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The Representation of Sewing Women in *Godey's Lady's Book*

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This paper aims to consider the features and meanings of images of "sewing women" as they appear from the late 1840s to the early 1850s in *Godey's Lady's Book*[1], which was the most popular women's magazine in 19th-century America.

Godey's Lady's Book was a women's magazine first published in Philadelphia by Louis Antoine Godey in 1830. It was a pioneer in the genre of the comprehensive women's magazine, and stood out for its duration of publication and high circulation. From the first issue, it dealt with European fashionable styles and the manners of the upper classes. After the writer Sarah Hale joined the staff as an editor in 1837, the magazine enriched its coverage of literature and a wide range of other topics related to women's lives[2].

In this magazine, portrayals of sewing women frequently appeared from the late 1840s onward, described in stories, sung in verse, and illustrated in prints. Those feminine portrayals then disappeared in the early 1850s. Why did "sewing women" appear and continue to be represented for five years? Around the 1850s, while images of sewing women were appearing in *Godey's Lady's Book,* seamstresses' harsh working environments had already emerged as a social issue in the UK.

Regarding the UK, which led the global industrial revolution, previous studies have focused attention on seamstresses in relation to the working-class labor issues. I also discussed images of the English seamstress deployed in the media in a previous paper[3]. But there are few statistics from the time, and few previous studies[4], on the same theme in 19th-century America, which was then a developing nation. However, if we look to the evolution of portrayals of "sewing women" in *Godey's Lady's Book* in light of the industrial and labor history of the eastern United States, we can clarify a process of transformation of the image of women associated with the development of the modern garment industry.

In Japan, the garment industry and fashion of the United States have often been overlooked or seen as peripheral to those of Europe. Here, by focusing on the region of the country that experienced growth with the arrival of the Industrial Revolution and developed an advanced ready-to-wear industry, it may be possible to reveal one phase of the change in the relationship between fabric and women in the modern age. Note that in the following paper, *Godey's Lady's Book* is abbreviated to "GLB."

1. The emergence of the seamstress image

As I mentioned at the beginning, figures of sewing women were frequently seen in GLB around 1850. Although these images and descriptions of sewing women look varied at first glance, several common types can be identified. Let us consider how readers viewed sewing women by examining the features of the image, starting with a bizarre image of a woman from 1847 (Fig.1).

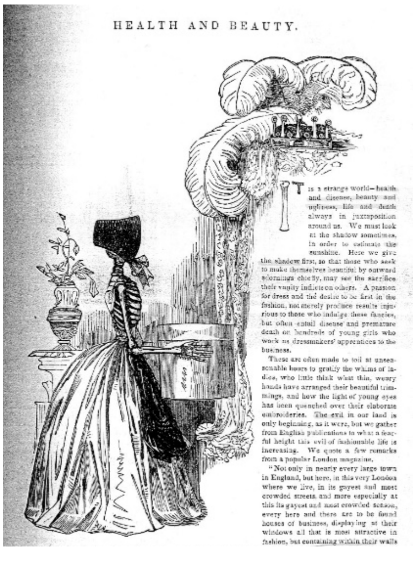
In the July issue of that year, a figure of a woman with a hat-box appeared as an illustration for the special topic, "Beauty and Health." It is immediately evident that her arms holding a box and her upper body are nothing but bones, and the head peeking under the hat is also a skull. What does this ominous image mean? At the beginning of the article, it is stated:

> It is a strange world--health and disease, beauty and ugliness, life and death always in juxtaposition around us. We must look at the shadow sometimes, in order to estimate the sunshine. Here we give the shadow first, so that those who seek to make themselves beautiful by outward adorning chiefly may see the sacrifice their vanity inflicts on others. A passion for dress and the desire to be first in fashion not merely produce results injurious to those who indulge these fancies, but often entail disease and premature death for hundreds of young girls who work as dressmakers' apprentices in the business[5].

"The sunshine" means health, beauty and life, in other words healthy and beautiful women who are all dressed up. But here the focus is on the women lurking in their shadow. According to the article, girls from 14 to 20 years old are crowded into small rooms to make ball dresses for more than half a day, and it describes young seamstresses literally working themselves to the bone.

A decorative pattern to the upper right of the seamstress seems to imply a doorway ahead of her. She may be about to deliver a completed hat to a customer. There is a striking contrast between the brilliant feathers indicating the customer and the simple apron of the seamstress, in other words, between the lady who dresses up and the women who sew.

Let us look at another similar example. In 1853, two scenes were depicted side by side in a print (Fig.2): on the right side is a woman who holds a needle and a rag in an old, narrow and dimly lit room. A small candle on the table illuminates her vacant look and sunken cheeks. Her poor clothes are crumpled, a bare-boned hand emerging from the



HEALTH AND BEAUTY.

