary emphasis on novelty in fashion, as discussed in the previous chapter, and the need for readers to stay up to date in their knowledge of fashion.

Colour names also included geographical referents, some of which were more intuitive than others. Fashion reports mentioned: “Nile-green,” “*terre d’Egypte*,” “Indian green,” “Mexican blue,” “Yokohama grey,” “Vesuvius red,” “Marengo, a shade of purple almost black,” and “blue poplins, Waterloo, Alexandria, and sky-blue, but Bay of Naples blue is the best and prettiest.”56 Almost all of the places or geographical features

---


54 “Chitchat on Fashions for December,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 77 (1868): 556.


used to describe colour suggested the dramatic and exotic, often alluding to locations of
significant political events and cultural interests, a naming convention frequently
employed by fashion writers.

As the previous chapter discussed, nineteenth-century Anglophone fashion
writers often used French words and this practice certainly included the discussion of
colour. Much of the time, these French terms also referred to nature, as the above
examples of “gorge de Pigeon” and “terre d’Égypte” indicate. A few examples of French
colour words include: “oiseau [bird], poussière [sic] [dust],” “a yellowish crimson called
caroubier [locust tree],” “feuille marte [sic] [dead leaf],” and the particularly exhaustive
list of “boue de Paris [mud of Paris], fumée de Londres [smoke of London], résédą
[mignonette/weld], Hindostan, gris d’hiver [winter grey], gris souris [mouse grey], gris
mode [fashion grey], and vert-de-gris.”

In some cases, writers perhaps considered the
French phrases and references to Paris more appealing and sophisticated than their literal
translations. Misspellings indicate that not all members of the periodical’s staff
possessed remarkable facility in French, but underscore the cachet these terms were felt
to lend the fashion reports. As discussed in the previous chapter, specialized language
could also exclude, making these descriptions unintelligible to some. The repetition and
definition of terms, however, provided some opportunities for diligent readers to learn
this colour language.

Sometimes, fashion writers defined or clarified French colour terms more
exactly. The greys of the early 1870s, recorded above in the Englishwoman’s Domestic
Magazine, also garnered mentioned in Godey’s Lady’s Book in November 1871, when
the fashion writer included among autumn’s fashionable colours “fumie, London smoke,

---

Magazine N. S. 2, 17 (1874): 248; and “Spinnings in Town,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2,
8 (1870): 42. Marengo was the site of a 1800 French victory over the Austrians during the Napoleonic
wars.
57 “Paris Fashions for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 7 (1842): 271; “Spinnings in Town,”
Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 5 (1868): 257; “Continental Notes,” Englishwoman’s
Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 11 (1871): 188; “Spinnings in Town,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine
N. S. 2, 13 (1872): 334.
the deepest gray, very *serieux*, as the French say.\textsuperscript{58} Acknowledging French fashion leadership by using French words for both colour and characterization, this description also referred to the contemporary metropolitan identity of London. In July 1865, the monthly fashion report in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* noted “[a] silk dress of the colour now called *cerise aigre* [sour cherry], a sort of dark pink, or light red—the colour, in fact, of an unripe cherry.”\textsuperscript{59} An article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in November 1868 carefully described “a brown garnet,” specifying that “[t]his is not the purple garnet of two years ago, nor the cranberry color of last winter, but a soft, dark shade, as is sometimes seen in seal skin; this color is known as *oreille d’ours*, or bear’s ear.”\textsuperscript{60} In February 1872, Matilda Browne even noted “a new soft rose-blush colour, with an utterly untranslatable French name, which is extremely pretty.”\textsuperscript{61} By emphasizing her understanding of French, Browne’s words underscored her privileged knowledge of fashionable colours and thus authority as a fashion writer while also admitting the limits of language, or at least translation, to convey colour.

These detailed clarifications point to another frequent method of mid-nineteenth century colour description, that of comparison. To define particular colours, writers referred to similar hues, often operating within a self-referential world of specifically fashionable colours. In October 1854, the fashion writer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included among the “most noticeable shades” for mantles “a blue, which is darker and brighter than the Marie Louise, yet not so deep as the lately favorite Mazarine. Some of the Paris correspondents describe it as ‘blue-bottle.’”\textsuperscript{62} Matilda Browne, in October 1874, also discussed a fashionable colour in this manner, writing “It is not easy to give an idea of the colour of *veronique*; it is not *réséda*, yet it recalls that colour; it is not

\textsuperscript{58} “Chitchat on Fashions for November,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 83 (1871): 485.
\textsuperscript{60} “Chitchat on Fashions for November,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 77 (1868): 465.
\textsuperscript{61} “Spinnings in Town,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 12 (1872): 106.
green, yet has a water tint; it is not grey, yet has grey *reflets*.”63 This mode of description could be more prosaic, however, as when the *Ladies’ Cabinet* in July 1844 included a dress of “a yellow shade of fawn” or a character in a January 1847 story in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* enquires of another: “‘which of these shades of purple silk do you think the most stylish—the blue purple or the red purple?’”64 This way of discussing colour, especially in the more involved examples, flattered readers, especially those who read the magazine regularly, by assuming that they were already familiar with the terms of comparison, confirming their knowledge of contemporary fashion. These modes of description could also bar inclusion of readers who did not “speak” the language of fashionable colour.

Contemporary events and people provided colour names as well. English periodicals mentioned several colours named after socially prominent women, including “Victoria blue” in February 1840, “Eugénie blue” in May 1860, and “Metternich green” in February 1868.65 In March 1869, Browne clarified the origins of this last colour, noting that the dress “of Madame de Metternich, ambassadress of Austria, was of that beautiful shade of green which bears her name.”66 Contemporary cultural and political events in Paris provided colour names too, as a September 1868 reference to “Haussman red” demonstrated.67 Events of the Commune and the Franco-Prussian War also filtered into the contemporary language of colour. In April 1871, Brown noted

> Fashions are always influenced by passing events, and those of the year of grace 1871 will remain as sad reminiscences of this fatal war. The colours most worn for the last few months have been named *gris d’exil, brun terre étrangère*; a pale blue, *larmes de France*; an exquisite emerald green, *espoir de la patrie*; a bright violet, *souvenir des absents*; and the

---

deep red, which first went by the too revolting name of *sang de Prusse*, has since been named *rouge Bataille*.68

The author of a February 1871 report from Paris in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* also mentioned the final colour in this list, observing that “[t]he new color for winter is a rich shade of red, which, in spite of its repulsive name, *sang de Prusse*, promises to become very popular.”69 Writers for both the American and the British periodicals judged this particular colour-name inappropriate.

Other names for red also met with censure, at least in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*. In April 1868, Browne noted a straw bonnet “trimmed with gros-grain ribbon of the new and very fashionable shade of red called *sultan*, a bright colour we should term *blood-red*, but that name would not sound very elegant.”70 Browne held definite opinions about “elegance” in colour names, observing in June 1875, “*Crême [sic]* has in itself an elegant sound, and is, for instance, infinitely preferable to the name *lie de vin*, which was in vogue last year, and which was as disagreeable as to the idea it called forth as to the colour in itself, which was an ugly, dull shade of red.”71 These comments highlight the attention to appropriate, refined language as well as the hues of fashionable colours. These carefully-selected words demonstrated the discrimination of the fashion writer, underscoring the way in which language reflected the construction of taste.

The previous chapter explored the use of humour to comment upon and sometimes criticize fashion. Fashionable colours, especially in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, also provided material for contemporary wits. In December 1855, the following anecdote appeared:

A lady, rather sentimental, inquired at a hat and cap store…for a cap of a “subdued mouse-color.” The clerk replied, with all the composure he

71 “The June Fashions,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 18 (1875): 305-06. “*Lie de vin*” translates literally as “dregs of wine,” but it is also a French colour phrase for a dark purplish-red.
could command after so violent a shock, that they had none of that kind, but could supply her with an article of “enraged rat-color.”\textsuperscript{72}

In July 1843, the magazine published a “sketch” entitled “The Kingsburys.”

Early in the piece, Rosella Kingsbury writes to her brother, who is travelling, requesting that he purchase wool yarns for the worsted work she and her sister are undertaking:

If you are unable to find the precise colours at Brown’s, perhaps you may obtain them at Green’s, in all probability they can be had at White’s but you will observe that all the twelve shades must be exactly matched, without the slightest variation from the pattern….it will be safest to get two extra skeins (six in all) of the second shade of cherry-red, two more of the third shade of celestial blue, and three additional skeins of the lightest shade but one of the yellow-green. I think also, it may be well to have two extra skeins of the fourth shade of red-lilac, and two more of the full cinnamon brown; one of the primrose-yellow, and one more also of the bird of Paradise. You may likewise get four skeins of royal purple, for which you will not need a pattern, as you must have seen so many kings on your travels.\textsuperscript{73}

Both of these passages played upon contemporary ways of discussing colour, finding humour in the fanciful names and the attention paid to miniscule differences among hues. By assuming readers’ familiarity with these tropes, however, this gentle satire underscores the wide middle-class prevalence of such feminized colour language.

\textit{Colour Theory in the Mid-Nineteenth Century}

Some understanding of colour theory and the scientific study of colour also informed discussions of colour in nineteenth-century women’s magazines. In his bibliographic history of colour’s use, Kenneth E. Burchett points to the work of Isaac Newton and Robert Boyle in the seventeenth century as “the beginning of the science of color.”\textsuperscript{74} Newton arranged the spectrum into seven colours, drew a parallel between the musical octave and the spectrum, and published his monumental work \textit{Opticks; or, A Treatise of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions, and Colours of Light} in 1704. He also

\textsuperscript{72} “Godey’s Arm-Chair,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 51 (1855): 565.
\textsuperscript{73} Miss Leslie, “The Kingsburys, A Sketch,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 27 (1843): 5.
\textsuperscript{74} Kenneth E. Burchett, \textit{A Bibliographical History of the Study and Use of Color from Aristotle to Kandinsky} (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005) 17.
presented the first colour wheel, although Moses Harris appears to have published the first full-colour version in 1766.\textsuperscript{75}

In England, the work of mathematician and colour theorist Thomas Young, colour chemist George Field, and physicist David Brewster, among others, increased the literature of colour in the first half of the nineteenth century, refining the colour wheel and defining the primary colours, thus laying the foundation for the methodical study of colour harmony.\textsuperscript{76} In 1828, a Scottish housepainter and writer, David Ramsay Hay, published \textit{The Laws of Harmonious Colouring Adapted to Housepainting} in 1828, using Newton’s musical analogy in his theory of the harmony of colours.\textsuperscript{77}

In a later edition of this book, Hay broadened the scope of application for his theories, which deserves mention in this thesis. In his introduction, he asserted that in this edition he had “given such a general view of those laws as, I trust, may be useful in all cases where various colours are necessarily brought together; whether in decoration, manufacture, dress, planting of flowers, or in other ordinary matters.”\textsuperscript{78}

Hay also drew an explicit parallel between education and successful use of colour harmony in dress: “I believe it will be generally acknowledged by judges of such matters, that the dresses of most ladies of the highly-educated class are arranged with an apparent adherence to the laws of harmonious colouring.”\textsuperscript{79} He suggested several reasons for this, employing Field to support his argument:

\begin{quote}
This, I have no doubt, arises from their knowledge of music, as well as from the improved perception consequent upon a general cultivation of the mind. Field makes an observation, the truth of which will be pretty generally admitted: he says “that the female eye seems to be particularly receptive and perceptive of the tender, beautiful, and expressive relations
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{75} Burchett 18.
\textsuperscript{76} Burchett 18-20; Ball 40-41.
\textsuperscript{78} David Ramsay Hay, \textit{The Laws of Harmonious Colouring, Adapted to Interior Decorations, Manufactures, and Other Useful Purposes}, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers; London: Orr and Smith, 1836) v.
\textsuperscript{79} Hay, \textit{The Laws of Harmonious Colouring} 4.
of colours.” This must no doubt assist the other facilities I have alluded to.80

Hay thus positioned educated women as especially able to appreciate colours and their relationships, alluding to the traditional female gendering of colour.81 These ideas of colour harmony, with a special emphasis on its “laws” and “science,” pervaded nineteenth-century discussions of colour with reference to taste, specifically in the interior and female dress. In the second half of the century, the theories of Michel-Eugène Chevreul exerted particular influence in these conversations.82 Earlier writers had referred to clothing, but Chevreul explicitly discussed dress in his extensive regulations about using colour. This perhaps helps to explain the international influence his work wielded in the application of colour theory to female clothing.

Chevreul trained as a chemist and used his expertise as the director of the Gobelins dyeworks, a position he held from 1824. In attempting to standardize the dyes used at the manufactory, he realized that apparent differences in colours of tapestry sections were actually due to the juxtapositions of certain colours in the weaving, not because of inconsistent dyes.83 His observations of these colour effects led to the 1839 publication in Paris of De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs, an “epic-making work on colour harmony.”84 Charles Martel’s English translation of this book appeared in London in 1854, titled The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, with a version published in the United States in 1869.85 This edition included sections on using colour in tapestries, carpets, printed cottons, and wallpaper. John Spanton translated Chevreul’s book in 1857 and Routledge published New York and London editions of

---

81 Batchelor, Chromophobia 22-23. Field and Hay’s gendering of colour here does not explicitly reflect the sinister or degraded elements of this association of women and colour discussed by Batchelor, but the particular connection of female perception and colour is significant.
82 Gage, Color and Meaning 15.
83 Gage, Color and Meaning 196; Ball, Bright Earth 175.
84 Burchett 21.
this translation in 1858. Spanton’s full title encompassed a great range of potential uses for Chevreul’s principles: *The Laws of Contrast of Colour; and Their Application to the Arts of Painting, Decoration of Buildings, Mosaic Work, Tapestry and Carpet Weaving, Calico Printing, Dress, Paper Staining, Printing, Illumination, Landscape and Flower Gardening, &c.*

Faber Birren underscores that Chevreul’s fame derived largely from his law of simultaneous contrast and his “formulation of principles for the harmony of colors”—the way in which he put “order and structure into color organization.”86 Explaining the law of simultaneous contrast, Chevreul wrote,

> If we look simultaneously upon two stripes of different tones of the same colour, or upon two stripes of the same tone of different colours placed side by side, if the stripes are not too wide, the eye perceives certain modifications which in the first place influence the intensity of the colour, and in second [sic], the optical composition of the two juxtaposed colours respectively.87

Placed next to each other, each colour appears brighter than it would by itself and each colour also seems to be a slightly different colour, due to the adjacencies of colours. This apparent change in colour occurs because of what is now termed the afterimage produced by each colour—the “optical composition” in Chevreul’s words.

If red and yellow are put next to each other, for example, each appears brighter. The red looks slightly purple, because the yellow creates a purple afterimage (purple is yellow’s colour wheel opposite) and the yellow appears slightly green (Fig. 3.1).88

Working systematically through dozens of different colour combinations, Chevreul noted how different colours affected one another and encouraged readers to undertake personal experiments to demonstrate these phenomena. In the second part of *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours*, Chevreul commented on almost every possible colour combination, giving advice about which ones should and should

not be used together. In presenting these rules, he asserted, “I hope that many classes of artists, particularly dressmakers, decorators of all kinds, designers of patterns for textiles fabrics, paper-hangings, &c., will derive some benefit from consulting them.” He thus stated his explicit wish to help those working every day with colour and its combinations.

Chevreul’s training as a chemist meant that his work with colour was based on careful experiments and thorough documentation, which led to the “laws” he presented. Gail Caskey Winkler and Roger W. Moss note that Chevreul “was not the first to witness these phenomena, but he was the first to record them systematically” and Philip Ball stresses that his background meant that his publications enjoyed “the (increasingly respected) stamp of scientific authority.” His exhaustive codification of colour leads John Gage to conclude that “Chevreul’s ‘laws’ were promoted largely as a key to colour harmony” in the mid-nineteenth century. The scientific study of colour begun by Newton and Boyle continued in Chevreul’s laws. These ideas about the science of colour exerted a profound impact on mid-nineteenth century discussions of colour, including those in the world of women’s dress.

The Language of Colour Theory in Fashion Writing

The general language of colour theory permeated fashion writing of the mid-nineteenth century, providing a compelling example of how science entered contemporary discussions about dress. “Hue,” “tint,” and “shade” were often used as synonyms for “colour,” but occasionally these terms appeared with more specificity. In January 1848, the author of a fashion article in the Ladies’ Cabinet observed, “We have

---

89 Chevreul, *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colors* 76.
91 Gage, *Color and Meaning* 198.
92 Paul Zelanski and Mary Pat Fischer provide useful definitions of colour theory terms in their book *Color*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003). A “hue” is the “quality we identify by a color name” corresponding to a colour’s wavelength and a color’s “value” is its brightness (19). A “shade” is a darker value of a colour and a “tint” is a lighter value of a colour (61).
noticed several of the last month’s bonnets composed of an intermixture of satin and velours épine; they are both of the same hue, but the latter of a somewhat darker shade.…They are usually trimmed with velvet flowers of brilliant hues, or bouquets of short feathers shaded in the various tints of the hue of the bonnet.”93 In this passage, “shade” seems to indicate darker colour values than the hue that provided the foundation of the bonnet. Matilda Browne, in June 1873, also used the language of colour theory in her description of a sash called “the Almée, which is shaded from light to dark in a most exquisitely graduated scale of colour.”94 Even if the terms were not used with strict correctness, their appearance highlighted the awareness of the discipline and terminology of colour theory.

The analogy of harmony in music and colour, employed by many authors of works on colour theory, also appeared occasionally in nineteenth-century magazines. In November 1856, an advice article in Godey’s Lady’s Book observed: “We all know—or profess to know—what musical harmony is. Now I would carry the same unity of purpose, the same blending of tones, the same nice appropriateness, into the details of the toilet.”95 In November 1863, a reporter in the same magazine pointed to the Empress Eugénie as an exemplar of such harmony: “In public the Empress never looks overdressed. A severe simplicity always characterizes her toilet, while everything, in material, fit and colour, is as complete in harmony as a sonata of Beethoven.”96 Newton’s analogy thus persisted well into the nineteenth century.

Discussions of colour in fashion frequently included references to “harmony” and “contrast” of colours. As the previous chapter noted, “harmony” could pertain more generally to a suitable, appropriate appearance. Contemporary fashion writers employed

the word in this broader sense, but also used it specifically to refer to pleasing combinations of colour. This double meaning perhaps explains its widespread usage.

**Chevreul’s Advice about Colour and Dress**

John Spanton’s translation of Chevreul’s *The Laws of Contrast of Colour* included Chevreul’s explicit discussion of colour in clothing. Chevreul began this section by observing that his interest in men’s clothing concerned “the combination of colours in military uniforms as a matter of State economy” and that the challenges facing portrait painters informed his attention to women’s clothing. He presented his rules as a way to escape the fashions of a particular historical moment, noting that “I shall attain my end if, in the views set forth, the portrait painter find the means of selecting associations of colours which, by imparting to his works more brilliancy and harmony, render them thereby less likely to appear antiquated when the prevailing fashion of this time is forgotten.”

Chevreul addressed several aspects of portraits in this section. In his comments on “the Complexion and the contiguous Drapery,” he averred, “Rose-red cannot be put in contrast with even the rosiest complexions without causing them to lose some of their freshness. Rose-red, maroon, and light crimson have the serious disadvantage of rendering the complexion more or less green.” After this, he described an experiment with coloured sheets of paper that the reader could conduct to observe this effect, finishing by noting that green hangings would conversely make female complexions appear rosy. He observed that if rose-coloured hangings were included in the painting, it would be crucial “to separate the rose from the skin, in some manner; and the simplest manner of doing this, is to edge the draperies with a border of tulle, which produces the

effect of grey by the mixture of white threads, which reflect light, and the interstices, which absorb it.”

Chevreul also discussed bonnet colours for female portrait subjects. He advised a “black bonnet with white feathers, with white, rose or red” for a fair complexion, a light blue hat for “the light-haired type,” and a green hat for “fair or rosy complexions.” For women with brown hair, he suggested a hat “of rose-red or cherry colour” and “a yellow bonnet . . . [which] receives with advantage violet or blue accessories.” He also asserted, “A violet bonnet is always unsuitable to every complexion, since there are none to which the addition of yellow will be favourable.” Nominally, Chevreul offered these recommendations to portrait painters, partly as way to evade colour combinations of the fashions of the day. As this chapter and chapter six will discuss, however, writers swiftly applied his pronouncements to contemporary fashionable female dress.

**Explicit References to Chevreul in Godey’s Lady’s Book**

In the magazines examined in this study, Chevreul was named explicitly only in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, although his precepts and vocabulary appeared in the other periodicals. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, writers in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* mentioned Chevreul by name on three occasions, always presenting him as a source of useful rules to guide readers’ selections of colours in clothing. In April 1855, the magazine included an article titled: “Choice of Colors in Dress; or, How a Lady May become Good Looking.” This piece introduced Chevreul as the dyemaster at Gobelins, mentioned his public lectures about “the practical effect of certain laws connected with the contrast of colors…which were formed by him into a book fifteen years ago,” noting that the book had recently been translated into English. The article’s author related Chevreul’s

---


100 Chevreul, *The Laws of Contrast of Colour* 175-76.

experiments of juxtaposing colours and his observations of the effects of colours on those adjacent to them, outlining the relationships between primary and secondary colours and encouraging readers to perform their own tests. Providing detailed examples of the effects a variety of colours have on different complexions, this writer noted Chevreul’s experiments: “We state some of the results, chiefly having in mind the uses to which ladies may put them.”

Although the article included many examples of the application of Chevreul’s theory to female dress and then to home furnishing, the final paragraph undercut some of the enthusiasm:

It is not worth while to multiply examples of this theory. We have desired only to amuse ourselves, and at least one section of our readers. Whoever means to be a student in these matters must read M. Chevreul’s book, or look for wiser counselors. We are, for our own parts, not sufficiently under the influence of the color-sergeant to care much whether we sit upon a white chair or a black one, whether it is a black hat or a green one that suits the color of our hair.

The tension noted in the previous chapter between the wish for rational, scientific “laws” to govern fashion and the desire for individual responsibility in matters of appearance thus surfaced in matters related to colour and dress. The author presented rules informed by Chevreul’s experiments, but also seemed to warn readers against following them blindly.

Much of the information in this article appeared again in an August 1859 piece in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* called “Becoming Colors.” The author noted, “The authority is excellent, M. Chevreul, which has devoted an entire chapter to the toilet, in his ‘Laws of Contrast of Color.’” The familiar list of colours and their effects on the complexion followed, quoted directly from the 1858 translation of Chevreul’s book. The piece began with the injunction that often accompanied such articles: “We have just met with still another collection of hints with regard to the selection of colors, the neglect of which

---

103 “Choice of Colors in Dress; or, How a Lady May become Good Looking,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 50 (1855): 332.
makes so many ill-dressed and gaudy-looking women.”105 This introduction both identified a problem and offered a solution to its readers.

The final article in Godey’s Lady’s Book appeared in September 1864 and rehearsed the same information found in the previous items. Shorter in length, this piece related that Chevreul “the Government Superintendent of the dyeing department of the great Parisian manufactory of the celebrated Gobelins tapestry, has recently delivered a series of lectures at Paris on complexion and colors, full of valuable hints to our ladies.”106 A lengthy quotation, summarizing which colours flattered which complexions, completed this article. The authority ascribed to Chevreul confirmed the merit of these “valuable hints”; he was “Superintendent” at a “great” institution producing “celebrated” artworks in Paris, the leader of the art and fashion worlds. Other references to the everyday applications of scientific knowledge will be discussed in the next chapter.

References to Chevreul’s Principles

Although, as stated, explicit mentions of Chevreul were infrequent, mid-nineteenth century fashion articles about colour overflowed with references to contrast and harmony. Some of these pieces couched recommendations about colour in the language of Chevreul’s science and colour theory, even if not acknowledging him by name; others simply mentioned contrast and harmony in descriptions or as desirable goals in dress.

The author of a September 1857 article in Godey’s Lady’s Book, “How to Dress with Taste,” certainly seemed familiar with Chevreul’s recommendations about colour and complexion, although the Frenchman was not mentioned by name. The article began in a familiar vein, emphasizing the importance of considering colour in dress and noting

---

106 “Godey’s Arm-Chair,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 69 (1864): 271.
that this topic is “one upon which the greatest amount of ignorance has been shown.”

The author introduced the basics of colour theory, observing that “[o]ut of three primitive colors, red, blue, and yellow, there are endless mixtures and variations” then asserting that in wearing colours “two rules must be observed: the rule of Harmony and of judicious Contrast.” A list of colours followed, with details about which complexions they flattered.

The editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* appeared to consider colour, contrast, and complexion of great interest to their readers in the late 1850s, in the wake of Chevreul’s publication in English. The above article was quickly followed by discussion of these topics in a series of articles, “The Science of Dress.” The first installment, in January 1858, addressed colour almost immediately, declaring: “Harmony of color depends upon that nice arrangement by which violent contrasts are destroyed, and two or more colors blend and lose themselves in each other. Nature in this case, as in others, is our best teacher.” This piece also defined the “primitive” colours and included a variety of colour recommendations for different complexions. The third article in the series, published in March 1858, returned to the subject of colour in dress, referring to an unnamed “authority on the subject” and contending: “Our aim in the foregoing remarks has been to induce a study of natural philosophy; and there can be little doubt that, the true principles of harmony of color and the beauty of arrangement being known, vanity and frivolity will be discountenanced and corrected.” The writer appealed to nature, scientific study, and established knowledge to improve readers’ attitudes towards fashion and their individual appearances.

This chapter has already discussed the way in which nineteenth-century commentators looked to nature for appropriate examples of colour combination and use.

---

107 “How to Dress with Taste,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 55 (1857): 213. This author may have consulted Chevreul’s book or perhaps simply read the previously-mentioned April 1855 article about his work in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*.


The reference above provided another example of this convention, as did a May 1845 editors’ letter in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*:

Green and blue—above, below—nothing but green and blue! And yet there seems no lack of variety in the beauty of the sky and earth. It is by the disposition of the colours, the contrasts, blendings, harmonies, that this fine effect is given, and the *tout ensemble* made so charming.111

Here, the natural world exemplified tasteful arrangement of colours. This example also shows that the vocabulary of colour theory, especially the words “contrast” and “harmony”, appeared in Anglophone periodicals before Chevreul’s translation into English. As the many examples from the late 1850s and early 1860s show, however, the translation from French clearly did help to disseminate the use of his principles as applied to dress and the complexion.

Three years after the English-language publication of Chevreul’s book, in February 1857, Mary Merrifield, author of the 1854 *Dress as a Fine Art*, published an article on children’s dress in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, in which she noted “The selections of colours and their harmonious arrangement demand a few words.”112 Although Merrifield did not mention Chevreul by name, her words closely reflected his observations and advice. She noted that “[d]ark colours have the effect of causing objects with which they are contrasted to appear lighter” and suggested, as Chevreul did, that “[y]ellow and lilac should be avoided in account of the ill effects they produce on the skin by contrast.”113

A short piece, “Hints about Colors,” appeared in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in November 1866, included partly as an answer to “the ‘young lady who wants advice about choosing her fall and winter costume.’” The writer, again echoing Chevreul, explained that “[w]hen two shades of the same color, one being very light and the other very dark, are placed beside each other, the light shade appears lighter than when it is

111 “Editors’ Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 30 (1845): 238.
viewed separately, and the dark, proportionately darker.” A couple examples of the
effect of different colours on complexions were given and the article concluded
“wherever there is agreeable contrast there is agreeable harmony.”114 By presenting this
advice as a response to a reader’s query, the editors of the magazine underscored the
belief in the general applicability of this colour theory to dress choices.

Some writers claimed that certain individuals enjoyed an “innate” colour sense,
but most presented colour theory as a body of knowledge that could be learned, echoing
the general discussion of learning about taste and fashion outlined in chapter two.
Chevreul’s writing on colour may have in part encouraged these suggestions of self-
education. As mentioned above, he described an experiment in The Laws of Contrast of
Colour to show the effects of red and green upon the complexion:

Place two sheets of paper of either of the above colours [rose-red, maroon,
or light crimson] beside two sheets of flesh-coloured paper, when it will be
seen how much they are mutually injured, the lighter becoming greenish,
and the darker rather of a violet hue. By substituting light green for the red,
we shall find them mutually heightened and improved. The height of tone of
the green influences the result: a very deep green, acting by contrast of tone,
so enfeebles the complexion, that the slight contrasts of its colours will be
inappreciable; a deep red, by contrast of analogy, blanches the
complexion.115

Magazines of the period urged a similar kind of self-instruction. In June 1862, an
author in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine asserted, “[t]he rules of art of colour
are easily learned, and…with…a few slips of coloured ribbon or tinted paper, the
harmonies and the discords of colours may be exemplified, and the eye trained to
distinguish accurately between them.”116 This writer continued, defining the “primary”
and “secondary” colours and explaining, exactly as Chevreul did, how certain colours
affect the appearance of those adjacent to them. This advice also seems to have enjoyed

115 Michel-Eugène Chevreul, The Laws of Contrast of Colour; and Their Application to the Arts of
Painting, Decoration of Buildings, Mosaic Work, Tapestry and Carpet Weaving, Calico Printing, Dress,
Paper Staining, Printing, Illumination, Landscape and Flower Gardening, &c., trans. John Spanton
currency in the United States, because the very same article appeared later the same year in *Godey’s Lady’s Book.*

Chevreul’s book seems to have inspired several parts, including the coloured pieces of paper, of the above article, which was titled “Colour, in Dress, Furniture, and Gardening.” An 1856 two-part general advice article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book,* also attending to colour in dress and interiors, echoed Chevreul as well:

> A little study of these effects [of contrasting colours] with wools will be by no means a waste of time. It will assist you in arranging furniture, dress, and many other things; and whether your income be large or small, it will enable you to throw an air of refinement on your ménage which no mere wealth can ever give.

This author emphasized the development of taste, which could be acquired through self-education, over mere financial resources. Affirming the encouragement of scientific education that will be discussed in the following chapter, this kind of advice comprised a fundamental part of middle-class self-improvement.

These articles therefore reflected the direct influence of Chevreul and his language, applied more generally, pervaded nineteenth-century fashion writing. Authors often employed this vocabulary to describe combinations of colours, as when a fashion reporter for the *Ladies’ Cabinet* in November 1841 noted shawls “bordered with broad stripes of strongly contrasted colours” or when the October 1852 “Practical Dress Instructor” in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* recommended trimming a day dress with “broad ribbon velvet, about an inch in width, of the same colour as the dress, or one in good contrast.” An 1852 article on calico printing in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* claimed that in textile design “the beauty of a print depends on the elegance of the pattern, and the brilliancy and contrast of colors.” Trimming of bonnets was also seen to require special sensitivity to colour. In February 1844, the fashion writer for the

---

Ladies’ Cabinet noted on this subject, “We should observe that the flowers were of different hues, but very harmoniously blended” and in June 1870, the Godey’s Lady’s Book reporter warned, “In bonnets…[t]he combinations of colors used in trimming are peculiar, and require an artist to blend them harmoniously.”

As with other kinds of fashion commentary, references to contrast and harmony surfaced in the literature included in mid-nineteenth century magazines. In an 1870 story by Marion Harland in Godey’s Lady’s Book, a rich and fashionable character condescendingly complimented a poor relation on her decoration of a cast-off grey silk dress: “You showed good taste in trimming it with russet velvet. The contrast is very fashionable just now, as I suppose you know.” Contrastig colours of trim were fashionable in 1870, underscoring the way in which this character was able to employ a fashionable colour sense without much money.

An amusing narrative piece by Priscilla Watts, wife of the English journalist Alaric Watts, published in Godey’s Lady’s Book in January 1854 and called “The Philosophy of Shopping,” related an excursion to a shop where, surrounded “with silks and satins, ribbons and velvets…My friend became serious and oracular; murmured of ‘harmony and contrast.’” A passage from Paradise Lost is then included, detailing Eve’s attention to colours in her preparation of a meal in the Garden of Eden. The ideal natural world, as well as canonical literature, thus provided references in this discussion. The lofty language—“serious and oracular”—and Miltonic allusion, however, were also mild satire, suggesting that both writers and readers could perceive

---

122 Marion Harland, “Rich or Poor?” Godey’s Lady’s Book 80 (1870): 35.
124 Watts quotes the following passage, substituting “most becoming” for “hospitable”: “[...]With dispatchful looks in haste She turns on (most becoming) thoughts intent, What choice to choose, for delicacy best, What order to contrive, as not to mix Hues not well joined, inelegant; but bring Shade after shade upheld by kindliest change.” (John Milton, Paradise Lost, Book V, lines 331-336.)

134
some of the language of colour as overdone. Many descriptions of colour in fashion contained unself-conscious poetic flourishes, but this example perhaps shows the thread of condemnation that ran through some nineteenth-century fashion commentary.

A writer for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in October 1870 drew unmistakably upon Chevreul’s laws:

A maxim of universal application is that in every dress there should be a predominant colour or character….The next rule of a very general application is that the secondary or subordinate colours should be employed, not for their own sakes, but as subsidiary to the predominant colour, and with a view to strengthening the impression intended to be produced by it. It is by no means meant by this to increase the brilliancy of the prevalent hue or to attract attention; on the contrary, the purpose may be to increase the quiet purity of its aspect or to lower its brilliancy.125

This text appeared in a monthly fashion report and the language bore great resemblance to contemporary writing on colour theory, even noting the effects of colour juxtaposition Chevreul observed in tapestries. The author also discussed harmony and contrast of colour, providing rules to guide the combination of colours. She finished by assuring her readers: “Should these rules be attended to, there is no fear of any glaring contrasts or jarring of ill-matched colours offending the eye.”126

The author of a June 1857 article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* also recommended a dominant colour in an ensemble: “As a general rule, there should be but one prevailing color, to which all others should be adapted, either by harmonizing with it or by a judicious contrast.”127 In November 1876, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included a piece that also used familiar language. The writer asserted, “Taste is very difficult of definition…Still there are certain laws of colour and arrangement more

---

readily recognised than others, such as the superiority of delicate shading to violent contrasts.”

Although these selections may not have utilized Chevreul’s principles as strictly as some of the other articles found in these magazines, they used specific words taken from the vocabulary of colour theory and referred to the more general impulse to discover laws in fashion. In this way, these articles assumed in their readers a familiarity with these contemporary discourses and confirmed the wide diffusion of Chevreul’s ideas. These examples illustrate the serious attention, informed by sophisticated concepts of colour theory, devoted to colour in women’s dress in the mid-nineteenth century.

Understanding of Colour as a Key Element of Good Taste

Knowledge and appreciation of the use of colour formed an essential part of good taste. Fashion reports alluded to this assumption, as when the Ladies’ Cabinet in December 1843 described trimming for hats: “A bouquet of flowers of three different colours, with satin to correspond, is also fashionable, and when the colours are tastefully blended, it is as pretty as it is novel.” The same phrase, applied to colour, appeared decades later, in the June 1872 monthly fashion report in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine: “The greatest charm of this spring’s fashion, indeed, lies in the savante combinations of different tints….hues are generally speaking, most tastefully blended.” The author of the September 1857 article in Godey’s Lady’s Book, “How to Dress with Taste,” began the piece with a lengthy section entitled “Of the Color of Dress,” highlighted as “one of the most important considerations” in tasteful dressing.

131 “How to Dress with Taste. The Dress of Ladies,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 55 (1857): 213. The second section of this article addressed “Form,” perhaps alluding to the historic tension between disegno and colore (Batchelor, Chromophobia 28-29). This piece notably prioritized colour, which was usually presented as subservient to form in traditional artistic practice.
Self-education was often presented as an essential means by which to acquire or refine taste in colour, echoing the injunctions to study found in colour theory texts. As the previous two chapters discussed, following the work of Pierre Bourdieu, education was seen as a key way in which taste could be acquired by those anxious to build or maintain their social positions. The author of an article in the October 1856 number of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* asserted: “it is quite possible to teach a person taste that is willing to learn…One essential thing to learn is color, or colors; to blend them well together.”\(^{132}\)

An article in the same periodical five years later reiterated the importance of educating the eye, declaring, “No organ of sense is so much the slave of habit as the eye, therefore we should habituate it to harmony of color and form, and soon we will turn with instinctive good taste from the ill-arranged and vulgar to what is graceful and becoming.”\(^{133}\) In “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione” of the January 1871 issue of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, a reader signed “A.B.” wrote:

> Let every woman…according to her position and means, endeavour to dress as well and as becomingly as she can, giving a moderate portion of her time seriously to this object. Let her study the harmony of colours, the simple elegance, the good taste and care in management, which distinguish a really well-dressed woman.\(^{134}\)

It seems that one reader, at least, had adopted the recommendations of fashion writers as his or her own. Good taste in colour could help women navigate potential traps of socially disastrous bad taste. Magazines warned against violations of the rules of colour, as when the author of the monthly fashion report in the August 1863 *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* declared: “Nothing can be more revolting to taste and unpleasant to the eyes than different shades of colour placed in close proximity and not matching well together.”\(^{135}\) The writer goes on to characterize such combinations as

---


\(^{133}\) “Good Advice,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 63 (1861): 288.

\(^{134}\) “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 10 (1871): 61.

deeply “distressing to any one with an eye for the beauty of harmony in colour.” In November 1876, a writer for the same magazine quoted “a contemporary” who averred, “The women who dress best are chiefly those who, possessing what so many milliners lack, an ‘eye’ for colour and some amount of knowledge, suit themselves by observing what is suitable.” These examples illustrated a tightrope of taste respecting colour in dress: women had to avoid “revolting” those possessing good taste and also assert themselves when confronted with “milliners” devoid of taste.

In 1868, the English writer Caroline Stephen wrote an article entitled “Thoughtfulness in Dress” for the Cornhill Magazine, a periodical in which fashion was rarely discussed. Stephen argued that women “do not generally put enough thought into [dress]; and the result appears in the wretchedly meaningless and inharmonious toilettes which fill our houses and streets.” To combat this disharmony, Stephen, of course, recommended careful attention to colour:

[W]ith respect to colour, there are two ways of lessening the danger: either the wearer may choose some one colour, with which every separate article of dress she buys shall harmonise, or she may decide in which of the three parts of her costume variation of colour shall be allowed, restricting herself in the other two parts sternly to neutral tints. ...Colours which harmonise with the same colour do not necessarily harmonise with each other. Besides this, regard must be had to the quantity and situation of each colour. Two colours which, if combined in very unequal proportions, are perfectly harmonious, may even as mere colour be intolerable in equal quantities.

This advice mirrors that dispensed by women’s magazines in which frequently fashion was discussed constantly. The inclusion of this article in a publication such as the

---

138 Caroline Stephen, “Thoughtfulness in Dress,” Cornhill Magazine 18 (September 1868): 281-82. Founded in 1860, the Cornhill Magazine was edited by William Makepeace Thackeray until 1871, after which Leslie Stephen assumed the editorship. Priced inexpensively at one shilling, the Cornhill published serialized novels by, among others, Thackeray, George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell, Thomas Hardy, and Henry James. Stephen (1834-1909) wrote for a variety of nineteenth-century periodicals and was later known for her Quaker writings.
Cornhill Magazine demonstrates how pervasive this kind of discussion had become by the late 1860s.

Learning how to combine colours was therefore seen as fundamental to tasteful dress. The broader contemporary discussion of fashion and design also emphasized the acquisition of taste through study, exemplifying the application of the middle-class rhetoric of self-improvement to aesthetic matters of self-presentation.

The Proper Use of Colour with Respect to Complexion

The writers of women’s magazines thus encouraged readers to learn the principles of colour harmony so that they could apply these rules to their dress, thereby demonstrating their taste to the world at large. Colour was celebrated, but it needed to be regulated, controlled, and properly used.

Most of the specific advice concerning the use of colour rested upon the ways in which certain colours flattered (or did not flatter) complexions. Many of these recommendations depended on the rules laid down by Chevreul on this subject as outlined above. All of the women’s magazines in this study included substantial amounts of advice about colour and complexion, illustrated by the following representative examples.

Sometimes fashion writers warned against a fashionable colour because it could be difficult to wear, as when the author of a monthly report in the Ladies’ Cabinet in September 1846 observed that hats were lined with “crêpe, or tulle of delicate colours, as pale pink, light blue, oiseau, or pea-green.”

The author goes on to caution, “The three first colours are generally becoming, but we must enter our protest against the indiscriminate use of the last; there are very few complexions that it will suit, and we have seen it disfigure many pretty women.”

Taste leaders were complimented or
criticized according to their colour selections. Unusually, the Empress Eugénie blundered in 1862, as *Godey’s Lady’s Book* reported: “The Empress, almost for the first time since she occupied her present elevated position, was very unbecomingly dressed, as the color of her gown did not at all suit her complexion, which is delicate rather than fair.”¹⁴² The Countess of Pourtales, another French woman of fashion, fared better in an 1869 report in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, wearing a dress of “a pale but brilliant shade of green.”¹⁴³ The author explained, “The countess is the fairest of blondes, and looked most lovely in this tasteful toilet.”¹⁴⁴

Several articles outlined more elaborate, systematic colour advice. Recommendations following those of Chevreul quite closely appeared in an 1856 article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, “How to Make a Bonnet and Cap.” The author listed, among other colours: pink, red, and yellow for those with black hair; pink, blue, and grass-green for brunettes; and apple-green, peach, and light blue for blondes.¹⁴⁵

The 1862 article on colour and its use that appeared in both the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* and *Godey’s Lady’s Book* shows Chevreul’s influence even more clearly. As Chevreul had outlined in *The Laws of Contrast of Colour*, this author warned that violet should not be placed near the face and that, “Every blond beauty knows instinctively that blue suits her better than any other color.”¹⁴⁶ The writer also echoed Chevreul when discussing non-white skin tones:

> Very dark skins and very dark hair need contrasting colors. Look at Catlin’s pictures of the North American Indians, and you find red women using many white and blue ornaments, whether of paint or shell, berry or feather; and, no doubt, the result is to produce a redder tinge of copper. And, having no alternative, she has submitted to a natural law. You cannot, by any accessories of color, tone down or neutralize the red skin; and she, therefore, judiciously selects colors that add vivacity to it, by making it incline towards orange.¹⁴⁷

---

¹⁴⁷ “Color—In Dress, Furniture, and Gardening,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 65 (1862): 574. George Catlin (1796-1872) was an American painter and author who published *Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the
Chevreul had claimed, “The tint of the complexions of the women of the North American Indian races is too positive to endeavour them to dissimulate, either by lowering its tone, or by neutralizing it. There is, then, no alternative but heightening it.” The “natural” preference of Native American women for colours that “add vivacity” to her skin, along with the blonde’s “instinctive” partiality for blue, were presented here as examples of proof of Chevreul’s theories, even if the Frenchman was not explicitly acknowledge by the author.

Fashion writers often discussed appropriate colours for different complexions in women’s magazines, frequently relying on Chevreul’s rules to some degree. A piece in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in September 1857 asserted: “The great art, as regards color of dress, is to enhance the tints of the complexion, care being taken to let the flesh appear of a healthy, natural hue, and to avoid wearing those colors which heighten or destroy either the red, yellow, or white in the natural flesh tints.”

A similar article included in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* several months later reiterated many of the same principles, also giving colour recommendations based on complexion. Titled “The Science of Dress,” this piece provided more specific examples than some of the other contemporary articles. Perhaps this degree of elaboration and presentation of “laws” explained the use of “science” in the title. The recommendations, however, bore great resemblance to those included in articles discussing the art of dress. Beginning the list of suggestions with the same general advice about adding or subtracting colour from the complexion by employing certain colours, the author explained:

---

*North American Indians* in 1841, accompanied by about 300 engravings, and *Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio*, a set of 25 plates, in 1844. As noted, Chevreul included recommendations for non-white skin tones in his book, presumably to assist painters dress models of different races. This article, however, was the only fashion article to mention skin tones other than white and, as the example demonstrates, this discussion was abstract. Although non-white women certainly may have read periodicals such as *Godey’s Lady’s Book* and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, any such readership was not acknowledged. The reader was always assumed to be white.

[F]air persons should not attempt to wear yellow or pink by daylight, although becoming for evening costume to all but blondes, and those who have red hair; to the latter almost all shades of blue are becoming. . . . Brunettes may wear most shades of brown, especially cinnamon color; with advantage, maize color. . . . In addition to these colors we recommend violet and white for daylight; for evening, pink, white, maize, orange, and all shades of gray, which may, with suitable ribbons and flowers, be advantageously worn by every one; rose-color may also be found very suitable. . . . For blondes, blue, gray, white, or primrose, if the complexion be not too rosy in its hue; and, indeed, most light colors, excepting pink and yellow, are in good taste.  

Advice in this vein appeared regularly in women’s magazines. The answer to a query in the June 1867 Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine began with the frequently-cited examples of red and green: “A florid complexion is rendered more florid by green….On the other hand, an excess of red may be counteracted by a crimson dress, or crimson and red near the face.” The familiarity of this kind of article was underscored by the author’s suggestion that her answer, “tolerably well exhausts the question of Complexions.”

