

*Retail
Realms*

SHOPS, SHOPPERS
& SHOPPING IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
BRITAIN *c. 1680-1830*

THE THIRD FAIRFAX HOUSE SYMPOSIUM IN GEORGIAN STUDIES
YORK HILTON HOTEL & FAIRFAX HOUSE, 22-23 OCTOBER 2015



Abstracts Booklet



Fairfax House

YORK

The finest Georgian town house in England

Rachel Bairsto

Curator, British Dental Association Museum

In pursuit of oral perfection: dentistry and dental retail in the eighteenth century

The Georgian period experienced a growing scientific interest in dental disease and treatment. In 1728 Pierre Fauchard published his seminal work *Le Chirurgien Dentiste* which set out for the first time all that was known about dentistry. He described how to carve and fit dentures, excavate a cavity, and provided oral hygiene advice. As the consumption of sugary foods rose within wealthy society, oral health deteriorated. This session will explore the growing demand for dental treatment and the variety of tradesmen trying their skills at dentistry. It will also look at the treatments that were available to patients including extraction and the fitting of ivory dentures. Practitioners travelled from town to town and advertised their services and products profusely in local newspapers. York was no exception and from the 1750s attracted some of the leading dentists of the day including Bartholomew Ruspini and Robert Wooffendale. Efforts to maintain a healthy smile required shopping for newly developed oral hygiene products: quill toothpicks, bone handled toothbrushes with pig bristles, and toothpowders. This session will also explore which products were considered the most beneficial and the most harmful.

Rachel Bairsto is the curator of the British Dental Association Museum where she has worked for the past ten years and is currently President of the Lindsay Society for the History of Dentistry. She has written extensively on the history of dentistry for a variety of dental publications including *The British Dental Journal* and *Dental Historian* and has been interviewed on television and radio.

Helen Berry

Professor of British History, Newcastle University

Keynote address

Shopping and sensibility

This plenary lecture explores the development of shopping as a 'polite' leisure activity in the eighteenth century. There has been much interest in recent years in the history of consumer behaviour, which has deepened our understanding of how goods were retailed and acquired. An interdisciplinary engagement with the history of material culture has enriched the study of goods and their owners, exploring questions of meaning, display and use. This lecture presents a case study of the diary of Sophie Von La Roche, an aristocratic German novelist who visited London in the 1780s, to explore how late-Georgian consumer culture became enmeshed in the evolving culture of sensibility.

Helen Berry is Professor of British History and Dean of Postgraduate Studies at Newcastle University. Educated at Durham and Cambridge Universities, she is a prizewinning Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and Fellow of the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. She has published widely on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century history and her most recent book, *The Castrato and his Wife* (Oxford University Press, 2011) was a Radio 4 'Book of the Week'. She has a particular interest in the history of consumer society, gender and the family. Her next book, *Orphans of Empire: The Fate of London's Foundlings* will be published by OUP in 2017. For more information: www.helenberry.net

Gaye Blake-Roberts

Curator, The Wedgwood Museum

Josiah Wedgwood – the salesman

This lecture will explore the innovative ways in which Josiah Wedgwood sold his wares through his showrooms in London, Bath and Dublin. It will look at his determination to capture fashionable markets as well as maintain his high prices and his commitment to new methods of selling his pottery through the use of exhibitions, printed catalogues, unsolicited boxes of ware, and his careful use of public newspaper advertisements. Josiah's aim was to 'Astonish the world all at once', through the retailing of his ceramics. He attempted this and succeeded by using a wide variety of marketing methods many of which were ahead of their time.

Gaye Blake-Roberts is Director of the award-winning Wedgwood Museum in Stoke-on-Trent and has been involved with the curation of Wedgwood's collections since 1979. She is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Mason's: The First Two Hundred Years*, and is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts.

Vanessa Brett

Author, *Bertrand's Toyshop in Bath: Luxury Retailing 1685-1765* (2014)

Keynote address

The Deards family's toyshops in London, Bath and Yorkshire

In the eighteenth century the word 'toy' described small luxury goods such as snuffboxes, buckles, seals, watches and jewellery, but the stock of a toyshop included a vast array of personal accessories and household wares in many different materials. This talk will explore the links between toyshops and the craftsmen who supplied them, and the relevance of location to eighteenth-century retailing.

Vanessa Brett has been researching eighteenth-century toyshops, and the retailing of luxury goods, for about ten years. A former editor of the journal of the Silver Society, she was brought up in the City of London, where craftsmen, workshops, merchants, financiers and retailers lived and worked in close proximity. She is the author of *Bertrand's Toyshop in Bath – Luxury Retailing 1685–1765* (2014).