IT is a strange world—health and disease, beauty and ugliness, life and death always in juxtaposition around us. We must look at the shadow sometimes, in order to estimate the sunshine. Here we give the shadow first, so that those who seek to make themselves beautiful by outward adornings chiefly, may see the sacrifice their vanity inflicts on others. A passion for dress and the desire to be first in the fashion, not merely produce results injurious to those who indulge these fancies, but often entail disease and premature death on hundreds of young girls who work as dressmakers' apprentices to the business.

These are often made to toil at unseasonable hours to gratify the whims of ladies, who little think what thin, weary hands have arranged their beautiful trimmings, and how the light of young eyes has been quenched over their elaborate embroideries. The evil in our land is only beginning, as it were, but we gather from English publications to what a fearful height this evil of fashionable life is increasing. We quote a few remarks from a popular London magazine.

"Not only in nearly every large town in England, but here, in this very London where we live, in its gayest and most crowded streets, and more especially at this its gayest and most crowded season, every here and there are to be found houses of business, displaying at their windows all that is most attractive in fashion, but containing within their walls

Fig. 1 July 1847, p. 49. (All illustrations are from *Godey's Lady's Book* unless otherwise stated.)

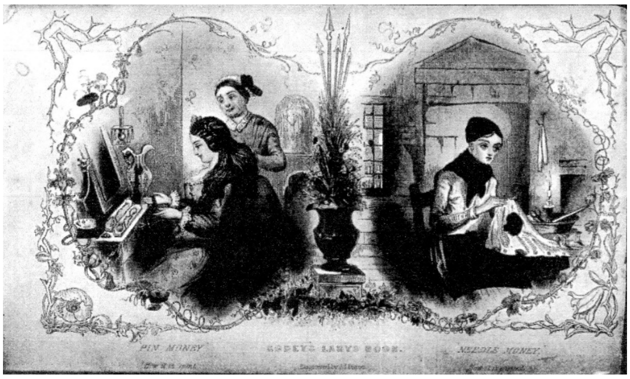
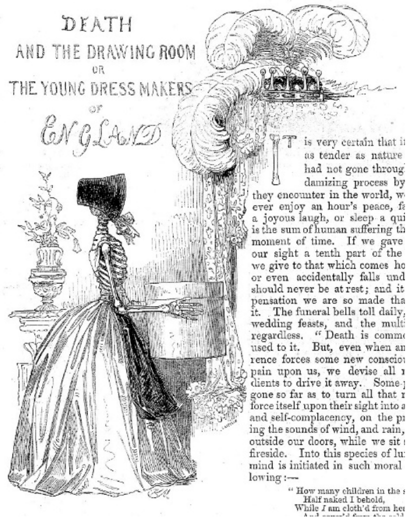


Fig. 2 January 1853.



DEATH
AND THE DRAWING ROOM
OR
THE YOUNG DRESS MAKERS
OF
ENGLAND

IT is very certain that i
as tender as nature
had not gone throug
damizing process by
they encounter in the world, w
ever enjoy an hour's peace, f
a joyous laugh, or sleep a qu
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moment of time. If we gave
our sight a tenth part of the
we give to that which comes h
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should never be at rest; and it
pensation we are so made th
it. The funeral bells toll daily,
wedding feasts, and the mult
regardless. "Death is comm
used to it. But, even when a
rence forces some new conscio
pain upon us, we devise all
dients to drive it away. Some
gone so far as to turn all that
force itself upon their sight into
and self-complacency, on the p
ing the sounds of wind, and rain,
outside our doors, while we sit
fireside. Into this species of lu
mind is initiated in such moral
lowing:—

"How many children in the
Half naked I behold,
While *I* am cloth'd from he

Fig. 3 *The Illuminated Magazine*, June, 1843, p. 97.

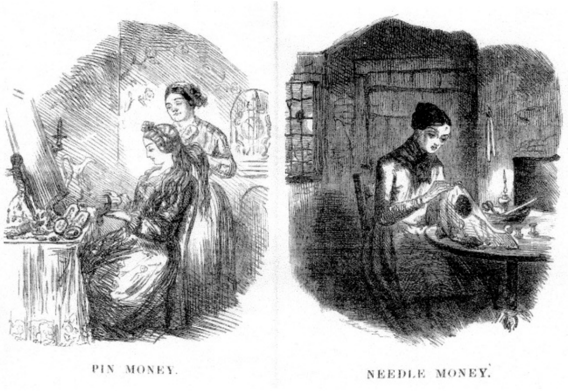

PIN MONEY.
NEEDLE MONEY.

Fig. 4 *Punch*, vol.XVII, 1849, pp. 250-251.

cuff. The scenery from the small window reveals that she lives in an attic. Meanwhile, on the left side, there is a lady wearing a dress with lace, sitting in front of a dressing table in a room with fine furniture such as a clock and a lamp. She chooses a piece of jewelry with graceful hands as if she is going to a ball. A servant wearing a simple dress arranges her hairstyle. The titles of these prints, "Pin Money" and "Needle Money," refer respectively to money spent lavishly for fashionable dress, and wages earned by seamstresses for their livelihoods. When the two images, the stylish lady and the wreck of a woman, are shown side by side, the misery of the seamstress is thrown into sharp relief.