If the “Englishwoman’s Conversazione” was any guide, some readers did seem genuinely concerned about wearing colours appropriate to their complexions. This feature frequently included requests from readers about which colours would best suit them. In August 1875, the periodical’s fashion writer addressed this interest explicitly: “Many of our subscribers have written lately asking for advice as to the colours suitable for brunette and blonde styles respectively. To assist these in a slight degree, I give a few general rules which may be relied on, but which must, of course, be modified to suit individual cases.” The suggestions followed Chevreul’s principles, detailing how certain colours “heighten” or “neutralise” skin tones.

154 See, for example, the following queries in the “Englishwoman’s Conversazione” in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine: “Poppy” (N. S. 2, 9 (1870): 379); “Lady Florence H” (N. S. 2, 14 (1873): 55); “Margery” (N. S. 2, 14 (1873): 331); and “Seringa” (N. S. 2, 19 (1875): 108).
The Proper Use of Colour with Respect to Age and Occasion

Although most of the advice about the appropriate use of colour in dress concerned complexion, other contexts also appeared occasionally. Writers referred to age, sometimes in conjunction with complexion, as when Matilda Browne in May 1869 described striped dress textiles of “that peculiar stone-colour which suits every complexion, whether young or old.”\textsuperscript{156} In general, however, writers characterized colours as appropriate for some ages and inappropriate for others. Browne summarized this tendency in her fashion report of October 1870: “Every one will acknowledge that the colours and styles which are charming in the youthful maiden are hardly becoming even in a young wife, and certainly less suitable to the comfortable or stately matron.”\textsuperscript{157} Fashion writers identified colours in these terms throughout the mid-nineteenth century. In February 1849, the monthly report in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} specified: “Crimson and scarlet dresses…are the rage for unmarried ladies. More matronly colors, such as purple, dark green, and maroon, are worn by those a little older.”\textsuperscript{158} The fashion writer for the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} reported in July 1860 that “Pearl or silver-grey is a favourite colour for middle-aged ladies.”\textsuperscript{159} A reader who identified herself as more than forty years old wrote into the “Englishwoman’s Conversazione” in June 1873 asking what she should wear to her niece’s wedding and was advised that “violet would look well.”\textsuperscript{160}

Writers also discussed the appropriate use of colour in terms of occasion, this kind of characterization ranging from the general to the specific. In May 1851, the fashion writer for \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} referred to “the delicate colors of an outdoor spring costume.”\textsuperscript{161} The reporter for the \textit{Ladies’ Cabinet} was more precise in October 1844, noting, “We have already seen some shawl-mantelets of emerald green, deep blue,
and lavender-bloom *poul de soie* trimmed with it: we need hardly say that it is only adapted for morning visits, exhibitions, &c.”

The specific suggestions for use described in this example may not have been actually followed by many readers, but they nonetheless underscored the more general connections made between colours and occasions.

In this discussion of colour and occasion, concern about the meanings of inappropriately bright colours worn in public resonated throughout mid-nineteenth century magazines. In November 1851, the fashion reporter for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* noted, “Brocades of the greatest elegance, Turc satins and plain satins, are worn for dinner or evening dresses. Unless very dark, they are out of place in the street. Plain, rich silks are considered in the best taste.” Similar advice appeared in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in October 1876: “For visiting toilets a light or middle shade of cashmere should be selected…A walking costume requires a darker shade of colour.”

Reporting on winter garments in January 1847, the writer for the *Ladies’ Cabinet* admitted, “We cannot, however, recommend these cloaks and shawls to our readers…because, generally speaking, the colours and patterns are too showy for walking dress.” Good taste dictated a degree of sobriety in colour for outdoor appearances throughout the period.

*The Condemnation of Perceived Extremes of Colour*

Criticisms of too-vivid colours in walking dress exemplified a perceived extreme in the use of colour in the mid-nineteenth century. As the previous chapter discussed, extremes of fashion were strongly condemned in middle-class discussions of fashion. In the fashion writing of the period, qualifiers such as “gaudy” and “showy” always signal

---

colours that are used inappropriately or extremely. A wise mother in a December 1845 short story in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* advised her daughter not to wear “gaudy, flaunting colours” and the fashion reporter for the *Ladies’ Cabinet* described scarves in September 1843 with ends “rather shewy than elegant, being in Egyptian patterns, and striking colours, as red, green, orange, blue, and violet.”

In April 1865, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* reported that for dresses made of two different materials “two contrasting colours have much too gaudy an appearance to be in good taste.”

A few months earlier, another article in this magazine had specified combinations to be avoided: “contrasts as yellow and blue, green and red, should not be indulged in, for in that case the *tout ensemble* of the dress would very much resemble a carnival disguise. This is a tendency which we are sorry to see gradually gaining ground in the female toilet.”

Ten years later, a writer in the same magazine discussed colour combinations that “set our aesthetic teeth on edge,” and gave the example of “the union of blue bonnet and violet dress that the cook glories in on her ‘Sunday out.’” The assertion of suitable middle-class taste, opposed to that of a working-class servant, appeared very clearly in this example of inappropriate colour use.

Fashion writers also often described colour they deemed inappropriate as “vulgar.” In *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in March 1843, the editors created a set of characters who discussed contemporary issues in fashion. Mrs. Gazelle, a young married woman who has visited Paris despaired about the “promenade” dress in the United States: “It distresses me to see so much finery in the streets. It is absolutely vulgar to walk abroad flaunting in gay colours, and with bonnets loaded with flowers and feathers.”

In October 1861, the writer of an article in the same magazine criticized over-dressed...
women “who, from the ill-adjustment of colors and material, we pronounce positively vulgar, gaudy paroquets in their high-colored plumage.” In another 1843 article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, the editors assured readers that they were not “among the number of those who would proscribe variety of colours in our clothing” but cautioned that “great care must be taken not to allow the taste for colours to degenerate into the vulgar love of finery.”

The ever-present fear of falling into bad taste connected the improper use of colour to its traditional associations with the uneducated or the uncivilized. These links appeared explicitly sometimes, as when Matilda Browne asserted in August 1868 that “provincials love bright colours” and the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* observed that “the cultivation of the mind has a tendency to correct the barbarian admiration for ornaments and glaring colours, which is always found in savage nations.” These authors clearly considered too many bright colours, and too much unrestrained pleasure in colour, to violate the rules of careful, moderate taste by which they defined their middle-class ideology of dress.

**Good Examples of Colour Use**

Colour was not necessarily considered inherently bad by nineteenth-century writers in women’s magazines—it was only when poorly or ignorantly used, or overused, that it became objectionable. Education about the proper use of colour promised to help readers avoid any potential lapses in taste. As well as criticizing certain colour combinations and uses, magazine authors also noted good examples.

Descriptions of successful combinations of colour often used adjectives that were used pejoratively in other contexts. In the *Ladies’ Cabinet* of 1841, a monthly fashion

---

The monthly article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in November 1848 also described *mousselines de laine*, “of an infinite variety of shade and pattern…the colors brilliant without being gaudy.” In December 1872, Matilda Browne wrote about a colourful silk dress fabric in which the “tints are so beautifully shaded that they do not appear gaudy.” These examples negated “gaudy” and “glaring” to compliment the articles described; however, this strategy perhaps underscored the fine line between good and bad taste in colour.

As with much of the rhetoric of taste, praiseworthy examples were often not particularly detailed. Metta Victoria Victor, the American author of an October 1861 short story in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, introduced the “simply made” dress of “delicate peachbloom silk” of the heroine: “its extreme elegance was owing principally to the becomingness of the color, and the grace with which it was worn.” In June 1871, a fashion reporter for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* described the work of a French dressmaker, Madame Leclerc: “she seeks the effet of her costumes in various combinations of materials and shades of colour. The tout ensemble is thus harmonious in the extreme.” Both of these writers employed familiar methods in their discussions of colour, emphasizing hues that flattered the complexion and combined harmoniously, using French terms. These uses of these allusions demonstrated the extent to which they permeated the contemporary language and ideology of colour in dress.

**Conclusion**

175 “Chit-chat upon the Philadelphia Fashions for November,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 37 (1848): 323.
177 Metta Victoria Victor, “Stolen Finery,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 63 (1861): 298. This story appeared in the same issue as the article “Good Advice,” quoted earlier in this chapter, which contained several references to the appropriate use of colour in dress. Victor (Metta Victoria Fuller Victor, 1831-1885) published in a number of nineteenth-century periodicals, writing both humorous fiction and serious pieces engaging with contemporary social issues (Katharine A. Parham, “Metta Victoria Fuller Victor,” *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers*, Knight 433-437).
The research presented in this chapter adds to the work of scholars studying the history of colour, such as John Gage and David Batchelor, also attempting to redress the historical denigration and neglect of this subject. This examination of descriptions and discussions of colour in nineteenth-century fashion writing has highlighted these themes: the use of an elaborate, sophisticated language of colour in contemporary women’s magazines; the integration of colour theory vocabulary into this fashion language; the presentation of colour theory as a science that could be learned by readers; and finally, the emphasis on choices and use of colour as a key element of good taste, essential to a woman’s harmonious, socially-acceptable appearance.

Writers for mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines clearly demonstrated appreciation and enjoyment of colours and their subtle differences, expressed in a well-developed language of colour. These authors marshalled an array of descriptive techniques, employing a variety of qualifying adjectives to differentiate among shades and tints and often using the great range of visible colours as a chance to marvel at the natural world. Fashion articles also included a wide variety of natural, geographical, personal, and political references to characterize colours. French words of all kinds, and all spellings, were used to denote the dominant Parisian fashionability and show particularly well the way in which these periodicals established a language of fashion only understood by initiated readers.

The specific words of colour theory, such as “hue”, “tint”, and “shade”, also appeared in nineteenth-century fashion writing. Although such terms were not always used strictly according to their technical definitions, the important point is that this vocabulary pervaded descriptions of colour, indicating awareness of this specialized language. The work and words of Michel-Eugène Chevreul, especially in his book *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours*, exerted particular influence in writing about colour in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines. Chevreul offered explicit

---

179 See Gage, *Colour and Culture*; Gage, *Colour and Meaning*; Batchelor, *Chromophobia*. 

148
advice to portrait painters in their selection of colours for female sitters and these suggestions appeared, credited and uncredited, in fashion advice. More generally, the frequent references to colour “harmony” and “contrast” throughout the mid-nineteenth century certainly signal Chevreul’s influence.

As Philip Ball notes, Chevreul’s training and employment as a chemist meant that his books were “scientific” texts.180 Meticulous experiments and methodical observations, undertaken by an eminent man of science, led to “laws” that could be universally applied in a range of aesthetic realms, including women’s dress. As this research has shown, some articles in women’s magazines presented careful explanations of Chevreul’s theories; other articles used his language less precisely, but nonetheless plainly showed its influence. Writers often encouraged readers to teach themselves this science of colour, offering suggestions for experiments that would allow women readers to learn rules that they could then employ in their dress. These exhortations furnish another example of the middle-class emphasis on self-education, a theme raised in the previous chapter.

As with the “laws” of fashion, learning the laws of colour promised women mastery of tasteful appearance. The idea of colour harmony was particularly pervasive, dovetailing with broader injunctions of suitability and propriety in dress. Writers urged women to use colour appropriately in all cases, according to the personal variables of complexion, age, and occasion. Articles presented rules of colour use that were often general, but sometimes provided good and bad examples. Extreme colours or colour combinations, frequently described as “gaudy” or “showy” were always attacked, as they offended the laws of good taste and harmony. Inappropriate colour use could make a women appear vulgar or ostentatious, jeopardizing efforts at harmony and refinement.

The words of fashionable colour and the rules of its proper use in female dress thus distinguished a middle-class sensibility and revealed some of the complicated

---

180 Ball, *Bright Earth* 175.
workings of middle-class ideologies. Colour language could provide an opportunity for self-education through magazines, but it could also exclude those unwilling or unable to learn. The employment of colour in dress could give savantes the chance to demonstrate their sophisticated knowledge socially and publicly, or at the very worst it could expose those without skill to ridicule and even exclusion. As with many aspects of fashionable dress and self-presentation in the mid-nineteenth century, colour was yet another tightrope of taste middle-class women had to walk in their efforts to maintain and even enhance their social positions.
Chapter 4

A Slight Tincture of Chemical Knowledge: Women, Everyday Science, and Chemistry

Introduction

Learning about colour and its proper use in dress was only one example of the desire of middle-class women for self-education. This chapter will explore their engagement with science, particularly chemistry, in nineteenth-century texts addressed primarily to the middle classes in Britain and the United States. The main sources of evidence are the now-familiar Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine and Godey’s Lady’s Book, but other books and journals mentioned in these magazines will also be examined, situating these magazines in a larger network, or conversation, of texts that illustrate the literate culture of science in the mid-nineteenth century. The writers of these books and articles sometimes used technical language and often referred to everyday applications of science and chemistry, occasionally leavening scientific references with humour. This reporting and discussing of science provides an essential context for the presentation of dyes and colour which is at the heart of this thesis.

Many references to chemistry presented its important applications, for example, agriculture, cookery, medicine, and dyeing. Women constituted the primary audience for these magazines and their assumed domestic roles as cooks, nurses, and teachers were frequently implied. It is important to note, however, that these texts rarely if ever encouraged female activity in the creation of new scientific knowledge about chemistry. Women’s engagement was not, however, to be passive; in fact, learning about chemistry was often presented as a fundamentally linked to activity.

These texts also often presume an interest in science and chemistry as part of general knowledge expected of members of the educated middle class, a “mark of culture,” in the words of Peter J. Bowler and Iwan Rhys Morus.¹ As discussed

throughout this thesis, the contemporary ideologies of this social class that emphasized industry, progress, education, and domesticity reverberate throughout this popular literature of science. Many of these sources also combine entertaining and educative aspects, a defining characteristic of much nineteenth-century literature of popular science.

Chemistry in the Nineteenth Century

As an academic and professional endeavour, the field of chemistry changed significantly over the course of the nineteenth century. In the late eighteenth century, French chemist Antoine Lavoisier had helped lead the “chemical revolution” with his work on air and gases and the roles they played in chemical reactions such as combustion, as well as his efforts to reform and simplify the language of chemistry.2 During the nineteenth century, the English chemists Humphrey Davy and Michael Faraday contributed to the development of their discipline as well as achieving popular fame in the Anglophone world. The German chemist Justus von Liebig and his many students also exerted a lasting influence on understanding of and research in organic chemistry and its applications, especially in Britain and the United States.3 By the end of the nineteenth century, especially in the understanding of atomic structure, the work of chemists had laid the foundations of modern physics.4

Potential uses of chemical principles and discoveries were a reason for the appeal of science in general and chemistry specifically.5 As David Knight underscores, however, distinguishing between “pure” and “applied” science was not common for

---

3 Brock, The Chemical Tree 203.
4 Brock, The Chemical Tree 269.
much of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{6} Robert Bud and Gerrylynn Roberts thoroughly discuss the relationship between science and practice in nineteenth-century chemistry, questioning to what extent academic research led to technical innovation.\textsuperscript{7} Although Bud and Roberts argue that theoretical chemistry was often “much farther from practical application than might be inferred” from some contemporary publications, they do highlight the rhetorical importance of the unity of science and practice.\textsuperscript{8}

This rhetoric exercised substantial power and organic chemistry was thought to be particularly promising. In an 1851 article titled “Modern Chemistry: Its Progress and Extent” in the \textit{Edinburgh Review}, the author wrote of potential products from research in chemistry:

Now among organic alcalies [sic] there are some, such as morphine, quinine, &c., which are exceedingly valuable in medicine, and which are high in price and less abundant, because they can only be obtained as yet from vegetable productions which are of rare growth, or limited to special climatic regions. Among the most useful practical results, therefore, which we anticipate from our increased power in producing organic alcalies, is the discovery of methods by which these very valuable medicines may be prepared artificially, in any quantity and in any country.\textsuperscript{9}

Contemporaries highlighted both the creativity and hard work of contemporary chemists as assurance that this promise would be fulfilled. Another section of the \textit{Edinburgh Review} article demonstrated this:

Difficulties bring out resources. Even apparently insurmountable crises in a manufacture only stimulate the energies of the conquering intellect. An important branch of industry appears about to succumb—to shift its locality at least, and take up a more favoured home in another country,— when chemistry suggests that its work should be done after a new fashion. The suggestion is adopted, and the greater perfection and economy which attend the change, give the old locality a fresh start, and secure to the failing manufacture fresh triumphs over dreaded rivals.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{6} David Knight, \textit{Ideas in Chemistry}, 96.
\textsuperscript{8} Bud and Roberts, \textit{Science versus Practice} 97, 101. Bud and Roberts assert that “The oft-cited artificial dyestuffs industry in which advances did follow directly from fundamental research in organic chemistry was unusual, not typical” (165).
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
Although this passage oversimplifies the process of innovation in chemistry, this kind of narrative is crucial in the rhetoric and discussion of change in the popular scientific literature of the period. Articles in magazines often underscored the dramatic elements of discovery and research, but also underscored the important middle-class virtues of hard work and determination.

Familiarity with a specialized language was an essential aspect of learning about both chemistry and, as already demonstrated, fashion. Linguistic proficiency was a key part of participating in the periodical conversations on these subjects. As Maurice Crosland discusses, the specialized language of chemistry, employed abbreviations for the Latin names of the elements outlined by Lavoisier, was in use among chemists from the early nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{11} Popularizing journals such as the \textit{Popular Science Review} used chemical formulae in articles reporting research news, thus educating its readers about the professional language of this science.\textsuperscript{12}

\textit{Popularization and Periodicals: Middle-class Engagement with Science}

The study of popular and everyday science in the nineteenth century is further complicated by the related knotty issue of contemporary professionalization of science. In particular, Thomas Henry Huxley and his supporters in the second half of the nineteenth century endeavoured to establish science as the realm of trained male experts, excluding amateurs, clergy, and women. While scientific institutions and educational paths were certainly more established at the end of the nineteenth century in Britain and the United States than they had been one hundred years earlier, scholarly work has complicated the narrative of inexorable professionalization.\textsuperscript{13} Huxley and his colleagues

\textsuperscript{11} Maurice Crosland, \textit{The Language of Science: From the Vernacular to the Technical} (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 2006) 79, 83-88.
\textsuperscript{12} See, for example, “Artificial Preparation of Alizarin,” \textit{Popular Science Review} (1869): 305.
\textsuperscript{13} Daniel Thurs writes about the “emerging scientific profession” in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century, asserting that scientific information “became increasingly structured, standardized, and controlled” (Daniel Patrick Thurs, \textit{Science Talk: Changing Notions of Science in American Popular Culture} (New Brunswisk, NJ: Rutgers UP, 2007) 58).
disagreed about these issues and it is difficult to apply a twentieth-century definition of “professional” to the preceding century. Equipment and training were essential to the practice of chemistry at almost any level and, as Robert Bud and Gerrylynn Roberts note, certain chemists were able to earn their livelihoods by lecturing, teaching, consulting, or combining these activities during the nineteenth century. Bud and Roberts, however, also question accounts that explain these developments in terms of “professionalization.”

These complexities of terminology and the debates that they inspired in the nineteenth century and among modern scholars underscore how science and its dissemination and understanding could include many different parts of the population in myriad ways. Fyfe and Lightman address the “wide range of popular engagements with science that took place in nineteenth-century Britain,” including magazines, books, lectures, performances, museums, gardening, and conversation. In her discussion of science education in the nineteenth-century United States, Sally Gregory Kohlstedt points to a similar range of activities, as well as educational institutions and practices, to demonstrate “pervasive public curiosity about scientific subjects.”

Periodicals were therefore just one of the many opportunities for engagement with science available to the middle classes in the nineteenth century. In his work on Victorian literary popularizers of science, Lightman emphasizes that their readers “expected to be entertained, as well as instructed.” This combination of amusement and education characterized the magazines examined in this thesis, applying to the

---

18 Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science* 35.
presentation of fashion and colour as well as science. With Fyfe, Lightman also underscores that these audiences “saw their role as consumers” of many possible “sites and experiences” of science. Members of the middle class were thus able to engage with science in many ways and for many purposes.

**Women and Science: Practice and Popularizing**

Cultural expectations of appropriate female roles and lack of educational opportunities and financial resources meant that women were usually marginalized or excluded from scientific practice during the nineteenth century, but women did find ways to disseminate, learn about, and even ultimately contribute to scientific knowledge. Historians of science Barbara T. Gates and Ann B. Shieir note that although “science became increasingly masculinized and professionalized” in Great Britain during the course of the nineteenth century, women nonetheless took part in many of the scientific endeavours of the day. Interest in botany, geology, and entymology spurred them to search for, collect, and document plants, rocks, and insects to a greater extent than men. Nina Baym also notes that “a broad range of nonprofessional and quasi-professional scientific activities were pursued by American women.” As David Knight observes, amateur participation was and is possible to a greater degree in natural sciences than in laboratory sciences and some women with time, resources, and interest could thus join men in hunting for seaweeds, butterflies, and fossils. Ruth Barton suggests

---

22 Knight, *Public Understanding of Science* 145.
that women, as well as members of the working class, could take part in scientific investigations more easily and enjoy greater recognition in specialist and local groups.23

Gates and Shteir have particularly examined the parts women played in popularizing science, especially as writers, referring to the “culture of scientific popularization that anglophone British, North American, and Australian women built around…western science.”24 In the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, female science popularizers drew upon the traditional maternal role as educator of children to invest their writings with authority.25 Lightman argues that British female popularizers enjoyed a “golden age” during the second half of the nineteenth century, especially in natural history writing.26 The maternal tradition of authorship usually confined its writers to producing works for women and children, however, and by the mid-nineteenth century many female popularizers began to pursue a broader audience.27 As Lightman shows in his presentation of many of these women and their various kinds of scientific writing, “[w]hatever genre they used, they all made aesthetic, moral and religious themes central to their work.”28 In their articles and books, they also reinforced British supremacy in the civilized world and the middle-class virtues of domesticity, industry, and obedience to authority.29

Women also comprised the audience for science news and discussion in women’s magazines and were probably part of the audience for this material in general interest and popular science magazines as well. As Gates and Shteir note, engagement with

24 Gates and Shteir 4-5. This thesis only examines women’s popular science cultures in the United States and Britain.
26 Lightman, Victorian Popularizers 96.
27 Lightman, Victorian Popularizers 124.
29 Lightman, Victorian Popularizers 142-146.
science “became part of the middle-class project to shape appropriate learning for women.” 30 Indeed, Shteir argues, women were a specific part of the nineteenth-century audiences “who were encouraged to read about science and were cultivated as readers.” 31 Baym underscores that it was “far easier for a woman to pursue scientific interests as a consumer than as a producer.” 32 In her discussion of science in three women’s magazine during the first half of the nineteenth century, Shteir argues that “science was defined in relation to assumptions about women’s lives.” 33 Magazines “portray[ed] science as serviceable to women,” by relating it to female domestic duties and the contemporary notion of women as agents of moral improvement. 34 As discussed in chapter two, these obligations can also include the more ideologically problematic assumed feminine interest in fashion.

General Scientific Knowledge in Women’s Magazines

That women should possess and even pursue a certain degree of scientific knowledge appeared clearly in the pages of the magazines themselves. A June 1844 article in the Ladies’ Cabinet, entitled “The Education of Woman,” expressly included science, particularly natural history, as the subject “best suited to the exercise and the development of several powers of the mind, furnishing a vocabulary of the words in most common use, and supplying a knowledge of facts, which are so far essential as they are at the foundation of all the common business of life, and of several of the sciences as well as of the most useful arts.” 35 The author also encouraged the study of chemistry, because “[a] knowledge of the names, properties, and uses of natural objects, induce and

30 Gates and Shteir 7.
32 Baym 8.
prepare the mind to examine into their composition and their mutual action.”36 In this article, science was presented as both specifically and generally valuable, enabling women to understand the particular workings of scientific processes and phenomena, but also providing excellent mental training and underlying “the common business of life.”

In her study of nineteenth-century American literary women and science, Baym devotes an entire chapter to Sarah Josepha Hale’s engagement with science in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, underscoring how this writer and editor “persistently advocated science study for women, constantly instructed her women readers in the benefits science was bringing to them.”37 An 1868 editorial note in the magazine, presumably written by Hale, strongly supported the education of women and this emerged plainly in the rhetorical question posed in this piece: “Is more knowledge of chemistry, botany, and the natural sciences in general, required for the out-door work of the farm than for the household management?”38 This argument for education rested squarely upon the applicability of scientific knowledge to daily domestic duties.

Inexpensive books summarizing recent scientific and technical developments appeared with regularity in the book review sections of women’s magazines, especially *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, underscoring the expectation of general knowledge of science. The March 1848 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge* in its book notices and Cassell’s “educational works” (several of which covered scientific topics) were recommended to an enquiring reader of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* as “excellent” and “very cheap.”39 Baym notes that “frequent allusions and many editions suggest that popular science books by

---

37 Baym 36.
important European scientists were much in demand” in the United States, mentioning Justus von Liebig specifically.40

A British publisher, Longman, issued the 133-volume Cabinet Cyclopedia in the 1830s, with each book priced at six shillings. Dionysus Lardner, known as a popular science lecturer and writer in both Britain and the United States, edited this series, comprised mostly of introductory books about scientific subjects.41 In March 1854, the editor of the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine responded to a query from a reader, asserting, “An excellent treatise on astronomy, written by Sir John Herschel, is included in Lardner’s Cabinet Cyclopedia, published by Longmans. It may, however, be obtained separately, and is very cheap.”42 Godey’s Lady’s Book recommended two editions of Lardner’s Popular Lectures on Science and Art to readers in July 1845.43 The same periodical praised his Hand-Book of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in November 1851 as “so clearly written and arranged, that persons of ordinary education, with some aid from a teacher, will be able to comprehend its various subjects without difficulty.”44 Widely available and inexpensive, Lardner’s books typified the kind of popular publication that could provide general education about science.

In November 1853, Godey’s Lady’s Book provided a ringing endorsement for The Book of Nature by the German chemist Friedrich Schödler. The book’s subtitle—An Elementary Introduction to the Sciences of Physics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Botany, Zoology, and Physiology—indicates its broad range of subject matter. The reviewer asserted, “A copy of this book should be introduced into every family. A knowledge of the sciences is every day becoming more and more important. Their

40 Baym 8.
41 Lightman, Victorian Popularizers of Science 19. Lightman observes that this price meant that “middle-class readers and some of the more prosperous artisans could afford to buy” these books.
42 “Notices to Correspondents,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine 2 (1854): 351. The book mentioned was Herschel’s Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy (1832).
intimate relations to the common occupations of life render an acquaintance with them necessary to all.” The review specifically mentioned “the farmer, the mechanic, the merchant, and the trader” as possible readers of this book, but also praised its “great utility,” calling it “a book of instruction for all.” The praise of this book’s potential usefulness, in both specific and general examples, reinforced contemporary attitudes towards science and its applications.

Both *Godey’s Lady’s Book* and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* recommended *The Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art*, an annual digest of scientific and technical news. In August 1851, the book appeared in the “Literary Notices” of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, described as “a reprint from the London edition of a very valuable work,” containing “the most important discoveries and improvements of the past year in mechanics and the useful arts, natural philosophy, electricity, chemistry, zoology and botany, geology and geography, meteorology and astronomy.” The magazine continued to suggest this book to its readers in the following years, asserting in July 1853 that the 1852 volume would appeal “to all who deem it essential to keep themselves posted on subjects of importance connected with modern progress.”

A February 1875 book notice for the 1874 *Year-Book* in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* declared “[t]his well-known and highly esteemed publication” to be “indispensable to those who would not willingly be ignorant of the results of the never-ceasing energy of scientific research and artistic achievement.” The similar language used in both magazines to recommend this kind of general science publication underscored the contemporary perception of scientific endeavour, in both the United States and Britain, as a part of the progress of the modern age, a tenet that Peter J.

---

45 “Literary Notices,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 47 (1853): 467. In the book’s listing, Schödler was described as “formerly Assistant in the Chemical Laboratory of Giessen,” the location of Justus von Liebig’s laboratory, so Schödler was presumably a student of Liebig.
Bowler argues was fundamental to the Victorian worldview, as discussed in chapter two.\textsuperscript{50} Such books could help women stay current in their knowledge of the world around them, of which science constituted an essential part.

As well as recommending these wide-ranging books, women’s magazines also suggested books about sciences such as botany and geology, subjects discussed above by Barbara T. Gates and Ann B. Shteir as deemed particularly appropriate for female study. As the author of a September 1845 article in the \textit{Ladies’ Cabinet} asserted, “Botany is a science peculiarly suited to females who reside in the country; it is a source of ingenious discoveries, and of pleasures equally elevated and delightful.”\textsuperscript{51} The inclusion of articles dedicated specifically to this science in women’s magazines underscored both the entertaining and educational aspects of the study of plants. In November 1861, the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} introduced a series of articles, “Studies in Botany.”\textsuperscript{52} Beginning in June 1852, \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} ran a series of articles about botany. The first article was titled “Wild Flowers” and discussed the flowers around Philadelphia; the next month featured the first article in a lengthy series on “Vegetable Physiology.”\textsuperscript{53} As well as including one of these articles, the November 1852 issue of \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} also contained an article by a “Professor R. Hunt,” titled “The Mysteries of a Flower.” Hunt argued that “the contemplation of natural phenomena will be found to induce that repose which gives vigor to the mind,” underlining the instruction and pleasure to be found in the study of botany.\textsuperscript{54}

\textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} also included references to geology, with Alonzo Gray’s \textit{Elements of Geology} appearing in the March 1853 “Literary Notices” and Worthington Hooker’s third volume of \textit{Science for the School and Family}, covering mineralogy and

\textsuperscript{50} Peter J. Bowler, \textit{The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past} (London: Basil Blackwell, 1989) esp. 1-5.
\textsuperscript{52} “Studies in Botany,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 4 (1861): 34.
geology in the May 1865 book review section. In January 1853, the magazine included an article titled, “A Few Words on Geology,” entirely devoted to this science. This piece contended: “we shall do well to remember that the Scriptures were never intended to be a scientific manual…All that can be fairly required of science is that she should not contradict Scripture.” As Jan Pilditch notes, the inclusion of this article shows the magazine confronting the contemporary controversy surrounding the apparent disagreements between geological and scriptural interpretations of the earth’s age. In January 1854, references to both geology and botany appeared in the satirical piece by Priscilla Watts, discussed in the previous chapter. In “The Philosophy of Shopping,” Watts described the different dress textiles shown to two “languid-looking ladies” wishing for something “very odd and very new”: “Nondescripts of a genus botanical, flowers without stalks, and stalks without flowers….A few presented strata of every sombre hue, forcibly reminding the spectator of geology and Dr. Lyell!” In using scientific terms, Watts drolly highlighted the novelty of these patterns and the pretensions of the female customers, but the humour depended upon readers understanding these scientific references.

Some Popularizers of Science

Books by certain well-known female popularizers of science also garnered attention in nineteenth-century women’s magazines. The best known of these writers was Mary Somerville although, as Bernard Lightman notes, “she was atypical for a female popularizer.” Not part of the maternal tradition of female science writing, Somerville included adult men in her intended audience and by the 1830s had “became a symbol of

59 Lightman, Victorian Popularizers of Science 22. Somerville lived from 1780 to 1872.
self-education, liberalism, and women’s rights.”60 In June 1852, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included an article by Somerville titled “Of the Stars” and in May 1868, their “Editors’ Table” mentioned that “[a]mong the latest literary announcements in London and Edinburgh is Mrs. Mary Somerville’s ‘Molecular and Microscopic Science.’”61 Most of her major publications appeared before 1850, but Somerville enjoyed transatlantic popularity well after this.62

Although not mentioned explicitly in the periodicals reviewed, Jane Marcet was one of the most influential and popular female science writers in the first half of the nineteenth century, known especially for her *Conversations on Chemistry*. Inspired by Humphrey Davy’s lectures, Marcet directed her 1806 book especially to female readers by making all the participants in the *Conversations* female.63 Gates and Shteir argue that Marcet “enjoyed particular prominence among writers of scientific dialogues” and that her books helped make science into a “popular and improving hobb[...y] for the middle ranks of society.”64 M. Susan Lindee outlines how, by the mid-nineteenth century, American publishers had transformed Marcet’s *Conversations* into a popular textbook.65

The young Michael Faraday famously used Marcet’s book in preparing to attend Davy’s lectures, eventually becoming the older chemist’s assistant and protégé.66 Faraday himself published *The Chemical History of a Candle*, based on lectures he gave, in 1860. David Knight calls Faraday’s book “an enduring classic of popular science by one of the greatest of all scientists.”67 The November 1861 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* listed Faraday’s recently-published book.68

---

60 Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science* 22.
63 Knight, *Public Understanding of Science* 38.
64 Gates and Shteir 8.
67 Knight, *Public Understanding of Science* 40.
Although references to Faraday and Davy appeared occasionally, Justus von Liebig was, far and away, the chemist most frequently mentioned in women’s magazines. A German who supervised a large research laboratory at the University of Geissen, Liebig trained many of the men who would shape the discipline of chemistry and its applications in the mid- to late nineteenth century, including August Wilhelm Hofmann, the first director of the Royal College of Chemistry in London. In his biography of Liebig, William H. Brock argues that “Liebig’s wide-ranging theories and speculations on organic chemistry and its applications to agriculture, medicine, and industry exerted an impact on all levels of British society.” Liebig’s *Chemical Letters*, first published in English in 1843, ran into many editions and enjoyed popular readership, discussing chemical concepts and theories, as well as the chemistry of cooking, nutrition, and agriculture. His work on agriculture was especially influential in the United States, where it comprised a significant part of the popular writing about chemistry.

*Liebig and Agricultural Chemistry*

Liebig’s importance in the United States was evident in the pages of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. The editors certainly considered Liebig of interest to their readers, including his books on agricultural chemistry and “animal,” or “organic,” chemistry in their August 1847 “Editors’ Table.” The magazine mentioned several editions of Liebig’s *Complete Works* during the 1850s, remarking on “its value to the farmer, the

---

70 Brock devotes a whole chapter to Liebig’s popularizing activities: “Populariser of Science: Chemical Letters” (Brock, *Justus von Liebig* 273-290).
physician, the chemist, and to the general reader” in March 1855.73 In August 1850, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included a book notice of *Professor Liebig’s Complete Works of Chemistry*, recommending it especially to farmers and observing that “[t]he merits of Dr. Liebig are too well known to require praise of us.”74 The frequent references to Liebig’s publications, as well as the assumption that these are already celebrated, underscore his importance in the largely agricultural nineteenth-century United States.

A reference to Liebig’s usefulness to farmers also appeared in a serialized piece of fiction by Elizabeth Gaskell in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in May 1852, called “Mr. Harrison’s Confessions.” In this instalment, a local farmer, Mr. Bullock, consults the eponymous character: “‘I can understand a good deal of this agricultural chemistry,’ said he, ‘and have put it into practice—without much success, hitherto, I confess. But these unconnected letters puzzle me a little. I suppose they have some meaning,’”75 Bullock’s wife comments that her father (a farmer) would have found Liebig’s presentation of chemistry inelegant, asserting

“‘He would not have admitted you Liebig, Mr. Bullock; neither the nature of the subject, nor the common type, nor the common way in which your book is got up, would have suited him.’

“Go and make tea, my dear, and leave Mr. Harrison and me to talk over a few of these manures.”

We settled to it; I explained the meanings of the symbols, and the doctrine of chemical equivalents.76

Bullock struggles to understand Harrison’s explanation, but does grasp some fundamentals and declares, “Of all you’ve been telling me, I can only remember that C means carbon and O oxygen; and I see one must know the meaning of all these confounded letters before one can do much good with Liebig.”77

This passage highlights several aspects of contemporary engagement with applied chemistry, specifically that of Liebig applied to agriculture. The English writer’s

---

75 “Mr. Harrison’s Confessions,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 44 (1852): 388.
76 “Mr. Harrison’s Confessions,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 44 (1852): 388.
77 “Mr. Harrison’s Confessions,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 44 (1852): 388.
story appeared in an American magazine, demonstrating transatlantic commonalities in
literary taste and suggested agricultural practice. The female writer included a reference
to the chemist’s work and the story’s female character, although she was dismissed to
make tea, knows his name; these allusions indicated that at least some female readers
would also have recognized Liebig’s name and sphere of influence. The use of chemical
notation probably did cause confusion among readers, but emphasized the efforts of
established chemists to disseminate the language of their discipline and the necessity of
learning that language to apply their work. Finally, Gaskell’s use of the “common”
appearance of the book and Liebig’s “confounded symbols” as an opportunity for gentle
humour perhaps best illustrates his established place in the mid-nineteenth century
cultural landscape.

Of the many prominent nineteenth-century chemists, Liebig attracted special
mention in these texts directed towards women, in part because of his professed mission
to popularize his discipline. Other books about agricultural chemistry also appeared in
*Godey’s Lady’s Book*, further highlighting the still largely rural character of the United
States. By including these titles in the book review section, the editors acknowledged
potential male readership, as well as female interest and participation in family farming
practice. In October 1843, the “Editors’ Book Table” included a notice for *The Farmer’s
Manual, A Practical Treatise on the Nature and Value of Manures*, asserting that “this
work is founded on actual experiments, and gives the most recent discoveries in
Agricultural Chemistry.”78 Ten years later, Edward Solly’s *Rural Chemistry* appeared in
the magazine’s book notices, a “revised and enlarged” American edition based on the
third English edition of the work.79 Very few mentions of chemistry books appeared in
the British periodicals reviewed for this study, perhaps because neither the *Ladies’
Cabinet* nor the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included extensive book review

78 “Editors’ Book Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 27 (1843): 192.
sections. The existence of very similar or identical editions of several of these books in Britain and the United States, however, indicates transatlantic publication and awareness of this kind of title.

In May 1845, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* announced Appleton and Company’s publication of Jean-Baptiste Boussingault’s *Rural Economy*, subtitled “Chemistry Applied to Agriculture.” Pronouncing the book “of inestimable value to the farmer” and praising the sections on chemistry and vegetable physiology, the magazine observed that the section on manures would “be considered by most farmers as the most valuable portion.” The editors went on to highlight the parts concerning crop rotation and farm animals, pronouncing “these subjects will be regarded with great interest in this country.” David Knight relates how Davy’s work on agricultural chemistry was replaced by that of Boussingault and Liebig and notes that George Law, the translator and editor of the English-language version of *Rural Chemistry*, described it as “‘a textbook and manual’ for ‘every intelligent farmer.’” This was the edition mentioned in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, pointing to an interest in Boussingault’s work in both the United States and Britain.

**Different Kinds of Chemistry Books**

In *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, especially in the 1840s, a variety of other chemistry books appeared with relative frequency in the magazine’s book listings and reviews. Many of these were textbooks intended for use at different educational levels. In February 1843, a review of *Johnston’s Manual of Chemistry* in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*

---

80 “Editors’ Book Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 30 (1845): 239. Appleton and Company had also published the aforementioned *Farmer’s Manual* in 1843.
81 “Editors’ Book Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 30 (1845): 239.
called it “a capital book for the classroom and the laboratory” and the magazine announced another edition in November of the same year.83 In July 1849, writing of Elements of Chemistry and Electricity by B. D. Reid and Alexander Bain, as well as David Page’s Elements of Geology, the editors declared “We are glad to see such excellent text-books as these prepared for the young.”84 John William Draper, a chemist who was born in England but settled in the United States, edited the edition of Kane’s Chemistry mentioned in the November 1842 issue.85 The book editor explained that this book was “recognised among scientific men as a standard work. In the department of organic chemistry, which has recently received so many improvements, it is particularly excellent.”86 Draper’s book, A Text Book of Chemistry, for the Use of Schools and Colleges, containing almost 300 illustrations, was included in the October 1846 “Literary Notices,” described as “an elegant compend[ium] of this popular and useful science by an author of the highest reputation.”87 Draper’s son, Henry, also wrote A Text-Book on Chemistry, a notice of which appeared in the July 1866 Godey’s Lady’s Book.88

As Sally Gregory Kohlstedt remarks, textbooks comprised more than one-third of American book sales by 1850, but they were not “easily classifiable.” University faculty members, such as Draper, often wrote textbooks for various audiences.89 The large part of the market represented by this kind of book must have accounted for their frequent appearances in magazines such as Godey’s Lady’s Book. Some of the books mentioned must have had multiple uses, such as Worthington Hooker’s First Book in Chemistry, subtitled “For Use in Schools and Families” and appearing in November 1862.90

Rudimental Chemistry, by George Fownes, a professor of chemistry at the University of

84 “Editors’ Book Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 39 (1849): 79.
86 “Editors’ Book Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 25 (1842): 249.
87 “Editors’ Book Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 33 (1846): 191.
89 Kohlstedt 73.
London, was described as “a work intended for the use of beginners” in the “Editors’ Book Table” of January 1849. In 1844, Fownes had won a prize offered by the Royal Institution for his popularizing writing on chemistry, in which he argued that God’s goodness was “nowhere…more conspicuous than in the means he has provided for revealing himself to his intelligent creatures.” In presenting chemistry as a way to understand and appreciate God, Fownes was part of a widespread popularizing strategy, apparent on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

_Godey’s Lady’s Book_ also included notices of more specialized books dealing with chemical subjects, such as _The Analytical Chemist’s Assistant_ by Frederick Woehler in January 1853 and _Practical Organic Chemistry_, this last in a series called “Small Books on Great Subjects,” in October 1846. The magazine also contained references to a more general work, the _Encyclopedia (or Cyclopaedia) of Chemistry_. In February 1844, the “Editors’ Book Table” noted that the publishers Carey and Hart were issuing Boot and Boye’s _Cyclopaedia of Chemistry_ in “monthly numbers, richly embellished with engravings, at 25 cts. a number.” Four years later, in June 1848, the same magazine announced: “the tenth number of this valuable work, which fully sustains its promised character. It is invaluable to those interested in the subject.” The book notices for these varied chemistry books across several decades indicates that the editors of _Godey’s Lady’s Book_ assumed in their readers some curiosity about the subject. Whether applied to agriculture or as a subject of study, chemistry constituted a significant part of expected scientific interest and knowledge.

_The Domestication of Chemistry_

---

92 Quoted in Knight, _Public Understanding of Science_ 27. Knight notes that Fownes’s work also served to popularize Liebig’s recent developments in organic chemistry.
94 “Editors’ Book Table,” _Godey’s Lady’s Book_ 28 (1844): 103.
95 “Editors’ Book Table,” _Godey’s Lady’s Book_ 36 (1848): 367.
The textbooks and agricultural chemistry books provided a broader context for literature more overtly directed at female readers. Much of this material can be considered part of the effort to domesticate science, specifically chemistry, in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines and related literature. This was part of a wider project of applying science to domestic duties and household management, in which these responsibilities were discussed in the language of “domestic economy” and “domestic science” in the words of Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, the authors of *The American Woman’s Home*.\(^96\) Originally published in 1869 and subtitled *Principles of Domestic Science*, this book was an American counterpart to Isabella Beeton’s *Book of Household Management*, which had been first published ten years before. As Nina Baym emphasizes, Sarah Josepha Hale used the same phrase: “Already in 1831 Hale was using the term *domestic science* and arguing that all women’s traditional tasks could—and should—be reconstructed in scientific terms.”\(^97\) In all these texts, the female authors explained the chemistry of household phenomena, specifically cooking and medicine.

Contemporary periodicals also employed this language, illustrated by several book notices. In an 1844 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, a reviewer declared that *Applied Chemistry in Manufactures, Arts and Domestic Economy*, will be “duly appreciated…by all who are willing to adapt science to domestic economy.”\(^98\) An August 1871 notice in the same periodical for Marion Harland’s *Common Sense in the Household: A Manual of Practical Housewifery* pronounced it “by far the best and most useful book of domestic science that has ever been issued.”\(^99\) In February 1875, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* introduced a series of articles called “The Englishwoman’s Economist.” The first piece observed that the preceding decades had showed “that the great precept of

---


\(^{97}\) Baym 40.

\(^{98}\) “Editors’ Book Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 28 (1844): 103.

Nature, ‘Waste Not,’ has begun to meet with more attention than was paid to it during any preceding age. Science, art, and man’s inventive genius have leagued themselves together to find methods of economising time, brain-power, manual labour, and expenditure.”100 The author promised that these articles would examine “the result of such of these discoveries as tend to the promotion of domestic comfort and the economy of time, trouble, and money in English homes.”101 This article explicitly connected science and technology to increased domestic efficiency and comfort, folding all of these developments into the contemporary narrative of progress.

The Chemistry of Cookery

As with dress and appearance, food and meals constituted a significant element of mid-nineteenth century class identity. Andrea Broomfield, in her history of cookery in Victorian England, argues that “food and values became intricately linked” during this period, providing opportunities for middle-class women running homes to demonstrate their “orderliness, punctuality, diligence, and efficiency along with presenting the food.”102 Writing about nineteenth-century cookery books in the United States, Eleanor Fordyce argues that these texts “quite often, provided the philosophical underpinning for a woman who endeavored to set up and keep a well-ordered home.”103 As part of the well-run kitchen, some scientific knowledge of cookery seems to have been expected as discussions of cookery in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines and household management books frequently referred to chemistry. In a chapter on cooking meat in the Book of Household Management, Beeton described the reactions of meat to different ways of heating, such as boiling, roasting and baking, declaring that “[t]hese interesting

facts, discovered in the laboratory, throw a flood of light upon the mysteries of the kitchen.”  

