A Study of Domestic Sewing Machines in Mid-Victorian England, c. 1851-1875

English Domestic Sewing Machines, c. 1851

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Abstract The sewing machine was the most widely-advertised item in mid-Victorian English periodicals. However, no historians have so far analyzed how English advertisers created the link between the domestic sewing machine and middle-class women, or what impact they may have had on gender relations. This paper treats sewing machines as a medium to enhance our view of gender and social history, consumer culture as well as material culture studies. Studying the advertisements of sewing machines reveals the traditional values and modern consumer culture of mid-nineteenth England, and also offers a sense for how advertisers expected people to react. Sewing machines could not only offer women aspiration and authority, but could also function as a timesaver through which a woman could attain a truly modern lifestyle. Buying a sewing machine for their wives symbolized their status as a breadwinner and a caring husband, as well as serving as an appreciation of their wives' domesticity. Sewing machines also provoked anxiety for both sexes because some believed that women would lose their morality and gender identity, whereas others believed that if relieved of domestic drudgery women would have time to educate themselves, which threatened to men and the gender hierarchy.

Key words sewing machines, advertisements, middle-class women, material culture, mid-Victorian England.

Introduction

The sewing machine was patented in 1846 by the American Elias Howe (1819-1867). It was promoted in Britain by William F. Thomas (b. 1829), and later improved by Isaac Merritt Singer (1811-1875). Sewing machines soon became the most widely-advertised item in mid-Victorian women's magazines and general newspapers and periodicals: between 1860 and 1880, for example, "sewing machine advertising constituted as much as 80 per cent of domestic machine advertisements" (Loeb, 1994, p. 43). Richards (1990) states that the Great Exhibition of 1851 was the point of departure for modern advertising, reflecting Victorians' increasing awareness of the material world, and Loeb (1994) argues that "advertisements reveal an important cultural pattern" (p. 180). Fernandez (1999), for instance, argues that in mid-nineteenth century America the domestic sewing machine was considered to be a "woman's best friend," a "mother's helper" and the "Angel of the House" (p. 157). Snodin and Styles (2001) state that

black-japanned sewing machines looked like tea caddies, and functioned as luxurious drawing room accoutrements in Victorian England. It is striking, however, that there has been no study of the relationship between the innovation of the time—the sewing machine and English middle classes, a study which could extend our knowledge of gender and social history, consumer culture as well as material culture studies. This article, therefore, examines how the visual image or verbal descriptions found in advertisements represent the social-cultural meaning of the sewing machine for middle-class women and how sewing machines inspired pleasure and anxiety in both men and women in the mid-Victorian period.

Sources

The sources for this article are approximately 200 articles and 250 advertisements published in contemporary periodicals, dating from between 1851 and 1875. They are based on the one set of the women's weekly magazine *The Lady's Newspaper* (1847-1863) (*LN*), the two sets of the women's monthly magazines *Le Follet* (1846-1900) (*LF*) and *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1852-1879) (*EDM*), as well as the three sets of the weekly magazines: *John Bull* (1820-1892) (*JB*), *Punch or the London Charivari* (1841-2002) (*Punch*) and *Judy or the London Serio-Comic Journal* (1867-1895) (*Judy*), which targeted a slight different group of middle-class readerships, but all enjoyed a huge circulation at the time. Such popular periodicals can be seen to show us how middle classes were recommended to sewing machines. This article also studies women's diaries and enquiries published in women's magazines, with a view to understanding of mid-Victorian attitudes to sewing machines. Fashion plates present how fashionable middle-class women used sewing machines, and cartoons reveal how mid-Victorian commentators judged machine-sewing. Inventories suggest how many mid-Victorian amateurs might have actually owned a sewing machine.