Kerry Bristol

School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies,
University of Leeds

Sabine Winn and the art of long-distance shopping at Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire, 1765-1798

When Rowland Winn and Sabine May married in 1761, it was against the wishes of both their families. He was the headstrong twenty-two-year-old son of Sir Rowland Winn, fourth Baronet, of Nostell Priory, sent to Lausanne to finish his education; she was a flighty twenty-seven-year-old Swiss widow who spoke no English. Against the odds, the couple enjoyed a very happy marriage, albeit one that excluded most of his family from their social circle. In their early years together, the Winns spent much of their time enjoying the social whirl of London but after the birth of her son in 1775, Sabine withdrew into self-imposed exile at Nostell and refused to travel. Deprived of the opportunity to shop on her own behalf, and unable to use her sisters-in-law as 'proxy shoppers', Sabine had to rely on her husband to purchase household goods such as linens, candles and children's clothing that were not normally within the domestic responsibilities of an eighteenth-century gentleman. She also began to 'correspondence buy' from her favourite London purveyors such as the milliner Ann Charlton, who dealt in contraband or black market goods; French gloves, for example, were described as 'too dangerous a thing to deal in' although she was able to offer Sabine twenty pairs. Using trade cards, shopping lists, memoranda, advertisements, bills and receipts, my paper will explore how, when and where Sabine Winn was able to shop without leaving the comfort of her West Yorkshire home.

Dr Kerry Bristol FSA is a senior lecturer in history of architecture at the University of Leeds, where she teaches country house studies. Her current research interests encompass the history, historiography and methodologies of British and Irish architecture and sculpture between c.1600 and c.1840. She is currently at work on a co-authored book devoted to everyday life in the eighteenth century at Nostell Priory and researching a study of public sculpture in Leeds and the West Riding.

Howard Coutts

Keeper of Ceramics, The Bowes Museum

Mrs Bowes' purchases in London 1743-63

In June 1743 the heiress Mary Gilbert married George Bowes of Streatlam Castle and Gibside in County Durham. He was one of the richest commoners in England and had extensive estates with coal mines in the North of England. He had already been married once, and both he and his elder (deceased) brother had furnished the family homes in preparation for receiving a new bride on at least two occasions. The newly married wealthy bride thus had little to do other than produce an heir, and complete the furnishings of the house in a style sympathetic to her and appropriate to the status of her husband. In her accounts for 1743-63 we find detailed evidence of an extraordinary twenty year-long shopping expeditions, mostly in London, detailing her expenditure on ceramics, furniture, clothes, and additional expenditure on her family and the newly arrived heir – in fact a girl. Her accounts are a fascinating and revealing record of luxury shopping in London in the mid-eighteenth century. Though most of the items have disappeared, a handful appears to have come into the Bowes Museum through inheritance from a cousin, and give a sense of the quality of her purchasing and her range of interests.

Literature: Margaret Wills and Howard Coutts 'The Bowes Family of Streatlam Castle and Gibside and its collections', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 33 (1998), pp. 231-243.

Dr Howard Coutts is Keeper of Ceramics at The Bowes Museum. He is author of *The Art of Ceramics: European Ceramic Design 1500-1830* (Yale University Press, 2001). He has a particular interest in the status and use of decorative art objects in the eighteenth century.

Ralph Harrington

School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies,
University of Leeds

An ‘elegant, extensive, & convenient shew-room’: the architecture and interior design of the eighteenth-century shop

During the seventeenth century the traditional location of buying and selling activities, the market or fair, began to give way increasingly to the indoor environment of the shop. This process became more marked in the course of the eighteenth century, with many contemporary accounts of neglected fairs and markets reflecting the increasingly dominant place of the shop in consumer activities. Historians have remarked on the movement of the term ‘market’ itself from a concrete noun referring to a particular location to a more abstract term used increasingly to refer to a universal process, while the word ‘shop’ made the opposite journey, transforming from a generalized term used to refer to places of manufacture, storage and sale to a particular indoor space devoted to retail transactions. As the concrete space of the shop became the focus of consumer activity, so the form the building itself took, its design, layout and embellishment, became matters of increasing importance to buyers and sellers alike, and important contributions to the urban environments within which shops existed. It was during the eighteenth century that the shop became recognised and accepted as a distinct building type, and from being a space not distinguished by any particular architectural treatment became the focus for particular languages of architectural form and decoration.

