

**'Selling Consumption':
An Examination of Eighteenth-Century English Trade
Cards**

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Abstract:

Many eighteenth-century tradesmen actively engaged in the promotion of their shop and wares using what is now an outmoded form of advertising: trade cards. The combination of text and image on a one-sided portable card enabled the card to function both aesthetically and practically. Through a language that was both visual and textual, these cards provided basic information such as the location of the shop and a list of goods it offered. Additionally, the cards' aesthetic enticed consumers by using themes, images, and language which would have been associated with innovation, originality, and luxury. Eighteenth-century trade cards reveal a wealth of information concerning the retailer, the consumer and the world of goods in a period that witnessed the development of what is considered the first "consumer society."¹ In order to gain a greater understanding of the patterns of consumption in early modern English economies, a study of such advertisements is essential. I will argue that trade cards prove particularly useful in exposing the attitudes of both retailer and consumer toward goods and consumption. It is clear that these cards can be connected to three key themes in eighteenth-century English society: the culture of credit, the creation and maintenance of polite society and the importance of reputation. While there are other lenses through which to view such developments, trade cards can furnish scholars with a tidy, yet incredibly intricate and symbolic, piece of England's material culture. Accessing these important segments of the period's advertising enables further understanding of the development of consumer societies.

¹ R. Porter "Addicted to Modernity: Nervousness in the Early Consumer Society" in *Culture in History: Production, Consumption and Values in Historical Perspective*, J. Melling and J. Barry eds. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992): 180.

Keywords

trade cards, material culture, consumerism, eighteenth-century



Figure 1. Trade card of Henry Patten, c.1750. Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints, Drawings and Paintings Collection. British Galleries, room 53a, case 5. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Henry Patten, an eighteenth-century London tradesman, actively engaged in the advertising of his shop and its wares through the creation and distribution of trade cards. This was not uncommon for retailers during this period, and trade cards in particular experienced an increase in usage. The combination of text and image on a one-sided portable card enabled it to function both aesthetically and practically. Through a language that was both visual and textual, cards such as Patten's provided information such as the location of the shop and a list of the goods it offered. Additionally, the cards' aesthetic enticed consumers by using themes, images and a language that would have been associated with innovation, originality and luxury. For example, Patten's card reads: "Henry Patten, Razor-Maker at the Saw and Crown in Middle-Row Holborn, London. Makes all sorts of the Best & Newest Fashion Razors, Scissors, Lancets, Penknives...Made in the Best Manner at

Reasonable Rates."¹ While Patten was primarily a cutler, the text contained in his card reveals that he had identified a wider selection of merchandise that he could supply to his customers. Patten's trade card makes explicit that his shop is the destination of choice for discerning customers seeking not only cutlery but also other blades and even fishing tackle. Eighteenth-century English trade cards reveal a wealth of information concerning the retailer, the consumer and the world of goods in a period that witnessed the development of what is considered the first "consumer society."²

Advertisements facilitate a greater understanding of the patterns of consumption in early modern English economies. According to John Brewer and Roy Porter, the world of goods is “predicated upon information and visibility. Remove knowledge, publicity and advertising, and the itch to consume does not merely subside as a *mentalité*, it becomes unthinkable.”³ Thus advertisements serve as both the reflection of, and means to create, the desire for goods in the eighteenth century. Trade cards like Patten’s prove particularly useful in reflecting the attitudes of both the retailer and consumer toward goods and consumption. Commercial ephemera of this variety provide scholars with another lens through which to view the social and cultural milieu of the 1700s. While there are other lenses through which to view such developments, trade cards can furnish scholars with a tidy yet incredibly intricate and symbolic piece of England’s material culture. It is clear that these trade cards can be connected to three key themes in eighteenth-century English society: the culture of credit, the creation and maintenance of polite society, and the importance of reputation. However, despite the wealth of information that this sort of trade ephemera can provide, relatively little work has been done on eighteenth-century advertising practices, let alone on trade cards specifically.

In the 1980s, Hoh-Cheung and Lorna H. Mui commented on the dearth of works dealing specifically with eighteenth-century shops and shopkeeping.⁴ They hoped that their study of the role of shops in pre-industrial England would prompt others to fill the lacuna. Their work had been anticipated some years earlier with the publication of Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb’s more broadly themed *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, which explored the roots of consumer-capitalism. This work suggested that it was with the eighteenth, and not the nineteenth, century that England experienced the first “consumer revolution.” From the 1980s onward, the consumption of goods in eighteenth-century Europe has been the focus of a number of studies ranging across disciplines.⁵ These works incorporate the perspectives of economic, social, art and material culture historians as well as of literary scholars. From these studies, two approaches emerge. The first approach focuses on consumption, the possession of goods, and how the goods were used by the consumer. Such an approach highlights social and geographic variation while looking at the meaning of goods and the motivations of eighteenth-century consumers.⁶ Women figure prominently in these studies, appearing as active and critical

consumers. Amanda Vickery, for example, has argued that women were often responsible for decisions regarding household consumption through their participation in the practices of “polite society” and played a formative role in shaping the world of goods.⁷ Men were also engaged in the acquisition of goods, and created consumption practices which were identifiably separate from those of their female counterparts.⁸ Consumption has therefore been regarded largely as a force which shaped identities during this period and is often tied to gender; it is seen as a “conduit through which values and affinities are expressed.”⁹ However, this approach has been criticized as the producer of a “commodity fetishism” that obscures the actual processes which linked goods to those consuming them.¹⁰ This belief has given rise to the second approach to the study of consumption which investigates how goods were transferred from shop to home. Often, the connection from shop to home has not been made or is attributed to the ‘flow of goods.’¹¹ There is a tendency to pay great attention to the location, use and display of goods within the shops or at home. However, scholars do not always engage with the processes in which material objects participated to get from retailer to consumer. More recently, studies in shopkeeping and retail endeavor to understand the processes of retailing and its apparatus of shop display, advertising and selling techniques.¹²