Sewing Machines and Social Identity

Until the late 1860s, sewing machines were costly and only affordable for a family possessing at least a middle-class income. In 1858, Newton Wilson's Boudoir sewing machine cost £10.10s. ("Boudoir," October 9, 1858, p. 208), and in 1859 Francis Gibson's hand-sewing machine was priced at £3.3s ("Advertisements," October, 1859, n.d.). Sewing machine advertisers used celebrities as their patrons to add their prestige and to attract consumers. Newton Wilson Co., for example, claimed that its sewing machines were used "by the Queen and the ladies of the Court, and by thousands of the clergy and gentry, to whom reference can be given" ("Advertisements," February 22, 1862, p. 126). Lady Alfred Spencer-Churchill (1832-1901) endorsed Messrs. Finkle & Lyon sewing machines as "the best machine for household purposes" ("Advertisements," May 17, 1862, p. 319), and Wheeler & Wilson claimed that its machines were "pleasant and agreeable" for "nobility" and "gentry" ladies ("Wheeler & Wilson," October, 1866, p. 241). S. Smith Co. advertised the fact that the Agenoria hand-sewing machine was recommended by the Crown Princess of Prussia (1840-1901), the Sultan of Turkey and the Nawab

Nazim of Bengal ("Advertisements," December 24, 1870, p. 1879).¹⁾ In these cases, a domestic sewing machine was sold on the basis of being a symbol of a user's social status rather than a practical function.

From the 1860s onwards, sewing machines could be rented or paid for in instalments. Messrs.

English Domestic Sewing Machines, c. 1851 -1875

Watts & Co. sewing clubs advertised no entrance fees, liability or fines, and a cost of only 3s. per week for a sewing machine. Sewing clubs were quite suitable for:

Persons, who have been in the habit of paying weekly as borrowers of sewing machines will

Persons, who have been in the habit of paying weekly as borrowers of sewing machines will not only save the money they now foolishly throw away, but at the same time secure to themselves the possession of one of the best and most celebrated sewing machines in the world ("Advertisements," April 23, 1864, p. 258).

Through renting, more lower middle-class women had the opportunity to access a sewing machine, but a financially astute woman would acquire a machine for herself permanently through the payment of instalments. To take Wheeler & Wilson's machine advertisements in 1872, for example, a machine would cost from £6.6s. for a cash payment, or could be acquired via a small payment of 2s.6d. or 5s. per week, or 10s.6d. or 21s. per month, depending on the functions of the machine ("Sewing machine," February, 1872, n.d.; "Wheeler Wilson's," October, 1872, n.d.). In 1875, Seth Miss' advertisements, as published by the weekly periodical *Women and Work* (1874-1876), stated that:

Time is money. The wife, the mother, the spinster, the child, all ladies should purchase a sewing machine for 1s. It reads like misprint, but it will be forwarded to all parts of the United Kingdom, carriage paid the family gem is the best time saver, in hemming, stitching, embroidery, &c. ("Advertisements," June 19, 1875, p. 4).

This acknowledges that women who sewed were often hard pressed for time, and that sewing machines were a timesaver. While different periodicals offered their readers different kinds of products, this text makes it clear that by 1875, a wider range of sewing machines had become available at prices that were affordable for different social classes. The daily newspaper *The Morning Post* (1773-1937) announced that "no article of household use is now so much desired as a sewing machine," and that "it is recognised as a necessity in every family" (May 28, 1870, p. 7). Home sewing machines were no longer the exclusive symbol of middle-class homes. In accordance with the view of the Scottish social philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790), social necessities were things which the "established rules of decency have rendered necessary to the lowest rank of people" (p. 368). In other words, once "luxury" sewing machines were now viewed as the epitome of "decency," which was naturally a social "necessity."

Agenoria was the Roman goddess of silence and industry, giving relief from pain and anxiety and endowing children with capabilities like walking, singing and reasoning. In this case, so silent a sewing machine would help its user to improve her sewing skills, and provide relief from pain and anxiety.