The figure of the seamstress was depicted in this way starting in the latter half of the 1840s. Articles about the wealthy class seem intended to simultaneously convey the poverty and hardship of the lower class to the reader. However, the articles were not originally written with this purpose in mind. The fact is that these articles published in GLB were altered and reproduced from British publications[6]. The image of the seamstress as a skeleton noted above (Fig.1) was derived from the London-based *The Illuminated Magazine*[7] (Fig.3), while the two women's images (Fig.2) seem to have been based on work by John Leech in the satirical London magazine *Punch*[8] (Fig.4). Here, instead of regarding GLB as a mere imitation, we must look at how those articles were modified. Only through a close consideration of this can we share common recognition of the problems involved.

Let us look first at the seamstress as a skeleton. The image in GLB (Fig.1) was copied carefully from *The Illuminated Magazine* (Fig.3). Although the line is slightly thicker and simplified, nothing else is particularly different. However, the original title has been removed and the content of the article is quite different. In the United Kingdom, the labor environment of youth grew worse as a result of the Industrial Revolution, and a labor survey in 1843 exposed the realities of life for young women who worked as seamstresses. In response to this government report, *The Illuminated Magazine* called for policies to address the problem of poverty among the lower classes[9]. By contrast, GLB, quoting words from the UK magazine, described the condition of seamstresses for the reader as follows: "We should be careful not to make unreasonable requisitions to have dresses completed; and then the delay in paying their bills by fashionable ladies—this often destroys the hopes of the dress-maker, if it does not quite kill her."

As to the image of the woman, it described as follows, "The figure represented has not wasted from consumption or disease brought by tight-lacing—she has evidently been worked and starved to death. Who would seek the beauty fashionable dress can give at such a price—the destruction of sister[10]." By indicating that this ominous female image did not represent health damage caused by the corset, but the seamstress exhausted from making dresses, the magazine demanded that fashionable corset-wearing readers pay attention to them.

What about the two contrasting images of women? In the UK publication *Punch*, there is a lady adjusting her appearance on the left page, and a seamstress on the facing right-side page (Fig.4). The servant modifying the lady's hairstyle, the snake jewelry in the lady's hands, the shadow of the sunken cheek of the seamstress. Because two different situations are juxtaposed in a detailed depiction, the satirical aspect is emphasized. On the other hand, in GLB a vase in the middle divides the two scenes on either side, and a decorative floral pattern sets them in a frame. The aspect of social critique becomes less pronounced, and the picture resembles the other fashion plates and prints that made GLB popular[11]. Although the article in GLB stated that the evil in our land was only beginning, the *Tribune*, in fact, had reported in 1845 on the harsh work of seamstresses in New York[12]. That is to say, GLB depicted the figure of the seamstress, but it didn't seem to have a pressing interest in the actual conditions of the lower class in American society. Rather than raising concerns about the social problems of the working class, as in the UK magazine, GLB expected its readers, who were also its *customers*, to view the hardships of seamstresses as their own problems.

2. To become a seamstress

In the previous section, we examined the alterations of articles in GLB that had originally appeared in English publications. Readers are encouraged to show compassion for the battered seamstress, and reflect on their own behavior. Stories reflecting a moral attitude toward the seamstress were published, similar in tone to these articles and images. In this chapter we will consider the reader's gaze directed toward the seamstress by focusing on their circumstances in these stories.

The story "The Spring Bonnet," published in 1850, has three characters: Miss Wheeler, who makes bonnets for a living, and her two customers, Caroline and Martha[13]. The heroine, Caroline, orders a bonnet from Miss Wheeler on referral from her close friend Martha, but cannot get her order completed soon. When impatient Caroline visits Miss Wheeler, she finds the seamstress with her head down and her face buried in her hands (Fig.5). Although Miss Wheeler has continued working for two days overnight, the hats on the table for Caroline and Martha are still without embellishment. Caroline suggests that she take a rest, saying "let my bonnet lie over until next week." In contrast, Martha is cruel to Miss Wheeler's child, telling her his mother is sick.

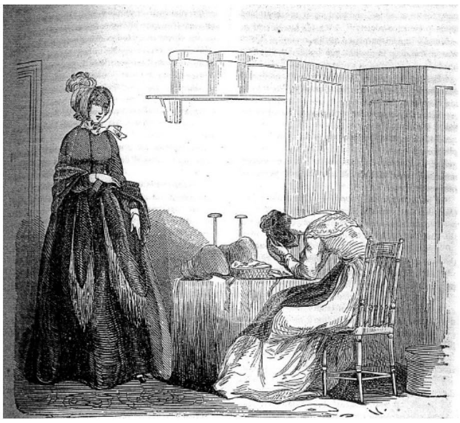


Fig. 5 June 1850, p. 381.