The first issue of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, the magazine Isabella Beeton would later write and edit with her husband, anticipates Beeton’s later commentary on the chemistry of the kitchen in the *Book of Household Management*. An essay entitled “Female Education,” asserted

> Of cookery, for example, they [women] should have a competent knowledge; not such as is derived from a collection of empirical recipes, but such as flows from the apprehension of a few great principles which are applicable under all circumstances, with a suitable variation. Cookery is more a matter of common-sense than most people imagine; and a slight tincture of chemical knowledge is very useful to those who practise it, so as to enable them to simplify by generalisation, and to deviate successfully from ordinary modes, as new circumstances arise to render such a course expedient.

The writer presented chemistry as a useful schema for a better understanding of cookery, using words such as “empirical” and “principles” as examples of a kind of “scientific” language. The article implied that general knowledge about this science could help a woman perform her domestic duties with greater skill.

A February 1876 article in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*’s series “The Englishwoman’s Economist” also linked chemistry and cookery, deploying a slightly different argument. This author wrote of cookery:

> [I]t is a science, an art, as sure to follow a high state of civilisation as the fine arts do. No persons of fine feelings can be indifferent to what they eat more than to what they wear, or what their household surroundings are…Let her [the wife] take a book on domestic chemistry in her hand, and go down into her kitchen. She will be in a far higher region of romance than Miss Braddon can take her into. She will learn that it is her province to renew her husband physically and mentally by dexterously depositing the right kind of nutriment upon the inward, invisible frame. The wonders of science shall supersede, then, for her the wonders of

---

romance….Truly, I think that it is almost a sin for a housekeeper with all her senses to be ignorant of the laws of chemistry affecting food.106

This passage referred to the familiar evocations of female duty, as a wife to her husband, responsible for domestic understanding and skill and aesthetic sense. The appeal to “fine feelings” implied that those who did not pay attention to cooking (and its chemistry) were devoid of good taste. Scientific knowledge and domestic duty promised more fulfillment than contemporary sensation novels.

This passage also raised cookery to an art, neatly playing upon the usual location of the kitchen on the ground floor of a house and claiming that a woman’s interest in food and cookery would bring no demotion in status. In her 1852 cookery book, The Ladies’ New Book of Cookery, Sarah Hale called upon Justus von Liebig to emphasize a similar point, quoting him directly: “‘Among all the arts known to man,’ says Liebig, ‘there is none which enjoys a juster appreciation, and the products of which are more universally admired than that which is concerned in the preparation of our food.’”107 This elevation of cookery reinforced the importance of the female domestic sphere and its activities in contemporary middle-class rhetoric. This argument also may have reassured women who felt themselves to be part of the middle class but had to act as family cook for reasons of economic necessity.

Specific references to Liebig and his work on the chemistry of cookery appeared in many of these books and magazines. In her discussion of boiling meat in the Book of Household Management, Beeton observed that cookery writers often suggest the meat should be placed in cold water. She went on to declare, however, that “Liebig, the highest authority on all matters connected with the chemistry of food, has shown that

106 “The Englishwoman’s Economist,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine 92 (1876): 105. Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1837-1915) was a popular Victorian novelist, especially known for her “sensation” fiction.
meat so treated loses some of its most nutritious constituents.” Beeton then quoted the “great chemist” directly on this point.108

In the February 1855 recipe section of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, a piece titled “A Few Words on Soups” asserted that “[t]he researches of Liebig offer a simple and convenient method of preparing, in a few minutes, a broth of the highest nutritive properties.”109 In *The Ladies’ New Book of Cookery*, Sarah Josepha Hale directly credited “the authority of Baron Liebig in his ‘Familiar Letters’ and ‘Animal Chemistry’” as guidelines followed in assembling the book.110

A June 1854 article, also in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, “Preservation of Food,” presented some of the most involved descriptions of the chemistry of food in contemporary women’s magazines. The piece began by underscoring that the preservation of food “has been improved by gradual steps, depending, in great measure, as in so many other cases, on chemical discovery and the diffusion of chemical knowledge among persons engaged in the useful arts.”111 It then explained that the need to preserve food “arises from the complicated structure of organic compounds, and their tendency to resolve themselves into simpler or inorganic compounds.”112 Providing a basic definition of organic chemistry, the author observed that the “the comprehensive history of the animal and vegetable kingdoms is written with a very brief alphabet,” but that “there appears to be no limit to the number of definite substances which they [the elements in vegetable and animal substances] are capable of producing.”113 The article then briefly explained the process of decomposition, noting that “[i]n popular language, these changes are expressed by such terms as decay and putrefaction. Liebig, however,

has given precision to them by limiting the term *decay* to the decomposition of moist organic matter.”114

This article displayed many of the common features of mid-nineteenth century popular science writing. The author defined organic chemistry, referring to (but not using) the specialist language of chemical symbols used among chemists. Using popular terms, the piece provided everyday examples of decomposition and included Liebig in his discussion, explaining how the well-known chemist’s work related to familiar domestic challenges. The writer clearly placed the discussion of food decomposition and preservation in the forward-moving narrative of scientific progress, presenting chemistry as the source of a solution to a common problem.

*Medicine, Poison, and Care of Clothing*

References to chemistry also appeared in contemporary advice to women about hygiene and basic medical care, often near the cookery recipes and other practical information at the back of the magazine. The physical proximity of these items underscores their shared base of scientific knowledge, highlighting the importance of examining the many elements in a single issue of a periodical.

In the first issue of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, the Beetons included “Receipts for Cookery” just before “The Sick-Room and Nursery” at the back of the magazine, an organizational layout followed in subsequent issues. This issue included instructions about how to disinfect air with chlorine, providing directions about how to produce the element from salt, powdered black oxide of manganese, sulphuric acid, and water.115 *Godey’s Lady’s Book* also placed the cookery recipes and medical advice at the end of the magazine. These sections often included reader contributions.

---

underscoring the female community created by periodicals, in which women contributed to collective domestic knowledge by creating and adapting recipes and procedures. Female participation in both culinary and domestic medical spheres was highlighted by one reader’s submission to the March 1857 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* that included recipes for both a “Wisconsin fruit-cake” and a burn treatment.\(^{116}\)

As with education, women were responsible for basic medical care of their children when they were young. Domestic manuals and women’s magazines of the nineteenth century contained sections with a wide range of preventative measures and directions for treatment and care, from poultices and hot baths to instructions for bleeding and the treatment of sprains and burns.\(^{117}\) The professional help of doctors could be expensive and perhaps difficult to obtain, especially in the remoter regions of the expanding United States. A July 1871 review of Robert McNary’s book *Woman Her Own Doctor* in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* also underlined the contemporary perception of a mother’s responsibility for her family’s physical and spiritual well-being: “The author of this work believes that medicine should become a popular science, and that it is a woman’s duty especially, as the guardian of the health of her household, to familiarize herself with diseases and their remedies.”\(^{118}\)

Chemistry was used to explain physical processes of the body such as digestion. In July 1870, a short piece in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* described how when food reaches the stomach “its peculiar secretion, the ‘gastric juice,’ or solvent fluid of the stomach, begins to be poured out. This fluid is…‘very perceptibly acid.’”\(^{119}\) An article in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in February 1853 provided even more detail:

> Chemical solutions, to be made perfect from solid materials in the proper time, require first the mechanical aid of crushing or pounding, that the greatest quantity of surface may be presented to the solvent power. Nature

---


\(^{118}\) “Literary Notices,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 83 (1871): 91.

has provided us with teeth for this mechanical purpose; and if we will not
assist her, we deserve to pay the penalty in dyspepsia and other frightful
disorders incidental to quick feeding. For this reason, great care should be
taken, in the infancy of children, to accustom them to a slow and proper
mastication of their food, so as to allow the gastric juices every chance of
fair play.120

In this passage, chemistry provided both explanation and metaphor for
good digestion. As in discussions of cookery, proper understanding of the
chemical process involved implied a better performance of female domestic
duties.

Much of the medical advice related to chemistry in magazines and manuals
centred on antidotes to possible poisons. As the October 1855 medical advice article in
*Godey’s Lady’s Book* cautioned: “It not unfrequently happens that serious and
distressing results are occasioned by the accidental employment of poisons.”121 In
providing these lists, authors usually presumed a basic knowledge of chemistry, as when
Beecher and Stowe noted that “Soda, saleratus, potash, or any other alkali can be
rendered harmless in the stomach by vinegar, tomato-juice, or any other acid.”122 “The
Doctor” in the January 1857 issue of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included a
list of acids and alkalies and their antidotes, as did Beeton’s *Book of Household
Management*.123 Acids and alkalies, and their characteristics, were assumed to be known
and understood.

Lists of antidotes to household substances that might accidentally be ingested
reveal an array of dangerous materials that might be found in nineteenth-century homes.
An article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in 1853 included antidotes to, among others,
belladonna, poisonous mushrooms, opium, and white vitriol. The piece warned: “We, of
course, advise the immediate sending for a physician; but, before he comes, it is as well

122 Beecher and Stowe 350.
Management* 540-549. It is perhaps notable that the title of this section of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic
Magazine* changed from “The Sick-Room and the Nursery” to “The Doctor” in 1856.
to know what to do."  

Earlier in 1853, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included a piece from the *Ladies’ Repository* titled “Chemistry for Ladies.” This article outlined several potential scenarios of accidental poisoning, then provided antidotes, lamenting in one case that “[i]t has sometimes happened that a mother has, for want of this knowledge, poisoned her family.”

The figure of the female poisoner stretches back to Eve and her apple, however, and in the mid-nineteenth century some women used poison for murderous purposes. Although explicit references to poisoning cases do not appear in the periodicals reviewed, the magazines did refer to arsenic, the favoured poison of female criminals. Arsenic was used to kill vermin and thus would have been present in many homes. In January 1853, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* recommended magnesia as an antidote to arsenic and a notice for Woehler’s *Analytical Chemist’s Assistant* in the same month in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* noted that the book includes “the rules for detecting arsenic in a case of poisoning.” Ian Burney argues that the trials, reports, and accounts of poisonings revealed “a window on the dark underside of Victorian domesticity.” Burney asserts that the “recurrent theme of a calculating domestic barbarity at work from within the bosom of civilization expressed a profound anxiety” present in the middle-class social and cultural world.

Women’s magazines also referred to chemistry in advice about the cleaning of clothing, such as stain removal and bleaching. In August 1854, an item in “The Toilet” section of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* suggested sal volatile or hartshorn “To Restore Color in Silks taken out by Acids” and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* of June 1853

---

124 “Godey’s Arm-Chair,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 47 (1853): 373.
126 Burney 21. Arsenic was flavourless and odourless and thus almost impossible to detect in food or drink. The use of arsenic in textile dyes and dyeing will be discussed in the next chapter.
127 Burney 21. Arsenic was flavourless and odourless and thus almost impossible to detect in food or drink. The use of arsenic in textile dyes and dyeing will be discussed in the next chapter.
129 Burney 25.
130 Burney 31.
131 Advice in women’s magazines about dyeing clothing will be discussed extensively in the next chapter.
also included recommendations “To Remove Stains of Acids.” The *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in the November 1852 “Things Worth Knowing” section advised that acids could be used to care for cotton prints: “It often happens in coloured cottons, where greens, reds, &c., are used, that the colours will run; in such case, some acid, as lemon-juice, vinegar, oil of vitriol, &c., should be infused into the rinsing waters to preserve the colours, especially in Scotch plaids.”

The first article in the series “Everyday Actualities” in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* was titled “Bleaching of Calico, Muslin, and other Cotton Fabrics.” This piece, which appeared in the June 1852 issue, began by asserting, “There is probably no department of the useful which has received such apparent benefits from scientific research as the art of bleaching.” The article continued, giving a history of developments in bleaching procedures and explaining methods of bleaching different fibres. The piece concluded with a “Bleaching Experiment for our Readers,” providing instructions to make chlorine gas to bleach a parsley leaf. This article was intended to educate, but an item in the recipe section of the same magazine in May 1855 used similar language. Titled “How to Whiten Linen or Calico,” the piece began by suggesting bleaching textiles in the open air. Acknowledging that circumstances might make this method impractical, the author noted, “Here the art of chemistry may assist, and the following directions have been given by an eminent practical chemist.” The recipe calls for soda and chloride of lime. Both the article and the recipe placed bleaching developments in the larger narrative of scientific progress, underscoring the benefits that the “art” of chemistry provided for all.

---

132 “To Restore Color in Silks taken out by Acids,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 49 (1854): 186; “To Remove Stains of Acids, &c.,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* 2 (1853): 60. Sal volatile, or salt of hartshorn, were names for ammonium carbonate.


Domestic Education

Explanations of chemical progress and applications in women’s magazines could educate female readers, but the inclusion of chemistry experiments and book reviews also presupposed the female reader to be an educator of children or at least a conduit of educational material. As outlined earlier in this chapter, in nineteenth-century gendered division of labour women were assumed to be natural educators of the young and most middle-class mothers would have been among the first teachers of their children.

Sally Gregory Kohlstedt quotes Bernard Bailyn’s “now-classic formulation of education,” which is not limited to formal instruction, but includes “‘the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations.’”137 Kohlstedt, with Barbara T. Gates and Ann B. Shteir, emphasizes the nineteenth-century focus on the activities, including education, that took place in the family and home.138 Nina Baym suggests that “pedagogical scientific texts for young people…[were] perhaps especially geared to anxious mothers who had to introduce their children to subjects in which they had no background.”139 The “maternal tradition” in children’s domestic education, discussed earlier this chapter, provided a context in which women could use the scientific articles, experiments, and books listed in magazines.

The science of ordinary things was a particularly widespread organizing principle for many popularizing books of the period often aimed at general readers and especially children. In her discussion of English popular science periodicals, Susan Sheets-Pyenson explains how readers were shown how “the raw materials of science could be found in everyday objects that surrounded them.”140 Bernard Lightman notes that advocates for

---

138 Kohlstedt 65-67; Gates and Shteir 7.
139 Baym 7.
popular education supported “an emphasis on the knowledge of common things in schoolbooks” and discusses this as a strategy adopted by popularizers.141

The descriptions of many popular science books in women’s magazines clearly show that children were their intended audience. In November 1842, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* mentioned a recent publication by J. H. Wright called *Breakfast Table Science; or, the Philosophy of Common Things*. The reviewer asserted that the young reader will be sure “to have his curiosity awakened concerning the phenomena of natural philosophy connected with his every day life.”142 A similar British book published in 1852 by Albert Bernays, *Household Chemistry; or, Rudiments of Science applied to Every-Day Life*, echoed this language and approach, even beginning with a chapter called “Chemistry of the Breakfast-Table.” In his preface, Bernays noted that he was writing particularly to children and hoped to “encourage men or women of sufficient talent and leisure to enter upon the serious study of science, which offers such an abundance of amusement and instruction.”143 In January 1861, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included *The Boy’s Own Book of Natural History* by J. G. Wood in their listing of “Books of the Season.”144 The book reviewer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* praised two books by Jacob Abbott on light and heat as “science made easy for children, boys and girls as well.”145

Several more books centring on the science of everyday objects appeared in the book notices of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. In February 1844, this section of the magazine included *Science of Common Things*, described as “curious and very entertaining.” Part of *Youth’s Library for the Parlour*, the book was noted to be “particularly suited for

---

142 “Editors’ Book Table,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 25 (1842): 249. The January 1843 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* announced the publication of a second edition of *Breakfast Table Science* (26 (1843): 59).
143 Albert Bernays, *Household Chemistry; or, Rudiments of Science applied to Every-Day Life* (London: Sampson Low, 1852) xiv.
The book reviews of September 1851 featured *Familiar Science: or, The Scientific Explanation of Common Things* edited by R. E. Peterson. The notice declared that this book contained a “vast amount of information useful in the school-room” and pronounced it “highly instructive and amusing in fireside conversations with the juvenile members of a family, who are prone to ask questions which cannot always be readily answered by their elders.” These reviews underscore the multiple uses this kind of popular science book could have in schools and homes, as well as alluding to the various audiences potentially to be educated.

The editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* particularly recommended James F. W. Johnston’s book *The Chemistry of Common Life*. In May 1854, the book’s review proclaimed: “It should be read by the million, for it informs us all about the air we breathe, the water we drink, the soil we cultivate, and the plants we rear.” This notice also mentioned that the book was dedicated to David Brewster, “one of the most eminent scientific men in England.” The next year, in July 1855, the magazine referred to another version of this book, published in two volumes, not several numbers. The reviewer claimed that the numbers had “elicited the most substantial testimonials in their favor from the American and British press; and our readers will recollect how frequently we called their attention to the amount and the great value and importance of the knowledge they contained.” The two-volume publication, “handsomely printed and illustrated” was expected to “prove more attractive to readers and students, and form a more acceptable addition to a family library than when in separate numbers.” In the next issue, the editors featured an article based on part of Johnston’s book. The piece, on perfumes, began, “Professor Johnston, in his excellent work entitled ‘The Chemistry of
Common Life,’ has the following excellent remarks on the diffusiveness of perfumes.”150 The notices for this book exemplify many aspects of popular science publishing in the mid-nineteenth century. This kind of literature appeared in different formats, from serial publication to individual numbers to more substantial editions, on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Although this book emphasized how readers could learn about science using everyday objects, through his dedication the author established a link between his work and that of the established physicist David Brewster.

*Chemistry Experiments*

At the end of his book *Household Chemistry*, Bernays included a set of experiments, many of which could be performed with equipment and materials to be found around the house. Instructions for this kind of experiment appeared in many popular science books and also in women’s magazines. *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included regular so-called “Pleasing Experiments” in the early 1840s. These had titles such as “To Revive Apparently Dead Plants” and “To Colour the Flame of a Candle” and tended to be long on dramatic effects and short on technical explanations.151

In February 1853, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* introduced a series of articles called “Chemistry for Youth,” featuring experiments more similar to those found in books such as that of Bernays. “Crystallization” was the title of the first piece and its beginning indicated its intended audience: “Many very interesting experiments can be performed with the salts, the crystallization of which into varieties of prisms and forms is sure to afford an almost endless amusement to the young chemical practitioner.”152 The next two issues included instructions about how to create coloured crystals, using substances such as turmeric, logwood, indigo, alum, madder and cochineal, all familiar professional and

150 “Perfumes for the Ladies, and Where they Come From,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 51 (1855): 105.
domestic dyestuffs. After several more months of crystals, a new series of experiments began: “Heat, Light, and Flame.” These included instructions for making a “Sub-aqueous Volcano,” “Colored Fires,” and “Fireworks in Miniature.” The June 1854 issue featured a “Mineral Chameleon,” in which the oxidizing of a metallic powder turned water a variety of colours and the following issue instructed readers in the “Production under Water of vivid Green Streams of Fire.” Although the text accompanying these experiments was more detailed than the preceding “Pleasing Experiments,” there was certainly an emphasis on visually arresting, often colourful, display. A longer article in this series, “The Magic of Chemistry,” appearing in December 1853 reinforced this point, beginning “Chemistry is one of the most attractive sciences. From the beginning to the end, the student is surprised and delighted with the developments of the exact discrimination, as well as the power and capacity, which are displayed in various forms of chemical action.”

The final example of “Chemistry for Youth” appeared in November 1854, but similar experiments continued to be featured under the heading “Parlor Amusements” from December 1854 until December 1855. Examples of these included the “Fountain of Fire,” “Chemical Illuminations” and “Magnetical Experiments.” A letter included in the June 1855 issue of Godey’s Lady’s Book indicated that these amusements were read and even criticized, providing excellent evidence of the kind of conversation that periodicals allowed. “C. Niver,” writing from the Ancram Lead Mines in New York state, asserted that the instructions given for the March experiment were misleading.

---

because “no inflammable or explosive ‘vapors,’ or any ‘chemical illumination,’ can be produced by the mixture of any fixed or essential oil, water, and iron filings.” Niver explained why the experiment would not work and what might make it more successful—it appeared that the instructions had neglected to indicate that heat was necessary for one of the experiments. This attentiveness suggests a broad audience for at least this section of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, but also raises doubts about whether all of these experiments were in fact possible.

The “Parlor Amusements” also included several experiments using chemicals to effect colourful changes, such as “Transmutation or Change of Colors” and “Curious Change of Calico.” This last experiment involved making a dyebath of copperas, lime, and indigo, submerging a piece of white calico, then removing it and watching the colour change from green to blue. It is significant to note that these “amusements” often appeared very near, if not on the same page, as dye recipes in women’s magazines. As this example demonstrates, similar materials and processes were presented both as instructive or amusing experiments and also as useful resources for domestic dyeing.

In January 1856, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* introduced a series of articles called “Chemistry for the Young,” which continued until October 1859, making it the longest-running series of chemistry experiments in the magazine. The first article began,

> It was happily remarked by a popular author on mathematical science (Darley), “that every person is, to some extent, an algebraist, however little he may suspect the fact.” With at least equal truth may a chemical author assert that every person contains intuitively within himself the principles of chemical analysis, and as intuitively applies them.

By stressing that every child (and perhaps by implication his mother also) already knows something about chemistry, the author downplayed any potential feelings of fear or intimidation. The article continued, emphasising the importance of practical, rather

---

161 “Chemistry for the Young,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 52 (1856): 78.
than theoretical, instruction in chemistry and asserting that “the practice of [chemical] analysis at once, and from the first, imparts to a student facts in all the tangible reality of their physical presence.”162 The second article introduced the necessary approach to these experiments: “we will now proceed to give the young chemical analyst certain directions, relative to habits of neatness and precision; without the acquisition of which, very early in his career, all his future labors in analysis will be thrown away.”163 This advice applied specifically to the practice of chemical experiments, but it also dovetailed with general nineteenth-century exhortations of the necessity of careful and orderly work habits and the importance of industriousness.

The experiments began simply, with the first one instructing the student how to separate sand and salt when mixed together.164 The experiments could be performed at home, but over the months they became more complicated, building on knowledge acquired. Lessons defined terms and concepts as the experiments progressed. Every day materials were used and sometimes produced, as in the fourth lesson, which instructed the student to clean a container using “with a strong boiling solution of carbonate of potash (pearl-ash), by which means the oil is converted into soap, and is easily removable. In the performance of this cleansing operation, the young chemist will have—so to speak—stumbled upon the soap-making process.”165 This piece continued, taking the opportunity to introduce technical language and contextualize the experiment: “Carbonate of potash being the first deliquescent, or water-attracting, substance we have yet met with in the course of our experiments, I have thought it desirable to indicate how the powers of this class of bodies may be applied to actual cases of analysis.”166

Many of the lessons in the “Chemistry for the Young” series provided practical uses and actual applications of the knowledge acquired. One lesson gave directions for

162 “Chemistry for the Young,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 52 (1856): 78.
164 “Chemistry for the Young,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 52 (1856): 270.
the preparation of arsenic, referring to the contemporary anxieties about this substance mentioned earlier: “a metal which possesses much chemical interest, and which, owing to its terribly poisonous effects, too frequently comes under the investigation of the chemical analyst.”\textsuperscript{167} Another example of applied chemistry appeared in an experiment in which sugar and starch were separated, concluding, “let us consider the many practical instances to which the acquired knowledge my be applied. For example, supposing sugar to have been adulterated by starch, the young chemist will easily recognize that the adulteration might be disclosed by means of tincture of iodine.”\textsuperscript{168} This pointed to a contemporary worry related to the fear of accidental or deliberate poisoning, that of adulterated foodstuffs. As Broomfield discusses, this was a growing concern in England, “[a]s families lost self-sufficiency and became dependent on others to supply food…As people lost knowledge of how to cook competently, they also lost a sense of how food should taste, how it should look, and even how long it should last. Underhanded purveyors eagerly took advantage of such ignorance.”\textsuperscript{169} Both Broomfield and Kathryn Hughes underscore Isabella Beeton’s well-justified fear of food adulteration, which manifested itself in both the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} and the \textit{Book of Household Management}.\textsuperscript{170} This experiment furnishes another example of how the acquisition of scientific knowledge, particularly chemistry, could help contemporaries attempt to control the modern world.

The emphasis on the useful knowledge and skills that could be acquired in these experiments reflects the practical slant of much popularization of science. The appearance of these book notices and experiments in women’s magazines underscores the potential family readership of these magazines, as well as highlighting the role that a mother could play educating young children in individual domestic settings.

\textsuperscript{167} “Chemistry for the Young,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 59 (1859): 92.
\textsuperscript{168} “Chemistry for the Young,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 54 (1857): 78.
\textsuperscript{169} Broomfield 117. Broomfield discusses food adulteration, as well as the problem of spoilage and challenges of refrigeration and impure water (116-120).
Lectures and Conversation

As the descriptions of these experiments indicate and as David Knight stresses, “the possibilities for demonstration experiments made chemistry an exciting science to watch, and it could also be smelt and even heard.” Lectures, usually including visual elements, drew large audiences that often included women and children. In the early nineteenth century, Humphrey Davy’s lectures at the Royal Institution enjoyed great popularity among members of the elite and Michael Faraday followed in his mentor’s footsteps, launching a well-attended series of Christmas lectures specifically for children. In the United States, chemist John Griscom delivered “popular and practical lectures on chemistry” to interested audiences in New York. Later in the century, the chemist and popularizer William Crookes gave lectures “illustrated by striking experiments.” August Hofmann, the director of the Royal College of Chemistry and the teacher of William Perkin, was also known for his entertaining lectures, in which he used a variety of visual aids including models of atoms made of croquet balls and wire. Hofmann recognized the necessity of publicizing the College’s research in a popular fashion to attract students and public support. As part of this strategy, one 1862 lecture he delivered at the Royal Institution as part of a series in the 1860s focused on the discoveries and developments of the synthetic dyes, mauve and magenta.

Especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, as Bernard Lightman emphasizes, “a successful scientific lecturer needed to entertain as well as to instruct.”

171 Knight, Public Understanding of Science 31.
172 Knight, Public Understanding of Science 19, 40.
173 Kohlstedt 71.
174 Knight, Age of Science 202.
176 Brock, “Liebig’s and Hofmann’s impact” 82-83; Knight, Public Understanding of Science 64.
177 Bernard Lightman, “Lecturing in the Spatial Economy of Science,” Science in the Marketplace, Fyfe and Lightman 97. This essay of Lightman’s focuses on two popular science lecturers from this period, John Henry Pepper (1826-1880) and Frank Buckland (1821-1900). Lightman also discusses the lecturing
Lightman notes that lecturers often toured around Britain and some visited the United States, Canada, and Australia as well.\textsuperscript{178} Kohlstedt remarks that larger cities in the United States afforded audiences for lecturers such as John Griscom by the second decade of the nineteenth century, but also underscores that “[i]tinerant speakers went from town to town, giving popular talks on physics, mechanics, chemistry, and other subjects that amused and challenged the imagination.”\textsuperscript{179} Like their counterparts in Britain, these men “knew that it was essential to combine visual demonstrations with their lectures.”\textsuperscript{180} As white settlers travelled farther west in North America, these lecturers pursued these geographically-expanding audiences and “both encouraged and reflected an interest in science.”\textsuperscript{181} Lectures would often be published as books as well, as shown by a July 1845 notice in \textit{Godey's Lady's Book} for \textit{Popular Lectures in Science and Art} by the English lecturer Dionysus Lardner. Described as “delivered in the principal cities and towns of the United States,” two versions of these lectures were available: “cheap numbers” and “a beautiful number, with engravings.”\textsuperscript{182}

Book reviews and short articles on scientific topics in women’s magazines, as well as attendance at lectures, pointed to feminine roles in society as well as the family. Scientific developments were topics of general discussion and as wives, hostesses, and dinner guests, women were ideally expected to have some knowledge of the subject. In diaries and letters, Kohlstedt finds evidence of female participation in the “sociability” of science in the United States, especially conversations and demonstrations in domestic parlors.\textsuperscript{183} In his discussion about how conversations about science changed during the nineteenth century, James Secord notes that British mid-century etiquette manuals aimed at men “recognized the role that the sciences could play in socializing with the opposite

\textsuperscript{178} Lightman, “Lecturing in the Spatial Economy of Science” 101.
\textsuperscript{179} Kohlstedt 75.
\textsuperscript{180} Kohlstedt 75.
\textsuperscript{181} Zochert 20-21.
\textsuperscript{182} “Editors’ Book Table,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 31 (1845): 48.
\textsuperscript{183} Kohlstedt 66-67.
sex” and that these books, especially those in the 1830s and 1840s “recommended science as a key element in the social game.”184 A November 1854 book notice from *Godey’s Lady’s Book* underscored the role science could play in conversation. The reviewer described J. Stevenson Bushnan’s book *The Principles of Animal and Vegetable Physiology* as “full of valuable instruction and entertaining information…The subjects of which it treats will afford abundant themes for conversation and the interchange of ideas in private and mixed social circles, which may well supersede the light and frivolous, and sometimes reprehensible gossip which is resorted to for amusement.”185 The familiar combination of science as entertainment and instruction was evident, presented as completely appropriate for different kinds of conversation.

In his discussion of the place of the “conversazione,” or “social gathering held by learned or art society,” Samuel J. M. M. Alberti argues convincingly that these events demonstrate the active involvement of the middle classes in the experience of science and “that scientific activities interlaced with other aspects of culture and society.”186 These events usually allowed female participation, although this sometimes was criticized.187 Contemporary periodicals, not least in their illustrations, reflect the presence of women at scientific events.188 In 1863, for example, the *Popular Science Review* reported on a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, noting that “there was a sufficient sprinkling of popular matters to attract strangers and ladies.”189

**Conclusion**

187 Alberti 217.
188 Baym 10.
In examining how middle-class women engaged with science, particularly chemistry, in the mid- to late nineteenth century, this chapter has addressed a specific set of issues: the roles played by women as producers and consumers of popular science texts; the social expectation that women should have some general knowledge of science; the domestication of chemistry through everyday applications; the idea that comprehension of science could help women better understand their world and better perform their domestic and social duties; and, finally, underpinning all of these themes, the emphasis on feminine education, often self-education, as a way to acquire scientific knowledge.

Women’s magazines of the period, as this chapter demonstrated, contained a wealth of references to science and chemistry, providing both entertainment and instruction. As discussed here, scholars such as Barbara T. Gates, Ann B. Shteir, Bernard Lightman, and Nina Baym have shown definitively that, although women writers rarely advocated female contributions to “professional” science, they did contribute significantly to scientific popularization in the nineteenth century. Shteir emphasizes that certain writers particularly encouraged and catered to female reading about science. Consequently, some women were thus fully integrated into the production and consumption of this kind of popular scientific knowledge, incorporating it into their everyday lives.

The middle-class women’s magazines discussed here indicate clearly that a degree of scientific knowledge was expected of the ideal woman reader. Notices for general scientific reference books appeared frequently in these periodicals, emphasizing the usefulness, even the necessity, of these volumes for the whole family. Science was assumed to comprise part of the broader middle-class literate culture, providing a topic of conversation and a source of entertainment. In fact, as Peter J. Bowler and Iwan Rhys Morus note, awareness of science and scientific developments was “widely considered to

---

be a mark of [this] culture.” As with fashion, colour, and taste, knowledge of science was another way in which middle-class women could demonstrate their class membership.

Women’s magazines included many examples of domesticated chemistry, as this chapter has shown, exemplifying the way in which everyday applications of science permeated these texts. Chemistry could, for example, help women with their provision of domestic medical care, especially in awareness of potential poisons and their antidotes. In the same way, the cleaning and care of clothing could also be aided by chemical knowledge. References to the chemistry of cookery were also common, often stressing that comprehension of basic chemistry could explain cookery’s broad principles. Writers frequently mentioned Justus von Liebig’s writing about food—his position as a practicing chemist who wrote popular works lent authority to the injunctions of the authors of the articles in the women’s magazines.

As Andrea Broomfield asserts, the middle-class virtues of industry and order are clearly reflected in writing about nineteenth-century cookery. The integration of scientific knowledge, and references to experts such as Liebig, into domestic practice also highlights the middle-class valuing of learning in the domestic sphere. For example, the premise was that if the whole “science” of cookery was understood, then women would be better cooks and thus fill this domestic role better than they would without this knowledge. As Shteir notes, “science was defined in relation to assumptions about women’s lives.” Female authors especially often published books that emphasized how learning about science could help women be better wives and mothers, providing such examples of the applications of science to their everyday lives and domestic duties. Understanding science was also seen as helping the educated comprehend the workings of the world around them, both natural and man-made. Indeed, following scientific

---

191 Bowler and Morus 368.
192 Broomfield 26.
193 Shteir, “Green-Stocking or Blue” 12.
developments was a particularly effective way to see contemporary social and cultural progress, a fundamental aspect of the Victorian worldview as Peter J. Bowler argues.\textsuperscript{194}

Another dimension of scientific education included the domestic responsibility of educator of young children that women were often expected to fill, a role which was sometimes assumed in pieces about science and chemistry. Baym, Gates, Shteir, and Sally Gregory Kohlstedt all emphasize the part science played in domestic education.\textsuperscript{195} As shown here, several books and articles presented everyday objects and occurrences as ways through which one could learn and teach science. Hands-on experiments were seen to assist in this learning process and were often included in periodicals and books. Lightman points to teaching through familiar examples and common objects as an approach adopted by some science popularizers.\textsuperscript{196} These texts and experiments illustrate the importance of education in middle-class culture, but also indicate how this education could be informal, taking place in a domestic feminine space and using unremarkable materials. As this chapter has discussed, more public opportunities for education about science also existed in the mid-nineteenth century, including lectures and conversation. Women could and did attend and take part in these events, although this participation was not always encouraged. All of these kinds of education convincingly illustrate how, as Gates and Shteir argue, science constituted a key “part of the middle-class project to shape appropriate learning for women.”\textsuperscript{197}

This chapter has shown that these nineteenth-century middle-class women’s magazines clearly reveal the expectation that women should know about and engage with science and chemistry to some degree and that doing so enhanced their performance of their roles as good, dutiful wives and mothers, both inside and outside the home. Chemistry underpinned daily domestic duties such as cooking, helped to explain the

\textsuperscript{194} Bowler 1-5.
\textsuperscript{195} Baym 7; Gates and Shteir 7; Kohlstedt 65-67.
\textsuperscript{196} Lightman, \textit{Victorian Popularizers of Science} 67, 129.
\textsuperscript{197} Gates and Shteir 7.
workings of nature, and provided social and family entertainment, as this chapter has also demonstrated. Knowledge of practical domestic applications of science, as well as its contemporary developments, thus comprised a part of female middle-class identity.

This assumption of chemical knowledge and the way in which science permeated middle-class culture and society provided an essential context for the discussions of dyes in these periodicals which will be discussed in the following chapter. In this culture of domestic, everyday chemistry, dye developments that allowed the manufacture of colourful textiles, together with advice about domestic dyeing, were only two examples of the way in which chemistry entered the lives of women.
Chapter 5

A Few Receipts for Dyeing will be Found Very Serviceable: 
Dye Use by Colourists and Women

Introduction

Middle-class women were encouraged to engage with science, particularly chemistry, in a number of ways in the mid-nineteenth century, as the previous chapter showed. This chapter will focus on the primary example of applied chemistry explored in this thesis: dyeing. The work of dye chemists, or colourists, employed in North West England and references to women as home dyers in contemporary women’s periodicals reveal hitherto unexplored practical and linguistic similarities between professional and domestic cultures of dye chemistry.

Surviving colourists’ notebooks provide a unique source through which to investigate the materials, practice, and language used by nineteenth-century professionals involved with dyeing and printing in their daily work. Dye recipes, reader queries, essays, and literary references in women’s magazines illustrate how dyes and dyeing were also integrated into the daily domestic lives of middle-class women.

As the first chapter outlined, many developments occurred in dye chemistry during the period of this study, 1840 to 1875. This chapter will examine the contemporary use and discussion of both natural and artificial dyestuffs by professional and domestic dyers. As Agustí Nieto-Galan underscores, natural dyes were not immediately supplanted by synthetic products.¹ Colourists’ records show how a variety of natural and artificial dyes were used concurrently and, occasionally, in conjunction with each other.

Colourists’ records and women’s magazines contain references to branded dye products, especially as industrially-produced synthetic dyes became available in the 1860s and 1870s. As Thomas Richards notes, advertisements in middle-class magazines were an essential element of nineteenth-century commodity culture.\(^2\) For the manufacturers, brand recognition among both domestic and professional consumers was essential and they used their company titles as well as distinctive colour names to this end. The newness of these products, especially with respect to the fashionable colours they could produce, was another crucial selling point, dovetailing with the broader discussions of novelty, colour, and fashion addressed in this thesis.

*The Role of Colourists*

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, as C. Michael Mellor and Donald S. L. Cardwell note, some training in chemistry had become useful if not essential for dyers and colourists.\(^3\) Ernst Homburg notes that colourists rarely had complete university educations, but that some attended lectures on chemistry.\(^4\) Philip Sykas explains that the majority of colourists acquired most of their knowledge of chemistry and dyeing while working for textile manufacturers.\(^5\) Colourists often worked for several firms in the course of their careers; moving among the different centres of the dye industry was not uncommon.\(^6\) The profession could be lucrative and could eventually lead to partnership in the ownership of a textile firm.\(^7\)

\(^6\) Homburg, “The Influence of Demand on the Emergence of the Dye Industry” 328.
\(^7\) Homburg, “The Influence of Demand on the Emergence of the Dye Industry” 328; Sykas, *The Secret Life of Textiles* 96.
Agustí Nieto-Galan argues persuasively for the existence of a “republic of chemist-dyers,” an international community of those involved with the development, production, circulation, and use of dyes during the nineteenth century. Technology, information, and skills passed throughout this “multi-centred network,” in which “chemical, mechanical, and artistic skills…were shared in different degrees by experts.”

Travis underscores the “considerable overlap between the work of the colourist and that of the chemist,” pointing to the example of Michel-Eugène Chevreul, who taught, lectured, and published in the worlds of academic and applied chemistry. Nieto-Galan describes John Mercer, the Lancashire calico-printer, as a “self-educated provincial chemist” and details the “significant practical and theoretical contributions” he made to both the textile industry and to chemical knowledge. Until the late nineteenth century, the technical and scientific expertise required to work with dyes allowed some men to achieve renown in chemical matters both theoretical and applied, as the divisions between these realms had not yet solidified.

Most colourists, however, did not achieve national or international fame, but their jobs were nonetheless essential to the manufacture of textiles. When the industry relied on natural raw materials for dyestuffs, colourists were responsible for assessing the quality of these valuable substances, often imported at considerable expense. As Sykas observes, however, this kind of work was rarely documented. Instead, colourists’ notebooks, including those examined in this study, “are concerned with colour trials of

---

8 Nieto-Galan, Colouring Textiles 123.
11 Robert Fox and Agustí Nieto-Galan caution against overemphasizing the connections between academic chemistry and dyeing, noting that “it may well be possible to talk about the emergence of a ‘science’ of natural dyestuffs in this period. But the efforts of chemists were dispersed…[and] despite the rhetorical flourishes about the value of chemistry that appeared in the introductions to treatises and textbooks, the areas of consensus in the field of dyeing were few and far between” (Robert Fox and Agustí Nieto-Galan, introduction, Natural Dyestuffs and Industrial Culture in Europe, 1750-1880, eds. Robert Fox and Agustí Nieto-Galan (Canton, MA: Science History Publications, 1999) xvi).
new dyestuffs and fabrics, or with solving practical problems encountered in the
workplace."¹² They thus provide invaluable information about colourists’ sources of
dyestuffs, mordants, and other chemicals tried and used, the professional networks in
which they operated, as well as their “private practices”: experiments with new and old
dyestuffs, sometimes with comments about success or failure.¹³ These notebooks also
furnish a unique record of the language used by colourists to identify and describe dyes
and colours.

Surviving Colourists’ Notebooks from North West England

This chapter will consider material in surviving colourists’ notebooks from
several textile manufacturers in North West England, all now preserved in the
Manchester Archives.¹⁴ Four groups of records, each associated with a particular
manufacturer, provide the major sources of evidence. Other extant records, including
some preserved at the Macclesfield Silk Museum and Manchester Metropolitan
University, also furnish relevant examples.

Three generations of the Lightfoot family left records of their work from 1818 to
1872 at Broad Oak Printworks in Accrington, Lancashire. John Lightfoot senior was
succeeded by his sons John Emanuel Lightfoot and Thomas Lightfoot and his grandson
John Lightfoot.¹⁵ By the mid-nineteenth century, Broad Oak was the largest printworks

---

¹³ Nieto-Galan, Colouring Textiles 100; Anthony S. Travis, “Artificial Dyes in John Lightfoot’s Broad Oak
¹⁴ Philip Sykas’s significant 2005 publication, The Secret Life of Textiles: Six Pattern Book Archives in
North West England served as the invaluable guide in this research. Sykas’s cataloguing and summarizing
of these archives noted material in which the work of colourists figured importantly and this allowed the
focusing of this research.
¹⁵ John Lightfoot, Sr. (1774-1820), John Emanuel Lightfoot (1802-1893), Thomas Lightfoot (1811-1866),
and John Lightfoot, Jr. (1832-1872) (Sykas, The Secret Life of Textiles 156fn). The following Lightfoot
items in the Manchester Archives were examined for this research: John Lightfoot, Sr., notebook, 1818,
M75/Historical Collection 1 [Green 1304]; John Emanuel Lightfoot or Thomas Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-
1844, M75/Historical Collection 6 [Green 1304]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1851, M75/Historical
Collection 7 [Green 1304]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1851-1852, M75/Historical Collection 8 [Green
1304]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1851-1853, M75/Historical Collection 9 [Green 1304]; John
Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1854, M75/Historical Collection 10 [Green 1304]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook,
1854, M75/Historical Collection 11 [Green 1304]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1858-1859.
in the North West, specialising in luxury goods.16 As Sykas notes, Broad Oak printed both cottons and delaines, wool and wool-mixture fabrics. When F. W. Grafton & Co. assumed control of the works in 1855, John Emanuel and Thomas became partners in the business.17

Nieto-Galan refers to the Lightfoots as “a dynasty of calico printers with excellent connections on the continent” and, indeed, as part of his practical education, John Lightfoot travelled to France and Alsace in 1854.18 His notebooks relate the “many differences in French and English printing practice at the time,” including the continued reliance of French printers on wood blocks.19 Travis describes Lightfoot as playing a “leading role” in the use of and experimentation with natural and artificial dyestuffs in the mid-nineteenth century, underscoring the rarity of this kind of record in Britain, especially for the dates when coal-tar aniline dyes were introduced. This work, as well as

M75/Historical Collection 12 [Green 1304]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1859-1860, M75/Historical Collection 13 [Green 1304]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1855, M75/Historical Collection 14 [Green 1305]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1865-1866, M75/Historical Collection 15 [Green 1305]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1857-1858, 1869, M75/Historical Collection 16 [Green 1305]; John Emanuel Lightfoot, notebook, 1831, 1839-1840, M75/Historical Collection 17 [Green 1305]; John Emanuel Lightfoot, pattern book, 1840-1844, 1850, 1857, M75/Historical Collection 18 [Green 1305]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1857-1861, M75/Historical Collection 19 [Green 1306]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1859-1865, M75/Historical Collection 22 [Green 1306]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1860-1864, M75/Historical Collection 24 [Green 1306]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1861, M75/Historical Collection 25 [Green 1307]; John Emanuel Lightfoot or Thomas Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/Historical Collection 29 [Green 1308]; John Emanuel Lightfoot or Thomas Lightfoot, notebook, 1842-1844, M75/Historical Collection 30 [Green 1308]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1848-1851, M75/Historical Collection 31 [Green 1308]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1848, M75/Historical Collection 32 [Green 1308]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1849, M75/Historical Collection 33 [Green 1308]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1850, M75/Historical Collection 34 [Green 1309]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1847, 1853, 1860, M75/Historical Collection 35 [Green 1309]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1865-1866, M75/Historical Collection 36 [Green 1309]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1868-1871, M75/Historical Collection 37 [Green 1309]; John Emanuel Lightfoot or Thomas Lightfoot, pattern book, 1841, M75/Historical Collection 38 [Green 1309]; John Emanuel Lightfoot or Thomas Lightfoot, pattern book, 1842-1844, M75/Historical Collection 39 [Green 1309]; John Emanuel Lightfoot or Thomas Lightfoot, pattern book, 1844-1845, M75/Historical Collection 40 [Green 1309]; John Emanuel Lightfoot or Thomas Lightfoot, pattern book, 1845, M75/Historical Collection 41 [Green 1310]; John Emanuel Lightfoot or Thomas Lightfoot, pattern book, 1846, M75/Historical Collection 42 [Green 1310]; and John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1860, M75/Historical Collection 43 [Green 1310].