Sewing Machines, Femininity and Fashion

As sewing was used to construct Victorian femininity, domestic sewing machines were advertised as a gendered object. Because of different ranges of consumers, sewing machine companies used different images of femininity to promote their products. One of Newton Wilson's advertisements in 1858, for example, described how "in an old England village, both thrifty and neat," "lovely and pure grew the clergy-man's daughter" Jane, dressed in a high-throated style, who used the "Boudoir" sewing machine to do her needlework. "From fairies you'd think she had borrow'd a wand," indicating that such an innovation brought "thrifty" Christian women a great pleasure ("Boudoir," October 9, 1858, p. 208). This rural "old England" imagery chimed with longer-term representation of sewing as a traditional female activity and virtue. The very name of this machine suggests that it was an important appliance for the boudoir, and one which any upper middle-class woman should have (Oddy, 1999).

On the other hand, in 1860, the advertisement of C. T. Judkin showed the sitter, dressed in a fashionable flounced dress, working on her "elastic stitch" novelty sewing machine, announcing that the company would teach buyers how to use such a machine in its London depot, and pointing out that by using the machine, "elastic" stitches would create a neat, pretty fitted dress for its urban customers, and by doing so make women's clothing budget "elastic" too ("Judkin's," November, 1860, n.d.). In another advertisement for Newton Wilson's "Chain-Stitch, Lock-Stitch, and Knotted-Stitch" sewing machines, in 1862, the advertising figure wore a three-quarter sleeved dress trimmed with lace and rosettes, claiming that Newton Wilson's were "the only machines that will do braiding and embroidering," and that they were "used by the Queen, and the ladies of the Court" ("Advertisements," February 22, 1862, p. 126). This advert was meant to suggest that these exclusive functions were appreciated by the gentry, and that a woman who purchased this machine could dress themselves as the gentry did. Home sewing machines "connected to modern transformations underway in women's dress" (Gordon, 2012, p. 23), and represented a sense of the user's modern self.

Moreover, fashion plates displayed not only fashionable dresses but also fashionable culture. A fashion plate from LF in July 1865 <figure 1> shows a seated woman sewing in her garden when a friend comes to visit her. This represents sewing as a pleasurable activity, aided by a small, portable sewing machine. Wheeler & Wilson Co. announced that its new sewing machine included an umbrella or parasol stand which protected the user from the sun and rain when using it outdoors ("Wheeler and Wilson's," October 19, 1861, p. 249). This suggests that a number of women tended to do their needlework outdoors, and it might also have been a way to display their machines to passing spectators. Sewing activities thus moved from a private drawing room to a semi-private home garden, reflecting the fact that sewing was not only a self-improving activity to construct the inner value of a woman, but also an exciting activity which could help to maintain her outer appearance. A fashion plate from LF in March 1869 portrays two well-dressed ladies engaged in instruction or sharing their sewing experiences with another lady, who is working on her treadle sewing machine in either a parlour or a drawing room, indicating that sewing was not just an individual activity but a fashionable group activity. In 1871, the

diaries of Alice Mary Moore Wade (1850-1871), who was the youngest child of Ponsonby Arthur Moore (1816-1871) and Augusta Sophia Gardner (d. 1908), mentioned that "a number of people came to see Machines, c. 1851 [machine-sewing]" (Moore, March 23, 1871, p. 115).

English Domestic Sewing Machines, c. 1851 -1875



Figure 1.The Sewing Woman with A Visitor in Garden, *LF*, 1 July 1865, Worthing Museum and Art Gallery: 1963/1465.

²⁾ Hamlett (2010) comments that "the dining room also contained a range of goods associated with female occupation," such as workboxes and sewing machines (p. 44).