She says to the child that she doesn't care--she wants her bonnet and must have it. Describing the contrasting behavior of two characters, a charitable woman and a self-centered woman, the story encourages readers to be self-controlled with regard to fashion and to have compassion for the lower class. Although work does of course provide needed financial assistance for members of this class, the story preaches that concern for the seamstress should not be forgotten in the quest to satisfy one's own desires.

In other stories, we can see the diverse circumstances faced by underprivileged seamstresses[14]. For example, a story published in 1851 is about a seamstress named Ruth Lee. What should be noted in this story is how she became a seamstress. After her father's death, Ruth is told by her mother, "Strangers will reap the fruits of your dear father's taste and judgment in planning and executing this comfortable and elegant abode." Reacting to this situation, Ruth decides to become a seamstress, saying, "while I have youth and health, I will look to no one but myself for my support--I have decided on making dresses." But her mother refutes her, "You be the dressmaker! --But you play and sing so beautifully! If you must do something, why not teach music?" Through their conversation it is revealed that Ruth, who has talent for singing and music in addition to needlework, has been brought up in luxury. But she insists that the work of a seamstress "is honest employment," and gets an order to make dresses from her cousin, Bertha. Here the cousin, still in the upper class, pretends to have no acquaintance with her, and the family of the cousin also tries to hide their relationship. Because Ruth makes dresses that fit perfectly, Ruth becomes Bertha's favorite dressmaker. But former schoolmates also do not also hide their arrogant attitudes toward Ruth, who became a seamstress. Now, Ruth realizes that "her position is so degraded, --her employment so mean."

As with Miss Wheeler, who appears in the story "Spring Bonnet," Ruth supports the family as a young woman at home on behalf of her absent father. But their origins are different. Ruth was once, like the cousin, in the position of the dress customer. The title of the story, "The Dress-Maker and the Dress-Wearer," refers to the customer ordering a dress and the seamstresses making a dress. Drawn in the print are proud Bertha, wearing a beautiful dress, and Ruth drooping her head with scissors and cloth in her hands (Fig.6). As illustrated by the cousin who tried to deny her relation to Ruth, those who produced and consumed dresses belonged to different social strata. However, women economically and socially dependent on men had no other choice but to relinquish their positions of wealth when a father died or a husband failed in business. In such cases, educated women may have tried to be tutors or writers in order to continue to live independently and maintain their dignity; otherwise they inevitably had to take on work as seamstresses.

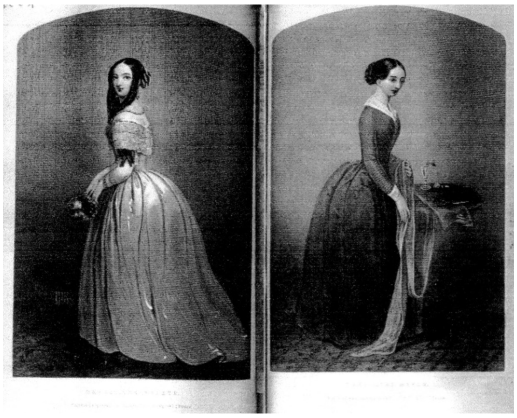


Fig. 6 December 1851.

In the 1848 story entitled "The Seamstress," a woman who becomes a seamstress is a lady who has enjoyed a wealthy life[15]. Because of her husband's failure in business, she sells off a large residence and elegant furniture, and starts a new life on the old land. Her husband had the misfortune to die of an infectious disease in the course of a trip, and she also falls ill. As a result, she ekes out a living by becoming a seamstress.

In this way, seamstresses depicted in GLB were not only lower-class women but also upper-class ones who were tragically compelled to work as seamstresses. The large number of such images and stories reveals seamstresses' ambiguous position. For women in the 19th century, socially as well as gender-segregated, the work of a seamstress was synonymous with "lower-class" labor. On the other hand, needlework was traditionally assigned to women, and because women could carry it out at home, sewing was regarded as work that could be executed without leaving the "women's sphere." At the same time, sewing was a technique for every woman to learn, and because every woman could sew, sewing as wage labor was differentiated from other sewing. As the story suggests, anyone could have the misfortune of becoming a seamstress working for a wage. Of course, even if all of the readers did not worry about misfortunes that might occur in their future, they would realize that they lived in the same world as the seamstress whom they had frequently met. What GLB tried to maintain here is that seamstresses were not necessarily in a despised position, and they were just doing "the work women have to do." The magazine encouraged readers to consider the seamstress as people and as women just like them. That is, the representation of the seamstress in GLB did not problematize wage labor; instead it perhaps reflected the change of attitudes of 19th-century American women toward sewing as housework. We could say that the sympathy of bourgeois readers for the seamstress, even alongside their self-satisfaction, stemmed from the positioning of sewing as "women's work" more than wage labor in GLB. Women sewing as a form of housework are also frequently represented in GLB in the same period.