16 Travis, “Artificial Dyes in John Lightfoot’s Broad Oak Laboratory” 12.
17 Sykas, The Secret Life of Textiles 105-107, 156.
18 Nieto-Galan, Colouring Textiles 126-127.
his development of an aniline black process, makes him the most prominent of the
colourists examined in this project.\textsuperscript{20}

Abel Buckley Wimpenny is the second colourist whose records are used in this
research. Employed at the Hayfield Printing Company in Derbyshire, he kept notebooks
from the beginning of his career in 1863. Wimpenny’s surviving notebooks start in 1865,
continuing to 1880. Established in 1859, the Hayfield Printing Company became a
limited company in 1892 of Wimpenny and the works’ owner, Abel Buckley.\textsuperscript{21}

The third firm included in this chapter was owned by Joseph Lawton Sydall.
From the early 1840s, he owned printworks at Chadkirk, Cheshire. His sons directed the
work of the firm, renamed Sydall Brothers in about 1858. The surviving colourists’
notebooks from this firm encompass the years from around 1843 to 1872.\textsuperscript{22}

Finally, the fourth manufacturer discussed is John Wilkinson & Co. Probably
around 1854, this firm began printing delaines, fine wools or mixtures of cotton and
wool, at Oakenshaw, Lancashire. By the early 1860s, the firm was also printing cottons.
Colourists’ notebooks survive from 1856 to 1860 and 1867 to 1874. As Sykas observes,
different handwriting indicates the work of more than one colourist at the company
during this period.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{20}Travis, “Artificial Dyes in John Lightfoot’s Broad Oak Laboratory” 11. Travis also notes the
“considerable degree of chemical knowledge” needed to use and improve dyes (24). See also Anthony S.
Travis, “From Manchester to Massachusetts via Mulhouse: The Transatlantic Journey of Aniline Black,”
\textsuperscript{21}Sykas, The Secret Life of Textiles 114-115. The following Wimpenny items in the Manchester Archives
were examined for this research: Abel Buckley Wimpenny, notebook, 1863-1866, M75/Historical
Collection 87 [Green 1318]; Abel Buckley Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876, M75/Historical Collection
88 [Green 1318]; Abel Buckley Wimpenny, notebook, 1876-1880, M75/Historical Collection 89 [Green
1318]; and Abel Buckley Wimpenny, notebook, 1876, M75/Historical Collection 90 [Green 1319]. The
following Hayfield Printing Company notebooks were also examined: notebook, 1859, M75/Historical
Collection 91 [Green 1319] and notebook, 1859, M75/Historical Collection 92 [Green 1319].
\textsuperscript{22}Sykas, The Secret Life of Textiles 110. The following Sydall items in the Manchester Archives were
examined for this research: Joseph Lawton Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/Historical Collection 113
[Green 1329]; Sydall Brothers, notebook, after 1858, M75/Historical Collection 114 [Green 1329]; and
Sydall Brothers, notebook, 1860-1872, M75/Historical Collection 115 [Green 1329].
\textsuperscript{23}Sykas, The Secret Life of Textiles 112. The following notebook of John Wilkinson & Co. at the
Manchester Archives was examined for this research: notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874. M75/Historical
Collection 104 [Green 1301].
The surviving notebook of Thomas Royle, colourist at Swaisland Printworks in Crayford, Kent, records some dye trials from the late 1850s and early 1860s. The archive of Langley Printworks, a company located in Langley, just outside Macclesfield, Cheshire, includes many references to colours in records of silk handkerchiefs printed in the late 1850s and 1860s.

Printed Dye Manuals

Printed dye manuals are another, related source of information about the use and perceptions of dyes from the point of view of the men who developed and applied them. These books presented many different dyeing and printing recipes and procedures, frequently commenting on difficulty and expense and often including dyed and printed fabric samples. All of the authors had practical experience of dyeing and printing and some of them were also responsible for the development of dyestuffs and dyeing and printing processes.

These books were, first and foremost, recipe books, and the usefulness of the texts is underscored by almost all authors as one of the primary reasons for sharing their knowledge. The unnamed editor of Louis Ulrich’s 1863 publication, A Complete Treatise on the Art of Dyeing Cotton and Wool, emphasized the author’s experience and industry: “The book herewith presented to the public is the work of a practical man, having no desire to pass for a savant. His notes were made day by day, and reproduced as they were inscribed in his memorandum-book.” The “memorandum-book” mentioned was probably very much like the colourists’ notebooks discussed in this

---

24 The following Royle notebook at Manchester Metropolitan University was examined for this research: Thomas Royle, notebook, 1850s-1860s.
25 Louanne Collins and Moira Stevenson, Silk: Sarsenets, Satins, Steels, and Stripes: 100 Years of Macclesfield Textile Designs (Macclesfield: Macclesfield Museums Trust, n.d.) 37. The following Langley Printworks ledgers at the Macclesfield Silk Museum were examined for this research: ledger, February 1853-July 1857, BS 1-4876; ledger, February 1859-April 1861, PA 9735-14993; ledger, April 1861-May 1863, PA 15000-18964; ledger, May 1863-September 1865, PA 18965-19155 and B1-4055.
chapter. Although the editor seems to have eschewed any theoretical aspect of Ulrich’s work, he did not hesitate to associate his author, who worked at Gobelins, with contemporary French practice and research of dyes, averring, “The illustrious chemist, M. Chevreul, director of the dyeing operations, who has devoted more than thirty years of his life to the study of colors, does not neglect any exertion to improve the products of his avocation.” Chevreul’s work and reputation conferred status upon dyers who worked with him in the mid-nineteenth century, as well as influencing perception and use of colour in female fashion as discussed in chapters three and six.

The efflorescence of such books in the 1860s and 1870s reflected, in part, the enthusiasm felt by chemists and colourists for the new scientific developments in the field of dye chemistry, advances commented upon more explicitly as the decades progressed. Some of these books certainly provide evidence of “rhetorical flourishes about value of chemistry” to dyeing, in the words of Robert Fox and Agustí Nieto-Galan. One author, Frederick Crace-Calvert, trained under Chevreul, worked in Lyon and Manchester, and developed picric acid as a yellow dye in 1849. Crace-Calvert’s book, *Dyeing and Calico Printing*, was published posthumously in 1876. His editors, John Stenhouse and Charles Edward Groves, explained that Crace-Calvert had been working on a manuscript about non-aniline dyes almost up to the time of his death. In the published version of the book, however, they felt that “[t]he rapid strides which Chemical Science is now making, however, rendered numerous additions and corrections necessary so as to bring it, as far as possible, up to the present time.” They continued, arguing that aniline colours should be discussed in the book because “from the great interest of the subject, both in its Theoretical and Technical aspect, it has been thought

---

28 Fox and Nieto-Galan, introduction, *Natural Dyestuffs and Industrial Culture*, Fox and Nieto-Galan xvi.
advisable to add a brief account of the most recent discoveries which have been made in this very important branch of the Colour Industry.”

William Crookes trained as a chemist at the Royal College of Chemistry and was elected to the Royal Society in 1863 because of his discovery of the element thallium. With practical experience in dyeing and printing, accompanied by a desire to publicize these useful applications of chemistry, he published *A Practical Handbook of Dyer and Calico Printing* in 1874. He began his book by asserting that “[t]he introduction of a number of new dyes resulting from chemical research has rendered very desirable the publication of a complete work containing the latest and most reliable information on the subject.” Crookes, as well as Crace-Calvert’s editors, considered dye chemistry and its recent developments within the broader realm of chemistry. They expressed an awareness of the speed and significance of these changes, both in terms of theory and application.

Wilfred V. Farrar asserts that “the motive behind the creation of new dyestuffs was neither shortage of traditional ones nor dissatisfaction with their qualities...but [that] the urge for novelty, allied to the entrepreneurial spirit of the time, was quite sufficient.” Homburg emphasizes that the pursuit of “[n]ew effects and cost reductions” underlaid much of the innovation of the 1850s. Travis notes that the visual effect created by new dyestuffs also played a role: “Their brilliance...made them very striking, and encouraged research into new processes of manufacture and of fixation onto

---

cotton. Faith in scientific progress and the demand for new products, among professional and public consumers, both contributed to dye developments.

Colourists’ Work with Dyes

The colourists’ notebooks examined in this thesis include references to dye colours across the spectrum and the following examples are presented in this general order. Purple, a traditionally valuable colour and an important early synthetic dye, will therefore be an appropriate colour with which to end this discussion.

Much of the colourists’ experimentation concerned cotton printing, but these records also contain tests of wool and silk fabrics. A great range of materials appear, including dyes identified by manufacturer name, pointing to the increasing significance of industrially-manufactured dye products during this period. Some manufacturers gave their products distinguishing names, employing a variety of references. As the next chapter will discuss, many of the colour names used by colourists also appeared in discussions of fashionable dress in contemporary women’s magazines.

Reds and Pinks

Reds and pinks represented a significant portion of the work of colourists. For much of this period, natural madder root provided the source for most of these shades as well as others. John Lightfoot, Jr., at Broad Oak Printworks, noted many trials using madder and extracts of madder, such as garancine. In an 1851 notebook, Lightfoot

34 Anthony S. Travis, “Heinrich Caro, Chemist and Calico Printer, and the Changeover from Natural to Artificial Dyes,” *Natural Dyestuffs and Industrial Culture*, Fox and Nieto-Galan 297.
35 Browns, greys, and blacks comprised a considerable portion of colourists’ work, as well as being used in a significant number of dress textiles. These colours were also worn by many perhaps even a majority of women, especially for day dress. In contemporary periodical conversations, however, they did not receive the attention devoted to red, orange, yellow, green, blue, and purple, the traditional colours of the spectrum. For this reason, as well as considerations of space, this chapter will not discuss them.
36 Anthony Travis notes that madder root was the “most widely used dyestuff” during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. For a discussion of this use by dyers and colourists, especially with reference to concentrates and extracts of madder root, see Anthony S. Travis, “Between Broken Root and Artificial Alizarin: Textile Arts and Manufactures of Madder,” *History and Technology* 12 (1994): 1-22.
recorded a “Garancine process from Turkey Roots,” as well as instructions for obtaining “Garncine [sic] from Spent Madder.” In 1858, he recorded the Manchester address of Henry Witthoff, described as an “Agent for sale of Dutch Madders, direct from the growers.” In the same notebook, Lightfoot created a “Table for quantities of Madder, garancine, +c.” of amounts for dyeing different quantities of fabric. This notebook also contains many trials of garancine, for producing for red, brown, drab, and lilac colours. In the 1840s and early 1850s, Joseph Sydall at Chadkirk Printworks experimented with both madder and garancine to attain reds and purples. Abel Wimpenny, at Hayfield Printing Company, was using garancine in 1868 to create a range of reds, as his “Receipts for using Extract of Madder” show. Explaining the appeal of garancine, Anthony Travis emphasizes that it could be combined with other dyestuffs, thus reducing costs, especially for large-scale Lancashire production.

In the 1840s and 1850s, the Lightfoots were employing the complicated Turkey red (using madder root) process to achieve colourfast reds on cotton. A notebook, kept by either John Emanuel or Thomas Lightfoot, included a recipe for a “Caustic Soap for clearing Turkey Reds.” On 30 November 1858, John Lightfoot noted that he had “discovered a new mode of dyeing Turkey Red.” In 1859, notably, Lightfoot titled a notebook “John Lightfoot’s Trials on Imitation Turkey Red.” One of the first pages in this book was headed “Trial on ‘Nouveau Rouge’” (Fig. 5.1). These notes of Lightfoot’s point to both the acknowledged quality of reds produced by the Turkey red process and to France as a source of information about new dyes and processes.

For red dyes, Lancashire printers also relied upon cochineal insects. This dyestuff, imported mostly from Mexico, was more expensive than madder, but produced

---

37 Lightfoot, notebook, 1851, M75/7.
38 Lightfoot, notebook, 1858-59, M75/12.
39 Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113.
40 Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876, M75/88.
41 Travis, “Between Broken Root and Artificial Alizarin” 10.
42 Lightfoot, 1840-44, M75/6.
43 John Lightfoot, colour notebook, 1858-59, M75/12.
44 John Lightfoot, colour notebook, 1859-60, M75/22.
Fig. 5.1.
a strong, colourfast red.\footnote{Nieto-Galan, \textit{Colouring Textiles} 19.} At some point in the early 1840s, the Lightfoots paid £30 for a recipe they described as a “Process of extracting the colouring matter of Cochl ‘Called the new Method of openning \textit{sic} coheineal \textit{sic}.’”\footnote{Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/6.} The previously-mentioned Lightfoot notebook of “Turkey red” trials also includes Lightfoot’s 1859 notes for a “New Cocheineal \textit{sic} Precipitate.”\footnote{Lightfoot, notebook, 1859-1865, M75/22.} The John Wilkinson & Company notebook contains several recipes dated 1856 and 1857 using cochineal, for colours including scarlet, ponceau, orange, brown, and drab. This notebook also records the price, 6 francs 50, for “Blue Cochineal for Scarlet” from a French supplier, E. Coez.\footnote{Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104.} A colour notebook from the Chadkirk Printworks, probably from the early 1860s, includes a recipe for Steam Crimson that includes cochineal (Fig. 5.2).\footnote{Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114.} Used in textile printing, steam colours included a mixture of mordant and dyestuff and were “fixed onto the cloth by steaming after the printing process.”\footnote{Sykas, \textit{The Secret Life of Textiles} 153.} The Lightfoot family notebook reveals another, perhaps counterintuitive, source for dark and pale red dyes. The recipes were noted to be “French” and called for indigo as one of their ingredients.\footnote{Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/6.}

All of the colourists’ notebooks recorded the trials of aniline red in the early 1860s, often indicated by its popular name of “magenta.” Sometime after 1859, the colourist at Chadkirk Printworks noted a recipe for “Magenta” (following one for “Mauve”) that included one gallon of “Magenta Liq[uor].”\footnote{Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114.} From May 1860, the Langley Printworks ledgers recorded frequent use of “Magenta” in the printing of silk handkerchiefs.\footnote{Langley Printworks, ledger, February 1859-April 1861, Macclesfield Silk Museum, PA 9735-14993.} Thomas Royle, at the well-regarded Swaisland Printworks, noted tests of “Magenta” and “Solferino” dyes in 1860 and 1861 (Fig. 5.3).\footnote{Royle, notebook, 1850s-1860s.}
Fig. 5.2.
Sydall Brothers (Chadkirk Printworks). Notebook page. England (Chadkirk, Cheshire), after 1858. Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 114 [Green 1329].
Fig. 5.3.
notebook contains tests of “Pale Magenta” and “Dk Magenta” in December 1860. Magenta was used to create a Hayfield Printing Company sample of printed cotton with light pink ground and a dark pink scrolling floral design, dated January 1861. In 1860, Lightfoot recorded some trials of “Fuchshine [sic],” even noting by one sample, “This is J.L.’s imitation of Fuchsine Pink made from Murexide” (Fig. 5.4). The next year, Lightfoot experimented with magenta, recording these tests in a notebook he titled “Trials on ‘Magenta’ and ‘aniline Mauve’” (Fig. 5.5).

Several of the colourists’ notebooks examined in this research also contain evidence of experimentation with synthetic alizarin, created in 1868. Abel Wimpenny recorded recipes for pink and red dyes, apparently sometime in the mid- to late 1870s, that called for “No 1 Alizarine.” In parentheses after this ingredient “Walkers” is written, probably referring to the dye manufacturer. In the late 1870s, Wimpenny made notes on an order of red and white patterned textiles which had been “Dyed Aliz Red.” The Wilkinson & Co. notebook holds many trials of synthetic alizarin to attain reds and purples, including samples printed with “Perkins [sic] Alizarine” and “Artificial Alizarine” from the “Badische Comp.” Travis underscores that, unlike the aniline dyes, the use of alizarin was very similar to that of madder extracts, making the adoption of this synthetic product relatively simple for colourists. The company names noted with these synthetic dye products underscore the increasing dependency of dyers and colourists on manufacturer-branded products.

---

56 Hayfield Printing Company, notebook, 1861, M75/92.
57 Lightfoot, notebook, 1859-1865, M75/22. Lightfoot’s imitation of fuschine was either unsuccessful or has faded significantly, as murexide tended to do.
58 Lightfoot, notebook, 1861, M75/25.
59 Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876, M75/88.
60 Wimpenny, notebook, 1876-1880, M75/89.
61 Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104. This note refers to the successful dye and chemical company, based in Mannheim, the Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik (now known as BASF). Travis discusses their manufacture and sale of synthetic alizarin (Travis, The Rainbow Makers 176-179, 182-187).
62 Travis, “Between broken root and artificial alizarin” 18.
Fig. 5.4.
Fig. 5.5. John Lightfoot, Jr. (Broad Oak Printworks). Notebook page. England (Accrington, Lancashire), 1861. Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 25 [Green 1307].
Colourists’ notebooks also include references to a variety of other shades of red, created with either natural or artificial dyestuffs or a combination of the two. Wimpenny recorded a recipe for “Aurine Scarlet” in the late 1870s.63 Aurine was a phenol-based dyestuff developed as a competitor to aniline red.64 Lightfoot wrote “Instructions for Dyeing Saffranine,” using a dye possibly manufactured by Guinon, Marnas, & Co., for attaining rose, cerise, or (using turmeric) ponceau.65 In the 1840s, Joseph Sydall, at Chadkirk, used Dutch madder, logwood, peachwood, and sumac to make “claret” and a later Chadkirk colourist, probably in the early 1860s, also noted a recipe for “claret” which included “bronze logwood” and “bronze peachwood.”66 Two recipes for “amaranth” for delaines appear in Lightfoot notebooks from 1840, one using cochineal.67

In April 1861, the Langley Printworks ledger mention silk handkerchiefs printed with, among other colours, “rubine.”68 This was one of the trade names for aniline red William Crookes listed in his 1874 book.69 The Wilkinson & Co. notebook contains a “French receipt,” probably written in 1859, for “Scarlet Colour (Ponceau)” that calls for “blue Cochineal Carmine.”70

The colour name “ponceau” retained meaning in the dye industry over the next decade. As both Crookes and Crace-Calvert noted, this was the trade name for an “aniline crimson,” “redder than the reddest shade of roseine,” produced by the English dye manufacturers Brooke, Simpson & Spiller (formerly Simpson, Maule & Nicholson).71 This dye name is confirmed by a letter preserved in the Wilkinson & Co.

63 Wimpenny, notebook, 1876-1880, M75/89.
64 Travis, The Rainbow Makers 139.
65 Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/6. Guinon, Marnas & Co. (later Guinon, Marnas & Bonnet) was a Lyons-based firm of silk dyers that became one of the most prominent and successful French manufacturers of aniline dyes (Travis, The Rainbow Makers 41, 67).
66 Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113; Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114.
67 Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/6; Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/29.
68 Langley Printworks, ledger, April 1861-May 1863, Macclesfield Silk Museum, PA 15000-18964.
69 Crookes, A Practical Handbook of Dyeing and Calico Printing 178.
70 Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104.
71 Crookes, The Practical Handbook of Dyeing and Calico Printing 187; Crace-Calvert, Dyeing and Calico Printing 382. Simpson, Maule & Nicholson, established in 1853 by three Royal College of Chemistry graduates, was a London-based company that manufactured chemicals. Edward Chambers
notebook from Brooke, Simpson & Spiller announced in 1870: “Soluble Ponceau.—We beg to draw the attention of Calico Printers to this colour, as a cheap substitute for Madder, Cochineal, and Safflower.”

A pamphlet from Geigy & Co., also preserved in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook, includes “ponceau” as a dye for sale as well.

Crace-Calvert noted that “cerise” was the “name given to a colour manufactured by Knosp, of Stuttgart.” The Geigy pamphlet in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook advertises a great range of dyes, arranged by colour and often accompanied by dyeing instructions. “Cerise” has been underlined in red pen, presumably by a colourist at Wilkinson & Co. The text describing cerise reads:

The difference between this color and Magenta is simply, that the first dyes a considerably yellower tint than the second.—With Cerise you can easily produce shades of brown, which otherwise can only be obtained, with difficulty, by mixing different dyes, such as: Orchil, extract of Orchil or Cudbear, and Brazil wood.

The Geigy pamphlet clearly distinguishes two synthetically-produced colours, educating potential customers in their company’s colour-language. As with the Brooke, Simpson & Spiller letter, the manufacturer suggests natural dyestuffs this artificial dyestuff can replace. Red pen underlines the phrase “shades of brown,” probably indicating one of the interests of the Wilkinson & Co. colourist.

Yellows and Oranges

Yellow and orange did not receive the attention that some other colours garnered during the mid-nineteenth century in colourists’ records. From these sources, as well as


73 With origins in the eighteenth century, Geigy & Co. was based in Basel, Switzerland and initially produced dye extracts, then aniline dyes (Christian Simon, “The Transition from Natural Dyestuffs to Synthetic Dyestuffs: The Case of Basel, 1850-1940,” Natural Dyestuffs and Industrial Culture, Fox and Nieto-Galan 313-338.

74 Crace-Calvert, Dyeing and Calico Printing 382. Travis includes Rudolph Knosp of Stuttgart in a list of German companies “particularly active in the manufacture of aniline dyes” after 1864 (Travis, The Rainbow Makers 74).

75 Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104.
surveying extant objects, it seems that these colours were not as fashionable as red or purple, especially in large quantities. As discussed in chapter three, yellow seems to have been less appealing to mid-nineteenth tastes than other colours and this may in part explain its relative neglect by colourists.

Nevertheless, the colourists at Chadkirk Printworks included several different recipes for yellows and oranges in their notebooks. In his book from the 1840s and early 1850s, Joseph Sydall recorded recipes for a “madder orange” and a “steam orange.” In 1862, Lightfoot made extensive notes about his work with madder orange (Fig. 5.6). Steam colours utilized a mixture of mordant and dye in the printing process. As Philip Sykas details, these colours built upon the innovations of “spirit colours,” named after “dyer’s spirit—a solution of nitric acid, sal ammoniac and pure tin” used as a mordant. The later Chadkirk colour notebook, dated after 1858, included recipes for spirit yellow, wold yellow (calling for copper and quercitron), and an orange made from annatto. In 1848, John Lightfoot also recorded an “annatto orange,” as well as a “New Yellow” that called for acetic acid, sifted bark, and pure muriatic acid. Lightfoot accompanied this recipe with one for a “yellow mordant,” underscoring the dependence of new dyes upon reliable mordants. In his 1874 book, Crookes included a recipe for orange made from cochineal and one for a yellow using quercitron. Crookes also mentioned picric acid, remarking that this dye was “employed for delicate tints of yellow.”

Colourists’ notebooks reflected the development of chrome dyes, including orange and yellow, in the 1820s and 1830s. Sydall’s Chadkirk notebook contains a recipe for chrome orange and the later Chadkirk Printworks colour notebook includes a

---

76 Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113.
77 Lightfoot, notebook, 1860-1864, M75/24.
79 Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114.
80 Lightfoot, notebook, 1848, M75/32.
recipe for chrome yellow. The Lightfoot family notebooks also contain several records of work with chrome colours, including 1851 recipes for “Chrome Orange Precipitate” and “Chrome Yellow Precipitates.” Underneath the latter, Lightfoot noted “This should be dried @ a very low heate [sic] or it gets quite orangey.” In a later notebook, Lightfoot recorded a trial with chrome orange in 1861 (Fig. 5.7).

Crookes included a section in his book titled “Mineral Pigments” that included chrome dyes and showed a sample of “Chrome- or Canary-Yellow” (Fig. 5.8). He observed, “The colours derived from insoluble salts of chromium are numerous,” but then asserted that “with the present valuable innovation of aniline dyes it is improbable that chrome or mineral pigments will meet with greatly extended application.” Crookes wrote about both aniline yellow and aniline orange dyes in his handbook, but these colours do not appear frequently in the colourists’ notebooks examined here. In correspondence preserved in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook, a letter to Wilkinson suggests adding aniline yellow to counteract a purple cast to fabrics dyed with aniline black. Most of the aniline colour references, however, are to shades of red, purple, or blue. As suggested earlier, there seems to have been less demand for yellows and oranges during this period.

Greens

The colourists’ notebooks examined include references to several kinds of greens using chrome. A Lightfoot family notebook from 1840 contains both a “Chrome liq for dyeing fast greens” and a “Chrome liqr for Dyeing fast Greens on Muslin.”

---

82 Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113; Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114.
83 Lightfoot, notebook, 1851-1852, M75/8.
84 Lightfoot, notebook, 1857-1861, M75/19.
85 Crookes, A Practical Handbook of Dyeing and Calico-Printing 155, 158.
88 Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/6.
Fig. 5.7.
Fig. 5.8.
Sydall, probably sometime in 1843, noted a “Fast Green” that used indigo and muriate of tin, raised in chrome.\textsuperscript{89} The use and development of chrome green continued into the following decades. In 1860, Lightfoot recorded a recipe for a “New, Chrome Green for going through Mercury Bath.”\textsuperscript{90} In his handbook, Crookes also included a sample of striped cotton printed with chrome green (Fig. 5.9). In 1862, Lightfoot also noted a recipe for “Sage Green,” which contained “Dales Lemon chrome yellow pulp” (Fig. 5.10).\textsuperscript{91}

In March 1860, as well as testing a new chrome green, Lightfoot also noted printing trials of the pigment “Scheele’s green,” which he described as “emerald green” (Fig. 5.11).\textsuperscript{92} Arsenic greens also appeared in colourists’ records: Joseph Sydall wrote out a recipe for “Warwick Green” that contained indigo and red arsenic and a successor at Chadkirk Printworks included “white arsenic [sic]” in a “Green Standard” recipe.\textsuperscript{93} Crookes included a sample of “Wilner, an Arsenical, Green” in his handbook.\textsuperscript{94}

Experimentation with aniline greens appeared in several colourists’ notebooks. In his 1867 discussion of aniline, M. Reimann underscored the contemporary importance of this colour, asserting that many of the aniline colours were “of considerable importance, such as the new greens, the violets, and aniline black.”\textsuperscript{95} John Lightfoot recorded “Instructions for Dyeing ‘Aniline Green’ on Cotton” in one of his notebooks, although it is unclear what date these notes were made.\textsuperscript{96} Lightfoot definitely tried aniline greens in 1860, however, as a notebook of that date holds samples of cottons printed with “C

\textsuperscript{89} Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113.
\textsuperscript{90} Lightfoot, notebook, 1859-1865, M75/22.
\textsuperscript{91} Lightfoot, notebook, 1860-1864, M75/24. This probably referred to a product manufactured by John Dale, a chemist and apothecary who also managed a calico printing factory. Dale, Thomas Roberts, and the German chemist Heinrich Caro formed the company Roberts, Dale & Co. in the late 1850s and manufactured dyestuffs and related chemicals (Travis, \textit{The Rainbow Makers} 139).
\textsuperscript{92} Lightfoot, notebook, 1859-1865, M75/22. In 1775, the Swedish chemist Carl Wilhelm Scheele (1742-1786) created the green pigment, containing arsenic, which became known as “Scheele’s green.” It was industrially manufactured during the nineteenth century (Philip Ball, \textit{Bright Earth: Art and the Invention of Color} (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2001) 154-155).
\textsuperscript{93} Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113; Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114.
\textsuperscript{94} Crookes, \textit{A Practical Handbook of Dyeing and Calico-Printing} 157.
\textsuperscript{95} M. Reimann, \textit{On Aniline and Its Derivatives: A Treatise upon the Manufacture of Aniline and Aniline Colours} (London: Longmans, Green, 1868) 104.
\textsuperscript{96} Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/6.
Fig. 5.9.

Fig. 5.10.
Fig. 5.11.
Calvert’s Emeraldine Green” and “Eusebe’s Green” (Fig. 5.12). These names refer to Frederick Crace-Calvert and C. J. Usèbe, dye chemists who developed aniline greens.97 William Perkin’s dye firm also manufactured an aniline green and their agent, James Laing, sent samples of “Perkins New Aniline Green” to John Wilkinson at Wilkinson & Co. in November 1867. The letter observed “You will notice what beautiful shades they are by artificial light.”98 The Geigy pamphlet previously mentioned, probably from the same year, preserved in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook included a similar remark about aniline green, claiming “This Green distinguishes itself by the purity of its shade, particularly be artificial light.”99 Two years later, E. C. Haserick echoed this comment in his book, averring of aniline green that “[t]his new color is most beautiful by artificial light.”100 The brightness of these aniline greens in artificial light seems to have been a key selling point from the manufacturers’ perspective.

In his section about aniline greens, Crookes provided several of the trade names under which these colours were sold. These referred to creator (e.g. “Usebe [sic] Green”), process (e.g. “Aldehyde Green”), and ingredients (e.g. “Iodine Green”), but also included more descriptive titles, such as “Night Green,” “Pomona Green,” and the aforementioned “Emeraldine.”101 This variety of names, drawn from a number of sources, demonstrates the multiple ways in which colours could be distinguished from one another by dye companies, both to differentiate and advertise their products.

Other more descriptive names for greens also appeared in colourists’ notebooks, not all referring to aniline colours. In 1851, John Lightfoot noted a recipe for printing different shades of “Eau de Nil” on cotton (Fig. 5.13).102 Lightfoot included several

97 Crookes, A Practical Handbook of Dyeing and Calico-Printing 202; Travis, The Rainbow Makers 272.
102 Lightfoot, notebook, 1851, M75/7.
Fig. 5.12.
Fig. 5.13.
recipes for “Ocean Green” in a notebook dated 1860.\textsuperscript{103} A Hayfield Printing Company sample book holds several green samples labelled “Myrtle,” probably from about 1861 (Fig. 5.14) and one of the Chadkirk Printworks notebooks, possible from the 1860s, includes a recipe for “Myrtle Steem [sic] Green,” that contains vitriol.\textsuperscript{104}

**Blues**

All of the colourists examined here relied upon indigo, imported from India and the Americas, in their efforts to colour textiles blue. The Chadkirk Printworks notebook contains indigo in a recipe from sometime after 1858 for “Dark Swiss Blue” and Abel Wimpenny referred to indigo in 1876 and 1877 in his notes for “Colors for Cutting Indigo Blue” and “Resist Colors on Indigo Blues,” as well as including a recipe titled simply “Blue indigo.”\textsuperscript{105} In 1855, using “Best Indigo (dry)” and sulphuric acid, John Lightfoot recorded an “Experiment on Extract of Indigo.”\textsuperscript{106} For printing, John Lightfoot had included indigo in a recipe for “Double Fast Blue for Machine or Block” in 1848 and he noted dry ground indigo to attain a “Fast Blue” in 1862.\textsuperscript{107} In the 1840s, both Joseph Sydall and John Lightfoot used indigo in recipes for “China blue.”\textsuperscript{108} In 1868, Wimpenny also referred to “China blue” in his notebook.\textsuperscript{109}

Colourists in the Manchester area experimented with Prussian blue, although this dyestuff does not appear with the frequency of indigo.\textsuperscript{110} Joseph Sydall noted Prussian blue in his notebook from the 1840s and early 1850s and a Lightfoot notebook contains a recipe for a “Soluble Prussian Blue” dated November 1847.\textsuperscript{111} In 1851, John Lightfoot

\textsuperscript{103} Lightfoot, notebook, 1847, 1853, 1860, M75/35.
\textsuperscript{104} Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114; Hayfield Printing Company, notebook, 1861, M75/92.
\textsuperscript{105} Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114; Wimpenny, notebook, 1876-1880, M75/89.
\textsuperscript{106} Lightfoot, notebook, 1851-1852, M75/8.
\textsuperscript{107} Lightfoot, notebook, 1848, M75/32; Lightfoot, notebook, 1860-1864, M75/24.
\textsuperscript{108} Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113; Lightfoot, notebook, 1848, M75/32.
\textsuperscript{109} Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876 M75/88.
\textsuperscript{110} Nieto-Galan also discusses the use of domestically-grown woad as an alternative to indigo, especially in the eighteenth century, but the colourists’ notebooks examined for this study reveal very little use of woad during the mid-nineteenth century (Colouring Textiles 17-18).
\textsuperscript{111} Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113; Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/6.
Fig. 5.14.
filled several pages with notes about his experiments with Prussian blue and recorded a recipe titled “J. L. Soluble Prussian Blue,” indicating that he created his own version to use in his work.112

As aniline blues became increasingly available in the 1860s, colourists began to test them. In his handbook, Crookes listed many of the trade names for aniline blue and some of these appeared in the colourists’ notebooks. Crookes explained that “[t]he most valuable and most scientific method of manufacturing aniline blue is that discovered by M. Marnas, of the firm Guinon, Marnas, and Bonnet, of Lyons, not only because it is based upon a novel chemical reaction, but also because blue is produced directly from aniline.” This blue was known as “azuline, or Bleu de Lyons.”113 In 1861, John Lightfoot recorded a trial of “azuline” (Fig. 5.15) and the Langley Printworks ledgers contain references to “azuline” and “new blue” from 1863.114 One of the Lightfoots also noted “Instructions for Dyeing ’Opal Blue,’” another trade name Crookes provided, probably sometime in the 1860s.115 Thomas Royle tested several bright blues including “Aniline Blue” in March 1862 and the evocatively-titled “Celestine” and “Losni Blue” in February 1863 (Fig. 5.16).116

The advertising materials from dye manufacturers saved in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook feature many of the same names for aniline blues given by Crookes, including “Opal Blue” and “Bleu de Lyon.” In an 1873 price list, these all fell under the heading of “Imperial Blues” made by the firm of Brooke, Simpson & Spiller.117 “Nicholson’s Blue” also appeared in the company’s promotional material, so named for Edward Nicholson.

112 Lightfoot, notebook, 1851-1852, M75/8.
113 Crookes, A Practical Handbook of Dyeing and Calico-Printing 195.
114 Lightfoot, notebook, 1861, M75/25; Langley Printworks, ledger, May 1863-September 1865, Macclesfield Silk Museum, PA 18965-19155 and B1-4055.
115 Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/6.
116 Royle, notebook, 1850s-1860s.
Fig. 5.15.

Fig. 5.16.
who developed a soluble aniline blue as an owner of the company that preceded Brooke, Simpson & Spiller.\textsuperscript{118} In 1869, a printed letter from that firm proclaimed,

> We take this opportunity of drawing the attention of Dyers to our Nicholson “Guernsey” Blue at 14/- per lb., whereby a full and fast Blue Humboldt shade can be obtained at a very moderate cost. The Dyers in the West of England are taking it up to considerable advantage. For some purposes it supplants Indigo and Prussiate, and is particularly adapted for heavy Yorkshire goods, but it requires the usual special treatment of Nicholson’s Blues.\textsuperscript{119}

The company here appears to have created a new name for one of their standard products, used for dyeing wool. The Nicholson blue is compared to another aniline colour, Humboldt, which was a purply-blue. The natural dyestuffs it can replace are also mentioned.\textsuperscript{120}

The colourist at Wilkinson & Co. seems to have used Nicholson’s Blue in his work, indicated by notes he made in 1868. He wrote that he received a sample of “Blue No 2” from an agent, Thompson, and that, compared to Nicholson’s Blue, it “is about two + a half times cheaper than the other:—but it is not nearly so good in colour + approaches a violet in shade.” He also referred to a “Concentrated Pure Blue,” writing that it “appears to be about twice as strong as the BBBB Nicholson Blue…but the Conc Pur Blue is not as pure a blue as the Nicholson BBBB:—it has a violet tinge with[?] it, but not so much as the No 2 Blue has.”\textsuperscript{121}

Abel Wimpenny’s notes also reveal experimentation with aniline blue. Sometime from 1876 to 1880, he recorded a recipe for a steam blue which called for “No 52 B Blue aniline” powder. “Walkers” was written next to these details, probably indicating a manufacturer.\textsuperscript{122}

Although colourists experimented with aniline blue dyestuffs, older practices continued as well and they also relied on established blue dyestuffs such as indigo and

\textsuperscript{118} Travis, \textit{The Rainbow Makers} 53-54, 77-78, 135.
\textsuperscript{119} Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104.
\textsuperscript{120} Abel Wimpenny at Hayfield Print Works recorded using “Humboldt” for a test of “Lavender + Buff” printed textiles in his notebook (Wimpenny, notebook, 1863-1866, M75/87).
\textsuperscript{121} Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104.
\textsuperscript{122} Wimpenny, notebook, 1876-1880, M75/89.
Prussian blue, as shown above. Dyestuff manufacturer Geigy, for example, did not totally abandon dependable colourants. An 1867 pamphlet from the company, saved in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook, advised for dyeing cotton blue: “Dye first with Prussian Blue then shade with Aniline Blue.”\textsuperscript{123}

\section*{Purples}

Recipes for lilacs and purples fill colourists’ notebooks for the whole period, underscoring the continuous demand for this colour, the historical significance of which was discussed in chapter three. Colourists employed dyestuffs often used to achieve reds and blues, combined with a great variety of mordants and processes. In 1851, for example, John Lightfoot recorded a recipe for “Soluble Prussian Purple” containing ingredients similar to the two recipes for Prussian blue following it.\textsuperscript{124}

Many of these dyes, before and during mauve’s reign, were created from logwood, a New World tropical hardwood also used to make black dyes. A recipe for “Liquor Purple for the Drawing Shaft” using logwood appeared in the Lightfoot family notebook in the early 1840s.\textsuperscript{125} John Lightfoot noted he had discovered “a new mordant for logwood purple” in April 1859.\textsuperscript{126} The Wilkinson & Co. notebook contains a recipe for purple using logwood and indigo, probably sometime in 1857.\textsuperscript{127} In November 1859, Sydall wrote out a recipe for purple that contained both logwood and Prussian blue.\textsuperscript{128} A Sydall Brothers notebook contained a recipe, most likely from the late 1850s or early

\textsuperscript{123} Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104]. Christian Simon discusses how Geigy & Co. negotiated the transition from natural to artificial dyestuffs in the mid- to late nineteenth century (Simon, “The Transition from Natural Dyestuffs to Synthetic Dyestuffs” 313-338).
\textsuperscript{124} Lightfoot, notebook, 1851-1852, M75/8.
\textsuperscript{125} Lightfoot, 1840-1844, M75/6.
\textsuperscript{126} Lightfoot, notebook, 1859-1860, M75/13.
\textsuperscript{127} Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104.
\textsuperscript{128} Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113.
1860s, for a steam purple listing logwood as the major ingredient.\textsuperscript{129} In 1868, Wimpenny noted recipes for both “Purple” and “Royal Purple” using logwood.\textsuperscript{130}

An 1841 recipe in a Lightfoot notebook of mousseline de laine trials for purple printed textiles called for “Bury’s Logwood liquor.”\textsuperscript{131} In 1858, the colourist at Wilkinson & Co. also recorded trials with Bury’s Logwood extract, as well as that of another manufacturer (Fig. 5.17).\textsuperscript{132} In the 1840s or early 1850s, Sydall wrote out directions “To produce Fast Purple plates” for printing. These instructions began “Take Rooke & Hunter purple Iron liquor and reduce the same with water…”\textsuperscript{133} All of these notes indicate the role commercially-branded dyestuff products played in colourists’ work, even before the introduction of aniline colours. For Geigy & Co. of Basel, as Christian Simon notes, the production of dyewood extracts (including logwood) comprised a significant portion of their manufacture until the end of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{134} Simon highlights the growing industrialization and standardisation of the mid- to late nineteenth century dye industry, arguing that because of this “the origins of the colours, whether from nature or from the synthetic processes created by chemists, was less important.”\textsuperscript{135} The specific colourists’ notebooks examined here do corroborate this slow, uneven transition from making to purchasing dyes.

In March 1859, under the heading “Copy,” the Wilkinson & Co. colourist wrote down directions for a “Process for Dyeing…Muslin with French purple,” using “purple cake” and oxalic acid with albumen as a mordant. At the end of these instructions, noted “From Grace [sic] Calvert” is noted.\textsuperscript{136} This reference to Frederick Crace-Calvert

\begin{footnotes}
\item[129] Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114.
\item[130] Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876, M75/88.
\item[131] Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/29.
\item[132] Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104. The first name of the second manufacturer is Edward and the surname begins with “Mac” but the end of the name is illegible.
\item[133] Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, M75/113.
\item[134] Simon, “The Transition from Natural Dyestuffs to Synthetic Dyestuffs” 326. As this chapter has noted, Geigy & Co. marketed dyes and extracts to British dyers and colourists, demonstrated by the preservation of an English-language Geigy & Co. in the John Wilkinson & Co. notebook (Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104).
\item[135] Simon, “The transition from natural dyestuffs to synthetic dyestuffs” 322.
\end{footnotes}
Fig. 5.17.
demonstrates the exchange of dyeing information among dye chemists and colourists, especially about innovations, in this case the expensive purple dye made from the lichen orchil. From August 1859, the Langley Printworks ledgers included references to “French lilac,” which also probably referred to the use of this new dye.137

John Lightfoot made many notes about his work with murexide, another predecessor of aniline purple. In the journal he kept during his 1854 travels to France, Alsace, and Switzerland, he recorded “Information from Mulhouse. Colour made from Murexide” (Fig. 5.18).138 The sample he included in his book confirms the fading to which murexide was prone. In 1857, he made notes about his “Plan of making Uric Acid from guano for Murexide (Purpurate of Ammonia)” and for the “Application of ‘Pourpure Romain’” using murexide,139 This name referred to one of the names by which murexide was known in Britain.140 In 1858, Lightfoot recorded a method of testing the purity of murexide and in 1859 or 1860, he noted a supplier in Manchester specifically for murexide.141

References to Perkin’s aniline purple, popularly known as mauve, appear in all of the colourists’ books examined. John Lightfoot’s 1859 memorandum book underscored the pace of dye development in this year. On 30 April, he noted that he had “discovered…a new mordant for logwood purple.” By the end of the year, he was experimenting with the first aniline colour, as he recorded on 9 November that he had “discovered that ‘Garancin’ is a perfect mordant for ‘aniline’ color [sic] called Mauve.”142 Anthony Travis draws attention to Lightfoot’s experiments designed to compare murexide and aniline dyes and his use of murexide in attempted imitations of the colours produced with aniline purple and aniline red. As Travis argues, this investment in murexide shades showed “a firm belief in their future survival,” due to the

137 Langley Printworks, ledger, February 1859-April 1861, PA 9735-14993.
138 Lightfoot, notebook, 1854, M75/11.
139 Lightfoot, notebook, 1857-1858, 1869, M75/16.
140 Travis, The Rainbow Makers 44.
141 Lightfoot, notebook, 1858-1859, M75/12; Lightfoot, notebook, 1859-1860, M75/13.
142 Lightfoot, notebook, 1859-1860, M75/13.
Fig. 5.18.
availability of good mordants for murexide, as well as its attachment properties to cotton and its relatively low price.\textsuperscript{143}

Frequent references to “Mauve” appeared in the Langley Printworks ledgers beginning in May 1860 and the Chadkirk Printworks colourist’s notebook contained a recipe calling for “Mauve Liquor” directly after the recipe for magenta, probably dating to the very early 1860s.\textsuperscript{144} Thomas Royle, at Swaisland Printworks, noted two trials of “Perkin’s Purple” on silk in March 1862 (Fig. 5.19).\textsuperscript{145} In a notebook including recipes dated from 1868 to 1879, Abel Wimpenny recorded several recipes for light and dark mauves including “Mauve Paste” mixed with other ingredients.\textsuperscript{146} Wimpenny also recorded using “Hylands Red Mauve” for roller printing in April 1880 in another notebook.\textsuperscript{147} This designation referred to the common distinction, especially in fashion reporting, between “red purple” and “blue purple.”

Colourists also distinguished between different shades of mauve, especially “pale mauve” and “dark mauve.” A record of an 1864 order from the Chadkirk Printworks read: “P Mauve…G. P. Mauve…G. Magenta…Dk P. Mauve.”\textsuperscript{148} The Wilkinson & Co. colourist, in December 1860, wrote out recipes for “Dark Mauve,” “Pale Mauve,” “Dark Magenta,” and “Pale Magenta” and probably sometime in 1861, Lightfoot listed samples of “Mauve for Black…Pale Mauve…Pale Magenta…Dark Magenta.”\textsuperscript{149} These examples affirm the distinction of “pale mauve” and “dark mauve” as well as the separation of shades of that other early aniline colour, magenta.

As with other aniline dyestuffs, quality continued to be a concern to colourists in using mauve. In July 1871, the Wilkinson & Co. colourist noted next to some samples

\textsuperscript{143} Travis, “Artificial Dyes in John Lightfoot's Broad Oak Laboratory” 16-17.
\textsuperscript{144} Langley Printworks, ledger, February 1859-April 1861, PA 9735-14993; Sydall, notebook, after 1858, 75/114.
\textsuperscript{145} Royle, notebook, 1850s-1860s.
\textsuperscript{146} Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876, M75/88.
\textsuperscript{147} Wimpenny, notebook, 1876-1880, M75/89.
\textsuperscript{148} Sydall, notebook, 1860-1872, M75/115. It is unclear what the “Ps” and “Gs” represent, but the differentiation of “dark mauve” is clear.
\textsuperscript{149} Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104; Lightfoot, notebook, 1857-1861, M75/19.
Fig. 5.19.
“Good mauve.”¹⁵⁰ Lightfoot left a whole notebook from 1861 titled “Trials on ‘Magenta’ and ‘aniline Mauve,’” in which he tested “Perkins [sic] Tyrian Purple ‘Mauve,’” “Bowke’s Mauve,” and “French No 1 Mauve” and “French No 2 Mauve” from the French suppliers E. Coez.¹⁵¹ Such notes give some idea of the range of “mauve” dyes available in the years immediately following its introduction, as well as the efforts of colourists to determine the quality of colour achievable with different products.