Dr Ralph Harrington is an architectural and art historian who has previously taught at the University of York and with the Open University, the WEA, and the University of Hull continuing education programme. He is currently in the process of completing research for a PhD (his second) on the decorative plasterwork of Fairfax House at the School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies at the University of Leeds.

Sylvia Hogarth

Independent researcher

Your humble and obedient servant

York's prominence as a social, sporting and legal regional centre in the eighteenth century supported a range of local and visiting retailers offering luxury goods and services. Many of the potential purchasers visited York in July and August for the Assizes and the Races, and in the winter for concerts and balls in the Palladian Assembly Rooms.

Using civic archives, newspaper advertisements, invoices and directories can illuminate the practicalities of sourcing goods, attracting customers and keeping up with fashion in York between 1730 and 1790. Advertisements, in their direct address to the 'Nobility and Gentry' and their emphasis on the latest fashion and goods from London, Paris and beyond, demonstrate the sellers' efforts to attract high spending, 'genteel' customers.

While most retailing in York must have been very mundane, the talk will give examples of exotic Indian fabrics obtained as prizes of war, food fit for princes, a stay maker offering remedial spine therapy, diamonds from London, Spitalfield silks, gold and silver lace made locally, turtles from the East Indies, telescopes made in Minster Yard and Wedgwood china. Most available information is inevitably for textiles as many garments required substantial lengths of often fragile fabrics and fashion was fickle.

Dr Sylvia D. Hogarth has a particular interest in the history of textiles and embroidery in York. Previous researches have included pre-reformation vestments in York Minster, the York Company of Silkweavers, an Elizabethan marriage purse in the Castle Museum, the cotton manufactory that operated in York for a short time in the 1740s, the use of sixteenth-century trade tokens and the history of R. A. Anderson's tailoring business. These projects have been published in *Textile History*, the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* and the *York Historian*.

Derek Janes

Doctoral researcher, Centre for Maritime Historical Studies,
University of Exeter

‘... the whole Consumpt of Scotland, or nearly so, has been Smuggled’: how tea smuggled from Gothenburgh dominated the market in the north-east of England and Scotland

Drawn from current research on smuggling across the North Sea in the second half of the eighteenth century, this paper draws attention to the way that contraband tea totally dominated the market in Scotland and north eastern England from around 1740 to 1785. It will follow the supply chain from Canton to Gothenburgh, the headquarters of the Swedish East India Company, to Britain, then analyse the distribution networks within Britain.

It will draw attention to the upfront way that Gottenburg Teas were marketed by retailers and wholesalers, taking advantage of the superior quality of the product and of its lower price, to the extent that a different taste in tea developed in this region. It is clear that virtually every person selling, buying and drinking tea in northern Britain was contributing to the illicit economy, which proved immune to all attempts at enforcement, only being beaten by the slashing of duties on tea in 1784.

Some of the key players are identified and their roles in this enterprise made clear. The paper will invite colleagues to consider the importance of smuggling to all aspects of trade in Britain during this period of consumer growth and development.

Derek Janes is undertaking research towards a PhD at the University of Exeter, Centre for Maritime Historical Studies, on ‘The Business of Smuggling in SE Scotland, c.1740-1790’. This followed a career as a social historian in museums, and his work as the first manager of Gunsreen House in Eyemouth, Berwickshire, designed by John Adam for the tea smuggler John Nisbet.

Matthew Jenkins

Research Associate, Department of Archaeology,
University of York

Antiquity and improvement: polite shopping in Georgian York

This paper highlights the potential of material culture to explore and nuance historical accounts of large-scale cultural transformations in the Georgian period, such as urban improvement and consumption. It demonstrates how the detailed analysis of houses and the changes made to their fabric, form and function, sheds light on their changing uses and meanings over time. When combined with the study of maps, newspapers, wills, illustrations and early photographs, it can be used to generate a series of 'street stories' and 'building biographies' that illuminate how the urban environment was encountered at street level. The use of detailed building biographies also allows owners to be identified and linked with specific shop types and surviving fabric. Georgian York was a focus for polite society, yet even the most fashionable streets were of a very mixed character in which new architecture in the classical vernacular stood cheek-by-jowl with older timber-framed buildings. Furthermore, this older architecture was utilised for fashionable shops and was not simply regarded with distaste. The paper also allows interiors to be investigated and helps to illuminate the experience of eighteenth-century shopping.