4.Women sewing as a domestic task

As we have discussed the image of a skeletal seamstress in the story entitled "Beauty and Health," another female image in the same series of June 1847 should also be noted (Fig.7). What is depicted is a profile of a woman sitting on a chair, whose stooping back attracts our attention. The article says that a perfect and noble chest is the grand basis of good health[16], and that it is necessary to exercise outdoors appropriately and activate the lungs sufficiently in order to maintain the chest. Otherwise habitual bad posture will cause contraction of the chest. An illustration gives a specific example of bad posture, showing a woman with a bent back, the line from her neck to her back emphasized by her upswept hairstyle. We can see the woman holding a piece of fabric in her left hand and a thin thread between both hands, her toe appearing from the hem of dress. Placing her right foot on a cushion and the fabric on her knee, she concentrates solely on sewing. The text says, "No lady should ever make a table of her lap, either for sewing, reading, or writing, or any occupation whatever." From these texts and images, it can be assumed that in those days sewing was

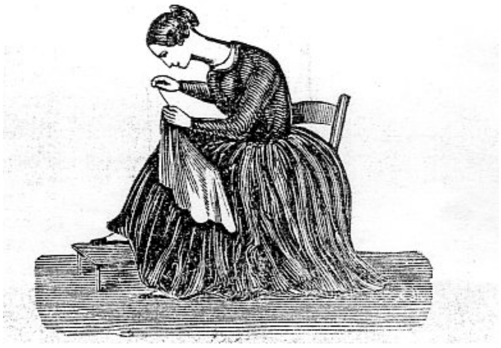


Fig. 7 June 1847, p. 311.

recognized as one of a woman's tasks, occupying her time alongside reading and writing in those days. That is, the woman represented here is a "lady" (as described at the beginning of the previous citation) rather than a seamstress. Even so, her dress is curiously simple for her to be called a "lady." Let us look at another example related to this issue.

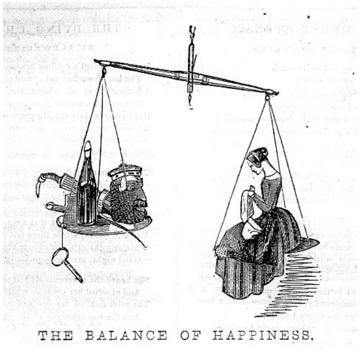

THE BALANCE OF HAPPINESS.

Fig. 8 June 1851, p. 390.

A poem entitled "The Balance of Happiness" was published in 1851. It begins with the phrase "My pipe is of no use at home, for my wife can't bear the smoke," stated from the viewpoint of a man[17]. He indulges in his hobby outside the home but doesn't allow his wife to enjoy her freedom. The witty tone of the poem amplifies his wife's melancholy. In the accompanying illustration, "the balance of happiness" is represented by a balance-type scale (Fig.8). Champagne and pipes that represent the husband's indulgence are on one of dishes, whereas the wife is sitting on the other dish instead of a chair. As the balance bar leans slightly to one side, the wife seems to be heavier. It seems to be saying that the wife is more important than hobbies. Although the house key is suspended from the edge of the dish full of indulgence, the woman who is waiting for her husband to come home has no facial expression. It is noted that whereas the man can afford to enjoy tobacco, alcohol and horse racing, his wife wears very simple clothes and is sewing.

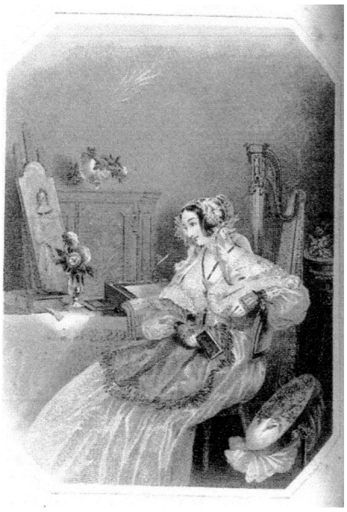


Fig. 9 July 1843.

These images of "sewing women" have common aspects. Although we cannot see the small needles they hold, the women are sewing with cloth and thread in their hands. Their attire is also characteristic. Their hair is tied up, and their dresses are simple without embellishment. Concerned with their own health, they keep sewing silently and wait for their husbands to return. In other words, what is represented here are middle class women sewing as domestic work at home. In the period when exhausted sewing women were drawn, sewing housewives also appeared in print. The "sewing women" in GLB are not only seamstresses who sew as paid work, but also housewives who sew as one of their household chores. But if we look back to the history of GLB, the magazine had not dealt with the theme of "sewing," or the labor of lower-class seamstresses, until then. It is because this magazine was targeted at rich women in the eastern United States who had a longing for the European aristocratic society. This change reflects a change in the notion of "ladies" in GLB, that is, a change in the image of women it was assumed readers would have.