As these examples also show, many colourists used the word “mauve” in their private notes. Perkin marketed and sold his dye as “aniline purple,” or even “Tyrian purple,” consciously alluding to the valuable purple dye of antiquity.¹⁵² “Mauve,” however, became the popular name for this new colour, capturing the imagination of public and professional alike. In the early days of its usage, however, the word’s novelty is apparent, signalled by occasional misspellings, frequent capitalization, and other kinds of demarcation, such as Lightfoot’s inverted commas and underlining. A remarkable reference to this colour appeared in Wimpenny’s 1868 to 1879 notebook in a recipe for “Mauve Pink Stand[ard].” This called for “Black Cochoneal” [sic], but includes no aniline or synthetic product.¹⁵³ Within the printing industry, “mauve” seems to have become synonymous with purple shades relatively quickly.

Significantly, this example also underscores the uneven adoption of new dyes. Sykas observes that Wimpenny seems to have been relatively “conservative in his use of new dyes,” illustrated by, for example, his still using garancine to create lilac in 1865.¹⁵⁴ Colourists also seem to have combined new and old dyes to achieve purples. A section entitled “Violets” of the 1867 pamphlet from Geigy & Co., preserved in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook, suggested combining Prussian blue and magenta. The instructions concerned both dyeing and printing cotton and were underlined and bracketed in red pen.

¹⁵¹ Lightfoot, notebook, 1861, M75/25.
¹⁵³ Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876, M75/88.
¹⁵⁴ Sykas, The Secret Life of Textiles 115; Wimpenny, notebook, 1863-1866, M75/87.
indicating interest and perhaps use at the Oakenshaw Printworks. The expense of dyes such as aniline mauve also seems to have reduced their use by some. In 1860, John Lightfoot undertook “Trials on Imitation of aniline ‘Mauve purple’ with mixture of ‘Fuchsine’ [sic] and Ultramarine” (Fig. 5.20). Lightfoot used aniline red (also known as “fuchsine”), a synthetic dye less expensive than aniline purple, to try to attain a mauve colour. This attempt to create “aniline Mauve purple” points to the desirability of both the new dye and the new colour it produced. It is clear that when aniline dyes became available, dyers did not necessarily embrace them immediately, but there is ample evidence that they did almost all experiment with them.

Thus, from the mid-1860s, colourists continued to try new and refine old recipes for purple dyes. Their surviving notebooks contain references to a wide range of lilacs, lavenders, mauves, and purples, some of which were created using purple dyes made from aniline. August Hofmann’s 1863 range of aniline purple dyes were less expensive and easier to use than Perkin’s mauve.

The firm of Simpson, Maule & Nicholson was the primary manufacturer of the Hofmann violets that ranged from reddest (R.R.R.) to bluest (B.B.B.). Thomas Royle’s “S.M.N.” annotations next to violet samples made in October 1862 indicate that he tested this firm’s dyes (Fig. 5.21). The Wilkinson & Co. colourist tried a recipe sometime in 1867 that included “BB Hoffman” and “R Hoffman” [sic], but it may not have been successful, as it is crossed out in his notebook. He did not abandon trials of these dyes, however, because in July of the same year, he recorded trials of both “B Hoffman” and “BB Hoffman” (Fig. 5.22). In his 1874 handbook, Crookes observed, “The aniline violets include a formidable list of colours.” He went on to list several of these trade names of these dyes, including “mauve,” “parma,” “dahlia,” “violin,” “Violet

156 Lightfoot, notebook, 1859-1865, M75/22.
158 Crookes, A Practical Handbook of Dyeing and Calico Printing 192.
Fig. 5.20.

Fig. 5.21.
Fig. 5.22.
Imperial” and “Regina purple.” He then explained that phylelation of rosaniline produced a further “series of aniline violets, sold under a number of fanciful names,” such as Hofmann’s violet, Perkin’s “Britannia violet” (not to be confused with his earlier mauve), and “Paris violet.”  

Many of the names mentioned by Crookes appear in colourists’ notebooks. Royle also noted trials of “Imperial Violet” in September 1861 (Fig. 5.23). 1873 advertising material from Brooke, Simpson & Spiller in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook promoted “Regina Purple” and “Imperial Violets” and a leaflet from Perkin and Sons asserted “Britannia Violet, is a very cheap Color.” The Wilkinson & Co. colourist had tested Britannia violet in 1867 with two of the Hofmann violets (see Fig. 5.22). In March 1870, Wilkinson received a letter and printed samples from “A. Poirrier,” the French manufacturer of “Paris Violet” (Fig. 5.24). The printed letter claimed:

>This Violet can be had in all the known shades and when used in the same manner as Hofmann’s is fully as fast and stands the light equally as well: most of the Printers, however, prefer the arsenic process which seems to improve its brightness. In addition to the superior beauty, the Paris Violet, in point of cost, will stand comparison with the cheapest on the market.

This letter highlights the rivalry, conducted at an international level, among dye manufacturers for clients wanting new, viable, inexpensive dyes. The French manufacturer appeared to be mounting a direct attack on a product well-established in Britain.

Some of these purple colour names were in use before aniline dyes were created. The Lightfoots noted using “dahilia” [sic] many times—some examples appear in

---

161 Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104. An October 1868 letter from James Laing, Son & Co. preserved in this notebook also asserted that “the Britannia Violets” (as well as aniline black) “are the best colours for Printing in the market.”
163 Poirrier & Chappat Fils was a prominent Paris-based dye-manufacturing firm that eventually moved to Zurich (Travis, *The Rainbow Makers* 103, 120).
Fig. 5.23.
Fig. 5.24. John Wilkinson & Co. (Oakenshaw Printworks). Notebook page (detail). England (Oakenshaw, near Blackburn, Lancashire), 1856-1860, 1867-1874. Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 104 [Green 1301].
notebooks from the first half of the 1840s and 1851. The 1851 recipe for “Dahilia” called for “Pommiers Violet de Parme,” another example of a purple colour name adopted by dye manufacturers before and after synthetic dyes. “Pommiers” may have been a misspelling of “Poirriers,” and so may have referred to the firm that would later produce “Paris Violet.”

Other purple colour names, not mentioned by Crookes or frequently in trade literature, also appeared in colourists’ notebooks. In the mid-1860s, Wimpenny recorded making a lavender for printing with albumen and “Humboldt.” In a later notebook, he includes another recipe, under the heading “Receipts for Anilines” for a lavender dye that uses Humboldt and a recipe for violet that calls for both “Humboldt Liquor” and “Mauve Liquor.” Lightfoot mentioned the same colour in 1865 (Fig. 5.25). The Wilkinson & Co. colourist tested a colour called “Mexican Violet” in July 1867 (See Fig. 5.22) and may have continued to do so. A letter dated later in July from Cornbrook Chemical Works, Hulme, saved in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook, gave instructions about using “Mexican Violet,” accompanied by a sample.

Dyes in Women’s Magazines

Significant similarities existed in the materials and languages used by professional dyers and colourists discussed above and advice directed towards middle-class domestic dyers. In their pages, mid-nineteenth-century women’s magazines included many references to colour in clothing and some explicit references to dyeing, an activity recommended for reasons of both economy and pleasure. Occasionally, Godey’s Lady’s Book and the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine included dye recipes. The

---

165 Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, M75/6; Lightfoot, pattern book, 1840-1845, M75/40; Lightfoot, notebook, 1851, M75/7.
166 Wimpenney, notebook, 1863-1866, M75/87.
167 Wimpenney, notebook, 1868-1876, M75/88.
168 Lightfoot, notebook, 1859-1863, M75/22.
Fig. 5.25.
ingredients and methods were often those used by colourists, signalling an overlap between professional and domestic cultures of chemistry.

These shared ingredients could be quite basic. In “Things worth Knowing,” a regular-appearing section of the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine, an April 1857 “Hint on the Washing of Coloured Clothes” advised readers that “[a] small quantity of ammonia put in the water in which coloured clothes are to be washed will greatly assist in making the colours fast.”\(^{171}\) Professional colourists used ammonia as a fixative for natural and artificial dyestuffs throughout the mid- to late nineteenth century.\(^{172}\) As these examples demonstrate, colourfastness was a mutual concern in the professional production and domestic care of dress textiles, sometimes addressed with common strategies.

In September 1852, “Things worth Knowing” included an item titled “To Dye Woollens Crimson.”\(^{173}\) The recipe required cochineal as well as annatto and alum, a mordant commonly used by colourists and dyers. Two years later in March 1854, Godey’s Lady’s Book included a piece entitled “To Dye Red” in its recipe section. The text read: “You can dye red with either cochineal, madder, Brazil wood, or archil; the latter is generally preferred for common dyes. Alum is all that is require to fix a color.”\(^{174}\) This summarizes almost all the natural dyestuffs available to colourists for creating reds.

Accounts of how to use logwood as a dyestuff, especially for dyeing clothing black, also appeared in women’s magazines. In April 1853, for example, Godey’s Lady’s Book included a recipe titled “To Dye Kid Gloves Black,” using iron liquor and logwood.\(^{175}\) The same magazine had instructed readers how “To Remove Stains from Black Crape” in June 1851. The piece recommended sponging the crape with liquid


\(^{172}\) See, for example, Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876, M75/88 for use of ammonia to fix aniline black; Lightfoot, 1840-1844, M75/6 for use of ammonia to fix cochineal printed on delaine.


\(^{174}\) “Receipts, &c.,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 48 (1854): 280. The same text had appeared in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine the year before (“Notices to Correspondents,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine 2 (1853): 127). This example is discussed below.

\(^{175}\) “Receipts, &c.,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 46 (1853): 377.
made from boiled fig-leaves, immersing the fabric in warm water and ox-gall (used as a mordant by dyers), and rinsing in water with dissolved gum Arabic. After this process, the article noted “[a] decoction of logwood is said to improve the color, if crape is steeped in it.”176 Black crape was a standard cloth of first and second mourning during the nineteenth century and this recipe could have helped readers lengthen the useful life of this material.177

The *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included instructions about how “To Dye Velvet or Stuffs Black” in April 1853; this recipe called for nut galls, sulphate of iron, and logwood.178 The recipe explained the dyeing method first and then observed: “The common proportions are five parts of galls, five of sulphate of iron, and thirty of logwood, for every hundred-weight of cloth or velvet.”179 Colourists’ recipes often furnished measurements of ingredients in gallons, pounds, ounces, and quarts, but these quantities were almost always laid out in neat columns so that quantities could be adjusted if needed. Although the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* recipe did not give specific measurements, the proportions could have been altered for the quantity of cloth.

Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, logwood appeared to remain popular in both professional and domestic spheres, as colourists continued to record recipes containing logwood. In a December 1872 “Hints to Housekeepers” article, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included an item titled, “To Make Old Black Silk Look Like New,” also recommending the use of logwood.180

In describing the dyeing process, the 1853 *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* recipe included the following details: “During the operation it [the dyebath] must be frequently exposed to the air; because the green oxide of iron, of which the saltpetre is

composed, must be converted into red oxide by absorbing oxygen before the cloth can acquire a proper colour.” Professional dyers would have been familiar with this process of oxidisation, because it had to occur in many dye procedures, such as dyeing with indigo. The explanation included in the magazine article, however, furnishes an example of everyday chemistry in the female domestic realm. If undertaken, this complicated dyeing process would have simultaneously helped extend the life of the reader’s dress textiles and educated her about how this could happen.

In the 1850s, both the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* and *Godey’s Lady’s Book* contained several articles listing dyes to produce a variety of colours. *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, in July 1851, presented “Various Useful Receipts, &c., of Our Own Gathering.” This selection suggested oak bark or walnut-peels for dyeing brown, madder for red (with alum as a mordant) or purple (with acetate of iron as a mordant), and logwood and vitriol for blue. A February 1853 article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* about making feather flowers included several dye recipes, including indigo and vitriol for blue, turmeric for yellow, indigo and turmeric for green, cream of tartar for pink, cudbear for lilac, and cream of tartar and cochineal for red. Appended to the recipe for red was the following note: “N.B.—This dye is expensive, and scarlet flowers are best made with the plumage of the red Ibis, which can generally be had of a bird-fancier.”

There was clearly transatlantic exchange occurring with respect to dye recipes in these two magazines, as a June 1855 list of dyes in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* copied, word for word, the February 1853 recipes for brown, red, and blue dyes that appeared in the American magazine. The English article also recommended archil, “a root to be bought at the druggists’ for lilac; fustic, weld, tumeric [sic], or Dutch

---

182 “Various Useful Receipts, &c., of Our Own Gathering,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 43 (1851): 63. Archil, cochineal, and Brazil-wood are also mentioned as sources of red dyes.
pink for yellow; carthamus for scarlet; and logwood and copperas for black."\textsuperscript{184} This expanded list of colours and dyestuffs then appeared in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} in July 1853 and November 1855.\textsuperscript{185} The same balsam dye recipe appeared in the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} in January 1855 and \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} in June 1855 and identical instructions about how “To Dye White Silk Blue” (using woad and indigo) were in the April 1855 \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} and the August 1855 \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book}.\textsuperscript{186} These recipes suggested many of the standard ingredients also used by colourists and dyers. Some traditional dyestuffs, such as turmeric and woad, were not used widely by professionals, but would have been appropriate for small domestic dyeing projects.

It is difficult, of course, to know how many women actually used these recipes, but it is clear that some did. These magazines received enquiries about dyes and dyeing, as an answer to a reader’s question in the August 1853 issue of the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} revealed. Responding to the correspondent “N.B.” of Manchester, the editor asserted: “You can dye red with either cochineal, madder, Brazil wood, or archil; the latter is generally preferred for common dyes. Alum is all that is required to fix a colour.”\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} prefaced one list of dyes by asserting, “A few receipts for dyeing on a small scale will be found very serviceable, especially when regular dyers are not at hand.”\textsuperscript{188} Some readers probably agreed with these words and the continued reappearance of such items, as well as related queries, indicates some demand for this kind of information.

\textbf{Industrially-produced Dyes for the Domestic Market}

\textsuperscript{188} “Receipts, &c.,” \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} 47 (1853): 93.
As shown above, the increasing availability of industrially-produced synthetic textile dyes spurred many Lancashire colourists to experiment with them. Commercially-manufactured dyes and dyeing materials for home use also seem to have been gaining in popularity during the 1860s and 1870s. In September 1870, a *Godey’s Lady’s Book* reader contributed a dye piece titled “Rose Aniline.” The recipe called for a “drachm of aniline dissolved in alcohol” and “a piece of bichromate of potash about the size of a hickory-nut,” concluding “This receipt will color two pounds of goods, and will not fade. On cotton it makes a beautiful pink.”\(^{189}\) The size referent of a “hickory-nut” distinguished this text from that of a colourist’s notebook, but both aniline and bichromate of potash were ingredients frequently used by professional dyers and it seems as though they were available to some domestic dyers as well. In December 1870, a *Godey’s Lady’s Book* editor responded to another correspondent, “In the September number we gave a receipt about dyeing with aniline,” implying some demand from readers for this kind of information.\(^{190}\)

In August 1868, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* published instructions “To Color Magenta” submitted by a subscriber. The recipe called for “Two teaspoonfuls of red dye powder put into one gill of alcohol….If you want a darker or lighed [sic] shade, it can be procured by adding more or less of the prepared dye.”\(^{191}\) Unlike the earlier dye recipes included in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, this did not call for natural dyestuffs but instead used a prepared dye powder, almost certainly industrially-produced. The powder was identified as “red,” but the title of the recipe used the newer word “magenta.” Although by 1868, magenta was no longer brand new, the word nonetheless still probably connoted novelty and fashionability, at least to some readers. It is impossible to know what colour would have been produced with this recipe, but its publication indicated some perceived consumer desire for magenta of different

---


shades, whether in purchased cloth or home-dyed fabric. Because the colour produced may have been closer to red than magenta, this recipe also suggests that some women may have settled for approximations of fashionable colours that could be achieved at home, in the same way that they might have worn approximations of fashionable styles.

A brand name was not yet associated with this powder to produce magenta, but in April 1872 fashion news reports in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* began to mention a commercial brand, Judson’s Dyes. 192 In May 1875, one of the articles suggested “As a spring investment we ought all to lay in a supply of Judson’s dyes, those invaluable aids to economy.” The writer went on to underscore “what an exceedingly simple process these dyes make the formerly elaborate task” of dyeing. 193 Two years earlier, in June 1873, the same magazine had claimed: “Dyeing small articles is by no means a difficult or a dirty process, if Judson’s dyes be employed….Feathers and silks, whether ribbon or piece silk, also dye admirably….We may remark that nearly all the new tints are to be had in the sixpenny bottles, which may be obtained of chemists.” 194 In September 1874, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* fashion writer included a “long-promised account of how to dye with Judson’s Pure Dyes, which I have obtained from the inventor of these most useful dyes.” The instructions read,

First take an earthen basin filled with a gallon or two of boiling water; in this the article to be dyed is soaked for a couple of minutes, then removed with a stick. As soon as half a bottle of dye has been poured into the water the goods are replaced in the basin, which is now a dye bath, and to which a little starch may be usefully added. Next, with a stick in each hand, move the cloth or whatever you may have in the dye bath briskly about, so that the colour may be evenly deposited over the whole; and if the shade of colour be not as deep as required add more dye. As a general rule, saturation from five to fifteen minutes will be sufficient for any kind of goods….The colours of Judson’s Dyes are very beautiful, and the most fashionable colours can always be had. 195

---

The process was certainly simpler than some of those described using natural dyestuffs earlier in the century. All of these examples presented Judson’s Dyes as an easy and inexpensive way in which a woman could add colour to her wardrobe, especially in trimmings.

The brand was mentioned so frequently in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* that it seems likely there was a personal connection to the dye manufacturer, or at least that the fashion editor was receiving free samples of the dyes, or some other benefit. This brand of dye, however, did appear in other contemporary textual sources in advertisements paid for by the company. An example in the second volume of *Middlemarch*, published in 1871-72, included testimonials about “Judson’s Simple Dyes” from *The Family Herald*, *The Mechanics’ Magazine*, and *Cassell’s Household Guide* (Fig. 5.26).196 The *Household Guide* quotation emphasized the cleanliness and simplicity of the dyeing process with the dyes, asserting, “The thing would be worth trying from motives of economy; and much more real amusement would result from it than from many of the melancholy recreations to which young ladies of the present day are condemned.”197 Both thrift and entertainment are presented as potential motives for trying these dyes, echoing the rhetoric of contemporary women’s magazines.

The *Middlemarch* Judson’s Dyes advertisement placed “mauve” and “magenta” first in the list of available colours, perhaps associating their product with colours that many readers would have known to be industrially produced. As apparent in the colourists’ notebooks, brand names (or at least the brand name of Judson’s) were becoming another element in the domestic consumption of colour.

*References to Dyes and Dyeing in General Articles*

---


197 Eliot, *Middlemarch*, 16 [advertisements].
References to dyeing and printing appeared in non-fiction articles in women’s magazines, often linked to the important roles these skills played in the booming mid-nineteenth century textile industry. In an article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in October 1853 entitled “The Production of Plants,” the author explained “The Turkey red, so much admired in shawls and handkerchiefs, is obtained from the madder plant.”198 The piece continued, noting innovations in the growing of madder:

If we add lime to the ground, so that the madder roots may imbibe it, the red color immediately commences to increase, and a large quantity of that beautiful dye is produced.

It may be learned from the above how much control we have over the growth of a plant, how we may increase the amount to any valued production to a very great extent, and what an interesting, useful, and even a scientific occupation is the cultivation of plants.199

By describing the origin and production of a fashionable colour for clothing with which readers would have been familiar, this article conformed to standard strategies for educating women about science. Madder root produced a desirable colour, thus interest of the female reader can be assumed. The dyestuff provided a springboard into a discussion of the source of this colour, as well as innovations in and justifications for agricultural chemistry.

As discussed in previous chapters, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* started publishing a series of articles entitled “Everyday Actualities” in June 1852. The first article was titled “Bleaching of Calico, Muslin, and other Cotton Fabrics,” followed the next month, by a piece about calico printing.200 The placement of these articles at the beginning of the series reflected the industry’s contemporary prominence, underscored by the first article’s opening sentence: “The art of impressing in color various figures and patterns upon calico, silk, and other fabrics, is one of great importance to the world, and forms a

branch of what is the most extensive of the mechanic arts.”201 The August and September articles continued the discussion of calico printing, outlining the styles of printing and explaining their technical aspects.202

The April 1853 article (the ninth in the series) was devoted to dyeing.203 Beginning with biblical and classical references to valuable dyes, the author then listed many of the natural dyestuffs found in European colonies and used by domestic and professional dyers, such as indigo, logwood, and cochineal.204 Briefly addressing basic dye chemistry, the writer acknowledged “[i]t is not possible in this short notice to attempt more than to convey a general notion of the chemical principles upon which the art of dyeing depends.”205 Nonetheless, the article explained that “[i]n producing certain results, advantage is taken of that affinity or attraction by which one substance A unites with another substance B in preference to a substance C.”206 Examples referred to the creation of “insoluble precipitate” and the mixing of an “aqueous solution of bichromate of potash” and an “aqueous solution of acetate of lead.” Thus, the piece’s language, like that of dye recipes, assumed some familiarity with basic chemical language and concepts.

The April 1854 article, titled “The Manufacture of Artificial Flowers,” listed the substances used to colour the flowers’ petals.207 These included many of the natural dyestuffs that appeared in other contemporary recipes, as well as details of mordants and dye solutions. This piece shared striking similarities to the “The Art of Making Feather Flowers,” discussed above, which appeared a year earlier.208

---

201 “Everyday Actualities.—No. II.” Godey's Lady's Book 45 (1852): 5.
202 “Everyday Actualities.—No. III.” Godey's Lady's Book 45 (1852): 117-121; “Everyday Actualities.—No. IV.” Godey's Lady's Book 45 (1853): 215-216. The author describes the following six “styles” of printing: “1, the Madder style; 2, Printing by steam; 3, the Padding style; 4, the Resist style; 5, the Discharge style; and 6, the China-Blue style” (118).
203 “Everyday Actualities.—No. IX.” Godey's Lady's Book 46 (1853): 293-296.
204 “Everyday Actualities.—No. IX.” Godey's Lady's Book 46 (1853): 293-294.
205 “Everyday Actualities.—No. IX.” Godey's Lady's Book 46 (1853): 296.
206 “Everyday Actualities.—No. IX.” Godey’s Lady’s Book 46 (1853): 296.
continued to be discussed in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* as a domestic project, as a February 1871 set of instructions shows. The author highlighted the particular usefulness of white feathers, obtainable from local “poulterers” or one’s own birds, “as by the aid of dyes, they may be made to assume any tint required to match or contrast with any ball dress.” Several colours were listed, but the “Magenta dye” was particularly noted as “a beautiful rose pink may be obtained by putting in a small quantity of it.”\(^{209}\) This article exemplifies the contemporary emphasis on domestic, economy, and fashionable skill that permeated fashion advice literature aimed at middle-class women.

These articles demonstrate the way in which allusions to dyes and dyeing appeared in a number of different contexts in nineteenth-century women’s magazines, highlighting the value of examining entire periodical texts in an effort to understand the cultural resonances of the substances and practices of dyeing. References to materials used and colours produced existed in general discussions of agriculture and industry, underscoring many ways in which women readers could have encountered and understood dyes.

*References to Women as Dyers*

Nineteenth-century women’s magazines also contained more explicit references to dyes and dyeing, in fictional and practical contexts. In an August 1850 literary notice for *The Dyer and Color-Maker’s Companion,* *Godey’s Lady’s Book* suggested the book to readers who wished “to amuse themselves with changing or renovating the colors of wardrobes.”\(^{210}\) In June 1853, the same magazine included a notice for David Smith’s book *The Dyer’s Instructor.* The long title of this book promised to provide “Practical Instructions in the Art of Dyeing Silk, Cotton, Wool, and Worsted and Woollen

\(^{209}\) “Feather Trimmings for Ball Dresses, Etc.” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 82 (1871): 177. A fashion report from *Godey’s Lady’s Book* a few months earlier mentioned that feathers dyed to match bonnet trimmings “are used in profusion.” See “Chitchat on Fashions for November,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 81 (1870): 486.

Goods.” Considerable technical skill would have been necessary to use many of the recipes included in these books, but the Godey’s Lady’s Book inclusion of the notices indicates that perhaps some women would have, by choice or necessity, found them helpful.

Despite the references to dyeing as entertainment in women’s magazines, economy, rather than amusement, was perhaps a sharper spur for many women. Fictional examples of home dyeing and re-dyeing in nineteenth-century women’s magazines often presented characters who resort to dyeing in financial straits. These examples provide insight into the challenges of and possible motivations behind dyeing and turning clothing. Re-dyeing faded garments could extend their useful lives and therefore seems to have been attempted frequently.

Mrs. H. Seely Totten’s 1845 story, “Keeping a Few Genteel Boarders,” in Godey’s Lady’s Book, tells the tale of the down-at-the-heel Nevill family in the United States. Seely introduces Mrs. Nevill, “whose dress of home-dyed silk hangs flimsily about her emaciated frame, and whose modernized cap and well-darned inside ’kerchief, tell a tale of ’great inconstancy in earthly things,’ while at the same time they speak of industry and of struggles to make a genteel appearance on very limited means.” Mrs. Nevill’s daughters plan to spruce up a “cinnamon-coloured silk” with “ma’s black lace shade.” The shade, however, looks brown, so one of the girls suggests that they “can dye it, and the shade will be beautiful to throw about the shoulders in the evening on damp days. Black lace is always genteel, and at present very much worn. So there’s a dress all planned.”

The Nevill family efforts are more successful than those of the Parkinsons, detailed in an 1840 story, “Fanny Parkinson, or, My Brother’s Funeral” in the English publication The Ladies’ Cabinet. After the Parkinson brother dies, his sisters take their

---

cloaks to a dyer’s to be dyed black. The dyeing and dressing (stiffening and ironing) take much longer than expected, a cloak is lost, and the female dyer expects to be paid for the dyeing nonetheless. The re-dyed cloaks have been almost ruined in the dyeing process, in part because they have been taken apart to be dyed, a common practice:

In attempting to make up the cloaks, it was found impossible to put the different pieces together to the same advantage as before. Also, the silk did not look well, being dyed of a dull brownish black, and stiffened to the consistency of paper. The skirts and sleeves had shrunk much in dyeing, and the pieces that composed the bodies had been ravelled, frayed and pulled so crooked in dressing, that they had lost nearly all shape. It was impossible to make up the deficiencies by matching the silk with new, as none was to be found that bore sufficient resemblance to it. “Ah!” thought Fanny, “how well these cloaks looked when in their original state. The shade of olive was so beautiful, the silk so soft and glossy, and they fitted so perfectly well.”

When put together under all these disadvantages, the cloaks looked so badly that the girls were at first unwilling to wear them, except in extreme cold weather—particularly as in coming out of church they overheard whispers among the ladies in the crowd, of “That’s a dyed silk,”—“Any one may see that those cloaks have been dyed.”

The humiliating Parkinson experience was certainly a worst-case scenario, but illustrates the value of the material, the significant technical difficulties of dyeing, and the straightened circumstances that made re-dyeing a necessity. Advice given in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in November 1854 echoed this fictional warning. Replying to a reader called “Anne L.B.” in the magazine’s section “To Correspondents,” an editor proclaimed: “We never saw any economy in having good silks dyed when a family goes into mourning. Dyed silks can always be detected, and are never really nice. Half worn or glancé silks may be colored to good advantage, and used beneath barèges or tissues as an under-skirt.” A fashion report discussing Irish poplins in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* voiced a similar opinion in December 1868, asserting “these [poplins] are as handsome as a very elegant silk, and much more economical, as, after they are soiled, they can be dyed for a street dress, and look equal to new, an advantage not obtained in a silk, which

---

214 “Fanny Parkinson, or, My Brother’s Funeral,” *Ladies’ Cabinet* 3 (1840): 79-80.
never looks well after being dyed.” It seems these writers expected that readers would attempt to dye expensive silks from motives of economy. In dispensing this advice, they hoped to save their readers from potential embarrassment or even destruction of an expensive material, helping them balance on the tightrope of taste.

Dye recipes and instructions, as well as fictional examples, indicate that this advice was not always followed. The imperative of respectability compelled women to assume black mourning clothes and financial concerns would have encouraged many women to use expensive dress textiles for as long as possible. In some instances, dyeing silk may have been the only available course. These examples demonstrate the range of attitudes towards dyeing contained in these nineteenth-century magazines.

As well as recommending Judson’s Dyes in the 1870s, the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine also suggested professional re-dyeing. Matilda Browne, in her “Spinnings” column and in her answers to queries in “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” frequently encouraged women to have clothing re-dyed. In July 1871, she recommended a dyer called Allaire, on Conduit Street and Regent Street in London. In October 1873, Browne responded to a question from “Tilly Slowboy”:

Would the Silkworm kindly give Tilly Slowboy some advice on the subject of dyeing a white silk dress? Her wedding dress has been worn only four times, and is beginning to turn yellow from being laid aside…Must it be taken entirely to pieces, body and every part, to be dyed? and if so will it ever be fit to put together again, or will it not shrink in the dyeing? Also would it be any use having the trimming dyed as well? And what colour (not brown or blue) would the Silkworm recommend as being most likely to look nice when finished? [White will take any colour. Unpick your dress and remit to Pullar, Perth, N.B.]

The next year, Browne continues to recommend Pullar and Sons of Perth, giving detailed instructions about how to have things re-dyed in her June 1874 “Spinnings” column:

---

216 “Chitchat on Fashions for December,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 77 (1868): 555. Irish poplins have a silk warp and a wool weft.
I have had poplins, grey and ruby, dyed black and made up into one dress which had all the appearance of a new black poplin...The mode of sending is simple enough. The parcel packed up has a paper direction pinned to each parcel it contains, as thus:—“Coat to be cleaned,” “Two dresses to be dyed black’” (blue, or what ye will), “Curtains to be dipped as nearly the same shade as possible,” “White shawl to be dyed mauve like pattern,” and so on. The parcel is then sent off to the depot in Finsbury-square, and when it is returned from Scotland a note arrives with the bill (always most moderate in charges), and one either sends for it or an order for its being sent on; the money is always paid at the time of receiving the parcel back; everything is beautifully folded and returned in first-rate order.  

Browne asserted that she had sent “a parcel at least once a year which is returned to me punctually.” Her continued espousal of Pullar and Sons was perhaps an advertisement, as her recommendation of Judson’s Dyes may have been. It does seem, however, that reliable professional re-dyeing was possible and that she took advantage of this opportunity to refresh items in her wardrobe.

The editors of Godey’s Lady’s Book also advocated re-dyeing, often in response to readers’ queries. In January 1870, an editor advised a reader that “[a]ll woollens dye well.” The same year, the same magazine echoed the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine in suggesting professional re-dyeing, counselling a reader: “Better send your dresses to a dyer than to attempt dyeing them yourself. It would be more economical.” Although the specific details of the kind of dyeing were not given, this suggestion indicates that re-dyeing was a type of labour available relatively cheaply at this time.

In January 1870, Matilda Browne reported on poplins (blends of silk and wool) she had seen at the London warehouse of Inglis and Tinckler. She wrote,

rich maize poplin, brilliant blue, pure white, vivid green, delicate mauve—all these make delicious ball and dinner dresses, and…when worn two or three times as an evening dress, can be dyed a rich brown by the manufacturer, and if desired, dyed finally a deep black; thus ladies

---

can have three dresses at little more than the price of one... being an extravagant Silkworm in thought, though not in practice.\(^{223}\)

In subsequent issues, Browne continued to urge her readers to buy high quality textiles, especially poplins, because they will “dye and re-dye for years.”\(^{224}\) Inglis and Tinckler poplins are recommended so frequently that, as with Judson’s Dyes and Pullar and Son, one suspects a close relationship between the firm and the editorial staff of the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine. In suggesting this fabric, Browne averred that she spoke from experience, noting in March 1874, “The poplins of Messrs. Inglis and Tinckler’s make I can recommend, from personal knowledge, as wearing perfectly.”\(^{225}\) She mentioned “durability,” “clear colouring,” and “convertibility by dyeing for secondary purposes” as reasons for her recommendation.\(^{226}\) In a couple of instances, Mr. Tinckler himself responds to readers’ queries about re-dyeing his poplins.\(^{227}\)

Poplins were not the only textiles proposed for re-dyeing. In her November 1873 shopping report, Browne wrote that Chapman’s “patent silk-finish velveteen” was of high enough quality “to look nice at the end of two seasons’ wear, and then re-dye and make up for the children.”\(^{228}\) Responding to a reader who objects to extravagant modern weddings in December 1873, Browne suggested she make her wedding dress of white muslin and dye it when it begins to look dirty.\(^{229}\)

In her February 1874 fashion report, Browne provided anecdotal evidence of re-dyeing, declaring

I know a lady whose means are limited, and yet who always dresses well. She confessed to me her dress of Brussels net had been of invaluable use to her ever since her \textit{début} as a bride. The white silk slip formed part of

\(^{223}\) “Spinnings in Town,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 8 (1870) 42.
\(^{225}\) “Spinnings in Town,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 16 (1874): 151.
\(^{227}\) See “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 13 (1872): 184 and “Beeton’s Englishwoman’s Almanac,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine (1873) in which Tinckler recommended Lawrence and Company, Dyers, Oxenden Street, Haymarket to a reader.
\(^{228}\) “Spinnings in Town,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 15 (1873): 259.
her wedding trousseau. It lasted several years in its original state, was afterwards dyed rose-colour—looking once more quite new—and was finally transformed into a black jupon to wear under black lace or black grenadine.\textsuperscript{230}

Browne presented re-dyeing here as a clever method of being economically fashionable, revealed to her as an elegant secret. Whether or not this was a real example, it was consistent with other advice Browne dispensed regarding silk-dyeing. In February 1872, a reader wrote into the magazine enquiring to “know if a mauve-coloured silk would dye a good black, and the name of a good dyer….Mine is a very rich silk, but it is quite faded.”\textsuperscript{231} Browne replied by recommending Pullar and Sons again. The dress mentioned, of rich mauve silk, may have been quite fashionable at one point, but this exchange indicates that such a dress, through dyeing, could enjoy a subsequent, more serviceable life.

Re-dyeing could thus allow women to wear their clothes for longer periods of time, especially those made of sturdy fabrics. These recommendations dovetailed with the frequently-purveyed middle-class ideology of fashion that emphasized responsible investment in quality clothing. As \textit{The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} asserted in May 1875, “The true economist never buys anything that is not good of its kind…It is better to buy one good dress, that will turn and dye and turn again, than to buy two of an inferior material that will cockle with the rain, and ‘give’ at the seams.”\textsuperscript{232} Browne’s recommendation of this practice provides an instructive counterpoint to her exclamations about new fashionable colours available at London shops. Her inclusion of this practical advice—and the questions from her readers—gives a fuller picture of the actual careful, long-term use of clothing by nineteenth-century women.

\textbf{Conclusion}

\textsuperscript{230} “The February Fashions,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2, 16 (1874): 86.
\textsuperscript{231} “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2, 12 (1872): 126.
\textsuperscript{232} “Flittings,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2, 18 (1875): 259.
This chapter’s consideration of the mid-nineteenth century use and discussion of dyes by colourists and in women’s magazines has drawn attention to a set of key issues: firstly, the great range of dyes, derived from both natural and artificial dyestuffs, utilized by the community of colourists; secondly, the overlap between the materials and processes employed by both colourists and domestic dyers; thirdly, the commodification of dyes; and finally, the way in which dyes and dyeing exemplify everyday domestic chemistry.

This chapter has shown how surviving records of colourists employed by textile manufacturers in North West England show the many materials and methods used to produce printed textiles. It has also stressed that, as Agustí Nieto-Galan emphasizes, synthetic dyes by no means immediately replaced natural colourants. The colourists’ notebooks examined in this chapter confirm this. It is clear that these men experimented with and used both natural and artificial dyestuffs well after the introduction of aniline dyes, a point that Philip Sykas stresses. Anthony Travis’s examination of the dye work of the Lightfoots at Broad Oak, also included here, argues for an “evolutionary rather than revolutionary” model of dye development in the mid-nineteenth century. Across the spectrum of colour, natural dyestuffs such as madder, indigo, and logwood remained essential to the colourists throughout this period. Aniline dyes, however, also appeared in several colourists’ notebooks from the late 1850s, indicating interest in and perhaps use of these new products.

It is not surprising, therefore, that dyestuffs such as madder and logwood also appeared in dye recipes in women’s magazines, persisting after the advent of artificial dyes. References to dyeing with aniline dyes, some of which were submissions from readers or answers to reader requests, indicated an interest among women in these new products from the late 1860s. This exchange of information suggests that women were

---

233 Nieto-Galan, *Colouring Textiles* 190.
235 Travis, “Artificial Dyes in John Lightfoot’s Broad Oak Laboratory” 10.
involved in sharing knowledge of dyes, applying science to their everyday lives in this
domestic culture of chemistry. References to the use of the same dyestuffs in colourists’
notebooks and in women’s magazines, whether natural or artificial, underscore the
common materials used by both professional and domestic dyers. In published research,
professional dyeing and female domestic activity are almost always considered
separately. The identification of these dyes, shared between and used by both groups, is
one of the principal findings of this research.

This chapter has also explained that as industrially-produced synthetic dyes
became more widely manufactured in the 1860s and 1870s, brand names and
promotional material appeared more frequently in the colourists’ notebooks. In his
discussion of nineteenth-century commodity culture, Thomas Richards stresses the key
role played by middle-class magazines in the growth of advertising, so it is unsurprising
that the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine included several mentions, perhaps indeed
advertisements, in the early 1870s to Judson’s Dyes, a company that made synthetic dyes
for domestic consumers. These references show how domestic as well as professional
consumers provided eager markets for these fashionable new products. In this process of
commodification, manufacturer-assigned names of dyes, rather than raw materials,
became the identifying feature of dyes for both groups of consumers.

Dye recipes in nineteenth-century women’s magazines often appeared in the back
pages of a number, near cookery recipes and medical advice. This physical proximity
underscores the way in which dyeing became another practical application of chemistry,
useful in a middle-class woman’s everyday domestic activity. The inclusion of essays
about dyeing and dye development, as well as fictional examples which often
highlighted the challenges and economic necessity of dyeing, further demonstrates the
way in which dyeing permeated these periodicals. As this chapter has shown, dyes
served as examples of scientific progress considered useful for women to know through

236 Richards, Commodity Culture 7.
essays, as a negotiation to alleviate economic difficulties in fiction and fact, and as domestic chemistry in recipes. Thus dyes and dyeing potentially entered multiple, interwoven aspects of women’s everyday experiences.

References to making and using dyes, as shown in this chapter, highlight ways in which women at home could participate in the nineteenth-century world of science and how women’s magazines again played a significant role by providing advice and recipes. Colourists applied their training in chemistry and technical expertise of dyeing and printing and middle-class women could also use knowledge of chemistry in the practical task of extending the lives of the wardrobes of their families. Thus, the daily activity of both of these communities could include similar materials and processes of dyeing, revealing hitherto unexplored connections between these two groups. The next chapter will explore how dyes and the colours they produced entered into mid-nineteenth century fashion and its language.
Chapter 6

Surely the Apotheosis of Colour is at Hand:
Colour, Fashion, and Chemistry in Women’s Dress

Introduction

Contemporary middle-class interest in colour and science, as discussed in chapters three and four, help to explain mid-nineteenth century reactions to the new dyes created by dye chemists during this period. This chapter will examine the discussion and use of colour in women’s fashion, focusing particularly on novelty in colour. Sometimes “new” colours were explicitly or implicitly related to advances in colour chemistry and these significant connections will be highlighted. Because of the ways in which aniline dyes engaged at the crossroads of colour, chemistry and fashion, their introduction and use from 1858 will be the focus of special attention. As outlined in chapter one, published research has addressed dyes in mid-nineteenth century discussions of colour, chemistry, and women’s fashion, but has not yet considered all of these subjects together. This chapter will concentrate on these significant interconnections.

With few exceptions, coloured fashion plates accompanied every issue of the Ladies’ Cabinet, Godey’s Lady’s Book and the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine, frequently featuring illustrations of the dresses and ensembles reported in the magazines’ pages. Although many more descriptions than objects survive, extant costumes and textiles help provide some idea of the visual reality and effect of mid-nineteenth century dyes. These objects reveal how many textiles and costumes employed colours, considering texture, colour combinations, and occasion and often using colours sparingly. This refinement of use has also not been highlighted in published research, but constitutes a significant finding, once again emphasizing the inclination of middle-class female consumers to avoid extremes in fashion and the way in which contemporary colour theory informed female dress.
Applications of Colour Theory to Fashion and Tensions between Chevreul’s Theories and the Colours of the Early Aniline Dyes

The sophisticated understanding and appreciation of colour in the nineteenth century discussed in chapter three certainly provided fertile ground for the introduction of dyes created by new developments in chemistry and the colour theory of Michel-Eugène Chevreul exerted particular influence in conversations about women’s fashion. As also discussed in chapter three, Chevreul had specifically addressed clothing in his book, offering advice about colour combinations to portrait painters and designers of military uniforms.¹ These recommendations informed rules of colour in women’s dress promulgated by contemporary fashion writers. As already noted, much of this advice hinged on Chevreul’s codification of contrasting colours and afterimages because, as he detailed, red cast a wash of green and purple a wash of yellow on surfaces next to them (see Fig. 3.1). According to these rules, purples and reds would not flatter female complexions, so many fashion writers provided extensive warnings and suggestions about the integration of such colours into their readers’ wardrobes.

For example, a writer for Godey’s Lady’s Book advised in September 1857:

“Yellow in dress…is also more becoming to dark than to fair persons. Primrose is to be expected as becoming to fair persons. The trimmings of this color, the flowers and ribbons, should be violet, such contrast being agreeable to art and nature.”² Following Chevreul’s rules, the colour-wheel opposites of yellow and purple were an appropriate combination, exemplifying the harmony of contrast.

For those who strictly followed Chevreul’s rules, the vivid colours produced with aniline dyes could present special difficulties. Some writers acknowledged that suitability of colour to complexion would not necessarily inform women’s choices

because of the appeal of these novel colours. In 1861, the author of a *Godey’s Lady’s Book* article titled “On the Unities of Dress and Contrasts of Color” noted, “where there is a ruddy color in the cheeks, the ultramarine blue and mauve tints are excellent. This last color has so superseded the lavendar hue, that it is almost superfluous to mention it as being very unbecoming.”

In 1862, a couple of lengthy articles discussed colours created with aniline dyes in the context of Chevreul’s theories. An article called “Colour—In Dress, Furniture, and Gardening” appeared in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in June 1862, in which the author explained Chevreul’s laws of harmony and contrast, noting “we shall soon find that those which are prettiest apart do not always combine harmoniously, as mauve and magenta.” Discussing blonde and brunette complexions, this author included numerous suggestions of suitable colours. Colours used around the face demanded special consideration and the writer cautioned: “Violet is a colour generally to be avoided, because it has the effect of adding yellow to the skin, which is not an agreeable addition; but if the violet does not come into immediate contact with the skin—being separated, for instance, by the hair, or by grey or yellow fabrics of any kind—the complexion receives no taint.” As noted in chapter three, this exact article was also published, in two parts, in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* later in 1862, so editors in both Britain and the United States seem to have judged this colour advice useful.

Mary Merrifield had sounded some similar warnings in her January 1862 *Godey’s Lady’s Book* article, “The Use and Abuse of Colors in Dress”:

*We hear constantly of fashionable colors, and these fashionable colors are forever changing; moreover, we hear more of their novelty than of their beauty. All who wish to be fashionable wear these colors, because they are fashionable and because they are new; but they do not consider whether*

---

they are adapted to the complexion and age of the wearer, or whether they are in harmony with the rest of the dress.”

Merrifield clearly identified the contemporary appeal of novelty in colour, but her advice recalls the middle-class ideal of suitability in dress discussed in chapter two.

Merrifield warned against the indiscriminate adoption of fashionable colours:

Of all colors, perhaps the most trying to the complexion are the different shades of lilac and purple. The fashionable and really beautiful mauve and its varieties are of course included in this category. In accordance with the well-known law of optics…those above mentioned, which require for their harmony various tints of yellow and green, impart these supplementary colors to the complexion. It is scarcely necessary to observe that, of all complexions, those which turn upon the yellow are the most unpleasant in their effect.

Merrifield, however, does not forbid her readers from wearing the bright, new aniline colours, voicing a question her readers might ask: “is there no means of harmonizing colors so beautiful in themselves with the complexion, and so avoiding these ill effects?” To answer this question, she suggests darker purples for darker complexions, and lighter shades for lighter skin tones. As in the previous example, colours next to the face required special care: “the color should never be placed next to the skin, but should be parted from it by the hair and by a ruche of thulle, which produce the neutralizing effect of gray.” She also recommended using green leaves and ribbons to neutralize purples and lilacs.

Merrifield also addressed the use of magenta, a colour challenge because, according to Chevreul’s principles, it would make the skin appear yellow-green. She provided a few suggestions, asserting that the colour “must be subdued when near the skin, and this is best done by intermixture with black; either by diminishing its brightness by nearly covering it with black lace, or by introducing the color in very small quantity only.”