Dr Matthew Jenkins worked as a journalist for *The Independent* newspaper for twelve years before returning to academia. His PhD explored York during the eighteenth century, developing an interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of the architecture of the Georgian city, including both retail and domestic spaces. He is now working on a collaborative project with Dr Charlotte Newman that utilises English Heritage's Architectural Study Collection to investigate London during this period. Their first article explores Georgian Mayfair.

Elenor Ling

Research Assistant (Prints), The Fitzwilliam Museum,
Cambridge

Rethinking the eighteenth-century trade card: thoughts on their development, form and function

Historians have examined trade cards as a category of object to establish the idea that the birth of a consumer culture occurred in the eighteenth rather than the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, the importance of the main argument has led some scholars to make some generalizations, select untypical examples and place too much weight on some aspects of their function. In this paper I will argue that the term 'trade card' is in many ways an unsatisfactory blanket term, applied to printed ephemera of all shapes and sizes. I will argue that more interesting discoveries can be made by looking closely at the different formats and considering them in relation to shopkeepers' general, varying attitudes to advertising. The paper will conclude with a closer look at the Fitzwilliam Museum's collection of trade cards and bill headings, sent to a moderately wealthy family living in London, to see what conclusions can be drawn about the appeal to a single household of a range of shopkeepers using wildly different advertising strategies.

Elenor Ling is a Research Assistant within the department of Paintings, Drawings and Prints at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, working primarily with prints. She has curated several exhibitions on subjects including eighteenth-century caricature, Van Dyck's portrait etchings and French eighteenth-century reproductive prints. In 2012 she was awarded a Jonathan Ruffer Curatorial Grant from the Art Fund to carry out research into the museum's collection of trade cards, which culminated in an online exhibition and a contribution to the recent exhibition *Treasured Possessions*. She has recently completed a paper on the print albums compiled by Lord Fitzwilliam.

Rose McCormack

Post-doctoral research assistant, Department of History and Welsh History, Aberystwyth University

In pursuit of pastries, millinery and men: polite female consumption in eighteenth-century Bath

Eighteenth-century Bath is widely recognised as a site of female conspicuous consumption. Much of this reputation is owing to contemporary satirical prints, plays, novels and lampoons, which commented on the supposed social freedoms elite and middling women experienced at the resort. Authors and artists frequently portrayed female visitors shopping literally in the spa's millinery and pastry shops to satisfy their material and gluttonous desires, and shopping metaphorically, in assembly rooms and pleasure gardens, for status, influence and sex.

This paper explores the many facets of polite female consumption in eighteenth-century Bath. The first half considers fictional representations, which reveal contemporary attitudes towards women and leisure at the spa. The second draws on female spa life-writings, sourced from archives, record offices and libraries, which shed light on the lived consumer experiences of elite and middling women who visited Bath c.1780-1830. The investigation reveals areas of consumption less visible in fiction, in particular, female expenditure on medical aid, charitable causes and gifts. It also considers more recognisable forms of female spa consumption, through a close examination of female life-writings, trade cards and newspapers, in an attempt to uncover the lived as well as the fictional experience of the female spa shopper.

Whilst it would be easy to assume that polite spa-visiting women spent their time and money in pursuit of pastries millinery and men (Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, chapter vii), their life writings demonstrate a more diverse consumer experience and encourage us to question the common identification of the female spa visitor as an inherently idle and superficial historical character.

Dr Rose McCormack is a post-doctoral research assistant in the Department of History and Welsh History at Aberystwyth University, working on the project; 'The Gogerddan Estate: Property, Power and Patronage c. 1660-1950'. In July 2015 she graduated from her PhD within the same department, where her research was supervised by Professor Peter Borsay and Professor Martyn Powell. Her doctoral thesis is entitled *Leisured Women and the English Spa Town in the Long Eighteenth Century: A Case Study of Bath and Tunbridge Wells* and her paper today offers a glimpse into the purses of elite and middling women at eighteenth-century Bath.

Rachael Morton

Doctoral researcher, University of Warwick

Marketing quality in eighteenth-century England

The expansion of the metalware trades in the eighteenth century led to the production and retail of a wider variety of objects and materials than previously seen, from pricey decorative items in silver or gold, cheaper alternatives in brass and pewter, and new and exciting innovations in ormolu and Sheffield plate.