Sewing Machines with Aspiration

Advertisers often proposed an idealized dream to their customers: namely, that with the help of the sewing machine middle-class women could achieve control over their lives, as enjoyed by upper-class ladies. In 1873, one of Whight & Mann's products, called "Little Darling," was advertised as "a good servant," which relieved its owner of hard work ("Advertisements," December, 1873, n.d.). On August 19, 1874, Judy announced "Mamma's little helper-a sewing machine" ("Fine arts," p. 174). Such advertisements reflected the idea that a machine gave middle-class daughters, wives and mothers additional time to enjoy the things that they liked to do. Moreover, the aristocratic-sounding names of some sewing machines implied that middle-class women yearned to be able to aspire to the lives of upper-class ladies, as was the case of Wheeler & Wilson's Belgravia sewing machines (from £7.7s. to £21.) ("Belgravia," July, 1868, p. 15), Whight & Mann's Princess hand lock-stitch machine (four guineas) ("Advertisements," October, 1868, p. 80), Oliver Co.'s "superior" lever hand-sewing machine-the Princess Alice (4 1/2 guineas) ("Advertisements," December 3, 1868, p. 226); Newton Wilson's the Queen Mab (£3.3s.), Cleopatra (£4.4s.) and May Queen (6 1/2 guineas) ("Advertisements," October, 1869, n.d.), and S. Smith Co.'s "the Princess of Wales" (£4.4s.) and "Alexandra" (£9.) ("Advertisements," December 24, 1870, p. 879). The use of the names of powerful female figures reinforced the sense that the sewing machines were in some way "feminine" as well as sources of authority, which was of course impressive in itself.

Apart from being sold as conferring rank, sewing machines were promoted as a good companion for a woman. The Ladies' Hand-Book of Millinery, Dress-Making, and Tatting (1843) claimed that "it [needle] is a home friend; and while it confers upon us all unnumbered blessings, it is a source both of utility and pleasure, that is within the reach of all" (p. 49). A servant was someone who helped the mistress to do certain work in her household, but a friend was for loving, helping, playing and comforting her all of the time. Advertisers therefore applied this concept to sewing machines, too. Wilcox & Gibbs Co. noted that its noiseless family sewing machine was "the companion of a lady," that the sleeping infant would not be disturbed by this "promoter of comfort," and that it was the "willing slave to the lady's hand" ("Advertisements," December, 1865, p. 96). Bartlett's Patent Reversible Sewing Machine, on the other hand, called itself the "Friend of the Family" ("Advertisements," June, 1867, p. 48), while Whight & Mann's machine promoted itself as "a woman's best friend" ("Advertisements," April, 1873, n.d.). The implication was that a user-friendly sewing machine understood what its "friend" needed, and that it would not cause her any trouble.

Sewing Machines and Gender Relations

Domestic sewing machines improved the quality of middle-class women's lives, and also constructed men's position and masculinity. Wilcox & Gibbs Co. noted that its sewing machines were "perfect for domestic use," and emancipated every housewife from "the drudgery of the needle" ("Advertisements," January 26, 1862, p, 271). On October 31, 1868, JB published an article under the title of "A wife's

comfort":

English Domestic Sewing Machines, c. 1851 -1875

It [a sewing machine] is both delicate and simple in design, so much so that it would form no unsightly ornament to the drawing-room. While it is strong enough to sew cloth its touch is sufficiently light for the finest muslin, and it is by far the most rapid in its action of any sewing machine. [···] And will not the sewing machine bring joy into the family circle? We know it will. It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than the drudgery the old hand-sewing presents to that performed by the machine. The toil, the uninteresting toil of drawing the needle through the hundreds [···] a wife who has been employed for a month making a set of shirts is always at a discount as regards cheerfulness when her husband comes home, and hopes to see her bright and happy (p. 739).

According to this advertising article, a sewing machine, which was not only a fashionable ornament for furnishing a middle-class house, but also a practical object for reducing the time a wife spent sewing, brought great joy into the home. This article also implies that a wife who did hand-sewing was a "good" companion, but that she might not be a cheerful companion to her husband: a caring husband ought really to buy such a machine if he hoped to see his wife "bright and happy." Snodin and Styles (2001) point out the way sewing machines were decorated like objects of papier-mâché in order to make them acceptable in a domestic setting (p. 435). In another example, the Florence Sewing Machine made claims to be "the best family sewing machine in the world":

The man who sports a costly watch or expensive jewellery, when his wife, with weary fingers and heavy heart, is wearing away her life at midnight, stitching for the children while they sleep, for the want of a sewing machine is shamefully thoughtless, or worse - heartless. Buy a "Florence" for your friend, your sister, or wife; it will shorten her toil, and lengthen her life ("Advertisements," January, 1868, p. 8).