---

7 Mary Merrifield, “The Use and Abuse of Colors in Dress,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 64 (1862): 73.
deemed valuable for readers of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, demonstrating by the article’s reprinting in 1867, five years after the first publication, in a very similar format.\(^\text{11}\)

It does seem that some of this colour advice was followed, at least judging by the ensembles featured in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* and *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. In fashion plates of the period, purple hats, bonnets, and bodices are often shown separated from the face with light-coloured fabric or lace, such as a “[l]eghorn bonnet, with mauve ribbon and plume” from *Godey’s Lady’s Book* of March 1862 (Fig. 6.1) and a “[v]isiting Toilet…of mauve crape…with an under-bodice and sleeves of muslin trimmed with lace” from the July 1869 issue of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* (Fig. 6.2).\(^\text{12}\) Some women, perhaps, did take the fashion writers’ advice.

Advice about the proper use of colour also appeared in much of the fashion news and in “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” the section of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in which readers could ask questions of Matilda Browne. In December 1874, Browne advised a reader, “Green used to be worn with violet, but is a very ugly contrast. You can wear any shade of violet or mauve with violet.”\(^\text{13}\) The increased variety of colours available made their tasteful, fashionable combination perhaps even more difficult for women than in the previous decades.

**Reporting Fashionable Changes in Fashionable Colours**

Mid-nineteenth century fashion writers narrated constant change in fashionable colours for female dress. In their efforts, these authors made use of the full range of techniques of colour description detailed above in chapter three. Changing fashions in colour names and descriptive strategies accompanied changing fashions in colours, with individual writers or periodicals often employing particular words or phrases.

\(^\text{11}\) See “The Use of Colors of Dress,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 74 (1867): 513-514. In the second appearance of the article the first two paragraphs (including the sentences about fashionable colors and their novelty) were cut. A general paragraph on the appropriate uses of blue and pink was added to the end.


Fig. 6.1.

Fig. 6.2.
The most common method writers used to denote fashionable colours was a straightforward, unequivocal announcement, epitomized by this statement in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in October 1849: “The fashionable colors are black, dark green, blue, violet, and garnet.” The fashion writers for the *Ladies’ Cabinet* noted fashionable colours almost every month in both their London and Paris fashion reports; they considered this information so important that they even recorded when there had been no change in fashionable colours. These declarations often assumed regular reading of fashion reports, as when one of the fashion reports in the October 1841 issue of the *Ladies’ Cabinet* observed, “Fashionable colours are different shades of green and blue of a deeper kind than those recently adopted, maize, rose-colour, lavender, and some full shades of red light hues remain in favour in evening dress.” The comparative elements of this announcement depended upon past knowledge of fashionable colours.

In June 1851, the fashion writer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* noted that for bonnets “[b]lue, purple, green, and fawn are the prevailing colors, in every variety of shade and material” and an article in November 1854 in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* informed readers that “[t]he most prevailing colours are black, brown, or blue” for trim. The December 1871 fashion report in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* remarked that “Vandyke brown, myrtle green, navy blue, wine color, and black, are the colors most used” for winter suits. In January 1857, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included a pattern for a “Lady’s Ball Dress,” accompanied by the comment that “[v]ery brilliant colors, such as cerise, rose, and amber, are very much worn for ball dresses.” The editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* apparently agreed, as these colour notes appeared,

---

verbatim, with the pattern in the December of the same year. All these phrases applied to fashionable colours—“prevailing,” “most used,” and “very much worn”—underscore the reporting function of these fashion articles, implying the impartial presentation of careful observations.

Many of these fashionable colour reports implied the existence of a fashionable female community. In November 1867, the fashion reporter for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* declared, “Bright colors are now much in vogue for evening wear; the most desirable are sulphur yellow, crimson, saffron, violet, pink, and arsenic green.” The assumption that readers wish for “desirable” colours and to be “in vogue,” underpinned this article. These suggestions were reinforced by the frequent use of the word “favourite” when referring to fashionable colours, exemplified by pronouncements such as “[t]he favorite hues [for tarlatane dresses] are pale blue, rose color, and white” in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in February 1849 and “[t]he favourite colours for the ribbons [for bonnets] are mauve or ocean green” in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in July 1858. These observations imply that these colours were favoured by particular, fashionable women.

As discussed in chapter two, this kind of fashion writing offered membership in this fashionable group as a possibility to readers. Many middle-class women would not have been able to demonstrate their fashionability through constant consumption, so visibly these women would be excluded from participation. The subtlety of this method of fashion reporting, however, depended upon the implication that mere knowledge of fashionable colours afforded some degree of participation in the fashionable world to all careful readers.

---

19 See “Lady’s Ball Dress,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 55 (1857): 543. As other, similar examples given in this thesis also show, this sharing (or stealing?) of information demonstrate the existence of a transatlantic, Anglophone fashion community.
Although fashion writers often referred, implicitly or explicitly, to a wider world of fashion on which they are reporting, authors also used changes in fashionable colours as an opportunity to show their personal, authoritative knowledge and to demonstrate their inclusion in the fashionable world. These writers constructed a narrative of fashionable change by making definitive declarations, as the reporter for the *Ladies’ Cabinet* did in September 1842: “Shot silks have lost nothing of their vogue [for evening dress], they are in general of delicate hues, as pink, blue, and blue shot with white; but we have also seen others of full colours, as grey, and *groseille*, violet, and gold colour.”

The *Godey’s Lady’s Book* fashion writer adopted an equally commanding tone in October 1873, asserting, “The dark plum colors, leaf brown, elephant, *réséda*, and blue black have entirely superseded the lighter shades which were allowable for this season.” Perhaps the best demonstration of this kind of authority appeared when writers predicted fashionable colours for the near future, as when the writer for the *Ladies’ Cabinet* averred in April 1843, “Fashionable colours will be emerald and pea green, *oiseau*, grey-lilac, pale fawn colour, azure blue, cherry colour, and pink” and the January 1861 fashion report in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* asserted “As to colors [for hats], fuchsia, rose des Alpes, mauve, royal purple, pale and very deep green, all the clarets and maroons with deep blue, will be among the most popular.” The expertise of the fashion writers appeared both in their forecasts of fashionable colours, dependent upon their specialized knowledge and perhaps personal connections in fashionable metropolitan shops, and their confident use of a wide range of fashionable colour names, further emphasizing their fluency in the language of fashion.

**Novelty in Fashionable Colours**

---


23 “Chitchat on Fashions for October,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 87 (1873): 389.

Writing in women’s magazines about change in fashionable colours often referred to “new” colours, as when an October 1842 report in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* noted, “The new autumnal colours are the hue of the dead leaf, slate colour, dark green, orange, deep blue, some bright shades of red and grey.”\(^{25}\) Mentions of novelty in colour often indicated the prominence of a different shade or tint of a colour compared to those fashionable in previous seasons or years. Other “new” colours seem to have been novel in name only, underscoring the inventiveness and commercial awareness of fashion writers and perhaps manufacturers and shops. Some references, however, did allude to novelty resulting from developments in dye chemistry that made certain colours possible and some specific examples will be discussed below. It can be difficult or impossible to know whether “new” meant a colour achieved with a new chemical process or a colour that was enjoying novel or renewed popularity or creative efforts in nomenclature. A general discussion of novelty in colour and colour language nonetheless provides important context for the colours connected to advances in chemistry. No matter how the dyes were created, descriptions of “new” colours demonstrate some of the most creative and evocative language of colour in nineteenth-century fashion writing.

Although fashion writers sometimes assumed that readers possessed a working knowledge of fashionable colours to use as standards by which to define new colours, they also sometimes provided more explicit definitions. In February 1859, the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included a notable example of this kind of explanation which read:

> The names given refer to new shades of well-known colors, as brown, purple, crimson, etc. Every season brings a new tint, which is known by a new name, that is all. Groseille, as we have often explained, is gooseberry; China astor, Alpin pansy, Gilly flower, Alpine currant, etc., are only different shades of red and purple. We have a new green, blue, and pink, with every spring, as Azoff green, Levere’s pink, and Eugenie blue.\(^{26}\)

\(^{25}\) “Paris Fashions for the Month,” *Ladies’ Cabinet* N. S. 8 (1842): 270.

\(^{26}\) “Notes and Queries. New Colors for Dresses, etc.” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 58 (1859): 190. Azof green and the Empress Eugénie’s association with blue will be discussed later in this chapter.
The article appeared in the “Notes and Queries” section of the magazine, not in the fashion news, suggesting that the editors, perhaps responding to a reader’s enquiry, may have considered this information generally interesting. Specialized fashion colour terms were defined (and noted as previously defined) and the tone suggested efforts at demystification. This list did not include mauve, although references to the colour, by that name, appeared in the same month’s fashion news.\(^{27}\) In the same magazine in March 1862, another article also provided helpful definitions, noting that “[t]he new colors, Vésuve and capucine (orange and cinnamon-brown), will, of course, give place to softer tints as the spring opens. Lobelia or azurline blue, turquoise [sic] blue, and June or Pomona green, with a pale shade of water, or sea-green, with new shades of mauve, will be the most popular.”\(^{28}\) “Azurline” and “mauve” certainly referred to aniline colours, as discussed in the previous chapter, and the other names may also have been synthetic colours. Even if only some of the colours were created by new chemical processes, this passage plainly elided novelty in name and dyestuff source.

Magazines often provided specific lists of “new” colours, although sometimes the colour names had been used for many years, as when Matilda Browne reported in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in January 1871, that Mrs. Samuel Jay’s Regent Street shop “has a nice selection of satin flannel jupons in black and in all the new colours—prune, grenat, violet, and ruby.”\(^{29}\) By the early 1870s, some of these colours may very well have been produced using synthetic dyes, but these names did not necessarily highlight this. In October 1860, the fashion writer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* posed the question “What are the new colors?” Among those listed in the answer were magenta and “[p]urples approaching mauve.”\(^{30}\) This example clearly connected the new in chemical process, name, and fashionability. Another element of novelty—and

\(^{28}\) “Fashion Items from Various Sources,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 64 (1862): 309.
\(^{29}\) “Spinnings in Town,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 10 (1871): 47.
desirability—appeared in Matilda Browne’s shopping report of January 1872, in which she noted that she had seen at Inglis and Tinckler’s London shop “shades which I have only heard of as being new in Paris—the Vert-Rhon, the perle gris, felt grey, pleurs de Thiers, and all the ruby shades, nine shades, and clarets.” As discussed in chapter two, French was acknowledged to be the language of fashion, so the Parisian names and origin of these colours created a double allure. These different examples demonstrate the variety of meanings that “new” could possess when applied to fashionable colours, from hue or tint to name to dyestuff source.

Some mentions of new colours were unspecific, not noting any colours by name, but the dates they appeared suggested that they referred to aniline colours. In November 1861, the fashion reporter for Godey’s Lady’s Book observed of the winter dress textiles, “There are fewer decided novelties than last year, but the bright shades of color are many of them new, which gives variety.” In a similar passage in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine in July 1862, the author noted of mousseline de laines: “This material is now dyed in such beautiful shades, so pure and bright, that, for morning dresses, it has become very popular.” Although “bright” was by no means applied exclusively to textiles dyed with aniline colours, in these cases it almost certainly denoted such dyes, especially because the novelty of the colours was emphasized.

In 1866, Godey’s Lady’s Book published an article by a woman named Elzey Hay about her experiences during the Civil War in the United States (1861-1865), when the Northern blockade of the Southern states had prevented the import of many goods, including dress textiles. Hay wrote, “At last the struggle ended; the blockade was raised and goods flowed in. Our eyes were dazzled with brilliant new colors, in comparison

with which all we had ever seen before seemed faded and dull.”

After four years, perhaps any colours would have seemed “brilliant” and “new,” but the great amount of activity in synthetic dye development during this period suggests that some of these textiles were coloured with new dyes.

In these references to colour, as well as in more general discussions of fashion, “novelty” plays an essential role, overlapping with other themes, such as the interaction of complexion and colour. In June 1870, the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included an article about the dress worn at one of Queen Victoria’s drawing rooms. The most fashionable colour was “the new color, the *vert d’eau de Nil*.” The author went on to observe, “It has many shades, and is really worthy of the high distinction it has found, and is likely to become the rage for a time, as it has, from its varied shades, an adaptability most obliging to the complexions of many ranges of beauty.” The writer judged this new colour to be worthy of popularity, but this was not always the case. In the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in July 1866, Matilda Browne declared:

> There is a fashion for colours as well as everything else. One would think it would be better to let every one choose the colour that suits her complexion best, for what is becoming to a brunette is not always so to a blonde; but we must not expect to see Fashion often on the same side as Reason. So one or two colours generally reign supreme—so much the better for those whom they may suit—the others must wait their turn, and wear what becomes them less, if they wish to be *à la mode*. Let us add that the fashionable colours acquire an unusual charm for the time being, and that ladies are apt to fancy they are particularly becoming to them.

---


35 The Drawing Rooms at St. James’s Palace were the location for presentation at court and therefore to society during the first part of Queen Victoria’s reign. The dress worn at these occasions, especially by members of the court, was described extensively in the contemporary press. In 1868, seven years after Prince Albert’s death, the Queen began to hold Drawing Rooms again, but at Buckingham Palace (Valerie Cumming, *Royal Dress: The Image and Reality 1580 to the Present Day* (London: Batsford, 1989) 115, 120, 138).


37 “The Fashions,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 2 (1866): 222. Browne went on to provide a specific example, observing that “at the present moment yellow and bright rose colour are the tints most in favour, and the blondest of the blonde wear not only the latter, which, if the complexion is very fair, suits them well, but also the former, which is certainly very trying to them.”
Browne definitely acknowledged changing fashions in colour, but questioned strict adherence to these alterations. As with much fashion advice directed to the middle classes, propriety and moderation, in this case with respect to complexion, were prioritized over blind observance of fashion’s rules.

References and Reactions to and Uses of Specific Colours

Although many more different colour names appeared in the descriptive writing in women’s magazines, some colour words were shared between producers and consumers. As the previous chapter outlined, colourists’ notebooks also showed changes in the language of colour employed, indicating the contemporary interchange between professional, public, and domestic spheres. As consumers, both colourists and middle-class women comprised significant markets for these dyes and the colours they produced, as Ernst Homburg notes. The following sections, referring to colours across the spectrum, will examine representative examples of colours discussed and sometimes shared in the fashionable press and the community of dye manufacturers and colourists.

Reds and Pinks

As the previous chapter discussed, reds and pinks accounted for a significant part of colourists’ work with dyes. A printed cotton dress dated 1845 to 1847 from the Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall in Manchester displays a portion of the range of these colours, including pink rainbow stripes and floral bands of red flowers on dark red ground (Fig. 6.3). It seems likely that some of these colours would have been produced

---


Fig. 6.3.
with madder-based dyes and possibly described by terms such as “claret” and “groseille.”

“Ponceau” [poppy] appeared as a colour name in colourists’ notebooks with relative frequency throughout the period.\(^{40}\) This word also appeared in women’s magazines, as when one of the Ladies’ Cabinet fashion reporters noted “tasteful and elegant” mantles for carriage dress of ponceau velvet “lined with white satin, and bordered with small satin rouleaus, corresponding in colour with the velvet.”\(^{41}\) In March 1861, the fashion writer for the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine described a “very elegant” dress from Paris that “consisted of a mixture of white tulle and ponceau velvet, which had a very charming effect.”\(^{42}\) Ponceau ribbon featured as trim for a hat in the August 1863 fashion plate in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine (Fig. 6.4) and in the description of a headdress in the December 1865 issue of Godey’s Lady’s Book.\(^{43}\)

As discussed in the previous chapter, colourists also recorded their efforts to create “claret,” a colour word that appeared even more frequently in women’s periodicals than ponceau.\(^{44}\) In December 1843, the Ladies’ Cabinet showed a “[c]laret coloured velvet robe” in its monthly coloured fashion plate and in February 1850, Godey’s Lady’s Book included a “walking-dress of claret-coloured cashmere or merino” in the monthly coloured fashion plate (Fig. 6.5).\(^{45}\) The October 1871 issue of Godey’s Lady’s Book suggested yet another type of material in this colour in its description of a “[h]ouse dress of claret-colour poplin.”\(^{46}\) In the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine, mentions of claret fit into more general methods of discussing colour. “The Work-Table”

---

\(^{40}\) John Emanuel Lightfoot or Thomas Lightfoot, notebook, 1840-1844, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 6 [Green 1304]; John Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 104 [Green 1301].

\(^{41}\) “London Fashions for the Month,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 2, 7 (1847): 186.


\(^{44}\) Joseph Lawton Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 113 [Green 1329]; Sydall Brothers, notebook, after 1858, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 114 [Green 1329].


\(^{46}\) “Description of Steel Fashion Plate,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 83 (1871): 386.
Fig. 6.4.

Fig. 6.5.
in February 1858 featured an “elegant mantle” and the accompanying text noted: “The body is made of velvet of any colour, to suit the taste of the wearer, but black, or rich deep claret, are the most general.”47 This passage specified the fashionable colours, but also alluded to the reader’s individual judgement. Ten years later, Matilda Browne explained, “By claret colour we translate the very rich vin de Bordeaux shade of red which is so very fashionable this winter.”48 This language conferred both French sophistication (in language and viniculture) and fashionability on this colour.

Ranging from the “new and very delicate shade” of a pink crape hat in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* in May 1844 to the “bright real rose colour” described as “once more the favoured and fashionable tint for bonnets” in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in May 1866, pink was mentioned constantly in fashion news for women’s dress textiles.49 The perennial popularity of this colour helps to explain its frequent appearance in colourists’ notebooks. Madder provided many shades of pink, revealed in John Lightfoot’s notebook entry dated 1851 that included six samples under the heading “Madder Pink’s” [sic], most using light pink, dark pink and white (Fig. 6.6).50 A muslin dress dated 1852-53, in the collection of the Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall, features a pattern oval shapes of two similar shades of pink and was probably printed using madder dyes (Fig. 6.7).

In July 1860, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* declared the “favourite colours” to be “the new shades of pink, called Solferino and Magenta.”51 These pinks were notably produced by the synthetic textile dye aniline red, popularly and professionally known as “Magenta.” As detailed in the previous chapter, this name

---

50 John Lightfoot, Jr. notebook, 1851, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 7 [Green 1304], recipe 17.
Fig. 6.6.

Fig. 6.7.
appeared throughout colourists’ books.\textsuperscript{52} Because this word was a new colour term that explicitly denoted textiles coloured with a newly-created dye, references to magenta deserve thorough scrutiny here. References began to appear in fashion periodicals in 1860, the year after the discovery of the dye.

The first reference to magenta in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book}, in October 1860, was curious: “Invention and fashion are at a stand-still, except that they will tell you ‘Magenta,’ which is a rich shade of \textit{groseille} is the color, but we have had it in ribbons and crapes all summer, therefore it is not new.”\textsuperscript{53} “Groseille” [gooseberry] had in fact been used by colourists and fashion journalists since at least the 1840s to denote a purply red.\textsuperscript{54} This writer was either not aware of the novel \textit{process} used to make magenta, or did not consider it important. Instead the reporter situated the “new” colour in a lineage of fashionable colour.

It is significant in this discussion to stress that, even in the colour-obsessed 1860s, full dresses of magenta appeared rarely. One magenta evening dress does appear in the \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} in December 1860, arguably the apogee of the colour’s popularity. Illustrated in the monthly fashion plate, “The dress is of Magenta moire [sic] antique, trimmed with black and Magenta ruches, and black lace” (Fig. 6.8).\textsuperscript{55} Black seems to have been a popular pairing with magenta as a day ensemble dated to the late 1860s from the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art demonstrates. The

\textsuperscript{52} Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114; Langley Printworks, ledger, February 1859-April 1861, Macclesfield Silk Museum, PA 9735-14993; Thomas Royle, notebook, 1850s-1860s, Manchester Metropolitan University; Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104; Hayfield Printing Company, notebook, 1861, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 92 [Green 1319]; John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1861, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 25 [Green 1307].


\textsuperscript{54} Some examples of “groseille” in women’s magazines include a reference in the \textit{Ladies’ Cabinet} to a “Groseille coloured China crape shawl” in October 1846 (N. S. 2, 6 (1846): 255) and a description in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book} to a mantelet trimmed with “a bright groseille color” in January 1854 (48 (1854): 70).

\textsuperscript{55} “Description of the Coloured Plate,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2 (1860): 94.
Fig. 6.8.
A magenta silk evening dress, dated 1863 to 1865, in the collection of the Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall, is trimmed with white lace at the neck and sleeves and a band of white transparent ivory silk above the hem of the skirt (Figs. 6.11 and 6.12). A woven pattern in the silk creates stripes in the fabric, demonstrating the contemporary interest in the range of textural effects possible even in one bright colour (Fig. 6.13). The white lace trim would have prevented the magenta from being directly next to the wearer’s skin, so this object may demonstrate an application of the advice about wearing bright aniline colours discussed above.

A couple of items in “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione” in March 1861 illustrated how the word “magenta” entered the fashionable language of colour. The answer to a query from “Cashlema” read: “‘Magenta,’ ‘Solferino,’ ‘Rose de Guerre,’ &c., &c., are names given to those different colours of a crimson cast that have lately been so fashionable.” In the May 1873 “Conversazione,” a contributor signed her submission with the alias “Magenta.” The earlier example provides an explicit example of how readers were being educated in the language of colour—and how they requested this education. The later instance demonstrates how “magenta,” unlike, for example, “solferino,” continued to be used even after the height of the colour’s fashion had passed.

**Oranges and Yellows**

Shades of yellow and orange did not enjoy the ubiquity of red and pink, as noted in the previous chapter, but they nonetheless provide some significant examples of the

---


Figs. 6.9 and 6.10.
Figs. 6.11, 6.12, and 6.13.
nineteenth-century language of colour. Magazine articles of the 1840s included the
greatest number of references to the fashionability of yellow and orange, as when writers
in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* noted that “all the shades of yellow are very much in vogue” in
May 1841 and reported a “perfect mania” for orange in March 1842.59 As chapter five
discussed, dyers and colourists experimented with several substances and processes in
the mid-nineteenth century to produce yellows and oranges, including spirit and chrome
colours, picric acid, and eventually aniline yellow.

In September 1842, the coloured fashion plate in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included a
bonnet described as a “drawn capotte of sulphur colour crape,” depicted as light yellow
(Fig. 6.14).60 One of the May 1848 fashion reports in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* mentioned “an
elegant *chapeau* of sulphur-coloured crape” trimmed with lace and feathers in similar
shades.61 A couple of decades later, in June 1867, an article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*
observed, “Sulphur, a yellow as bright as canary, is another fashionable shade, but only
suited for evening wear.”62 Yellow dresses from this period do not survive in great
quantities in museum collections, although the Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall owns an
evening dress dated 1862-1865 of striped yellow silk that perhaps would have been
described as “sulphur” or “canary” (Fig. 6.15). The different surfaces of the yellow
stripes, as well as the ivory ribbon and tulle around the neck, reveal the contemporary
interest in and attention to variety in texture that colour could effectively enhance,
especially in the low light levels of evening interiors.

The use of “sulphur” in these examples referred to the yellow colour of the
element (S), not to any use of sulphur in making dyes. Sulphuric acid (H₂SO₄, also
known as vitriol or oil of vitriol), however, appeared in many recipes in colourists’

---

*Ladies’ Cabinet* N. S. 7 (1842): 201.
60 “Description of Paris Plates of Fashions in the Present Number,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 25 (1842): 156.
Fig. 6.14.

Fig. 6.15.
notebooks, especially as part of solutions in which dyestuffs could be dissolved. As mentioned in chapter four, the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine also recommended oil of vitriol to prevent the colours in printed cottons from running. The use of “sulphur” as a descriptive term thus assumed a knowledge of the element’s colour, but also importantly highlighted the interpenetration of the languages of chemistry and fashion as well as parallel domestic and professional practices.

The description of yellow as “canary” appeared elsewhere in fashion articles, as when a writer for the Ladies’ Cabinet in July 1848 described a “chapeau of canary colour, trimmed with ribbon to correspond.” William Crookes also used this word to describe the colour produced by a chrome yellow dye (see Fig. 5.8). The author of the 1863 article in The Leisure Hour titled “Colour in the Coal-Scuttle,” about aniline dyes, used these colour terms when writing about picric acid: “The lovely sulphur and canary yellow silks, which were so fashionable in our ball-rooms a few seasons back, owed their colour to this dye.” Some of the “canary” and “sulphur” textiles mentioned in fashion magazines surely owed their colouring to chrome yellow and picric acid.

In 1861, John Lightfoot recorded a trial with chrome orange (see Fig. 5.7). As this sample shows, the chrome colours often became slightly greenish as they aged. A muslin dress dated 1846 to 1848 from the Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall was printed with yellow-orange flowers which have aged in this manner—it may very well have used a chrome dye (Fig. 6.16).

---

63 See, for example, a recipe for “Garcine [sic] from Turkey Roots” in an 1849 notebook of John Lightfoot in which he dissolves “Finely ground Turkey Madder roots” in sulphuric acid mixed with water (John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1849, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 33 [Green 1308]). See also the Geigy & Co. pamphlet preserved in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook in which a combination of olive oil and sulphuric acid are suggested as a mordant for dyeing cotton magenta. “Olive Oil” and “Sulphuric acid” are both underlined in red pen (Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104).
65 “Description of the Engravings,” Ladies’ Cabinet N. S. 2, 10 (1848): 63.
67 “Colour in the Coal-Scuttle,” The Leisure Hour, 13 June 1863, 373.
68 John Lightfoot, Jr., notebook, 1857-1861, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 19 [Green 1306].
Fig. 6.16.
In October 1840, one of the monthly fashion articles in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* included a reference to “a new shade of maize.”\(^{69}\) In the 1860s, this particular yellow colour descriptor reappeared, with a fashion reporter for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic* observing that “[m]aize seems to be the favourite colour for bonnets this summer” and an article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* asserting that “[m]aize is very becoming, particularly to persons with dark hair and eyes.”\(^{70}\) In a notebook dated 1860 to 1864, John Lightfoot also recorded a recipe for “maize” (Fig. 6.17).\(^{71}\) The word’s appearance in both the fashion press and in colourists’ notebooks indicated another overlap in the words used by fashion writers and colourists.

In November 1861, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* reported that “brilliant colours” were popular for bonnets, referring to “scarlet, Magenta, and Solferino,” but also mentioning “orange, which is now known as ‘Vésuve.’ For this colour there is a perfect rage at present.”\(^{72}\) The March 1862 fashion article in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* corroborated this, defining “vésuve” as orange, listing it as a new colour of the past season.\(^{73}\) This dramatic colour word, alluding to the natural world in fashionable French, was not used for more than one season, underscoring the speed with which words as well as colours could come and go in the world of fashion.

**Greens**

Mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines mentioned a multitude of fashionable shades of green, as discussed in the previous chapter. Many of these names included some natural referent, from a promenade costume of “sea-green Pekin silk” in the March 1844 *Godey’s Lady’s Book* to “cabbage green” in the April 1847 list of...
Fig. 6.17.
fashionable colours in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* to “beetle and lizard green” among new colours for winter satins in a November 1872 list in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*.74

“Myrtle” was another descriptor taken from the natural world that appeared throughout the period in women’s magazines. One of the January 1842 fashion reports in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* described a cloak of “myrtle green velvet” lined and bordered with ermine for carriage dress. In the early to mid-1870s, myrtle enjoyed a burst of popularity, appearing as one of the “colors most used” in a list in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in December 1871.75 In November 1873, Matilda Browne asserted in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*: “Dark greens are very fashionable—bottle green, myrtle, and forest green.”76 Browne went on to describe a “bonnet of myrtle-green velvet” (lined with Nile green) in December 1874 and a tablier tunic dress “of myrtle-green velvet, to drape over a faille skirt of the same colour” in February 1875.77 As noted in the previous chapter, several of the colourists’ notebooks include recipes and references to dark greens labelled “myrtle,” especially in the 1850s and 1860s (Fig. 6.18).78

In 1851, John Lightfoot recorded a recipe for printing “Eau de Nil,” appearing blue-green in his notebook (Fig. 6.19).79 Especially in the late 1860s and early 1870s, fashion news reports also contained this colour name, noted earlier in this chapter as a “new colour” in 1870. Matilda Browne, in October 1872, included among the fashionable light colours for bonnets, a “bluish-green called *eau de Nil* or *eau de Niagara*.80 In June 1867, a fashion writer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* had described among the “newest colors for dress goods…Waters of the Nile, a dull, dead mixture of

78 Sydall, notebook, after 1858, M75/114; Hayfield Printing Company, notebook, 1861, M75/92.
79 Lightfoot, notebook, 1851, M75/7.
Fig. 6.18.
Notebook page (detail) (Hayfield Printing Company). England (Hayfield, Derbyshire), 1861. Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 92 [Green 1319].

Fig. 6.19.
gray and green.”

Although this was a direct translation of the French phrase, it seems as though the two accounts described different colours. The blue-green character of “eau de nil,” however, was more consistent. These contradictions highlight the variety of meanings possible for certain fashion colour names before consensus in definition was reached.

“Pomona green” was one of the most frequently-occurring colour phrases for green in women’s magazines throughout the mid-nineteenth century. Pomona was the Roman goddess of fruit trees and gardens, so the term alluded to both nature and classical antiquity. The frequent appearance of references in keeping with these themes in fashion and colour writing perhaps explains the consistent popularity of “Pomona green.” In September 1841, the Ladies’ Cabinet included a reference to “a new shade of Pomona green” in September 1841, indicating that this term was already part of the fashionable colour lexicon by this date. An October 1845 fashion news report in the same magazine asserted, “Fashionable colours are Pomona green, and some other shades of green.” In Godey’s Lady’s Book, the September 1853 fashion report described a sash ribbon coloured with “bright pomona, or apple green” and two months later the fashion news in the same magazine included shawls of “pale pomona green” among “the most elegant...to our Philadelphia eyes.” A fashion writer for the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine in September 1858 described a dress worn by Empress Eugénie’s mother with a skirt of three different greens: “dark green velvet...emerald green satin...[and] pomona green lutestring.” This colour name was still being used in January 1870, when

---

Godey’s Lady’s Book featured a “[d]inner dress of Pomona green silk” in its coloured fashion plate (Fig. 6.20) and included the colour in a list of fashionable colours.86

Fashion articles in Godey’s Lady’s Book also contained several references to an expensive green dye vert Azof.87 “Azof green” first appeared in the October 1856 fashion news report and in July 1857 the fashion writer described the “costume de cour, composed of a train of rich green Azoff moire antique” worn by Countess Somers to court.88 This reference allied the colour with elite fashion consumption. The nonstandardized spelling of the colour in these early examples underscored its novelty. More than ten years later, the colour name was still in use: the April 1870 fashion plate in Godey’s Lady’s Book included a “[v]isiting dress of Azof green silk” (Fig. 6.21).89 In January 1868, the same magazine commented on fashionable colours, noting, “In greens, we find the Azof, luminous, chemical, a goldish green.”90 This list also included Bismarck [brown], Regina [purple], and magenta, all of which were associated with colours produced by aniline dyes. Although the original Azof green was not made from coal tar aniline, in this instance it was clearly connected to developments in chemistry and included with bright, new colours.

Colourists did not refer to Azof green in their notebooks, but they did work with greens containing arsenic, as discussed in the previous chapter. References to this colour also appeared in Godey’s Lady’s Book, as when the May 1866 fashion report noted that chambray was available in “arsenic green.”91 The next year, in June, the same magazine reported on “the newest colors for dress goods” including “arsenic green, a very bright,
Fig. 6.20.

Fig. 6.21.
beautiful shade, but very trying to most persons." The fashionability of the colour was undisputed, but in keeping with the dominant ideology of suitability in fashion, the writer qualifies the appeal of arsenic green.

As these references to green show, the fashionable palette of mid- to late 1860s included many varieties of green and the differences among these could be subtle. In November 1868, a writer for *Godey's Lady's Book* described a bonnet trimmed with “the delicate new Florence shade (a shade of green lighter than Metternich, with yellow predominating instead of green).” It seems very likely that at least some of these greens were produced with synthetic dyestuffs. Despite the frequent references to fashionable greens, surviving garments of this colour are rare. The colour of a green dress in the collection of the Bowes Museum dated to the late 1860s, however, could certainly be described as “luminous” or “chemical”; the bright green fringe and green and yellow ribbon further emphasizes the contemporary enthusiasm for vivid hues in different textiles and trims (Fig. 6.22).

**Blues**

Some fashionable blues named in women’s magazines incorporate natural references, such as the “sapphire blue” ground of a shawl mentioned in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* in February 1847. Most blue colour names that refer to the natural world incorporated allusions to water or to the sky, as when Matilda Browne reported in the

---

94 “Chitchat on Fashions for November,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 77 (1868): 466. “Metternich green,” associated with the fashionable Madame de Metternich, is discussed in chapter three.
95 “Paris Fashions for the Month,” *Ladies’ Cabinet* N. S. 2, 7 (1847): 125.
Fig. 6.22.
Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine in March 1873, “blue is a very fashionable colour, but new blues only of very light tones—water blue, and ciel [sky], or very dark blue, almost black in its shadows.”96 Specific bodies of water were sometimes named as well, such as “Bay of Naples blue” in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine in January 1870 and “the new shade of blue, called in Paris bleu leman, a very bright clear blue, not at all inclining to purple,” referring to the French name for Lake Geneva, in the same magazine in June 1863.97 A more fanciful reference to the sky (or the heavens) appeared in Godey’s Lady’s Book in December 1867, when the fashion writer described an “elegant” silk for evening dress in “the lovely shade of blue known as Céleste.”98 Dye manufactures and colourists also seem to have been familiar with this allusion. In February 1863, Thomas Royle at Swaisland Printworks tested a bright blue dye called “Celestine” (Fig. 6.23).99

In November 1849, one of the fashion plates in Godey’s Lady’s Book included a “bonnet of Mazarine blue velvet.”100 This colour name continued to appear in the early 1850s in this magazine; in July 1851 it was listed among the season’s favourite colours.101 “Mazarine blue” seems to have become common shorthand for a fashion colour of the early 1850s, as it appeared in two short stories of the period. In “The ‘Wrong Passenger’” in March 1852, the colour described a “poplin [dress] with very wide sleeves” of the fashionable, if perhaps nouveau riche, Mrs. Flanders; by April 1854, the young wife Mrs. Murden in “Mrs. Murden’s Two-Dollar Silk,” refers to “my mazarine blue I had when we were married,” as an example of a formerly fashionable

96 “Spinnings in Town,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 14 (1873): 150.
99 Royle, notebook, 1850s-1860s.
Fig. 6.23.
dress. The lower-case “m” in the second example may have indicated that the term had entered the general fashionable lexicon by 1854 and no longer needed a capital letter for demarcation. This colour term most likely referred to the small bright blue butterfly called the “mazarine blue,” furnishing another example of a name supplied by the natural world. In an 1868 notebook, Abel Wimpenny included a recipe for “Marsarine Blue,” indicating that there may have been some familiarity with this term (or approximations of it) among colourists, even after its use as a fashion colour name had waned.

As will be discussed below, colour names for purples often included references to royalty, however, perhaps even more references of this sort appeared in blue colour terms. Sometimes these were general, such as the evening dress of “bleu de Roi Pekin” mentioned in the Ladies’ Cabinet in April 1844 (Fig. 6.24). In December 1845, the Ladies’ Cabinet noted two blues that used more specific referents: “bleu Napoleon” for capotes and “a new and beautiful shade of blue, called blue Victoria” for carriage-cloaks. In November 1862, a fashion writer for Godey’s Lady’s Book described a bonnet “of blue silk, of the shade called Impératrice,” probably alluding to the Empress Eugénie. An April 1873 price list from the London dye manufacturers Brooke, Simpson, and Spiller, preserved in John Wilkinson’s notebook, includes “Imperial Blues,” available in solution and crystal form. This indicates that dye manufacturers also characterized blues in royal and nationalistic terms. It seems likely that manufacturers of textiles and proprietors of drapers’ shops and department stores would do the same.

103 Abel Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 88.
Fig. 6.24.
Another group of blues mentioned in women’s magazines referred to even more specific members of royalty. A fashion writer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, in January 1852, described a gilet “of watered silk, a deep *Marie Louise* blue.”108 This most likely alluded to Empress Marie Louise, the second wife of Napoleon, so the name employed Imperial, Napoleonic connections. In January 1868, the monthly fashion report in the same magazine included among the season’s fashionable colours, “Dagmor [*sic*] blue, a very rich deep shade.”109 Two months later, the same magazine included descriptions of a “[d]inner dress of Dagmar blue silk” and a “[h]at of Dagmar blue velvet” and in May of the same year the coloured fashion plate included another dress of “Dagmar blue silk” (Fig. 6.25).110 This colour name probably referred to Princess Dagmar of Denmark, later known as Maria Feodorovna. In 1866, Dagmar, the sister of Alexandra, Princess of Wales, had married the Russian prince Alexander who would later become Tsar Alexander III. She was popular and attractive, so this colour follows the contemporary pattern of using the names of fashion leaders to distinguish fashionable colours.111 Natural indigo provided a reliable blue dye for the entire nineteenth century, but the word rarely appeared as a fashion colour name. Occasionally, however, this descriptive term did appear, as in October 1873, when the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* noted a “country costume” of “white bastite, trimmed with bastite of rich indigo colour with white spots.”112 As the previous chapter discussed, all the colourists’ notebooks examined included significant work with indigo and several also mentioned aniline blue dyes. In women’s magazines, certain names and characteristics probably did

Fig. 6.25.
allude to colours achieved with synthetic dyes after Girard and de Laire’s 1860 patent, which were more vivid and of different hues than earlier blues. In October 1862, *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* described a *paletôt* “of the beautiful bright blue,” trimmed with black braid.113 The noted brightness of this blue quite possibly indicated the use of an aniline dye.

“Azure” was a common word used to describe blue throughout this period. For example, one of the April 1841 fashion reports in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* included “azure blue” among the “new spring colours”; in May 1868, a “[g]ored dress of azure blue silk” was described in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*.114 This word also provided the root for colour names that almost definitely referred to synthetic dyes: “azuline” and “azureline.” In December 1861, *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* pronounced, “The most fashionable colour in silks is the azuline blue.”115 The September 1861 fashion news in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* noted “decidedly new” colours in autumn ribbons, one of which was “Azurline.”116 The writer described it as “a bright blue, as its name denotes, so intensely blue that all other shades of the same color look yellow beside it. It is the old Napoleon blue, heightened, and it will be found very becoming to an ordinarily good complexion.”117 In this passage, the writer placed the colour into familiar contexts for her readers, describing the colour qualitatively and relative to an earlier fashionable blue. The importance of colour and complexion also emerges.

As discussed in the previous chapter, colourists experimented with “azuline” in the early 1860s. Like “magenta” and “mauve,” this particular new colour word was shared between communities of fashion and chemistry, although “azuline” did not enjoy similar longevity. Surviving objects also indicate this more moderate popularity. Objects

apparently coloured with synthetic blue dyes enjoyed success, although not on the order of the mauve, magenta, and the purples. As a silk dress dated 1867 to 1868 from the Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall collection shows, the colours achieved could be very vivid (Fig. 6.26). This dress is trimmed with darker blue velvet ribbon, demonstrating the contemporary appeal of different shades of the same colour. The bright colours made possible with synthetic dyes perhaps heightened this tendency. Blues were also incorporated into textile patterns with other colours, as a silk dress in the collection of the Fashion Institute of Technology demonstrates (Fig. 6.27). The bright royal blue of the patterned stripe is tempered by its juxtaposition with brown and ivory, providing an example of the restraint with which bright colours were often used.

Purples

Various shades of purple enjoyed popularity throughout the mid-nineteenth century, as contemporary women’s magazines show. “Purple” appeared relatively frequently, included in the monthly list of fashionable colours in the Ladies’ Cabinet in January 1842.118 The grander “royal purple” also described garments, from a mantles in the Ladies’ Cabinet in October 1848 to a “dinner and carriage-dress” in Godey’s Lady’s Book in January 1854.119 A January 1847 short story in Godey’s Lady’s Book underscored the fashionability of purple. In Levy’s department store, Mrs. Whately summons her courage to speak to the fashionable Englishwoman Mrs. Howard, asking “‘Pray, ma’am, which of these shades of purple silk do you think the most stylish—the blue purple or the red purple?’”120 This question highlights a distinction, noted in colourists’ notebooks in the previous chapter, among shades of purple that ran throughout the discussion of this colour in the nineteenth century.

Fig. 6.26.

Fig. 6.27.
Before synthetic dyes, almost all of the colour terms used to describe purple employed natural referents. “Lavender” was one of the most common of these, indicated in the January 1852 fashion report in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. The writer described lavender as “a very light and delicate shade,” going on to note that “[t]he deepest [shade] borders upon violet, and the lighter shades are more of pearl gray…. It is one of the most ladylike, because quietest, shades of color that can be introduced into the wardrobe.”121 The November 1843 fashion plate details in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* also referred to the variety among shades of lavender, describing a morning visiting dress as a “Pekin robe, a new shade of lavender.”122 The range of shades and the possibility of novelty in this colour underscore lavender’s established place in the fashionable lexicon of colour.

“Lilac” was another frequently-used term, appearing throughout the decades. This was a term that colourists also used regularly, as the previous chapter discussed, labelling many of their purple prints “lilacs” (Fig. 6.28).123 Surviving examples from the collection of the Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall demonstrate that purple and lilac prints were often chosen for dresses. Lilac spots and flowers decorate an 1849 white cotton dress (listed as a wedding dress in the museum’s records) (Fig. 6.29) and an exuberant design of purple spots and botehs patterns a muslin dress dated 1853 to 1855 (Fig. 6.30).

In May 1874, the fashion plate in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included a “[r]eception dress of lilac silk” (Fig. 6.31) and in March 1875, the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* fashion plate featured a “[l]ilac faille dress’” with a trained skirt and a “scarf of lilac China crape.”124 The text accompanying the March 1847 fashion plate in the *Ladies’ Cabinet* described an evening dress as a “[b]lack lace robe, over red lilac satin,” showing

---

123 Wimpenny, notebook, 1868-1876, M75/88.
Fig. 6.28.

Fig. 6.29.
Fig. 6.30.

Fig. 6.31.
that the “red” and “blue” distinction for purples also applied to lighter shades (Fig. 6.32).  

Fashion reporters also wrote of “violet” textiles, employing yet another flower in their discussion of purples. In September 1862, the fashion plate in *Godey’s Lady’ Book* included a “Violet Foulard dress” (Fig. 6.33). The word appeared in more fanciful forms as well, as when a fashion writer for the *Ladies’ Cabinet* in January 1843 noted bonnets of “various full colours, those of violet pensée are in particular favour.” The same month’s fashion plate included a grey promenade dress worn with a “[p]ensée velvet cardinal” that is coloured purple, so it seems that to some “pensée” alone indicated violet (Fig. 6.34).

In the mid- to late 1850s, shades of purple enjoyed popularity, as the April 1857 fashion news in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included “[d]elicate shades” of purple and lavender among the month’s favourite colours and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* mentioned “rich deep violet” as a fashionable colour for mantles in February 1858. Some of the purples observed may have been produced using murexide or French purple, as discussed in the previous chapter. Natural dyestuffs could certainly create vivid colours; in fact, Anthony Travis asserts that it was probably difficult or impossible to distinguish visually the colours produced by natural French purple and synthetic mauve dyes. The introduction of dress fabrics coloured with William Perkin’s aniline purple dye in 1858, however, led quickly to the frequent appearance of the new word that was applied to this colour: “mauve.” Unsurprisingly, the word was borrowed from the French language, in which it described the rosy-purple colour of the

---

127 “London Fashions for the Month,” *Ladies’ Cabinet* N. S. 9 (1843): 64.
130 Travis, *The Rainbow Makers* 44-45.
Fig. 6.32.

Fig. 6.33.
Fig. 6.34.
mallow flower. The quick adoption of the colour-word “mauve” stands as another example of the *chic* denoted by French in the language of colour.\textsuperscript{131}

The first reference to mauve in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, in April 1858, underscored the traditional royal associations of shades of purple. Using words taken directly form the *Illustrated London News*, the report of the Princess Alexandra’s wedding describes Queen Victoria’s dress of “rich mauve (lilac) velvet, trimmed with three rows of lace” and further decorated with diamonds and silver moire antique.\textsuperscript{132} This passage defined this mauve for readers, educating them in the fashionable language of colour. Often emphasizing the regal quality of the colour, writers for the magazine continued to explain this new term in the following months, as when the fashion news report in July 1858 mentioned, “‘[m]auve, or queen’s lilac, a rich shade of purple.’”\textsuperscript{133}

According to contemporary accounts, at least in London, the popularity of mauve was so visibly evident in London that in 1859 *Punch* declared the city ill with “Mauve Measles” in 1859.\textsuperscript{134} It is certainly true that after its introduction, mauve quickly began to appear in almost every month’s fashion news. The July 1864 issue of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included one of the most splendid examples of a mauve, the “Patti Dress,” named after Adelina Patti, the famous contemporary opera singer. This reference, combined with its fashionable colour, made the dress very much of the moment. The dress was “of mauve-coloured silk in two shades, the dark above the

\textsuperscript{131} Travis, *The Rainbow Makers* 46.