This paper will explore how metalware was marketed, and how quality was defined and conveyed. Individual producers, and retailers, utilized various networks of knowledge, and communicated and restricted information to advertise their goods and convey new messages about quality. These circulated by word-of-mouth, in print, and were inscribed onto the objects themselves. The physical and material quality of metalware was difficult to determine just by viewing the object. Therefore, this was intertwined with intangible qualities, such as the reputation of the products, the people and the processes. It involved a negotiation between regulators, producers, retailers and consumers.

Rachael Morton is in the third year of a PhD in history at the University of Warwick, supervised by Professor Giorgio Riello and funded by the AHRC. Her thesis is provisionally titled: *The Making and Possessing of Quality: the Metalware Trades in England, c.1675-1785*. In it she questions how quality was defined and who defined it. In particular, her thesis investigates to what extent definitions of quality focused upon materials, workmanship or aesthetics. She focuses upon the metalware trade and the small consumer goods or 'toys' that were made using an array of metals, alloys and plating techniques.

Alison O'Byrne

Department of English and Related Literature, Centre for
Eighteenth Century Studies, University of York

‘Behind great glass windows, absolutely everything one can think of is neatly, attractively displayed’: foreigners’ accounts of shopping in London

This paper will explore accounts of shops by foreign visitors to London in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Foreigners in London were consistently surprised, delighted, and sometimes awe-struck by London’s shops. Throughout this period, travellers commented on the kinds of goods on display, the manner of displaying them (both in shop windows and in the shop itself), and the quantity of goods on display. This paper will explore how these accounts of shops by foreigners in London suggest a distinctively British form of commercial modernity in which pedestrians are attracted and distracted by the variety of goods on offer, and lured into shops in which a world of commodities is on display. This paper will draw on accounts of shopping in London by a range of foreigners in London, including Sophie von la Roche, Georg Christoph von Lichtenberg, Krystin Lach-Szyrma, Nikolai Karamzin, and George Scharf, whose vibrant sketches of London’s shops and advertisements offer a fascinating counterpoint to the museum-like images of shop interiors produced by Rudolph Ackermann, in order to consider the distinctiveness of shopping in London in this period.

Dr Alison O'Byrne is lecturer in the Department of English and Related Literature and Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies at the University of York. She has research interests in representations of the city in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and has published on Westminster Bridge, pedestrianism in the city, spectatorship in the city, and the artist George Scharf.

Markus Poetzsch

Associate Professor of British Romantic Literature, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada

Browsing the past: Leigh Hunt and the memorial function of shopping

Previous scholarly commentaries on shopping in the Romantic era (c.1800-1820) have tended to focus on the immediate sensual, communal and imaginative pleasures of this activity – namely, the aesthetic spectacle of things, the shaping of public sites and communities of sociability, and the facilitation, via consumer goods, of hedonistic fantasy. The entertainment value of shopping was thought to lie in these three (sometimes entangled) diversions. Yet I will suggest that a wholly different kind of pleasure emerges in Leigh Hunt's 1820 essays 'Of the Sight of Shops' and 'A Nearer View of Some of the Shops'. Hunt's flâneuresque descriptions of shopping in London focus on the memories, both personal and more broadly cultural, evoked by the consumer spaces entered and products seen. Hunt in fact anticipates the conflation of the museum and the shop that theorists of popular culture (like Mark Moss) associate with the twentieth-century emergence of the department store. For Hunt, the pleasures of shopping – whether in a crowded toy store or in the cavernous gallery of Benjamin West – are of a nostalgic sort that recapture the very experiences, like solitude and reflection, thought to be eroded by the advent of consumer capitalism.

Markus Poetzsch is Associate Professor of British Romantic Literature at Wilfrid Laurier University in Canada. He has written extensively on aesthetics in the Romantic period and published *'Visionary Dreaminess': Readings in Romanticism's Quotidian Sublime* (Routledge, 2006). His current research pursues various threads in ecocriticism, including animal studies, the politics of eighteenth-century landscape gardening, and the role of Romantic pedestrianism in shaping environmental consciousness. He is interested, in short, in how the Romantics moved through diverse environments and how the nature of those movements affected their relation to the world and to one another.

Jon Stobart

Department of History, Politics and Philosophy, Manchester
Metropolitan University

A world of goods? Products, promotion and place names in English shops, 1740- 1820

Eighteenth-century consumption is often characterised in terms of an expanding world of goods. Indeed, the term is so often repeated that we rarely stop to think what it actually means: what world or worlds were represented in the things available to shoppers and how did this change over the course of the eighteenth century as the range and variety of products expanded? Looking at a fairly narrow range of goods, Cox and Dannehl (2007) emphasised the importance of Europe and especially links with the Grand Tour, whereas Bickham (2008) has argued the empire increasingly dominated the provision of groceries and the consciousness of consumers.