This suggests that if a man were a breadwinner able to purchase luxury products, then he should be able to buy a sewing machine for his wife, sister or friend. A sewing machine was supposed to relieve a woman of her domestic "drudgery," so that she would not be exhausted and her body would remain healthy. A sewing machine was therefore a signifier of modern femininity. This advertisement also reveals that some middle-class women might feel ashamed to ask for a sewing machine, perhaps owing to a traditional culture in which women were not allowed to operate machines (Coffin, 1994, p. 757). These two advertisements suggest that Victorian men were expected to be in charge of decisions on expensive purchases outside the usual household budget, but also focused on the need for them to show their consideration and domesticity (Hamlett, 2010; Cohen, 2009; Vickery, 2006).³⁾

³⁾ Vickery (2006) argues "while a wife's consumption was predominantly repetitive and mundane, a husband's consumption was by construct characteristically occasional and impulsive, or expensive and dynastic" (p. 16). Cohen (2009) states that middle-class mid-Victorian men actively controlled the .

However, not all commentators approved of the idea that sewing machines were to replace hand-sewing by women. In July 1865, "The sewing-machine," issued by the children's religious periodical *The Child's Companion* (1832-1923), claimed that "our little girls must learn to use the needle, and hem, and sew, and make button-holes, in spite of sewing machines; for I have not heard whether sewing machines can darn or patch, or do all the work that is to be done" (p. 194). This suggests not only that a machine could not perform all kinds of needlework, and so that schools should maintain sewing lessons, but also that, for conservative Victorians, hand-sewing was a constructor of girls' morality, domesticity and femininity in mediating a patriarchal society. Likewise, a cartoon from *Punch* (January 10, 1857) describes a scene in which "old Mr Wiggles tries his new sewing machine, and finds his garments throw out buttons in a very indiscriminate manner" (p. 20). This description makes it clear that no sewing machine could fix buttons, and that without sewing skills no one could work on a machine properly. Sewing was regarded as a woman's duty, and so men were not expected to cross the gender boundary to do domestic sewing, despite the fact that male tailors continued to play their role in the market.

Furthermore, many articles claimed that a woman who practiced hand-sewing maintained the gender hierarchy. On March 5, 1859, *Punch* claimed that "the very best Sewing Machine a man can have is a Wife" (p. 91), and in December 1861, *The World Fashion* (1824-1891) declared that "there is a sewing machine that we can recommend. It is a wife" ("An undeniably," n.d.). Both articles concluded that "no gentleman's establishment is complete without one of these Sewing Machines in the house." Such quotes perhaps imply that hand-sewing objects produced by a wife represented her sincerity to her husband, whereas machine-sewing was a form of cheating. A cartoon from *Punch* (March 3, 1866), entitled "The sewing-machine", on the other hand, showed a male draper declaring that a sewing machine was "a most wonderful invention", and that "it really executes the work so efficiently and quickly", but his concern was that "there's nothing left for the ladies to do now but to improve their intellects" (p. 46). This text reveals that, when women did not have sewing to occupy them, too, they might be tempted to educate themselves, which could be a threat to men. On May 14, 1870, *Punch* extolled "a 'noiseless sewing machine'—a good wife" (p. 192), suggesting that a good wife was not only voiceless but also able to sew, and so an ideal woman did not need to have a sewing machine.

Sewing Machines in Reality

Turning to practical functions, although domestic sewing machines were often advertised as being simple, easy and reliable for any lady or child to sew efficiently, it was difficult to run the machines properly

domestic interior (p. 60). Hamlett (2010) points out that Victorian men maintained an attitude of genteel domesticity, and took pride in home-making (pp. 88-90).