\textsuperscript{132} “Princess Royal’s Wedding,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 56 (1858): 381. In *The Rainbow Makers*, Travis cites the description of Queen Victoria’s costume from the April 3, 1858 edition of the *Illustrated London News*. He notes that the fabric for the queen’s dress was most likely not dyed with the new aniline dye, because it was probably made in France, where mauve would not yet have been in use in early 1858. The color of the queen’s dress would have been achieved with murexide or French purple. As Travis asserts, however, this is of little importance—the light purple color, however achieved, was growing more and more popular and “mauve” was the word that the public had begun to use for the color associated with Perkin’s discovery (49).

\textsuperscript{133} “Chitchat,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 57 (1858): 96. Fashion reports also included references to more aristocratic wearers of mauve. See “A Description of Some of the Dresses Worn at Her Majesty of England’s Last Drawing-Room,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 59 (1859): 282. See also Simon Garfield’s discussion of the reports in the *Illustrated London News* of Empress Eugénie’s wearing of the colour (Simon Garfield, *Mauve* (New York: Norton, 2000) 61). Again following Travis, the textiles worn by Eugénie in late 1857 were most likely not coloured with aniline purple, but rather French purple. That the popular descriptions had adopted this word, however, was significant.

\textsuperscript{134} Garfield 65.
light silk….Small lace butterflies may also be seen hovering around the bouquets. The upper part of the bodice is of the lightest shade, the lower part in the darkest silk"135 (Fig. 6.35). The detailed descriptions of different colours of this fashionable colour underscored the contemporary excitement about the growing number of available purples.

Dresses of solid-coloured silk were only one way in which mauve was incorporated into evening wardrobes. An evening dress, dated 1865 to 1870, of white silk woven with a mauve windowpane pattern and ikat-woven rosebuds in pink and green survives in the collection of the Bowes Museum (Fig. 6.36), demonstrating how this new colour was included in patterned dress textiles. The weaving of white and mauve mutes the brightness of the purple, but where mauve warps and wefts cross the vividness of the colour is apparent.

Similar use of mauve appeared in many examples of printed cottons manufactured in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, a dress dated 1865 to 1868 in the American Textile History Museum’s collection (Figs. 6.37 and 6.38) looks similar to a “Country or Sea-side Toilet” of “white grenadine sprigged with mauve,” especially in the bodice and textile pattern, that appeared in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine in July 1862 (Fig. 6.39).136 Grenadine was a lightweight silk and would have been more expensive than the cotton used for the American dress, which was probably worn as general day dress rather than specifically for the country or seaside. This dress shows how high fashion idealized models could be adapted to middle-class life, as well as illustrating how mauve-printed textiles were used by middle-class women.

After great popularity in the late 1850s and early 1860s, mauve does not appear as frequently in the late 1860s and early 1870s. In October 1876, a reader of the

136 “Description of Our Coloured Fashion Plate,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 5 (1862): 143. I originally discussed the correspondence between this fashion plate and this object in my Master’s thesis (Nicklas 78).
Fig. 6.35.

Fig. 6.36.
Figs. 6.37 and 6.38.

Fig. 6.39.
Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine wrote to the “Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” enquiring what she should do with two dresses, one of which was “bright mauve,” that she had received from “an aged relative…[and are] somewhat old-fashioned both in material and colour.” The magazine’s writer agreed, noting “[b]right mauve is certainly old-fashioned, but is allowable as a house dress” and suggested that “[p]lentiful trimmings of dark military braid would tone the brilliancy a great deal.” By this time, the vividness which often appealed to women in the early 1860s seemed old-fashioned, clearly illustrating the changes in fashionable colours, as well as the importance of particular shades.

On the heels of mauve’s success, other shades of purple achieved with synthetic dyes garnered many mentions in fashion magazines. From the mid-1860s to the mid-1870s, fashion reports were full of references to a wide variety of violets and purples, indicating the increasing availability of synthetic purple dyes such as Hofmann’s violets.138 Some of the names employed for these textiles followed traditional patterns of colour naming, especially in the use of natural referents, as a passage in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine underscored. In October 1874, Browne listed the season’s “newest shades” available at a London shop, commenting “Améthyste speaks for itself; all the lovely shades of this lovely gem are represented in silk and velvet.”139 This colour name had first appeared in the magazine in December 1863, so it very well may have been created with a new synthetic dye. The fashion news for Godey’s Lady’s Book also included this colour, announcing in April 1864 after several other new colours that “[a]methyst is also one of the new colours.”140

Although new shades and names ensured success for many of the early aniline dyes, much of the popularity of purples stemmed from the power and status traditionally

---

138 Travis, The Rainbow Makers 79.
associated with the colour, as discussed in chapter three. Many popular names of purples and brand names of purple dyes in fact contained classical and royal allusions, such as Perkin’s “Tyrian purple,” as detailed in the previous chapter.

As advertising materials show, manufacturers such as Brooke, Simpson, and Spiller sold purple dyes with a wide variety of names, one of which was “Regina Purple.” Variations of this name also appeared in women’s magazines, highlighting the overlap between the worlds of fashion and chemistry. In the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in February 1867, Matilda Browne described a ball dress ordered at the establishment of Madame Pieffort, a Parisian dressmaker. The ensemble was of white and purple and “[t]he violet colour in this beautiful toilet is of a light bright tint, more inclining to red than blue. This lovely tint is called the Regina violet, and is very fashionable this year for ball toilets.”142 In January 1868, the fashion news report in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* included among the fashionable colours “Regina, which is pink lilac.”143 At least in the pages of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, the precise colour of Regina was not always described consistently. In December 1868, a fashion reporter for the magazine asserted, “Regine [sic] purple is, like blue flame, the most intense purple, a deep, magnificent color” and eleven months later, the fashion news report noted that the colour “is darker than mauve.”144 The earlier descriptions’ references to a lighter, redder purple underscores the unstable equivalences of name and colour, especially as new colour terms were making their way into the language of fashion. “Regina,” however, was clearly a popular term for purple, perhaps because of its double reference to royalty and, in its language, classical antiquity.

---

141 Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104. For discussion of the names of other purple dyes sold by Brooke, Simpson, and Spiller, see chapter five.
Other words used to name or describe purple also allude to political might, in the tradition of “royal purple,” a phrase that continued to be used after the advent of synthetic dyes, as the October 1861 description of a bonnet in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* demonstrates.\(^{145}\) In its March 1864 fashion plate, the editors of same magazine included a “[d]ress of rich Napoleon purple silk,” employing a common royal reference point that was also used to describe blue, as discussed above.\(^{146}\) This kind of descriptor seems to have been especially popular among dye manufacturers: colourists’ notebooks include several notes of dyes named in this manner. Thomas Royle noted trials of a purple dye called “Imperial” in September 1861 (Fig. 6.40) and the 1873 Brooke, Simpson, and Spiller leaflet preserved in Wilkinson’s notebook advertised an “Imperial Violet” dye in soluble and crystal form.\(^{147}\) Perkin and Sons sold a “Britannia Violet,” evidence of which is also preserved in the Wilkinson & Co. notebook.\(^{148}\)

In April 1868, Matilda Browne in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included a description of a walking costume of “Corinthian violet silk droguet, brocaded with black spots, and plain violet gros-grain silk of the same shade.”\(^{149}\) Eight months later, she noted in the monthly fashion report, “A tall, elegant-looking lady wears a costume of dark *raisin de Corinthe* [currant], or plum colour.”\(^{150}\) One of the “new shades in satin cloths” listed in the magazine in November 1872 was simply “*corinthe*.“\(^{151}\) In April 1844, the *Ladies’ Cabinet* had included “*raison [sic] de Corinthe*” among the month’s fashionable colours, so this colour name predated the introduction of synthetic dyes.\(^{152}\) The persistence of its use, however, underscores the ongoing association of purple with classical antiquity.

---

\(^{145}\) “Description of the Steel Fashion Plate for October,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 63 (1861): 359.
\(^{146}\) “Description of the Steel Fashion Plate for March,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 68 (1864): 315.
\(^{147}\) Royle, notebook, 1850s-1860s; Wilkinson & Co., notebook, 1856-1860, 1867-1874, M75/104.
\(^{151}\) “The November Fashions,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 13 (1872): 266.
\(^{152}\) “Paris Fashions for the Month,” *Ladies’ Cabinet* N. S. 2, 1 (1844): 341.
Fig. 6.40.
Some colour names sounded more explicitly contemporary. In August 1864, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* noted, “The new purples are of the reddish cast” including “Violine” among “the prettiest.” Over the next year, this purple made several appearances in the magazine, in a “rich dinner-dress of Violine-colored silk,” a white piqué morning dress with a Violine cambric overdress, a robe dress “of a rich violine purple wool material, with a bordering in black,” and a “[d]inner-dress of Violine-coloured silk, trimmed with black silk” (Fig. 6.41). In April 1870, Browne commented in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* on “[t]he pure and beautiful tone” of faille silks she had seen, including among them “violine—a beautiful mauve,” thus allying this colour name to a name created for a colour produced with a synthetic dye. This modern-sounding “-ine” suffix probably derived from “aniline,” providing an example of the way in which the language of chemistry entered that of fashion. It seems very likely that “violine” referred to a synthetic dye colour.

Judging from the colourists’ notebooks discussed in chapter five, “Humboldt” was a name for an aniline bluish-purple dye and this term also appeared as a colour name in contemporary fashion news. The colour name perhaps derives from the large purple Humboldt squid, again underscoring the natural world as a source for colour names. A fashion writer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* mentioned “an exquisite bonnet of Humboldt purple velvet” seen in a New York shop in January 1863. The fashion report in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* two months later, admired a new material called “paplin de soie” in “the beautiful Humboldt” available at Grant and Gask on Regent Street.

---

155 “The April Fashions,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 8 (1870): 225. The squid was named for Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), the renowned German natural scientist and explorer.
Fig. 6.41. Fashion plate (detail). “Godey’s Fashions for December 1866.” *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* 73 (December 1866). New York Public Library.
All of the museum collections examined for this thesis contain at least one or two vivid purple silk dresses from the 1860s, most of which were for daytime. A representative example is a dress of plain purple silk from the collection of the Bowes Museum dated to about 1867 (Fig. 6.42). The skirt is plain, but the bodice is trimmed with black velvet ribbon and beaded fringe at the shoulders. As the violine dinner-dress mentioned above demonstrates black was a frequent choice for trimming dresses of bright new purples (see Fig. 6.41).

Contemporary textile patterns often combined purple and black or white. Fashion reports reveal that wide stripes enjoyed special popularity in 1860s; as the April 1864 fashion news in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* declared, “Stripes are most in vogue now.” A fashion plate from *Godey's Lady's Book* from March 1867 (Fig. 6.43) included a “[s]pring visiting costume” of an underskirt “of rich violet silk made perfectly plain. The overskirt is of striped violet and white silk looped at intervals by bands of violet silk bound with amber plush.” The solid colour of the underskirt would have dramatically set off the striped fabric of the overskirt. A silk dress dated 1863 to 1865 in the collection of the Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall features narrow ikat-patterned black and white stripes alternated with wider purple stripes and trimmed with fancy black fringe (Fig. 6.44). Both the colours employed and the striped pattern contributed to this garment’s fashionability.

Dull shades of purple and lavender were also in demand in mid-nineteenth century Great Britain and the United States as colours considered suitable for second mourning. Throughout the stages of mourning, complex rules dictated appropriate dress, which often, except in colour, closely resembled fashionable contemporary silhouettes. Propriety within all social class groups commanded that these rules be followed. The


160 “Description of Our Steel Fashion-Plate,” *Godey's Lady's Book* 74 (1867): 294.


Fig. 6.43. Fashion plate (detail). “Godey’s Fashions for March 1867.” *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* 74 (March 1867). New York Public Library.
Fig. 6.44.
very bright purples produced with synthetic textile dyes would probably have not been
deemed appropriate for mourning, but these dyes could also produce less vivid colours.
In May 1868, the monthly fashion report in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine
underscored the popularity of purples, indicating that mourning colours and fashionable
colours were perhaps not always distinguishable: “lavender and violet are also
fashionable tints, so that one would think two-thirds of the ladies one meets in the streets
were in half-mourning.”162

The Use of Small Amounts of Colour

Although surviving objects and images demonstrate that some women were able
to wear fashionable colours in large quantities, most middle-class women had to be more
careful in their consumption of colour, partly to allow longevity of use. A February 1866
Godey’s Lady’s Book article on dressing well on a limited budget advised: “Never buy
conspicuous articles of dress, or colors. . . . Your dress need not, however, be grim-
looking on this account, as a little exercise of taste will show you how to relieve it—by a
tiny knot of bright ribbon, a pretty little tuft of gay-colored feather in your black or gray
hat, or such-like pleasing little reliefs.”163

Fashionable colours were often expensive, especially compared to more
established colours. Writing of spring dress textiles—serges from Egerton Burnett, of
Wellington, Somerset and poplins from Inglis and Tinckler in London—Browne
reported in March 1874:

I observed four medium qualities of blue serge at 2s. 6d. per yard; three of
superior quality at 3s.; very fine at 3s. 6d. and 3s 11d., and blacks and reds
at the same rates. Of fancy colours there are several—bleu de Lyons, 3s.
2d.; azure, 3s. 2d.; a lovely violet, 3s. 2d.; primula, 3s. 2d.; ultramarine, 3s.

162 “The Fashions,” Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine N. S. 2, 4 (1868): 261. The appropriate colours
of mourning were entrenched enough to provoke mild satire. An August 1863 sketch in Godey’s Lady’s
Book described a man’s surprise at the vivid colours shown in the mourning section of a department store,
concluding with the saleswoman’s assertion that “Mauve, sir, is very appropriate for the lighter sorrows”
(“The Habilitments of Grief, from a Commercial Point of View,” Godey’s Lady’s Book N. S. 7 (1863):
192).
163 “Editors’ Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 72 (1866): 192.
2d.; white serge, 2s. 6d. and 3s. 2d.; royal blue, 3s. 2d.; brown superfine, special, 3s. 6d.; grey, 3s. 9d., couleur de veuve (No 31), 3s. 9d…. The prices of poplin vary according to the colour and quality, single poplin costing from 4s. 6d to 5s. 6d. per yard, double poplin from 7s. 6d. to 10s. 6d., and in some colours rather more; and brocaded poplins from 6s. to 18s. per yard.\textsuperscript{164}

Among the serges, the “fancy colours” are more expensive than the “medium” and even the “superior” quality textiles in blue, red, and black. Unusual names signify fashionable colours and the higher prices reflect novelty and perhaps expensive dyes and higher quality fabric.

“The Englishwoman’s Conversazione” reveals that the expense and novelty of fashionable colours was a deterrent for some consumers. In 1874, “Anglo-Canadian” asserted that she

\begin{quote}
finds it most economical to eschew very new and bizarre shades of colour; to rely chiefly on black and white, with self-coloured materials, for dresses and bonnets and to trust to well-chosen gloves, ribbons, lace and other garniture, for a bright, fresh, crisp effect. To tell the truth, exquisite neatness, cleanliness, and freshness are just as much needed, with judicious selection of tints, as stylish cut and new and fashionable colours, to render any toilette really satisfactory, and A.-C. [Anglo-Canadian] recognises a quality in the Silkworm’s letters which leads her to believe that she will agree with this statement of A.-C.’s opinion.\textsuperscript{165}
\end{quote}

This reader seems to have absorbed the fashion writers’ injunctions to dress moderately and within her means, not going to any extremes, as discussed in chapter two. She signals her willingness to follow these rules by explicitly mentioning Browne, a vocal exponent of this strategy in dress.

As Ann Buermann Wass notes in her discussion of magenta’s first appearance in \textit{Godey’s Lady’s Book}, a new colour often appeared first in ribbons and trims. Many new dyes, including the aniline dyes, were initially inherently expensive. Their prices increased because often they coloured silk best, an already costly fabric. These small

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{164}{“The March Fashions,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2, 16 (1874): 150-51.}
\footnotetext{165}{“The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” \textit{Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine} N. S. 2, 16 (1874): 279.}
\end{footnotes}
amounts of colour provided manufacturers, dressmakers, and milliners with “a way of
testing the market.”166

Trims and ribbons also allowed female consumers to experiment with new
colours with relatively little expense, especially in their hats and bonnets. The text
accompanying the fashion plate and describing a “Toilet for a Young Lady” in
*Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in June 1860 provided the details of a summer
bonnet (Fig. 6.45):

The bonnet is of plain straw, trimmed with a mauve silk fanchon, having
stars embroidered in straw-colour, and very narrow ribbon-velvet, edged
with black lace one inch wide. A bow of silk to correspond is laid on the
edge of the bonnet, and covers it in front. The cap is of white tulle. Three
square loops of straw fasten the fanchon—one on each side, the other on
the crown. The curtain [to shade the back of the neck] is of white tulle; it
is small, nearly hidden at the sides by the fanchon, and covered with rows
of the same very narrow velvet. The fanchon scarcely forms a point, and
leaves enough of the curtain visible to show the ribbon bow on it, with
two long ends. The strings are of silk ribbon, three and a half inches
wide.167

A reader could follow this careful description to make her own bonnet, using a
fairly small amount of mauve silk.168 In the fashion plate and accompanying description,
the bonnet matched a mauve silk dress, but a mauve-trimmed bonnet alone would have
conferred fashionability in 1860 on its wearer, if she did not wish for or could not afford
a dress in this colour. The white tulle cap around the face would allow any readers of
Mrs. Merrifield and perhaps Chevreul to follow her rules with respect to mauve.

Nineteenth-century fashion magazines are full of descriptions of hats and bonnets
and although there are many fewer surviving objects, some extant pieces corroborate
contemporary textual evidence. As well as enjoying popularity for clothing, purple and
violet were also often noted for hats and bonnets in the 1860s, including a “bonnet of

166 Ann Buermann Wass with Clarita Anderson, “Rivalling Nature in the Beauty and Brilliancy of their
Coloring: Synthetic Dyes and Fashionable Colors in *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine*, 1856-1891,”
168 Articles in contemporary magazines such as “How to Make a Bonnet and Cap” (*Godey’s Lady’s Book*
53 (1856): 307, 527-528) provide evidence of home millinery.
Fig. 6.45.
royal purple velvet” in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in October 1861.\(^{169}\) Like the above description, a purple velvet bonnet, trimmed with light yellow, white and purple and dated to 1860, in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), Boston can be considered in terms of contemporary discussions of colour in female dress (Fig. 6.46).\(^{170}\) Because of the bonnet’s shape, the wearer’s hair would have perhaps prevented the purple from direct contact with her skin. She also could have worn a “ruche of tulle” underneath the bonnet, thus following Mrs. Merrifield’s advice.\(^{171}\) The owner, of course, may not have followed these rules at all and enjoyed the fashionable purple colour nonetheless.

The maker of this bonnet used small amounts of yellow as a contrast to the purple velvet, combining two colour wheel opposites. A response to a reader query in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in July 1867 indicated contemporary interest in complexions and colours and could apply to this bonnet: “A deep purple may be found of much value—dependent, of course, on the special half-tones of the face—but it will require to have light and bright subsidiary colours as trimming or ornaments.”\(^{172}\) The MFA bonnet was made before this comment, but demonstrated the contemporary interest in strong colour contrasts and the theoretical basis of colour combinations.

*Chemistry in Fashion Writing*

Compelling evidence of the connections between the worlds of fashion and chemistry appeared in several instances in women’s magazines where the chemical substances used to make dyes were named specifically. A poem that appeared in an 1841 issue of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* warns against the wares of an unscrupulous itinerant

---

\(^{169}\) “Description of Steel Fashion Plate for October,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 63 (1861): 359. See also *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 62 (1861): 384, 479.


\(^{171}\) See Mrs. Merrifield, “The Use and Abuse of Colors in Dress,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 64 (1862): 74, quoted above.

Fig. 6.46.
peddler: “When alkalis have spent their power,/You look—and where’s the gorgeous flower?...Those hues, so fair to look upon,/Will, like the Pedlar’s self—be gone!”  

The poet assumes that readers will know both that alkalis were used to make dyes—and that problems of colourfastness plagued textile producers and consumers.

As shown already, colour names proliferated after synthetic dyes became available and some new names applied specifically to colours created with these dyes, reflecting the scientific imperative for precise classification. Occasionally, women’s magazines referred explicitly to the work of chemists that led to these new dyes. In December 1862, the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* quoted “[a]n English writer…on ‘a lady’s dress’” who asserted that dress “assumes real importance when we recognize it as the spring that moves the many hands of industry. . . What experiments were essayed in the laboratory before a new shade of colour could be procured to meet the taste for novelty, and when procured, before it could be fixed and made permanently available!”

The editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* also included a short piece, “The Uses of Petroleum” three years later, which mentioned several aniline colours:

> There are several fine colors produced from the residuum of petroleum. One is a bright and fixed cerulean blue, perhaps a shade darker, but still as brilliant, and is called the Humboldt color. The process is kept a secret by the discoverers, who are German chemists. It is stated that these colors are produced from a combination of naphtha and tar. Another delicate and fashionable color is a light blue called “azuline,” which, as well as the famous and popular color “magenta,” is now produced from petroleum.

This writer assumed his or her readers knew the colour magenta, providing no descriptors of the kind used for Humboldt and azuline. Although this piece furnishes some of the most specific references to the materials used to make aniline dyes, the

---

methods of chemists are shrouded in mystery, adding a dramatic element to the
discussion of these new products of industrial chemistry.

The November 1863 issue of the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* also noted
the work of dye chemists. The fashion writer noted that new wools were available “in
very bright and pure violet or blue, these tints now being obtained—thanks to important
late discoveries in chemistry—in the most splendid hues.” This may very well have
referred to Hofmann’s violets.

In April 1876, Hofmann appeared by name in a piece included by the editors in
*Godey’s Lady’s Book*. Titled “The Importance of Chemistry,” the article was excerpted
from a lecture given by Rachel Bodley, a professor of chemistry at the Women’s
Medical College of Pennsylvania:

> The most casual observer of womanly attire, whether in shop-windows or
> on the persons of friends, cannot failed to have noted the variety of tints
> and the brilliancy of color which each season increasingly discloses.
> What we see in the streets of American cities is the response to the
> questions which the master-chemist, Hofman [sic], in his magnificent
> laboratory in the University of Berlin, is daily asking of inert matter.

This passage echoed other contemporary articles in its wonder at the great range
of colours available in women’s dress. It is, however, the clearest statement of the origin
of these colours, directly connecting the laboratory research of chemists and the
colourful pageant of clothing seen on the city streets.

Colours produced with new dyes remained signs of the modernity of changing
fashions in the 1870s. Another piece written by a reader in “The Englishwoman’s
Conversazione” in December 1871 also clearly links colour, nature, science, and fashion:

> Because chemical science has given to the world bright hues in scarlet,
> and blue, and green, and maize, enhancing the natural beauty of woman,
> is a lady to cling eternally to the dingy browns and rusty blacks of the age
> of bombazine?…Not only is it permissible for a woman to dress
> according to the fashion—it is her duty so to do. Do not the Earth, and the
> Sky, and the Sea change, ever, and ever, and ever, their forms, their hues,

---

178 Hornix, “From Process to Plant” 75.
their tints? And are they not always in harmony, and always suitable to the season? Is there not a Mode, a Fashion, a Concord of sweet sights, as well as sounds, in the habiliments and movements of Dame Nature?\(^{180}\)

The argument that nature itself follows fashion was unusual, but the reference to the many colours found in nature occurred frequently in discussions of the variety of new colours produced with dyes. The view that it was a woman’s duty to follow fashion, to a reasonable degree, also appeared here, linked to the ever-changing character of fashion and the novelty of new colours provided by recent developments in chemistry.

In one of the March 1875 *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* fashion articles, the writer referred to the advances in chemistry which have made the great variety of contemporary dye colours available. She began her commentary by noting that black had become much more popular in the last six to eight years, but went on to observe,

But at the same time that black has been striding into favour with seven-league boots, strange to say, during that very period, our greatest progress has been made in the art of dyeing, and producing new and beautiful shades of colour. Nature, the great mistress of colour, has been studied, and chemistry has given its aid, the result being such a choice of colours and shades of colours as must prove thoroughly bewildering and embarrassing to the weak-minded who have not made up their minds exactly as to what they want.

…Not only do they [Hilditch of Cheapside] keep all the new shades, but also retain all the old ones, for, strange as it may seem to some of our readers, there are still benighted people in the world who go on buying green, blue, and violet silks just as if there were no eau-de-nils, paons, azurs, and améthystes in existence! And not only do they buy them, but they are quite happy in the wearing of them, the good souls.\(^{181}\)

This passage suggested that many of the fancy names for colours indicated hues achieved with newly-developed dyes, as well as preserving the continuum on which natural beauty and scientific development coexist. The supply of both “old” and “new” colours corroborated the claim of readers of the magazine that some women did not immediately (or ever) adopt fashionable new colours.\(^{182}\) Within these paragraphs, the writer presented an alternative model of consumption, a challenge to the celebration of

\(^{181}\) “Flittings in February,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 18 (1875): 146.
\(^{182}\) See the letter discussed earlier of “Anglo-Canadian,” in “The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,” *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* N. S. 2, 16 (1874): 279.
novelty represented by new dye colours. The acknowledgement of differing levels of engagement with and desire for fashionable textiles, in one article, underscores multiple, conflicting attitudes towards fashion.

Later that year, the fashion writer for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* continued to praise the great range of colours available. A trip to Peter Robinson, the department store in London’s Oxford Street, sparked the following reflection:

Surely the apotheosis of colour is at hand. Never before have we had so many or such beautiful shades. Some of the tints and dyes are so delicate that they seem more like reflections of colour than colour itself. The *fanés*, or neutral tints, are now produced in such numbers that a little dictionary might be constructed of their appellations alone….The countless shades (forming a sort of diapason) between a gorgeous scarlet and the soft yellow of a dying leaf have suggested to those who study the art of the dyeing many of the beautiful modern colours. It seems out of place to call them “colours;” there are really but five colours—strictly speaking, only three—and how many tints have we, both in Nature and art? Observe the greyish green of the lichen on a rock; is it not hard lines to have to class it with the green of a lilac-tree in spring, the green of the sea, a green umbrella, and the green of a dish of spinach?183

This passage brings together many of the themes of this thesis. Unlike some of the previous examples, however, the writer did not refer to the practice of dyeing as chemistry or science. Significantly, dyeing was called an “art,” only through which the subtle differences among the many shades available can be attained. This implied that skilled dyers and consumers possess a talent for aesthetic judgement among colours and removes the process from the concerns of industry. Nature, as always, is the inspiration: the list of different greens evokes the different names given to varieties of a single colour by fashion writers. In questioning of using the word “colour” at all, the writer demonstrate some familiarity with the colour theory. The use of the term “diapason” subtly refers to the musical analogies sometimes employed to discuss colour.

*Conclusion*

Through a close investigation of the references to colour and chemistry in fashion writing in women’s magazines and the uses of colour in women’s dress in the mid-nineteenth century, this chapter has addressed the following themes: the discussion of fashionable colours in the periodicals using colour theory terms; the language of colour shared between colourists and women’s magazines; and the explicit mentions of colour, chemistry, and fashion that appeared in these periodicals. Finally, this chapter has assessed and highlighted the integration of novel dye developments and colours into women’s wardrobes in extant objects.

Several articles in the late 1850s and well into the 1860s in women’s magazines discussed fashionable colours in terms of colour theory, especially that of Michel-Eugène Chevreul. The examples considered here indicate how Chevreul’s advice about colour contrast and harmony influenced perceptions of colour in dress of the period. Mauve and magenta, produced with new aniline dyes, were singled out in a few of these articles, providing evidence that these new colours entered into this pre-existing set of colour principles applied to women’s dress. Colour theory, particularly that of Chevreul, has been shown here to be a significant, previously undiscussed context in which women’s fashion of the mid-nineteenth century needs to be considered because this illuminates the ways in which contemporaries saw and wore colour in dress and indicates the existence of a “theory” of dress that informed how it should be worn.

This chapter has shown that writers constantly reported on fashionable colours in women’s magazines, especially highlighting the new and the different. Women readers’ queries and anxieties about colour and its use offers further evidence of the demand for this information and the central place of colour in fashion during this period. In their notebooks, colourists used basic and fancy colour terms that also, significantly, appeared in fashion reports, confirming the close links that existed between these two spheres of colour use and discussion. Colour words and phrases that reflected the manufacturers’ names and novelty of these dyes also appeared in both notebooks and periodicals,
especially after aniline dyes became commonly used. As Ernst Homburg shows, colourists and women both constituted important commercial groups of consumers for these new dyes. Textile manufacturers purchased dyes from manufacturers; the dyed or printed cloth produced by these companies was then sold to women. At both points on this chain of consumption, colours created with new dyes were frequently marked using new words or phrases to make the products desirable to potential buyers. This common language indicated a culture of colour shared between these communities, a key finding of this thesis.

Surviving objects of dress and accessories further show the many ways in which colour was incorporated into women’s wardrobes. Fashionable colours were used in printed cotton day dresses, silk taffeta evening dresses, and ribbon-trimmed bonnets, as well as many other examples of dress, textiles, and costume accessories. This range of uses demonstrates how colour entered into the everyday experience of female appearance and self-presentation. The contemporary awareness of dye chemistry and colour among female consumers allowed the enthusiastic responses to and uses of colourful textiles. The colours appearing in these examples of textiles and dress also illustrate how contemporary rules dictating colour and its combination were followed by many manufacturers and consumers.

The vivid colours made possible with aniline dyes garnered enthusiastic attention in middle-class women’s magazines and surviving objects demonstrate that they commonly made their way into everyday middle-class wardrobes as well. Following Chevreul’s rules of colour, some writers in women’s magazines expressed anxiety about the effects that colours such as mauve and magenta would have on female complexions, but most offered suggestions as to how these “beautiful” and “new” colours could be successfully incorporated into female dress. Ann Buermann Wass notes that discreet quantities of new colours, such as ribbons on a hat, would allow makers and wearers to

experiment without great expense.\textsuperscript{185} In counselling the use of small amounts of such colours or their combination with black or white, the advice of these writers exemplified the middle-class ideology of restraint and modesty that constituted the tightrope of taste.

Women’s magazines occasionally contained explicit references to the discoveries in chemistry that had led to the creation of new dyes, connecting these developments directly to their use in women’s dress. These examples provide undeniable evidence of the interlocking of the worlds of chemistry, colour, and fashion in the mid-nineteenth century. Such references always accentuated the new, modern character of these colours, in both their colours and the circumstances of their production. Within the context of nineteenth-century modernity, both fashion and science prioritized change and novelty. In their emphasis on these qualities, the accounts discussed here, with the examples of actual objects of dress also examined here, reinforce how colour in the mid-nineteenth century constituted an essential part of modern women’s fashion.

\textsuperscript{185} Buermann Wass with Anderson, “Rivalling Nature in the Beauty and Brilliance of their Coloring,” 162.
Chapter 7

All the World Laid by Art and Science at her Feet: Conclusion

Introduction

By considering middle-class attitudes towards colour, fashion, and science from 1840 to 1875, particularly chemistry, this thesis has illuminated the cultural context in which the remarkable dye developments of the period occurred. In examining sources and groups of dye users not usually studied together, this multidisciplinary approach has shown how specific language, knowledge, and practices, shared between the communities of middle-class women and professional colourists, demonstrated a common culture of dye chemistry.

This research has also shown that social etiquette and profound ideological concerns over propriety and harmony created a tightrope of taste upon which middle-class women were expected to balance. Discussions about the correct use of colour in dress provide a compelling, specific illustration of these nuanced negotiations. This study has also highlighted that the anxieties and pleasures of fashion permeated contemporary discussions of dyes and colour and their use. These conditions of dress and fashion were shown in discussions and uses of coal-tar aniline dyes, which created vivid, recognisable, “new” colours and depended upon industrial chemistry for mass production. Because of these characteristics, aniline dyes and colours constituted a particularly notable meshing of contemporary conversations about science, colour, and fashion: a common culture of dye chemistry. Finally, this research has demonstrated that, from the late 1850s to the mid-1870s, these new dyes and the colours they produced exemplified the condition of fashionable female modernity, which was characterized by and which valued novelty and change.

Sources and Methods
This thesis has examined several different kinds of primary sources in order to explore the intersections among women’s fashion, colour, and chemistry in the mid-nineteenth century. Close attention to the text of nineteenth-century women’s periodicals constituted the largest sections of research presented here, supported by analysis of images in these magazines and surviving colourists’ notebooks and objects of dress. Most of the textual examples were found in periodicals directed at middle-class women, especially the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in Britain and *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* in the United States. In studying nineteenth-century science in magazines, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes and Jonathan Topham stress the importance of considering the many parts of contemporary periodical texts together.¹ This method proved to be extremely fruitful in this research and the contents of these magazines—including fiction, poetry, essays, fashion news, editorials, readers’ enquiries and comments, and fashion plates—provided very specific instances of this fusing of science, colour, and fashion.

To give just one example in this conclusion, references to dyeing furnish a compelling example of the way in which a topic could run through periodicals. As chapters five and six showed, a reader could potentially find in a magazine recipes for dyes for domestic use including dyeing instructions, descriptions and images of colours made possible with newly-developed dyes in the fashion news, an essay about the challenges and triumphs of dyeing techniques used in cotton printing, reader enquiries about how and when to dye faded garments, and explanations of motivations behind dyeing in fictional pieces. It was unlikely that all of these examples would appear in the same issue of a periodical, but as shown in this research, this range certainly existed across months and years. The variety and number of textual references found and discussed here reveals how firmly dyes and dyeing were practically, visually, and

imaginatively integrated into middle-class female print culture and from there into feminine domestic life and cultures of taste.

The examination of surviving examples of dress, textiles, and colourists’ notebooks in this thesis further illuminated how middle-class women incorporated dye developments into their everyday lives. The colour combinations in the patterns of printed cotton and wool fabrics were the result of decades of experimentation with mordants and dyes adapted for block and roller printing machines. Bright purple and pink silks showed the fashionable possibilities hidden in black coal tar. A cotton printed with chrome yellow flowers could make a serviceable, yet colourful, day dress (see Fig. 6.16); a vivid aniline purple striped silk could make an eye-catching visiting dress that would not immediately show dirt (see Fig. 6.44). By showcasing recent technical achievements of dyeing and printing, both of these dress textiles would have also reflected the wearer’s knowledge of fashionable colours and, possibly, the conditions of their creation.

Studying surviving dress and textiles in conjunction with colourists’ notebooks and periodical texts has helped illustrate how these objects were perceived and named in the mid-nineteenth century. The “claret” that Joseph Syddall used to label experiments in the 1840s at Chadkirk Printworks and which appeared in the December 1843 fashion plate of the *Ladies’ Cabinet* (see Fig. 6.5) may have described the dark red stripes of a printed cotton from that decade for its wearer (see Fig. 6.3). A bright blue dress made in the late 1860s (see Fig. 6.26) may very well have been called “azureline” by its owner, as variations of this colour name were also mentioned in notebooks, such as John Lightfoot’s test of “azuline” in 1861 (see Fig. 5.15), and fashion news, such as the

---

2 Joseph Lawton Sydall, notebook, 1843-1859, Manchester Archives, M75/Historical Collection 113 [Green 1329]; “Description of the Plates,” *Ladies’ Cabinet* N. S. 10 (1843): 441.
September 1861 pronouncement in *Godey’s Lady’s Book* that ribbons of “Azurline” were “decidedly new.”3

The Language of Colour, its Circulation, and its Relationship to the World of Fashion

This study has begun to help remedy the historical disparagement of and disregard for colour discussed by John Gage in several publications, by David Batchelor in 2000, and by the contributors to the 2004 exhibition catalogue *Fashion in Colors.*4

The examples of “claret” and “azureline” mentioned above demonstrate how particular words and groups of words can be traced through networks of texts, illustrating a written “conversation” about colour among interconnected social groups sharing a common culture of dye chemistry and illuminating the contemporary meanings of such terms. Although inherent difficulties exist in describing colours unambiguously, as noted in chapter three, these very challenges also mean that colour can be the subject of almost endless discussion. The space devoted to naming, qualifying, and describing colours in nineteenth-century women’s magazines demonstrates this, as it also shows the great weight of social concern over colour choice in fashion.

Terms such as “ponceau,” “maize,” “myrtle,” “Victoria blue,” and “mauve” appeared in colourists’ notebooks, dye manufacturers’ advertising materials, fashion news reports, and short stories. Ann Buermann Wass has identified the common use of a few dye names in both published dye manuals and *Godey’s Lady’s Book,* especially those of early aniline dyes such as “mauve,” “magenta,” and “azureline.”5 In most cases, nomenclature of this kind indicated an awareness of fashionable colours that came and

---


went with relative speed, although some names persisted through the decades. The identification and discussion of fashionable change was, of course, the *raison d’être* of fashion reports in women’s magazines and colour constituted a crucial element of this news. As chapter two discussed, references to current political events, such as the Franco-Prussian War, and taste leaders, such as Empress Eugénie, appeared frequently in mid-nineteenth century fashion writing, underscoring the crucial significance of contemporaneity. The current and, perhaps even more importantly, the new, took precedence in these discussions.

The use of the above colour terms by colourists and dye manufacturers shows significantly that these groups of men, completely involved in the mid-nineteenth century commercial transformation of dyes, were very much aware of the importance of the fashionable language of colour, even if they did not immediately adopt new dyestuffs. The trade names used by dye manufacturers, especially for synthetic dyes, often bore striking resemblance to the fashionable colour names in women’s magazines. For example, a colourist or colourists at John Wilkinson & Co. at Oakenshaw Printworks saved materials from the dye manufacturers Brooke, Simpson, and Spiller that listed a colour called “Regina Purple” and the February 1867 fashion news in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* included a reference to a “lovely tint…called the Regina violet.” This shared language, used in this common culture of dye chemistry, underscores how these companies recognized that up-to-date, fashion-related names could potentially make their products more appealing to their customers. Ernst Homburg stresses the importance of this eager consumer demand. The colourists who purchased and tested these products noted the relative merits of different dyes, often recording their brand names. The textiles coloured with these dyes could then potentially be described

---

using fashionable colour language in women’s magazines. These terms could thus be employed at several points during the process of textile production and consumption by the interconnected groups participating in this conversation of colour. The identification and tracing of such terms shared by these different communities, demonstrating the existence of a broad culture of dye chemistry, is one of the major findings of this research.

As the above examples indicate, mid-nineteenth century fashionable colour language drew upon a variety of sources, as discussed in chapter three. Allusions to politics, history, and famous figures were common, but the most frequently-appearing names referred to nature and used French colour terms. In some cases, new words emerged to describe certain colours. For a few colours created with aniline dyes, notably “mauve” and “magenta,” new words applied to colours created by novel methods have survived to the present day.

These shared points of reference, the use of French terms, and the creation of novel words are all examples of the specialized vocabulary of fashionable colour of the mid-nineteenth century. As discussed above, common terms were used for different purposes by different groups of producers and consumers, but with relatively consistent meanings.

The evolution of some parts of this colour language can be seen clearly in the network of texts examined in this thesis. New colour words were often described and sometimes misspelled when initially used, underscoring their novelty. Colourists occasionally underlined or otherwise marked unusual, notable, or new colour words, as when John Lightfoot at Broad Oak Printworks tested “Perkins [sic] Tyrian Purple ‘Mauve’” in a notebook devoted entirely to “Trials on ‘Magenta’ and ‘aniline Mauve.’” 9 Readers, such as “Cashlema” in March 1861, wrote to magazines enquiring about the meanings of new terms. This query was answered in “The Englishwoman’s

9 Lightfoot, notebook, 1861, M75/25.
Conversazione”: “‘Magenta,’ ‘Solferino,’ ‘Rose de Guerre,’ &c., &c., are names given to those different colours of a crimson cast that have lately been so fashionable.”

Development was uneven and patchy—some words, such as “mauve,” were quickly adopted and widely used; others, such as “Humboldt,” vanished after a few appearances. As already noted, Homburg emphasizes the importance of consumer demand as a spur to dye development and the distinctive, new dye names illustrate both the eager consumer desire for novelty and modernity and the awareness among textile manufacturers and colourists of the profits to be made from feeding this demand.

The Language and Practice of Everyday Science and Chemistry

Specialized languages of science and chemistry also developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially among those involved in academic and “professional” science, as Maurice Crosland explains. Increased institutional education and training became necessary to specialize in science and this included learning the language of the discipline. At the same time, however, as Bernard Lightman shows, popularizers tried to render science intelligible to those without expert knowledge, as discussed in chapter four. Often these efforts centred around demonstrations of scientific principles that could be found in everyday life.

This thesis’s discussion of a “science of dress” in the broader context of nineteenth-century everyday, popular conversations about science adds a new dimension to the critical work on the history of both science and dress. As shown here, references to “science” in women’s magazines were often unspecific, however, having little to do with a specific field. Instead, this particular word often signalled a desire for an organized discipline. Discussions of the “science of colour” often outlined rules that women should

---

follow when using colour in their dress and furnishings. Several periodical writers discussed a “science of dress,” which would allow women to follow safely laws that ensured they would appear appropriately and tastefully dressed. For example, in describing the dress of an idealized Frenchwoman in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in September 1875, the author declared, “her innate sense of the laws of harmony in outward things attains the nature of a science.”

These guidelines, if respected, would also therefore theoretically control the irrationality that characterized fashion and disturbed some of its observers. Specialized vocabularies of fashion and colour, because they helped name and classify, were in some cases related to this hope for order and systematization. Although the actual work of science was sometimes anything but tidy, these uses of the term “science” point to a common perception of the promise of a rational, regulated world made possible through science. Women could follow this science of colour and fashion to both demonstrate their knowledge of the discipline’s laws and avoid making potentially shaming errors of taste in their appearance.

These discussions of science applied to dress provide one example of how science was integrated into middle-class feminine culture in the mid-nineteenth century. The essays, book reviews, lecture announcements, and fictional references in the pages of contemporary women’s periodicals confirm this too. These included reviews of chemistry textbooks and books about agricultural chemistry, as well as instructions about how to perform chemistry experiments. Such examples show how science, particularly chemistry, constituted part of the general interests, knowledge, and even entertainment which was expected to fill the lives of middle-class women; it was, in the words of Peter J. Bowler and Iwan Rhys Morus, “widely considered to be a mark of culture” during this period.

---

As shown in chapter four, articles in women’s magazines also called attention to the way in which chemistry, could—and should—constitute a fundamental part of domestic knowledge. As Ann B. Shteir observes, “science was defined in relation to assumptions about women’s live” and this included their everyday domestic duties.\textsuperscript{16} Chemistry explained cookery, medicine, and dyeing and writers often explicitly argued that a good understanding of these underlying chemical principles would make a women a better wife and mother. These articles rarely used complicated language, but did offer explanations of chemical principles or processes: for example, describing how oxidation occurred during a dyeing process or noting the acidic or alkaline qualities of household substances. It is important, however, to note that these articles were ideally more than text—they encouraged domestic activity. Dyeing, cooking, and medical care were hands-on, practical applications of chemistry. The explicit inclusion of these everyday domestic pursuits in the world of chemistry both showed how women could and in fact were expected and encouraged to engage with science in their everyday lives and how science permeated even domestic culture in the nineteenth century. This study has shown that demonstrating their scientific knowledge became a domestic and social requirement for middle-class women.

\textit{The Culture of Dye Chemistry and its Domestication}

Dyers and colourists, dye manufacturers, and middle-class women thus shared this specific language of fashionable colour in the mid-nineteenth century, as discussed above. Queries about and demarcations of new colour terms showed an awareness of this specialized language of colour and also demonstrated the wish to learn this vocabulary among members of these interconnected communities.

As the previous section emphasized, however, dyeing—the creation of colour on textiles—was also an activity. The recipes included in colourists’ notebooks and women’s magazines reveal that professional and domestic dyers also held ingredients and processes in common. The colourists employed by textile manufacturers, of course, used a much greater variety of dyestuffs, mordants, and techniques, especially in their printing work, than women in their homes. Substances such as logwood, madder, and indigo, however, were available to and used by all. The identification of these shared dyestuffs and practices provide further evidence of the existence of a broad culture of dye chemistry common to middle-class women and dye colourists and constitute one of this thesis’s main contributions.

Although natural dyestuff usage also persisted into the 1860s and 1870s, there is also evidence of increasing use of industrially-produced synthetic textile dyes among both these groups during this period. As Robert Fox and Agustí Nieto-Galan note, synthetic dyes did not “gain a clear ascendancy” until the 1880s. Colourists’ notebooks such as that of John Wilkinson & Co. contain advertising materials from and correspondence with dye manufacturers. In the early to mid-1870s, for example, the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine promoted a company to its readers called Judson’s Dyes, from which “the most fashionable colours can always be had.” Synthetic dyes for both professional and domestic consumers can illustrate the growth of commodity culture during the nineteenth century discussed by Thomas Richards.