In this paper, I want to engage with, but expand on, both of these studies. I draw on a range of sources, from probate inventories to newspaper advertisements, to examine the world geography created through product names and promotional materials. My concern is less with the actual patterns of supply (in that sense, it matters little whether Barbados sugar actually came from that particular island or whether Naples biscuits were really imported from Italy). Rather, I am interested in the geography of image and imagination, as conjured through place names and associations. This tells us much about the processes used by shopkeepers in marketing their goods and about England's changing position in the eighteenth-century world.

Professor Jon Stobart's research has long focused on the space and practices of shopping, leisure and consumption in eighteenth-century England. He has published widely on the topic, including *Spaces of Consumption* (2007), *Modernity and the Second-hand Trade* (2010) and *Sugar and Spice* (2013). His recent work has focused on consumption and the country house, including the provision of goods from metropolitan and provincial retailers.

Jane Taylor

Doctoral researcher, English Language and Literature
Department, University College London

Catalogues of trivialities? Consumer experience in Austen's writings

Austen's letters, maligned by E. M. Forster, a self-confessed 'Jane Austenite', as 'catalogues of trivialities which do not come alive' have proven, if anything, to bring alive the consumer world of the late eighteenth century. It is indeed rare to encounter a history of shopping, fashion, or consumption of the period that does not draw upon the experiences recorded in her 'unique' correspondence. With their detailed descriptions of shopping excursions, whether at fashionable London warehouses such as Grafton House; the mantua-makers and shops of Bath's Milsom Street; trips to provincial Basingstoke haberdashers; and visits from the itinerant 'Lace Man', Austen's letters reveal how the eighteenth-century shopper navigated a variety of commercial environments. This paper considers Austen's letters and fiction as literary artefacts in active engagement with the rising fashion system, a phenomenon that had become increasingly tied to print culture, whether in the nascent fashion periodical or the popular novel. Indeed, this consumer revolution was, as Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace contends with reference to the 'eighteenth-century coinage' of the verb '*to shop*', as much of a 'linguistic' as a 'cultural process'. In light of this, I turn to the language of Austen's letters and fiction, which perceptively, and often satirically, explore the copious 'trivialities' and commodity fetishism of consumer experience.

Jane Taylor is an ARHC-funded PhD student in the English Language and Literature department at University College London. Her research traces the intersections between fashion, material culture and text in the writings of Jane Austen, and explores the rise of the fashion periodical throughout the late eighteenth century. She has published on Austen and has a forthcoming article on Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui*.

Chloe Wigston Smith

Associate Professor of English, University of Georgia

‘Every employment delightful’: shops, self-sufficiency and feminine networks in Frances Burney’s *Cecilia* (1782) and *The Wanderer* (1814)

This paper examines the representation of feminine shopkeeping in Burney’s two novels, investigating how they link modest and proper retail spaces to economic self-sufficiency between women. Both *Cecilia* and *The Wanderer* highlight the horrors of fashion, evoking how metropolitan fashion culture, shopping and retail spaces present particular cultural and corporeal risks to women. Shops are spaces in which Burney’s heroines are stalked, sexualized and even experience temporary madness. Nevertheless her novels carve out other commercial opportunities for her female characters that resist the conventional associations between commerce and sexuality. My paper focuses on Cecilia’s charitable support of Mrs Hill’s haberdashery shop and Juliet Granville’s work as a haberdasher in *The Wanderer*. Whereas scholars have focused on the negative portrayal of fashion, the complexities of charity and the risks of commerce in these novels, my paper demonstrates how retail work palliates the collapse of female sexuality and shopping that permeated textual and cultural representations of the commercial sphere. At the same time, these model shops stand at a distance from the nexus of commercial luxury and pleasure, discussed by historians such as Maxine Berg, in their propriety and scale. Together *Cecilia* and *The Wanderer* demonstrate the rewards of modest, feminized retail spaces, even if these ideal shops prove only temporary respites from the inescapable risks of the marketplace.

Chloe Wigston Smith is Associate Professor of English at the University of Georgia. Her book, *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge, 2013), argues that the representation of women’s labour with clothes and the clothing trades contributed to the emergence of the novel, as the genre sought to define itself against fashion and textiles. She has published also on eighteenth-century costume books, trade cards and stage costume. Her current project focuses on material objects and gender in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic world.