^{4) &}quot;The early sewing machines were good only for sewing flat seams and for sewing on trimmings. Machines for the bind stitching of hems, for buttonholing and for sewing on buttons were not developed until towards the end of the nineteenth century" (Forty, 1980, p. 53).

English Domestic Sewing Machines, c. 1851 at -1875

unless the user had some sewing skills. According to the column "The Englishwoman's Exchange", in *EDM* (August, 1870), many women did in fact exchange their sewing machines. One reader, "Luisa", wrote that she had two sewing machines "to dispose of equal to new, having been very little used" (p. 103) suggesting that sewing machines were as not easy to use as the advertisements claimed, given that "Luisa" had hardly used them. In the enquiries published by the women's monthly magazine *The Ladies' Treasury* (1858-1895), the reader "Perplexity" described how her friend had told her that she had to be in a very good temper and to have a great deal of patience when using a machine. She was an impatient person, though, and hoped that ladies would honestly recommend the best sewing machine to use, which suggests that some middle-class women did pay attention to the functions of a sewing machine ("Sewing machine," August, 1872, p. 112). For this reason, a lot of readers and even editors of magazines asked for recommendations from ladies with experience working with machines as regards help in choosing a "useful" machine. Some sewing machine companies offered a trial period to attract more customers. The vendors of the Florence sewing machine, for instance, declared that "if any purchaser of the Florence is dissatisfied after a three months' trial, we will give in exchange any sewing machine of similar value known to the trade" ("Advertisements," August, 1867, p. 64).

From the evidence of the periodicals, it seems that many readers had experience of working on a sewing machine. According to my survey of female Legacy Duty papers (IR19/95 to IR19/149) held in the National Archives at Kew, UK between 1850 and 1875, however, only one inventory, belonging to the dressmaker Hannah Faulkner (1834-1863), lists a sewing machine (IR19/121/820).5) It is possible that valuable sewing machines were passed on to the next generation or to others, as women were less likely to use them in later stages of life, and elderly women might be less inclined to adopt new technologies. Sewing machines are also seldom mentioned or listed in the women's diaries and letters, and it is possible that periodicals fabricated readers' letters to promote sewing machines.

Conclusion

Studying the advertisements of sewing machines reveals the traditional values and modern costume culture of mid-nineteenth England, and also offers a sense for how advertisers expected people to react. Given the diversity of potential customers, sewing machine advertisers invented different images and statements to persuade different categories of mid-Victorians to buy their products. A thrifty clergyman's daughter working on her machine was associated with traditional values, while those machines recom-

⁵⁾ In Britain, sales of sewing machines in the 1850s and 1860s were quite low. According to data on the value of American-manufactured sewing machines imported into Britain, they "had reached around 7,500 per annum by 1865, growing to perhaps 100,000 by 1870" (Godley, 1995, p. 56). Until the mid-1870s, "a good half or more of the machines sold to domestic customers went to poorer households, where women used them to boost family incomes by the taking in sewing on a freelance basis or by working at home for firms manufacturing ready-made clothes" (Snodin & Styles, 2001, p. 452; Godley, 1999, p. 261).

mended by the gentry or by fashionable ladies were advertised as the trappings of a highly comfortable and fashionable life. Sewing machines could not only offer women aspiration and authority, but could also function as a timesaver through which a woman could attain a truly modern lifestyle. A caring husband would purchase a machine to maintain his wife's happiness and health, and to show his role as the breadwinner as well as his consideration and appreciation of domesticity. Sewing machines, on the other hand, also provoked anxiety for both sexes because some believed that without hand-sewing women would lose their morality and gender identity, whereas others believed that if relieved of domestic drudgery women would have time to educate themselves, which threatened the gender hierarchy. However, by 1875, sewing machines were advertised no longer the exclusive symbol of middle-class homes, but recognized as a necessity in every family.