Michel-Eugène Chevreul and Justus von Liebig further illustrate the shared culture of dye chemistry, as discussed in chapters three and four. Both were well-regarded chemists who played key roles in development of dyes in the nineteenth century, but the two men were also well-known public figures. As the director of the

dyeworks at the Gobelins from 1824 to 1852, Chevreul’s work centred on dyes and dyeing. To the public, Chevreul was best known for his experiments with colour juxtapositions, which led to his codification of rules of colour harmony and contrast first published in French in 1839. In his professional experience, dyeing and colour were thus inextricably connected.

Chevreul taught, lectured, and published, disseminating his work to a variety of audiences. In his books, Chevreul applied systematic, scientific methods of observation, experimentation, and classification to the visual phenomena he witnessed in his work. Much like the dyers and colourists who created and used dyes in their laboratories, science and art overlapped in his study and appreciation of colour. As chapters three and six discussed, his books, presented with “the (increasingly respected) stamp of scientific authority” in the words of Philip Ball, strongly informed nineteenth discussions of colour theory in middle-class women’s magazines.21 Occasionally, magazines referred to Chevreul explicitly, often emphasizing his eminent position and always underscoring that his work was “full of valuable hints to our ladies,” as the author of a September 1864 piece in Godey’s Lady’s Book observed.22 His rules for combining colours were directly and enthusiastically applied to dress in fashion advice articles and sometimes followed by dress and textile designers. Chevreul therefore influenced the work of both professional colourists and female fashion writers, demonstrating another commonality between these two groups. This direct effect of Chevreul on the discussion of and, sometimes, the design and making of women’s dress is another key finding of this research.

Justus von Liebig conducted research that led to changes in dye technology and also trained many of the men involved in the development of synthetic dyes. One of his most notable students was August Wilhelm Hofmann, the director of the Royal College

22 “Godey’s Arm-Chair,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 69 (1864): 271.
of Chemistry who in turn taught William Perkin. Hofmann’s series of synthetic dyes most likely coloured some of the purple dress textiles worn by women in the 1860s and 1870s and discussed in this thesis. William H. Brock notes the effects of Liebig’s work in many different areas during the nineteenth century. Liebig published prolifically, purposely writing many of his books for general audiences, including housewives. Among nineteenth-century chemists, he was the one mentioned most frequently in women’s periodicals, indicating that his efforts to reach non-specialist audiences worked. He wrote about the chemistry of cookery, among many other topics, and his authority was often cited by writers on this subject. Liebig’s influence perhaps ranged even more widely than that of Chevreul; the circulation of his work further demonstrates the existence of a broad culture of domestic chemistry that included dyeing. Thus these two chemists and their work entered into the everyday lives and knowledge of middle-class women.

The Encouragement of Self-Education

Many of the articles in women’s magazines about the chemistry of cookery and dyeing implicitly or explicitly encouraged the middle-class value placed on learning, particularly self-education. As already discussed, writers argued that principles of chemistry could help women better care for their families, exemplifying how, as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall note, female “[l]earning was to be used in the service of others.” The practical information, such as recipes for dyes, medicines, and meals, included in such pieces could add to a reader’s store of domestic knowledge. The emphasis on the underlying principles of chemistry, however, also signalled a broader kind of education. By understanding the chemical reactions that took place during

---

everyday events, such as roasting meat, women would better understand the way in which the world around them worked. Writers for periodicals made it clear to their female readers that the understanding and application of this kind of knowledge was a duty of a respectable, modern middle-class woman.

As well as explaining domestic duties in terms of science, periodicals also contained other suggestions for self-instruction. Women were urged to educate themselves about colour theory using slips of coloured paper and chemistry by performing experiments. Whole series of articles accompanied and directed these activities, some of which were also meant to include and instruct children.

All of these educational pieces stressed the importance of meticulous study and careful attention to underlying rules, dovetailing with the ideological emphasis on self-discipline and hard work identified with middle-class culture. As mentioned earlier, some writers expressed a desire for fashion to be subject to rules as well, which could then be followed to ensure the propriety and good taste of their adherents. Learning about science, as with learning about fashion and colour, was seen to help women better understand the world and their place in it.

*Harmony, Morality, and the Tightrope of Taste*

As these discussions show, this emphasis on self-education frequently identified particular bodies of knowledge, such as colour theory and domestic chemistry, which were to be learned. This appropriate knowledge also included the rules defining the ideal of suitable, moderate taste that dominated the fashion advice directed at middle-class women in the mid-nineteenth century. These conversations about propriety and taste also illustrate how, as Margaret Beetham discusses, magazines constructed middle-class female identity, especially through appearance and behaviour.25

---

A January 1871 contribution from a reader of the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* epitomizes the kind of counsel mentioned above. “A.B.” wrote:

> Let every woman...according to her position and means, endeavour to dress as well and as becomingly as she can, giving a moderate portion of her time seriously to this object. Let her study the harmony of colours, the simple elegance, the good taste and care in management, which distinguish a really well-dressed woman.26

Writers such as this one condemned extravagance and show of all kinds, urging women to walk a tightrope of taste, avoiding extremes of colour, material, and silhouette in dress. Authors often used the word “harmony” to describe their model, which often alluded specifically to colour harmony. As discussed in chapter three, the appropriate use of colour was seen to be a key element of good taste.

As this research has shown, there was some debate about the extent to which taste could be learned. Most writers in periodicals presented the study of their advice as a sure route to good taste. The often generic recommendations and lack of specific examples, however, presupposes some knowledge of good and bad taste in the reader. Authors also sometimes admitted that certain people, such as Parisiennes, possessed innate good taste. This idealized French woman, the “dame comme il faut” in the words of a *Godey’s Lady’s Book* writer in October 1847, exemplifies a figure possessing what Bourdieu refers to as “cultural competence.”27 Despite these caveats, however, the possibility that diligent study would improve one’s life was a dearly-held middle-class belief and was one that guided much of the advice about fashion offered in women’s magazines.

Above all, in their advice on taste, authors counselled that clothing should suit a woman’s financial and social circumstances as well as her appearance. As the editors of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* cautioned in February 1856, “Let every woman regulate her attire

---

according to her circumstances and situation; let her remember that there are places and times when and where a six-penny calico is far more suitable, and therefore, more tasteful and elegant, than a brocade.28 Women were warned constantly to avoid gaudiness, showiness, and especially cheapness or tawdriness in appearance. This advice exhorted middle-class women to recognize and keep to their social place. Luxurious clothing appropriate for upper class women would be impractical for middle-class life and likely bring financial ruin, especially because the pace of elite fashionable change would require frequent expensive purchases. Perhaps worse than trying to obtain and wear upper class dress, however, was the use of its cheap imitation. Inferior copies of elite fashions not only were seen to be of poor workmanship, but were also condemned because they pretended to be something they were not. This kind of imitative dress practice directly opposed middle-class advice to invest in quality and to present oneself honestly to the world.

In this way, dress choice was intimately bound up with morality—appropriate clothing visually represented the wearer’s good virtue and appropriate class behaviour. As Aileen Ribeiro notes, excess in dress has often been condemned as immoral and “class-appropriateness,” as judged by upper- and middle-class commentators, was a particularly important element of moral dress in the nineteenth century.29

Much of the practical advice about dress contained in women’s magazines reinforced middle-class values of industriousness and thrift. Authors often encouraged their readers to buy the best quality of dress textile possible, even if that meant having fewer clothes. As the fashion writer for Godey’s Lady’s Book claimed in December 1854, “We have always contended that a really good silk that does not spot, and can be turned, is one of the most economical dresses.”30 Clothes such as this silk dress would

28 “Editor’s Table,” Godey’s Lady’s Book 52 (1856): 177.
wear and fade less quickly than cheaper pieces, so this advice alluded to the great range in quality of dyed textiles available. Articles recommended re-dyeing as a way to prolong a garment’s usefulness. Dyeing small articles in fashionable colours could allow domestic experimentation with new hues at relatively small expense, as Ann Buermann Wass notes. This home-based activity could also provide creative pleasure. Other advice included re-using fabric from old clothes and learning or improving personal dressmaking skills. Many of these issues appeared in readers’ queries, as when a reader wrote to the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in February 1872 wondering “if a mauve-coloured silk would dye a good black, and the name of a good dyer….Mine is a very rich silk, but it is quite faded.” This sort of enquiry indicates that readers sought and used this information, emphasizing the actual practical use of the self-education so encouraged in these magazines. This kind of periodical advice stressed ingenuity and skill, rather than vast financial resources, reassuring readers that these qualities could assist greatly in the pursuit of good taste and fashionability. Such counsel offered comforting assurance that dyeing, whether at home or using a professional dyer, was not in any way shameful and would not always be judged as the result of economic necessity. Indeed, was presented as a clever, moral practice for middle-class women.

It is important to note that, despite some contemporary characterizations of fashion as an irrational despot, most advice directed towards middle-class women did not advocate avoiding fashion altogether. In fact, writers usually presented a moderate attention to fashionable dress as one of the many female duties. In the context of the periodical genre, of course, this recommendation implicitly encouraged the continued reading (and purchasing) of women’s magazines. Sustained reading of a periodical over a number of years would surely inculcate a reader with knowledgeable, refined, and

socially and aesthetically proper attitudes towards dress, fashion and taste. Appropriate awareness of fashion, however, also meant that women could conform to the world around them. Middle-class women were, above all, to be neither unfashionable nor too fashionable, instead they were expected to balance on the tightrope of taste and propriety already identified here.

Modernity, Anxiety, and Enjoyment of Fashion

Novelty and change were (and are) essential characteristics of modern fashion, as Elizabeth Wilson argues and this thesis confirms.33 Mid-nineteenth century fashion writers explicitly acknowledged this, prioritizing the new in their reports. The presence of these two specific aspects of modernity in fashion highlighted both the anxieties and pleasures of fashion and fashionable consumption, as nineteenth-century periodical conversations show. Whilst greater selection meant a wider range of choices for many middle-class consumers, this also created the need for constant decisions where fewer had been needed previously. As noted above, some fashion writers acknowledged this, recommending certain purchases over others to their readers. The desire for rules of fashion, also discussed earlier, that everyone would follow was another response to the uncertainty that abundance might engender. As Matilda Browne asserted in the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine in May 1872, “There are general rules to be observed in the art of dressing which will preserve a lady from the danger of ridicule, and by following which she need never be exposed to producing anything like a disagreeable impression by her toilette.”34 Adhering to agreed-upon maxims of good taste, it was suggested, provided security in the unpredictable modern world. This evidence of anxiety about clothing choices, motivated by the fear of public humiliation, provides a historical example of Alison Clarke and Daniel Miller’s argument that “it is

the larger social context that determines clothing choices" and that this is felt “primarily as a form of anxiety over potential social embarrassment.”

Discussions in nineteenth-century women’s magazines show that the tightrope of taste was not necessarily easy to walk. Authors criticized women who violated their rules, making accusations of vulgarity and pretentiousness. A fashion writer for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in September 1875, discussing colour combinations that “‘set our aesthetic teeth on edge,’” provided the example of “the union of blue bonnet and violet dress that the cook glories in on her ‘Sunday out.’” Examples such as this demonstrate the way in which, as Bourdieu notes, “[t]aste classifies, and it classifies the classifier.” The above author’s denigration of a servant’s use of colour in dress shows her mastery of the rules of colour appropriate for middle-class dress, legitimizing and stabilizing a middle-class social place that could be very insecure.

As shown in chapters two and three, periodicals made it clear that the specialized languages of colour and fashion, often in French, had to be learned in order to enter this world of fashionable knowledge. As the fashion writer for the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* definitively stated in October 1875, “It is impossible to write of the fashions without using French words.” The demand of understanding this vocabulary potentially could be another source of anxiety about dress, filtered through unease over language. This self-education required time and commitment, so those who did not, or would not, study were excluded. Readers’ complaints about the difficulty of this vocabulary were rarely received sympathetically, although this language used sophisticated terms.

Profound concerns over issues of respectability, propriety, and the maintenance of social position informed much of the fashion writing of the mid-nineteenth century, but this thesis has also shown that periodicals encouraged middle-class women to enjoy

---

dress and its colours. Women learned and used French fashion terms and new colour words, demonstrating their ability to employ these fashionable vocabularies and thus show their “cultural competence.”39 These magazines indicate how regular reading also created a female community which shared similar points of reference. As Margaret Beetham notes, using Benedict Anderson’s phrase, “the ‘imagined community’ of women was both the premise on which the woman’s magazine rested and a promise.”40 The questions and contributions of readers in these periodicals illustrate both the anxiety and the pleasure to be found in fashion. Facility with fashionable words also allowed entry into the periodicals’ world of feminine elegance, enabling imaginative participation in and enjoyment of a world of fashion that might be geographically or financially remote.

As Christopher Breward argues, readers could find another source of pleasure in these magazines in the “luxurious fantasy” presented, enjoying vicarious pleasures in text and image.41 This usually appeared more clearly in fashion news reports than in fashion advice, although many articles included both kinds of writing. Authors sometimes openly declared the pleasure they found in a particular material or dress, as when Matilda Browne exulted in the March 1875 number of the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine, “Pour moi, I revel in muslins.”42 More generally, the attention and enthusiasm evident in the evocative language used to describe dress demonstrates the enjoyment of contemporaries, as when the editors of Godey’s Lady’s Book in December 1843 rejoiced that “shop windows are gay with all the colours of the rainbow” in dress materials.43 The great variety of ways in which colour was described and discussed provides an especially compelling example of this delight in language and the imaginative pleasure it could give.

39 Bourdieu, Distinction 4.
40 Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own, 209.
Thus, this research shows how engagement with fashion and colour in the language of women’s magazines particularly illustrates the enjoyment women found in dress in the mid-nineteenth century. The related language of propriety and taste certainly played a major role in the construction of feminine ideals in these periodicals. Again and again, writers emphasized suitability as the “correct” model for a woman’s domestic existence, outer appearance, and, by extension, inner life. The ideal of moderation and harmony, despite the challenges that this model presented, was the ultimate, successful negotiation of the tightrope of taste.

Suggestions for Further Research

Among the magazines examined in this study, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* and the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* primarily addressed the middle-class female reader, while the readership of the *Ladies’ Cabinet* was probably better characterized as upper middle class. Selected articles from other contemporary textual sources also provided useful examples, but a thorough study of other periodicals would expand this discussion of colour and dyes. An examination of a wider range of magazines aimed at upper class or working-class readers would help determine the extent to which middle-class ideology and the construction of class and gender identities informed the presentation of colour, dyes and fashion across classes.

This research has also focused on the similarities between British and American discussions of fashion, colour, and science in mid-nineteenth century women’s magazines, largely because of the substantial textual and material evidence of language and attitudes in common. An investigation of the differences between the United States and Great Britain, concentrating more specifically on issues of national identity, would further add to the understanding of fashionable colour during this period.

Within the periodicals investigated, evidence of actual domestic use of dyes and dress emerged, especially in readers’ letters. Contemporary memoirs, as well as personal
accounts and letters, however, could possibly provide examples of personal reactions to certain colours, as well as attitudes towards and practice of dyeing and re-dyeing. A further survey of surviving objects of dress that show evidence of re-dyeing could also add greatly to the material record of this activity.

As this study has shown, colourists’ notebooks furnished many professional examples of experimentation with dyes, but most of the work examined here was with printed cottons. Similar records of tests of silk and wool could reveal similarities and differences in the testing of different fibres and the language used to discuss this. The colourists’ use of industrially-produced textile dyes was evident from their records, but business archives of these dye manufacturers, if any exist, could perhaps furnish more examples of the use and circulation of colour language in the mid-nineteenth century.

As discussed above, in both colourists’ notebooks and women’s magazines over the course of the mid-nineteenth century, there does appear to have been a shift, however uneven, from using identifiable natural dyestuffs, even if these were processed in powder or liquid form, to branded products created in chemical factories. There is a suggested narrative here of changing consumption practices that could usefully be further explored, especially by examining the dye manufacturers who targeted domestic users. Dyestuff consumption perhaps changed from judging the quality of raw materials to deciding among and relying on competing brands.

Conclusion

The colours produced by novel dyes developed from 1840 to 1875 represented the promise and work of chemistry translated into fashionable, modern dress. In particular, aniline dyes were remarkable for their newness, in their method of production and in the colours they produced. Peter J. Bowler emphasizes how scientific advances
were seen to herald the progress of civilization in the mid-nineteenth century. Colours such as mauve and magenta were understood, as shown here in chapter six, by female fashion consumers to be particularly vivid illustrations of the beauty that could result from modern chemistry. As discussed, the newly-created language which colourists, manufacturers, and fashion writers used to discuss these dyes shows the closeness of the links among their producers and consumers. This thesis is the first academic research which has explored the characteristics and extent of these associations, examining the existence of this broad common culture of dye chemistry.

By examining the place of dyes and colour in nineteenth-century women’s dress, this research has illuminated some of the meanings of colours lost since the development of synthetic textile dyes when, as Dominique Cardon notes, people began “to take colors for granted.” One of the new elements of this research lies in its investigation and weaving together of areas of knowledge which hitherto have been studied separately, notably the histories of fashion, colour, and science. The validity of this approach is evident through the many interconnections discovered and demonstrated in the following final conclusions.

Firstly, this study has established that there was a network of interests that was constructed and maintained through a shared language of fashionable colour and its use. These overlapping communities included colourists employed by textile manufacturers, dye manufacturers, contributors to women’s magazines, and female consumers of fashionable dress. Their common language emphasized novelty and, as writers in women’s magazines emphasized, could be learned by female readers. Historians of dyes and dress have acknowledged the connections between dye development and consumer

---

demand and a few of the shared terms used by dye chemists and fashion writers. This thesis, however, is the first sustained examination of the connections among all of these groups, demonstrating that colourists, dye manufacturers, fashion writers, and female customers were all very much aware of and shared the language of fashionable colour.

Secondly, this investigation has shown how some writers wished for a “science of dress,” a desire that both expressed the uneasiness with fashion’s perceived irrationality and also epitomized the contemporary value placed on science. As discussed above, historians of science have shown how science pervaded the content of women’s magazines, both to explain everyday domestic duties and as general knowledge expected of women in their familial and social roles. Dress was also a part of women’s lives that was both domestic, in its making, care, and wearing, and public, in its buying and wearing. This study has shown hitherto unexplored connections between dress and science, through the use and discussion of dyes, the efforts to make dress into a science, and the significance of both in women’s public and private lives.

Thirdly, this research has shown that professional male colourists working for textile manufacturers and middle-class domestic female dyers in the mid-nineteenth century shared ingredients and processes in their everyday practices of dyeing, commonalities not yet discussed by historians of science, dyes, or dress. Recipes using natural dyestuffs appear in both professional notebooks and women’s magazines, as well as promotional material for industrially-produced dyes later in the period. With the shared language of fashionable colour, these common ingredients highlight a collective culture of dye chemistry that encompassed professional and domestic dyers.

Fourthly, this thesis has clearly identified that principles of colour theory outlined by Michel-Eugène Chevreul explicitly affected the discussion and use of colour in

women’s dress. Chevreul’s influence on painters and interior design has been discussed by scholars, but this study’s focus on dress is new. Chevreul himself discussed appropriate colours for female portrait subjects to wear and contemporary writers, especially in women’s periodicals, employed these suggestions in their advice about colour in dress. Chevreul’s position as an eminent chemist, closely involved with tapestry production, further reinforces the many connections between colour, science, and textiles.

Finally, this work has emphasized that the use of colour in dress could be a source of both enjoyment and anxiety for middle-class women trying to negotiate the socially essential tightrope of taste, defined by suitability and harmony. As discussed, historians of fashion and dress have noted both the potential emotional pleasure and pain to be found in clothing. This research has provided specific, historically-located examples of how women, especially through periodicals, engaged with colour in fashion. As a crucial aspect of dress, correct or incorrect use of colour could demonstrate a woman’s public success or failure in dressing according to the requirements of her social group.

The animated and frequent discussion of novelty in colour in women’s magazines as revealed in this research also shows a willingness among middle-class women to embrace this particular manifestation of the constant change inherent in modernity. Writers demonstrated obvious pleasure in describing colour, despite the challenges of this effort, throughout the mid-nineteenth century. The bright colours created with aniline dyes were celebrated by colourists, dye manufacturers, periodical authors, and consumers for their vibrancy and modernity. Surviving objects, as shown throughout this study, demonstrate the great range of ways in which colour was used in all kinds of fashionable dress and textiles from 1840 to 1875.

Thus, the celebration of new dyes and the colours they produced needs to be fully recognized and can only be wholly understood within the broad mid-nineteenth century culture of dye chemistry, evident in a network of contemporary texts and interests, that included chemists, colourists, dye manufacturers, and middle-class women. This engagement with chemistry and colour, which had begun well before the introduction of aniline dyes, conditioned the reactions to these especially bright colours, with magazines acting as vital intermediaries between producers and consumers. Colour in dress, specifically that produced by novel, contemporary scientific developments, provided an opportunity for middle-class women to demonstrate how they could successfully navigate the socially essential tightrope of taste.

The texts and objects studied here both vividly demonstrated the contemporary middle-class enthusiasm for these brilliant and modern clothes. A writer for *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in April 1857 encapsulated the interconnected world identified here when she exhorted her readers, “you *have* the opportunity, for all the colors of the rainbow are at your command, all the textures of the world are laid by art and science at your feet.”

---

Bibliography

Archives:

Note: The archival items that were examined as texts are included in this bibliography. Many of these objects also provided visual evidence and thus also appear in the appendix of objects examined.

Manchester Archives

Broad Oak Printworks, Accrington, Lancashire.

Lightfoot, John, Sr. Notebook. 1818. M75/Historical Collection 1 [Green 1304].

Lightfoot, John Emanuel, or Thomas Lightfoot. Notebook. 1840-1844. M75/Historical Collection 6 [Green 1304].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1851. M75/Historical Collection 7 [Green 1304].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1851-1852. M75/Historical Collection 8 [Green 1304].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1851-1853. M75/Historical Collection 9 [Green 1304].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1854. M75/Historical Collection 10 [Green 1304].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1854. M75/Historical Collection 11 [Green 1304].


Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1855. M75/Historical Collection 14 [Green 1305].


Lightfoot, John Emanuel. Notebook. 1831, 1839-1840. M75/Historical Collection 17 [Green 1305].


Lightfoot, John Emanuel, or Thomas Lightfoot. Notebook. 1840-1844. M75/Historical Collection 29 [Green 1308].

Lightfoot, John Emanuel, or Thomas Lightfoot. Notebook. 1842-1844. M75/Historical Collection 30 [Green 1308].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1848-1851. M75/Historical Collection 31 [Green 1308].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1848. M75/Historical Collection 32 [Green 1308].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1849. M75/Historical Collection 33 [Green 1308].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1850. M75/Historical Collection 34 [Green 1309].


Lightfoot, John Emanuel, or Thomas Lightfoot. Pattern book. 1845. M75/Historical Collection 41 [Green 1310].

Lightfoot, John Emanuel, or Thomas Lightfoot. Pattern book. 1846. M75/Historical Collection 42 [Green 1310].

Lightfoot, John, Jr. Notebook. 1860. M75/Historical Collection 43 [Green 1310].

Chadkirk Printworks, Chadkirk, Cheshire.


Sydall Brothers. Notebook. After 1858. M75/Historical Collection 114 [Green 1329].


Hayfield Printing Company, Hayfield, Derbyshire.


Wimpenny, Abel Buckley. Notebook. 1876. M75/Historical Collection 90 [Green 1319].

Notebook. 1859. M75/Historical Collection 91 [Green 1319].

Notebook. 1861. M75/Historical Collection 92 [Green 1319].


Notebook. 1856-1860, 1867-1874. M75/Historical Collection 104 [Green 1301].

Macclesfield Silk Museum

Langley Printworks, Langley, near Macclesfield, Cheshire.

Ledger. February 1853-July 1857. BS 1-4876.

Ledger. February 1859-April 1861. PA 9735-14993.

Ledger. April 1861-May 1863. PA 15000-18964.

Ledger. May 1863-September 1865. PA 18965-19155 and B1-4055.

Manchester Metropolitan University

Swaisland Printworks, Crayford, Kent.

Royle, Thomas. Notebook. 1850s-1860s.

Unpublished Theses:


Primary Sources:


*Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, 1852-1875.

*Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine*, 1840-1875.


---. *The Laws of Harmonious Colouring, Adapted to Interior Decorations, Manufactures, and Other Useful Purposes*. Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers; London: Orr and Smith, 1836.


*Ladies’ Cabinet*, 1840-1848.


*Popular Science Review*, 1862-1879.


**Secondary Sources:**


Blumin, Stuart M. *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*. Cambridge: CUP, 1989.


Emptoz, Gérard. “Chimie des colorants et qualité des couleurs face au changement technique dans les années 1860.” Fox and Nieto-Galan 43-68.


Noakes, Richard. “Punch and Comic Journalism in Mid-Victorian Britain.” Cantor et. al. 91-122.


---. “Heinrich Caro, Chemist and Calico Printer, and the Changeover from Natural to Artificial Dyes.” Fox and Nieto-Galan 285-312.


Appendix

Catalogue of objects examined in the following collections:

American Textile History Museum, Lowell, Massachusetts (USA)
  Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham (UK)
  Fashion Institute of Technology, New York (USA)
  Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall, Manchester (UK)
  Manchester Archives, Manchester (UK)
  Manchester Metropolitan Museum, Manchester (UK)
  Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (USA)
  Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester (UK)
  Philadelphia Museum of Art (USA)
  Quarry Bank Mill, Styal, Wilmslow (UK)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Philip Allens Print Works</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Providence, Rhode Island</td>
<td>Date 1856, 1858</td>
<td>Accession # 1986.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>American Textile History Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>red, chocolate, black, purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Jacket</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date 1865-1876</td>
<td>Accession # 1996.24.289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>American Textile History Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Long jacket/overdress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>lavender, sea green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date c. 1855-1865</td>
<td>Accession # 1996.24.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>American Textile History Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple and black on white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date 1869-1873</td>
<td>Accession # 1996.24.59-A-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>American Textile History Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>lavender (faded)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date 1865-1868</td>
<td>Accession # 1996.24.61-A-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>American Textile History Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>light purple, dark purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of purple silk</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1963.396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of white muslin printed with mauve stripes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, mauve (purple?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of white muslin printed with mauve stripes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>white, mauve (purple?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of white muslin printed with mauve stripes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, mauve (purple?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Wool/cotton?</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Three-piece day dress of tan wool/cotton trimmed with blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>tan/beige, turquoisey blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Three-piece day dress of tan wool/cotton trimmed with blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>tan/beige, turquoisey blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Bodice</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>late 1860s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Day bodice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1971.87.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Day bodice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Bodice</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>late 1860s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Day bodice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1971.87.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Day bodice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Dress with day and evening bodices purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>late 1860s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1971.87.13.A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Evening dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Three-piece evening dress of silk taffeta checked in mauve on ivory and mauve, purple, ivory, green, pink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1865-1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1971.87.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Evening dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece evening dress of black silk trimmed with yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>black, yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1971.87.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Evening dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Madame Duriez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>France (Paris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Evening dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>pink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1865-1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1971.87.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress in green silk with two belt-peplums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1865-1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1972.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Three-piece day dress of white gauze with purple stripes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Bowes Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Three-piece day dress of light brown silk</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>light brown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | | Accession # | CST 120A [?]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Sample book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Reeves Brothers Inc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Fashion Institute of Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Silk ribbons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>79.153.17A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Sample book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Reeves Brothers Inc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860-1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Fashion Institute of Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Silk jacquards and warp prints</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>79.153.18A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Fashion Institute of Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>royal blue, ivory, brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>P85.12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Evening dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Fashion Institute of Technology</td>
<td>Accession # P87.20.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece evening dress trimmed with ruffles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>magenta, some discolouration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Fashion Institute of Technology</td>
<td>Accession # P94.8.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>turquoise, white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1858-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession # 1922.1906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of lilac watered silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>lilac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Evening dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession # 1929.48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece evening dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>Light blue gauze with pattern of woven white flowers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Muslin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession # 1935.209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of white muslin trimmed with purple ribbons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk gauze</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1935.23/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of blue/white check silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>blue, white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1937.616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of grey/white silk with pattern of purple bars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>grey, white, purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>late 1840s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk/cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1939.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of fancy stripe pattern</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>blue, white, red, green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1852-1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>light pink, dark pink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1843-1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of windowpane/striped silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>light green, green, purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1843-1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of striped silk blue, white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1843-1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of heavy silk dark blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1845-1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of striped cotton red, dark red, dark pink, light pink, black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1847-1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1852-1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of printed cotton white, lilac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of striped silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>blue, white, black, red</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1846-1848</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2292</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of figured silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>blue, white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1847-1849</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2295</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of floral printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, blue, red, lilac, brown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1847-1849</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2297</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>lilac, light blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1850-1852</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2313</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress in silk plaid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, lilac, purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1850-1852</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2314</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1847-1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress with matching cape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1853-1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, lilac, purple, maroon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1854-1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece silk day dress of grey silk trimmed with blue/white trim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>grey, blue, white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1858-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of purple figured silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1858-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of yellow and purple printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, yellow, purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1858-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of printed muslin</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, sea green, red, purple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1858-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Watered silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of royal blue watered silk</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>royal blue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860-1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of purple and white shot silk</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple, white, black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Evening dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1858-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece evening dress of white silk with lilac stripes</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, lilac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1861-1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of fancy striped silk</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>blue, black, purple (?), brown (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1861-1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two piece day dress of lavender striped silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>lavender (mauve?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress?</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1862-1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece woven day dress of green/yellow checked silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>green, yellow, white, black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1862-1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of white cotton printed with dark pink flowers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, dark pink (magenta?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Evening dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1862-1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece evening dress of yellow striped silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Evening dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1863-1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece evening dress of magenta silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>magenta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1864-1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of purple silk with black/white ikat stripes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple, black, white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1864-1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of brown silk patterned with black diamonds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>brown, black, white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1864-1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of brocaded turquoise silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>turquoise blue, orange, red, white, green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1866-1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece long-sleeved day dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple (redder than 1951.207)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1867-1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1947.2475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece long-sleeved day dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>turquoise blue (azureline?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Object name</strong></td>
<td>Evening dress</td>
<td><strong>Object category</strong></td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Designer/maker name</strong></td>
<td>England?</td>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manufacturer name</strong></td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of manufacture</strong></td>
<td>Light green</td>
<td><strong>Accession #</strong></td>
<td>1947.506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary material</strong></td>
<td>Two-piece evening dress of light green silk</td>
<td><strong>Colours</strong></td>
<td>light green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Object name</strong></th>
<th>Dress</th>
<th><strong>Object category</strong></th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Designer/maker name</strong></td>
<td>England</td>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td>1846-1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manufacturer name</strong></td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of manufacture</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Accession #</strong></td>
<td>1948.101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary material</strong></td>
<td>One-piece day dress of floral printed cotton</td>
<td><strong>Colours</strong></td>
<td>white, yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Object name</strong></th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th><strong>Object category</strong></th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Designer/maker name</strong></td>
<td>England?</td>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td>1862-1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manufacturer name</strong></td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of manufacture</strong></td>
<td>One-piece day dress of black watered silk with purple stars</td>
<td><strong>Accession #</strong></td>
<td>1949.2430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary material</strong></td>
<td>black, purple</td>
<td><strong>Colours</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Object name</strong></th>
<th>Evening dress</th>
<th><strong>Object category</strong></th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Designer/maker name</strong></td>
<td>England?</td>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td>c. 1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manufacturer name</strong></td>
<td>Silk gauze</td>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of manufacture</strong></td>
<td>One-piece evening dress of pink and white striped and floral silk</td>
<td><strong>Accession #</strong></td>
<td>1950.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary material</strong></td>
<td>pink, white, green</td>
<td><strong>Colours</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Object name</strong></th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th><strong>Object category</strong></th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Designer/maker name</strong></td>
<td>England?</td>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td>1865-1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manufacturer name</strong></td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of manufacture</strong></td>
<td>One-piece long-sleeved day dress</td>
<td><strong>Accession #</strong></td>
<td>1951.207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary material</strong></td>
<td>Purple silk striped with black and white</td>
<td><strong>Colours</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>early 1860s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1951.261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of lilac/white striped cotton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>lilac, white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1850-1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1951.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of figured silk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>blue, gold, red, peach, green, lilac, black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1952.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of floral printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, lilac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1840-1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1954.842</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of floral printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>maroon, blue, pink, grey, light green</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860-1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1955.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress of light brown silk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>Reddish-yellowish brown (Havannah or Bismarck?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1840-1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of tartan silk</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1963.198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>blue, black, yellow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1848-1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of figured silk</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1965.133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purplish red, black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>England?</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1850-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One-piece day dress of cotton printed à disposition in purple</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1971.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>white, purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1856-1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>‘Samples of French printed cottons and delaines, possibly from more</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>‘A design reference collection of roller printed cottons’ (Sykas 69) mauve, magenta</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Colourist's notebook</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Documentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (senior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/1 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>'pure Vivid Red'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/10 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Notes about a variety of subjects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/11 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written notes with some samples</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>sea green, green, blue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/12 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written notes/recipes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>blue, brown, drab, cuir(?), dove, green, pink, dahlia, buff, lilac, scarlet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1858-1859</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/13 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written notes/recipes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple, mauve, New Lilac, New Green</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1859-1860</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Colourist’s notebook</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written notes/recipes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>steam blues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/14 [Green]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist’s notebook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes with samples of dye tests and printed textiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>black, mauve, magenta, sage green, pink, yellow, blue, lilac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1865-1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/15 [Green]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist’s notebook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>pink, lilac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1857-1859, 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/16 [Green]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist’s notebook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Emanuel Lightfoot and/or Thomas Lightfoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes with some textile samples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>yellow, pink, red, lavendar, scarlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1831-1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/17 [Green]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist’s notebook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Printed samples with brief comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>steam colours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1840-1844, 1850, 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/18 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Colourist's notebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Printed samples with notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>rainbow colours, pigment colours, amaranth, mauve, magenta, orange,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1859-1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed and dyed textile samples with notes and recipes</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/22 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>purple, mauve, pink, yellow, green, dahlia, brown, blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860-1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Written notes/recipes with small printed/dyed samples</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/24 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>mauve, magenta, blue, sage green, lavender, violet, peach, sky blue,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Written notes/recipes with small printed/dyed samples</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/25 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>magenta, mauve, blue (azuline)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Emanuel Lightfoot and/or Thomas Lightfoot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Written notes/recipes with printed/dyed samples</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/29 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>green, puce, amaranth, oiseau, mallow, ruby, purple, mulberry,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Colourist's notebook</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Documentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Emanuel Lightfoot and/or Thomas Lightfoot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1842-1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution: Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/30 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written notes/recipes with printed samples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>ruby, capucine, buff, cinnamon, Esterhazy, purple, violet, rose, dove</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Emanuel Lightfoot and/or Thomas Lightfoot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1848-1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution: Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/31 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes with printed samples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>pink, chocolate, sage, blue, blue green, amaranth, orange, myrtle, buff,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution: Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/32 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>China blue, fast green, new yellow, fast blue, discharge white, magic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution: Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/33 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>orange, (resist) yellow, myrtle, lilac, royal blue, pencil blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution: Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/34 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes with printed samples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>buff, drab, green, orange, (ultra) blue, brown, rose, chocolate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Colourist's notebook</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Documentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/35 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes with printed samples; printed samples</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>dahlia, amaranth, lavender, brown, ocean green, adelaide, aventurine,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860 (with earlier recipes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>printed cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/36 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes with some printed samples</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>mauve, magenta, green, orange, black, rose drab, yellow, cinnamon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1865-1866</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>printed cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/37 [Green]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written notes with printed samples</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>'Bismark Brown,' black, red, purple, mauve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1868-1871</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Emanuel Lightfoot and/or Thomas Lightfoot</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/38 [Green]</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Samples with written notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Emanuel Lightfoot and/or Thomas Lightfoot</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>M75/39 [Green]</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Samples with brief textual notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1842-1844</td>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>black, orange, purple (a whole page), pink (a whole page), amaranth (a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>Colour category</td>
<td>Colour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>M754/6</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>fast green, purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>M754/43</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>green, black, lavender, purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>M7542</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>claret, orange, myrtle, green, scarlet, cinnamon, black, royal blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-1846</td>
<td>M7541</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>orange, myrtle, green, scarlet, cinnamon, black, royal blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844-1847</td>
<td>M7540</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>steam colours, brown, blue, dahlia, lavender, ruby, pea green, myrtle, orange, amaranth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Colourist’s notebook</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Documentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/7 [Green]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes with small samples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>eau de nil, grosselle, dahlia, scarlet, orange, capucine, myrtle, pink,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist’s notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/8 [Green]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written recipes/notes (no textile samples)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>orange, amber yellow, dead blue, Prussian blue, vermilion red, claret,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist’s notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Lightfoot (junior)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Broad Oak Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Accrington, Lancashire)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1851-1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/9 [Green]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Recipes for glue, starch, pure indigo, lemonade, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Paris?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1840-1842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Woven silks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/Design</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Design reference collection of woven silks and ribbons, probably</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>Some of the colours are pretty bright! Dark purple, light pink, light yellow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1846-1847, 1850-1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/Design</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>A monthly compilation of calicos printed in the North West</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>light/dark lilac, pink, red, brown, grey, green, orange (has turned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Colourist’s notebook</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Documentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Wilkinson and Company (different colourists)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1866-1860, 1867-1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (Oakenshaw)</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Trials of printed colours, with information on dyestuffs and (dark/light) lavender, brown, fawn, drab, purple, lilac, [ocean?] green,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Strines Printing Company</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1870-1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Registered Patterns, vol. 6: samples accompanied by copyright lilac, purple, mauve (?), magenta (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Strines Printing Company</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1858, 1875-1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Registered Patterns, vol. 9: samples accompanied by copyright lots of red</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Strines Printing Company</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1877-1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Registered Patterns, vol. 11: samples accompanied by copyright red, lilac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Strines Printing Company</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1879-1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Registered Patterns, vol. 12: samples accompanied by copyright white, black, red, yellow, lilac, red/green with gold printing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Colourist's notebook</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Documentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Joseph Lawton Syddall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Chadkirk Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Recipes/notes with small samples of printed/dyed cottons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>spirit colours, steam colours, fast purple, pink, blue, black, green,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Syddall Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Chadkirk Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Recipes/notes with some samples of printed cottons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>steam colours (pretty bright!), black, brown, yellow, red, claret, orange,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Syddall Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Chadkirk Printworks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>'[R]ecord of the quantities of colours and thickeners given out to'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple pad, rainbow steams, black, purple, brown, buff, drab, green,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Abel Buckley Wimpenny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Hayfield Printing Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Printed samples with notes, recipes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>orange, black, lilac, Humboldt, magenta?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist's notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Abel Buckley Wimpenny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Hayfield Printing Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Printed samples with notes, recipes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>lavender, violet, orange, brown, yellow, grenat (a mixture of red and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Colourist's notebook</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Documentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Abel Buckley Wimpenny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Hayfield Printing Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Date 1876-1880</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Manchester Archives</td>
<td>Accession # M75/Historical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Printed samples with notes, recipes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>buff, green, brown, green, purple, aurine scarlet, chocolate, céruleine,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Object name         | Colourist's notebook                                                                 | Object category | Documentation |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|                 |               |
| Designer/maker name | Abel Buckley Wimpenny                                                                 |                 |               |
| Manufacturer name   | Hayfield Printing Company                                                             |                 |               |
| Place of manufacture| England (North West)                                                                  | Date 1876      |               |
| Primary material    | Printed cotton                                                                        |                 |               |
| Institution         | Manchester Archives                                                                   | Accession # M75/Historical |               |
| Description         | Printed samples with notes, recipes                                                  |                 |               |
| Colours             | lilac, black                                                                          |                 |               |

| Object name         | Colourist's notebook                                                                 | Object category | Documentation |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|                 |               |
| Designer/maker name | Abel Buckley Wimpenny                                                                 |                 |               |
| Manufacturer name   | Hayfield Printing Company                                                             |                 |               |
| Place of manufacture| England (North West)                                                                  | Date 1850s?     |               |
| Primary material    | Printed cotton                                                                        |                 |               |
| Institution         | Manchester Archives                                                                   | Accession # M75/Historical |               |
| Description         | Printed samples with notes, recipes                                                  |                 |               |
| Colours             | black, red, myrtle green, magenta, violet, purple                                    |                 |               |

| Object name         | Colourist's notebook                                                                 | Object category | Documentation |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|                 |               |
| Designer/maker name | Abel Buckley Wimpenny                                                                 |                 |               |
| Manufacturer name   | Hayfield Printing Company                                                             |                 |               |
| Place of manufacture| England (North West)                                                                  | Date 1860s?     |               |
| Primary material    | Printed cotton                                                                        |                 |               |
| Institution         | Manchester Archives                                                                   | Accession # M75/Historical |               |
| Description         | Printed samples with notes, colour identifications                                   |                 |               |
| Colours             | myrtle, aurine, Bismark brown                                                        |                 |               |

<p>| Object name         | Colourist's notebook                                                                 | Object category | Documentation |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|                 |               |
| Designer/maker name | Thomas Royle                                                                          |                 |               |
| Manufacturer name   | Swaisland Printworks                                                                  |                 |               |
| Place of manufacture|                                                                                        | Date 1860-1863  |               |
| Primary material    |                                                                                        |                 |               |
| Institution         | Manchester Metropolitan University                                                     | Accession #      |               |
| Description         | Dyed/printed textile samples with notes                                             |                 |               |
| Colours             | mauve, magenta, purple, blue, black                                                 |                 |               |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Charles Frederick Worth</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>France (Paris)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Dress with day and evening bodices (substantially altered)</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>2002.696.1-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>mauve?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Collar</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk (jacquard-woven)</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Collar of pattern of feathers and flowers</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>43.771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple, black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Bonnet</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Marie Tilmann</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States (New York)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Bonnet of velvet trimmed with feathers and artificial flowers</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>47.224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple, yellow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>pina cloth and silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress in windowpane check</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>50.4042a-b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>magenta, white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Cap</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Cap of silk lace and ribbons</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>51.343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple, lavender, sea green, forest green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Day dress</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk (jacquard-woven)</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress in fancy stripe</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>51.684a-b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple, black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>One piece dress of taffeta and velvet trimmed with fringe</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>64.1003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple, black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>John Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>Silk?</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Museum of Science and Industry in</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1966.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Textile samples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>black, white, pink, orange, purple, sea-green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Possibly John Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Museum of Science and Industry in</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1966.30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Weaving instructions for small-pattern textiles (silk?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Museum of Science and Industry in</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1968.1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Wide variety of textile samples: floral, striped, plaid, geometric, dark grounds, white grounds (with pinks, lilacs), lilacs, magenta, mauve</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Pattern book</td>
<td>Object category</td>
<td>Documentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Date 1868-1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Science and Industry in</td>
<td>Accession # 1968.1.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Mostly white ground with patterns:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>striped, floral, geometric,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>novelty, mauve, magenta, green, blue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Pattern book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>England (North West)</td>
<td>Date 1840-1850</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Science and Industry in</td>
<td>Accession # 1986.1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Wide variety of cotton prints: floral,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>stripes, geometric designs, red-brown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>colours, jewel colours with black,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>white grounds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Colourist’s notebook</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>Roberts, Dale &amp; Co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td></td>
<td>Date 1868</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Museum of Science and Industry in</td>
<td>Accession # MS Paper 0420</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Written notes with some dye samples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>purple, violet (some redder, some</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bluer)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Sample book</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>Simpson &amp; Co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date 1853</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>printed cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Philadelphia Museum of Art</td>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Textile samples: small scale printed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>cottons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object name</th>
<th>Day dress</th>
<th>Object category</th>
<th>Dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Date c. 1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Philadelphia Museum of Art</td>
<td>Accession # 1948-61-3a-c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece day dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>eggplant, green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>France (Paris)</td>
<td></td>
<td>England (Bradshaw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td></td>
<td>printed cotton, printed wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Philadelphia Museum of Art</td>
<td></td>
<td>Quarry Bank Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Two-piece evening dress</td>
<td></td>
<td>Textile samples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>apple green</td>
<td></td>
<td>lilac, pink, blue, red, white, green, yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1867-1870</td>
<td></td>
<td>late 1840s-early 1850s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1996-19-2-a-b</td>
<td></td>
<td>BAA.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Dress</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pattern book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>James Hardcastle &amp; Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
<td>England (Bradshaw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td></td>
<td>printed cotton, printed wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Philadelphia Museum of Art</td>
<td></td>
<td>Quarry Bank Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Dress with day and evening bodices</td>
<td></td>
<td>Textile samples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>magenta, black</td>
<td></td>
<td>lilac, pink, blue, red, white, green, yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>late 1860s</td>
<td></td>
<td>late 1840s-early 1850s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>1997-80-1-a-e</td>
<td></td>
<td>BAA.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object name</td>
<td>Pattern book</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer/maker name</td>
<td>James Hardcastle &amp; Co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer name</td>
<td>England (Bradshaw)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of manufacture</td>
<td>printed linings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary material</td>
<td>Quarry Bank Mill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Textile samples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>green, red, blue, gold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession #</td>
<td>BAA.74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>