Beth Fowkes Tobin

Professor of English and Women's Studies, University of Georgia

Shopping for shells

The tongue-twister – ‘she sells seashells by the seashore’ – may refer to Mary Anning (1799-1847), who did indeed sell at the seashore the fossilized shells she had found along Lyme Regis's cliffs. Shells were sold in the Georgian period at the seashore, but they also were sold in retail shops in such places as London, Sheffield, Liverpool, and York. This paper, beginning with a brief survey of the kinds of businesses that dealt in shells, focuses on two retail shops in London that sold shells, among other items. The first was owned by George Humphrey, a natural history dealer, and the other by Hannah Robertson, who had run a school for young ladies and the decorative arts in York and had moved to London with her daughter to open a shop selling materials for craftwork and decorative arts. Both Humphrey and Robertson advertised their shops as spaces where their customers could learn how to do shellwork, offering their daughters as expert teachers who could introduce clients to the latest techniques, tools, and materials for making decorative shell-encrusted objects.

This blending of education with shopping underscores the complexity of social interactions in retail spaces and points to a long tradition of shops being sites of informal instruction, especially within the fields of leisure-time decorative arts and craftwork. Robertson's shop filled with arts and crafts supplies is not that far removed from today's yarn shop and craft store with their evening classes and Saturday workshops. Bringing potential customers into a shop to learn how to use the shop's wares is a clever way to build a customer base, but it also transforms that space from a site of consumption into a site of production, where customers learn how to craft aesthetically pleasing objects and in the process experience a range of haptic pleasures that reinforce their desire to purchase art supplies and craft materials.

Beth Fowkes Tobin, Professor of English and Women's Studies at the University of Georgia (USA), is the author of *The Duchess's Shells: Natural History Collecting in the Age of Cook's Voyages* (Yale University Press, 2014) and three other books on eighteenth-century arts and letters. She co-edited with Maureen Daly Goggin a series of Ashgate volumes on women and material culture, including *Material Women: Consuming Desires and Collecting Practices, 1750-1950* (2009) and *Women and the Material Culture of Death* (2012), which contains her essay 'Women, decorative arts, and taxidermy'. Her current research is concerned with the material culture of natural history collecting in the Enlightenment and its relationship to the construction of knowledge about the natural world.

Amina Wright

Senior Curator, Holburne Museum

Shopping for paintings in Georgian Bath

Of the many luxury products available in Bath, oil paintings were among the most valuable. Visits to artists' showrooms, exhibitions or auction sales were a favourite pastime for those who could afford the admission charge: as André Rouquet observed in 1755: 'People who have nothing to do, make it one of their morning amusements, to go and see these collections'.

A number of contemporary accounts shed light on the broad range of paintings to be seen in the city: William Hoare and Thomas Gainsborough's celebrity portraits attracted frequent comments and numerous commissions. A visit to the Brock Street studio of Joseph Wright (formerly of Derby) with its spectacular Italian landscapes was a highlight of the 1776 season. With its large population of retired nobility and gentry, Bath was also an important centre for sales of Old Masters.

This paper will examine the ways in which artists adapted domestic spaces to the business of selling paintings, from the Gainsborough family's use of city-centre retail premises to Thomas Barker's purpose-built suburban gallery. It will also show the importance of such exhibitions as a marketing tool for artists.

Amina Wright is Senior Curator at the Holburne Museum in Bath. Between 2001 and 2011 she was closely involved in the Holburne's acclaimed redevelopment project, as well as a number of exhibitions relating to British eighteenth-century painting, drawings and Georgian Bath. Previous publications include *Joseph Wright of Derby: Bath & Beyond* (2014), the exhibition catalogue *Pictures of Innocence: Children in Portraits from Hogarth to Lawrence* (2005) and catalogue entries for *Pickpocketing the Rich: Portrait Painting in Bath 1720-1800* (2002). She is currently working on an exhibition of animal paintings by George Stubbs.

Primary materials parallel sessions

Experts

Valerie Jackson-Harris – *the eighteenth-century trade card*

Valerie Jackson-Harris has been researching and dealing in ephemera for over thirty-five years. Her expertise has enabled museums, libraries and private collectors around the world to acquire rare and difficult to find items to complement their collections. She is Chairman of the Ephemera Society, member of the Antiquarian Booksellers Association and custodian of the Peter Jackson Collection. In 2003, with the late Peter Jackson, she jointly received the Maurice Rickard Medal awarded by the Ephemera Society of America.