From the start of its publication, GLB carried European fashion and original fashion plates and introduced manners suitable for the sophisticated look of "ladies," like manners for horseback riding, dance, and embroidery. The magazine covered the history of embroidery, Greek mythology, and traditional embroidery in Europe, as well as how to make stitches and patterns for embroidery. At the same time, it carried the image of woman doing embroidery, one of which was a lady showing her artwork in a sanctum (Fig.9). Until then, what GLB published on paper was not plain sewing but embroidery, although both were forms of needlework. The practice of making stitches for embroidery indicated that a woman had knowledge and techniques acquired through education, had the ability to practice and could afford to do so. She could express her tastes and culture through her completed artworks. Embroidery was a means of showing off her economic position to others[18]. As Parker writes in her history of embroidery[19], GLB taught embroidery as ladies' culture to ambitious bourgeois readers in the eastern United States. In such magazines, however, women doing plain sewing also appeared. Historically, sewing in relation to making and mending clothes was classified as "plain sewing," while embroidery was called "fancy work," was fun and involved use of the imagination[20]. As sewing was differentiated from embroidery, which was used to show off ladies' culture and ability in public, one had to do plain sewing secretly. However, around 1850, images of sewing women, with their backs bent over, wearing simple dress, appealed to the ladies who read articles in GLB.

This change was caused by a rapid increase in new readers around the 1850s, most of them middle-class women who constituted a new readership. According to figures released by the magazine, its circulation was about 25,000 in 1840, but increased to 150,000 in the 1860s[21]. This increase was driven by the expansion of the country, the development of transport, the maintenance of distribution chains, increasing population and inflow to cities. As social conditions improved and more people became magazine readers, articles diversified. For example, a new article entitled "Cottage Model" introduced houses and interiors for a nuclear family consisting of a married couple and two children (Fig.10). When middle-class women who sewed at home for themselves and their families joined the readership, topics related to everyday life appeared as articles in GLB[22]. As the magazine's readership expanded, sewing was no longer invisible and became recognized as proper work that women should do at home. Therefore, it is notable that the sewing women depicted in GLB were not the same as the seamstresses whose conditions were proclaimed a labor issue in the UK. The images of sewing women in GLB function as signifiers for the relationship between women and home. For further understanding we have to turn our eyes to the existence of female workers, another category of sewing women, who had never appeared in magazines.

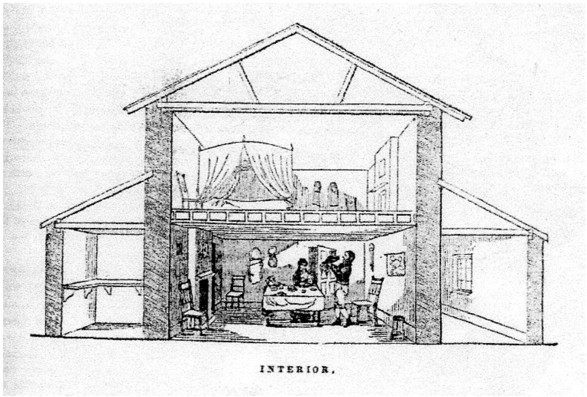


Fig. 10 September 1846, p. 134.

Amid the Industrial Revolution many weaving mills were established in the first half in the 19th century[23], such as the Lowell Boston manufacturing firm in the northeast USA. Cloth, which used to be produced by hand, came to be mass-produced using factory machinery. Here, it was young girls who watched and operated those machines. Many of them had left their family homes and lived in dormitories, bought popular goods using their own wages, and enjoyed their spare time[24]. In spite of their presence in real society, GLB didn't refer to working women at weaving mills, but continued to cover sewing women. This is because the seamstress remained at home, the women's sphere, in spite of her horrible environment. If she kept making humble stitches, a merciful lady would help her and she could have a chance to grasp happiness. Seamstresses were clearly differentiated from female laborers, who worked at factories outside the home as men did, and were recognized as independent from the role prescribed for women in patriarchal society. In this sense, the work of seamstresses was affirmed as a feminine work in spite of its similarity to wage labor carried out in factories.

Additionally, let us consider the relation of this type of work with others regarded as "women's work" throughout Western history. As the archaeologist Elizabeth Barber has explained, women's work had been that of spinning and weaving since ancient times[25]. But the invention of spinning machines and improvement of looms during the Industrial Revolution took away what had traditionally been women's work. A great deal of cloth began to be produced with unprecedented speed at factories that integrated the processes of spinning and weaving. In the 1840s, however, the sewing machine was not yet in practical use and much manpower was still needed to make clothes from massive amounts of fabric. It was at this very moment that the seamstress emerged. In other words, a labor surplus caused by the mechanization of spinning and weaving in the production of clothes generated seamstresses in the city and factory workers in the country[26]. Even when the process of sewing could be mechanized, the seamstress still kept sewing without giving up her needle. She carried out the same needlework at home as unpaid domestic labor. GLB gave sewing, hidden from the public eye, the status of women's valuable work by distinguishing the wage labor of seamstresses from sewing as a domestic task, and describing women who were sewing relentlessly. The sewing woman became a new symbol of femininity, replacing the spinning woman or weaving woman, which faded due to the development of cotton mills in the Industrial Revolution[27].