Appendix: The Summary of Mid-Victorian Domestic Sewing Machine Advertisements

Date	Brand	Features in Advertisements	Keywords from Advertisements	Symbolic Meanings
October 9, 1858	Newton Wilson	Used by a rural clergyman's daughter	"In an old England village, both thrifty and neat," and "lovely and pure grew the clergyman's daughter."	Traditional female values
November, 1860	C. T. Judkins	Providing novelty function	"Elastic stitch novelty sewing machine."	Fashionability
February 22, 1862	Newton Wilson	Providing exclusive functions and used by celebrities	"The only machines that will do braiding and embroidering, [] In use by the Queen and the ladies of the Court, and by thousands of the clergy and gentry, to whom reference can be given."	Fashionability & social status
May 17, 1862	Messrs. Finkle & Lyon	Recommended by the celebrity	"Lady Alfred Spencer-Churchill."	Social status
April 23, 1864	Messrs. Watts & Co.	The payment of instalments	"Not only save the money they now foolishly throw away, but at the same time secure to themselves the possession of one of the best and most celebrated sewing machines in the world."	Affordable by lower class women
December, 1865	Wilcox & Gibbs Co.	Reliving woman's domestic drudgery and a user-friendly sewing machine	"Noiseless Family Sewing-Machine, silent, simple, compact, [] the most perfect family machine in the world [] the companion of a lady [] this 'promoter of comfort,' and the "willing slave to the lady's hand."	Aspiration and women's comfort

October, 1866	Wheeler Wilson	Used by celebrities	"Pleasant and agreeable for ladies to work. Adopted by the Nobility and Gentry."	Social status
June, 1867	Bartlett's Patent Reversible Sewing Machine	A user-friendly sewing machine	The "Friend of the Family."	Women's comfort
January, 1868	Florence Sewing Machine	Reliving woman's domestic drudgery	"The best family sewing machine in the world [] Buy a 'Florence' for your friend, your sister, or wife; it will shorten her toil, and lengthen her life."	A caring man
July, 1868	Wheeler Wilson	Aristocratic-sounding names	"The Belgravia sewing machine."	Female authority
October, 1868	Whight & Mann	Aristocratic-sounding names	"The Princess.' A new patent hand lock-stitch machine."	Female authority
October 31, 1868	Wheeler Wilson	A wife's comfort	"The sewing machine bring joy into the family circle [···] a wife who has been [···] cheerfulness when her husband comes home, and hopes to see her bright and happy."	A caring husband
December 3, 1868	Oliver Co.	Aristocratic-sounding names	"The Princess Alice' patent leaver hand lock-stitch sewing machine."	Female authority
October, 1869	Newton Wilson	Aristocratic-sounding names	"The Queen Mab", "Cleopatra" and "May Queen" sewing machines.	Female authority
December 24, 1870	S. Smith Co.	Aristocratic-sounding names, and recommended by the celebrity	"Princess of Wales" hand sewing machines and "Alexandra" treadle sewing machines patronized by "The Crown Princess of Prussia, the Sultan of Turkey and the Nawab Nazim of Bengal."	Female authority and Social status
October, 1872	Wheeler Wilson	The payment of instalments	"By the payment of a small Premium, and a Rental of 2/6 or 5/- per week; also 10/6 or 21/- per month."	Affordable by lower class women
April, 1873	Whight & Mann	A user-friendly sewing machine	"Woman's best friend."	Women's comfort
December, 1873	Whight & Mann	Reliving woman's domestic drudgery	"Facts for Ladies—a good servant. 'The Little Daring,' silent lock-stitch machine."	Aspiration
June 19, 1875	Seth Miss	Price	"A sewing machine for 1s. It reads like misprint."	Losing the symbol of social status

English Domestic Sewing Machines, c. 1851 -1875

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List of Abbreviations

EDM The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine

ER The Englishwoman's Review

LF Le Follet

LN The Lady's Newspaper

JB John Bull

Judy or the London Serio-Comic Journal

Punch Punch or the London Charivari

WF The World Fashion

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