Mike Rendell – *Richard Hall, Haberdasher, at No 1 London Bridge*

Mike Rendell spent thirty years as a lawyer in Bristol before retiring to Spain a decade ago. He has used his time to research a huge collection of papers from the eighteenth century. These included everything from diaries to inventories, accounts to shopping lists, and other ephemera kept by an ancestor who traded as a hosier and haberdasher from his shop at One London Bridge in the 1760s. The results of Mike Rendell's studies were published in 2011 as *The Journal of a Georgian Gentleman*. He is working on further books on aspects of eighteenth-century life and speaks regularly to a wide range of audiences on Georgian topics.

Exploring Georgian York's retail realms

Walking tour leaders

Darrell Buttery

Darrell Buttery has been Chairman of York Georgian Society and Chairman and President of York Civic Trust. He was the first Chairman of the Friends of Fairfax House. He serves on other heritage bodies such as Europa Nostra and the Art Fund, and is Curator of pictures at the Merchant Adventurers' Hall. He lives in York and has had a lifelong interest in the history of the city.

Matt Jenkins

Dr Matthew Jenkins worked as a journalist for *The Independent* newspaper for twelve years before returning to academia. His PhD explored York during the eighteenth century, developing an interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of the architecture of the Georgian city, including both retail and domestic spaces. He is now working on a collaborative project with Dr Charlotte Newman that utilises English Heritage's Architectural Study Collection to investigate London during this period. Their first article explores Georgian Mayfair.

Panel chairs

Emma Major – Panel 1: Objects of desire

Dr Emma Major is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of English and Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies at the University of York. She has been awarded a British Academy Fellowship to pursue her project 'Faithful Citizens 1789-1829' so is currently on research leave.

Hannah Greig – Panel 2: The world of consumption

Dr Hannah Greig is Senior Lecturer in eighteenth century history at the University of York and the member of the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies. She is interested in the history of fashion, material cultural and urban life. Her book *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (OUP, 2013) focuses on what it meant to be fashionable between 1688 and the early 1800s. Hannah also advises film, theatre and television dramas, and collaborates closely with producers and directors to interpret primary research materials for production development. Her recent credits include *The Duchess*, *The School for Scandal* (Bath Theatre Royal), BBC 1's *Poldark* (series 1 and 2) and a forthcoming feature film set in the court of Queen Anne.

Christopher Ridgway – Panel 3: Retail environments

Curator at Castle Howard since 1985, Christopher Ridgway has lectured and published extensively on the history of Castle Howard and its collections, architecture, and landscape. He is Chair of the Yorkshire Country House Partnership, a collaborative research project between the University of York and the country houses of Yorkshire. He is Visiting Research Fellow at the University of York, and Adjunct Professor attached to the Department of History at the National University of Ireland Maynooth. He is a member of the Attingham Trust council, and sits on the Lord Chancellor's Forum on Historical Manuscripts and Research. His most recent publication is *The Morpeth Roll, Ireland Identified in 1841* (2013).

Jon Mee – Panel 4: Texts and the retail realm

Jon Mee is Professor of Eighteenth-Century Studies in the Department of English at the University of York and Director of the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies. He works across the eighteenth-century and Romantic periods, with a special interest in Austen, Barbauld, Blake, Coleridge, Hays, Hazlitt, Keats, Wollstonecraft, and Wordsworth, among others. Jon also teaches and writes on Charles Dickens. He has a long-standing interest in radical responses to the French Revolution and has just finished a book called *Print, Publicity, and Popular Radicalism in the 1790s: The Laurel of Liberty*, to be published by Cambridge University Press in 2016.

Mark Westgarth – Panel 5: Shopping beyond boundaries

Dr Mark Westgarth is Lecturer in Art History and Museum Studies and Programme Director, History of Art with Museum Studies, at the University of Leeds. He was previously Lecturer in Museum and Heritage Studies and Programme Director for the MA in Museum & Heritage Studies at the University of Salford. His PhD research at the University of Southampton, following a BA in History of Fine & Decorative Art and in MA Country House Studies at the University of Leeds, investigated the Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Helen Berry – Panel 6: Branding, advertising, display

Helen Berry is Professor of British History at Newcastle University. She is a prizewinning Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and Fellow of the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. She has published widely on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century history and her most recent book, *The Castrato and his Wife* (Oxford University Press, 2011) was a Radio 4 'Book of the Week'. She has a particular interest in the history of consumer society, gender and the family. Her next book, *Orphans of Empire: The Fate of London's Foundlings* will be published by OUP in 2017.