5. Conclusion: The extinction of the image of the sewing woman and visual depictions of sewing

As we have seen, sewing had become something visible, and topics related to sewing were frequently featured in the magazine. Then in 1853, a diagram of patterns for children's clothing appeared in the magazine (Fig.11). The article says, "this dress is considered very elegant, and what is of more importance, is found to be easily made up[28]." The accompanying rough figure indicates the form of each part of the clothes, that is, how to cut the cloth. It seems that the most important thing for readers was whether it could be easily made or not. And in an article of the same year, a pattern store in Philadelphia was introduced. The article relates that Mme. Suplee, who dealt with lifelike patterns for ladies' dresses and aprons, got much attention from merchants and dressmakers. Anyone who sent three dollars by mail could get one set of six patterns[29]. Women no longer needed to utilize their own clothes at hand for cutting patterns

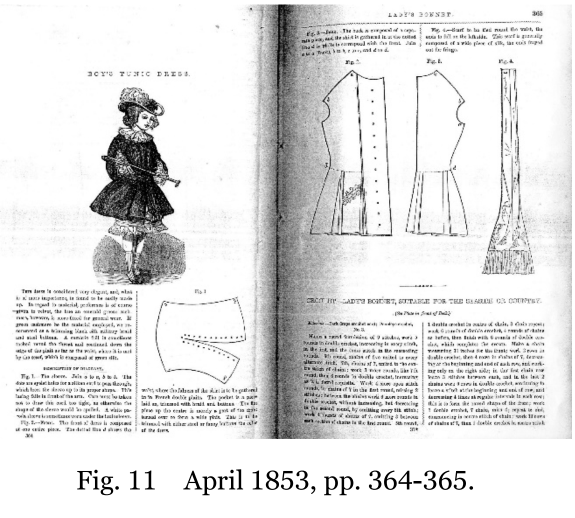
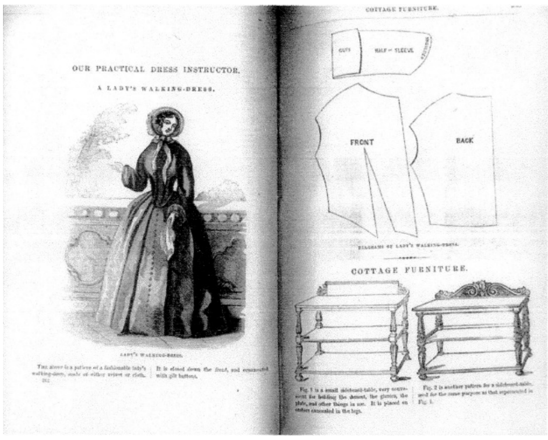

BOY'S TUNIC DRESS.
LADY'S BONNET.
Fig. 1

Fig. 11 April 1853, pp. 364-365.



COTTAGE FURNITURE.

OUR PRACTICAL DRESS INSTRUCTOR.

A LADY'S WALKING-DRESS.

COTTAGE FURNITURE.

Fig. 12 March 1854, pp. 262-263.

out. The next year, 1854, a serial article entitled "Practical Guide for Dress Making" appeared, which explained (women's) dressmaking with diagrams for cutting (Fig.12). In addition, the sewing machine was introduced later the same year. The article illustrated the household sewing machine, which had been invented but was not yet in common use, and explained its structure and specifications[30]. Through these articles, readers could access not only popular styles but also information and means to make clothes easily. Of course, not all readers used these diagrams for cutting in the magazines to make their children's clothing and ladies' wear. Since a pattern was just a disposable tool, and clothes were also to be outworn, nothing was left behind. However, what we can find in the magazine is exactly the same instrumental information for making clothes as the readers were able to read in those days. Sewing, which had been hidden from public view, now was visually depicted so as to be socially and educationally valuable; however, in the period when all readers were required to sew with a needle and cloth, the images of sewing women became extinct.

When images of sewing women came to reflect the ordinary figures of readers themselves, the representation of sewing women disappeared. These sewing women, who were represented for only five years and then disappeared from the magazine, swept aside by the emergence of patterns and sewing machines, indicate a murky boundary between wage labor and domestic tasks for women in American society. They render visible the way in which women were sewn into their homes.

Notes

[1] *Godey's Lady's Book*, Philadelphia: L. A. Godey, 1830-1892.

[2] The first magazine, published in 1830, was entitled *The Lady's Book*. As I discuss later, Sarah Josepha Hale , who played an active part as a writer and aimed to promote quality reading, became an editor, and Godey seemed to have a great influence on fashion plates and fashion-related articles. For the promotion of fashion plates in *The Lady's Book* in the early period, see my article "Philadelphia Fashion: The Representation of the Lady in *The Lady's Book*" (in Japanese), *Fukushoku Bigaku (Costume Aesthetics)* 47, 2008, pp. 55-72. For the problem of evaluating fashion in the discourse in *Godey's Lady's Book*, see my article "Authentic Fashion: The Discourse on Fashion Plates in *Godey's Lady's Book*," (in Japanese) *Bigaku (Aesthetics)*, The Japanese Society for Aesthetics, 60(2), 2009, pp. 84-97. For the significance of *Godey's Lady's Book* as a subject of fashion study, see my article "A Reconsideration of Fashion History: Searching for Clues in *Godey's Lady's Book*," (in Japanese), *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Human Development and Environment, Kobe University,* 3(2), 2010, pp. 75-83.

[3] See my article "Representation of the Seamstress in Mid-19th Century England," (in Japanese), *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Human Development and Environment, Kobe University,* 5(1), 2009, pp. 75-83.

[4] For example, see the *American History Statistics* by the American Department of Commerce (Translated by Makoto Saito and Yasuhiko Torii, Hara Shobou,1986). There are only fragmentary records of the first half of the 19th century. For the needlewoman's reality in the age of development of clothing industry, see Norman Ware, *The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860,* Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Publisher, 1924, and Mathew Carey, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Philadelphia: Clark & Raser Printer, 1830. For images of needlewomen in other visual media, for example, there is a painting entitled *The Seamstress* by John T. Peel, but the details are not clear at the present stage of investigation. For this reason, we consider images of sewing women in women's magazines, which are numerous and constitute primary sources from those days.

[5] *Godey's Lady's Book*, "Health and Beauty," 1847, July, pp. 49-50. In the following notations, the journal title is omitted when quoting from *Godey's Lady's Book* (GLB).

[6] Charles Dickens expressed displeasure with the copyright policies of American publishing companies. Reprints and quotations from other publications were frequently performed in the United States in those days, and those tendencies in GLB were no exception. Charles Dickens, *American Notes*, London: Penguin Books, 2002 (first published by Chapman and Hall,1842.)

[7] *The Illuminated Magazine*, London, 1843, June, pp. 97.

[8] *Punch,* London: Punch Publication, 1849, vol.XVII, pp. 250-251.

[9] *The Illuminated Magazine, op. cit.*, pp. 97-100.

[10] "Health and Beauty," *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[11] GLB established fashion as a theme for women's magazines in the US before fashion magazines had been published, by aiming for the technical and artistic improvement of fashion plates. For the promotion of fashion plates as ornamental painting, see my article in *Aesthetics* cited in note (2).

[12] George G. Foster, *New York in Slices by an Experienced Carver*, Montana: Kessinger Publishing (first published by W.F. Burgess, 1849), pp. 50-53.

[13] Anna Wilmot, "The Spring Bonnet," 1850, June, pp. 381-384.

[14] Mary Spenser Pease, "The Dress-Maker and the Dress-Wearer," 1851, Dec., pp. 325-331.

[15] Mrs. H. Beecher Stowe, "The Seamstress," 1848, pp. 363-366.

[16] "Health and Beauty," 1847, June, pp. 310-311.

[17] Cara, "The Balance of Happiness," 1851, June, p.390.

[18] Beverly Gordon, "Victorian Fancywork in the American Home: Fantasy and Accommodation," Marilyn Ferris Mots and Pat Browne, ed., *Making the American Home: Middle-Class Women & Domestic Material Culture, 1840-1890*. Ohio: Bowling Green State University, 1988, pp. 48-68.

[19] Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, London: The Women's Press, 1984, p. 159.

[20] For the historical development and the cultural meaning of the two types of needlework, i.e. sewing and embroidery, in American society, see Susan Burrows Swan, *Plain and Fancy*, New York: A Rutledge Book, 1977.

[21] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1741-1850*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 581.

[22] For the qualitative change in articles with expansion of readership, see my article, "Women and Ornamentation in 19th-century America: A Consideration of the Discourse in *Godey's Lady's Book*," (in Japanese), *Journal of the Japan Society of Design,* no. 56, 2012, pp. 454-58.

[23] For American social circumstances as seen in construction of factories for spinning and weaving in the first half in the 19th century, see Norman Ware, *op.cit.,* 1990, and Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic,* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

[24] For the life of factory girls, see the following document which compiled the letters of factory girls: Thomas Dublin, ed., *Farm to Factory*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

[25] Elizabeth Wayland Barber, *Women's Work*, New York: W.W.Norton &Company, 1994.

[26] Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003,pp. 23-26.

[27] Midori Wakakuwa mentions in her book *Shouchou tositeno joseizou* (The image of women as

symbol) that among the causes of the disappearance of women spinning and weaving in the 18th century were changes in the identities of art practitioners and differentiation of hierarchies in the context of art history. (Chikuma Shobou, 2000, p.392.)

[28] "Boy's Tunic Dress," 1853, Apr., pp. 364.

[29] 1853, Mar., p. 286.

[30] "The New Sewing-Machine," 1854, Mar., p. 127.

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