This has not yet filtered into the realm of trade cards as there has only been a single monograph dedicated to this form of advertisement.¹³ Ambrose Heal’s *London Tradesmen’s Cards of the XVIII Century: an Account of their Origin and Use* was first published in 1925 and the reprinted in 1968. Despite the dated scholarship, Heal’s work is indispensable in its inclusion of over fifty detailed plates depicting the trade cards of lamp lighters, linen drapers, milliners, chimney sweeps, printers and dentists. In the preface of the 1968 edition, Heal noted that it is “remarkable that no book has hitherto been published dealing with Tradesmen’s cards” given the interest that has been shown at auctions and amongst collectors of the pieces.¹⁴ Heal’s astonishment is not unfounded as these cards truly reveal an immense amount of information given their relatively small size and seemingly ordinary nature.

The earliest trade cards date from the beginning of the seventeenth century. These were essentially used as maps for directing customers to the shop as no formal street numbering system existed at the time. Heal is quick to assert that these cards were not relegated to tradesmen alone and were in fact not

cards in the modern sense. While some cards would have been similar in size and design to modern business cards, most were far more intricate in design and were not intended merely as a device for conveying basic information regarding the shop name and its location. Additionally, trade cards were often double-sided and varied in size from mere scraps of poor quality paper to full folio-sized very expensive stationery.¹⁵ Early versions of the cards were printed by relief woodcut or letterpress and were quite basic in both visual and textual content. Perhaps in common with other more modern forms of advertising, tradesmen and retailers began to invest heavily in the artistry and production of their cards and increasingly the cards became more specialized, more creative and more targeted to a specific kind of consumer. Often cards were reserved to give to loyal or preferred customers rather than handed out on a street corner in an attempt to drum up business.¹⁶ By personally handing one of these finely wrought cards to customers, the retailer cultivated a repeat clientele which would be more likely to remain loyal to the shop. Trade cards assisted in creating an air of exclusivity and preferment, something that would have been understood and acknowledged by the discerning eighteenth-century consumer.

By the eighteenth century, trade cards had become quite popular as an effective alternative to advertising in newspapers. Key to their effectiveness was the fact that they were highly visual and portable and thus shopkeepers and tradesmen used them not only for advertising both their shop location and its wares but also as a tool to reflect a customer's loyalty. As the craft developed, the cards became more pronounced in their dedication to promoting the goods and services offered at a particular shop. Patten's cards, for example, included a lengthy list of the goods he provided at his shop in Holborn. Among the scissors, pocketknives and lancets that were the mainstays of his shop, he also provided cutlery, purporting to mount "the best blades in silver or ivory."¹⁷ Having run out of room on the central rococo styled and intricately curlicued frame, Patten included at the bottom of his cards the following notice: "N.B. All sorts of Fishing Tackle at y Lowest Prices."¹⁸ Evidently, Patten desired to get his money's worth at the print shop as there is not an empty space to be found on the front of the card. Outside of the central frame are the accompanying visual renditions of his wares: canes, spectacles, folding knives, powder-horns and blades. The fronts of cards like Patten's relayed basic commercial information as well as piquing a customer's interest so that a visit to the shop was necessary. The reverse, blank side of the card could also

hold critical information. Though not printed upon, retailers often used the back as a method of billing. It is in this regard that we can begin to uncover how these pieces of commercial ephemera tied into the culture of credit in England during this period. While these cards can provide scholars with important information regarding shopkeeping and advertisements during this period, they also reveal details regarding wider social phenomena such as credit, respectability and social interactions in the eighteenth century.

The extension of credit by retailers was not new to the eighteenth century; indeed it was a practice that had enabled the ownership of goods to become a reality for most consumers since the early sixteenth century.¹⁹ Throughout early modern Europe, procuring goods through an intricate system of credit was deeply ingrained into the commercial activity. Allowing customers to receive products and services on the promise of future payment on agreed terms, credit encouraged sales and repeat patronage. The frequency of marginalia on surviving cards attests to the regular use of trade cards as bills and receipts in a variety of very diverse transactions. Additional support for this is found with contemporaries of the period who were well aware of the existence of an economy based largely upon credit. In 1726 the English merchant and author Daniel Defoe wrote that “he that gives no trust, and takes no trust, either by wholesale or by retail...and all his estate is in his shop is not yet born, or if there ever were any such, they are all dead.”²⁰ Modern scholars support Defoe’s claims. Margot Finn asserts that the expansion of consumption was bolstered by personal credit relations.²¹ Craig Muldrew argues that while money-lending was practiced in the eighteenth century, it was the tens of thousands of pounds in daily market sales and services which accounted for the bulk of the credit transactions.²² Furthermore, every household in the country was in some way caught in increasingly complicated “webs of credit and obligation.”²³

Collecting on debts could be difficult, delicate work, but it was acknowledged by some contemporaries that:

Whatsoever civill debts or duties we owe to any, we must truly and duely pay them, and so much as lyeth...if the work-man be worthy of his wages then even the hireling must have his due; the poorest

labourer his due...every good man, so much as in
him lyeth, pay every man his owne.²⁴

By the end of the sixteenth century the complexity of credit webs had made it difficult to pay one's own debt if you were owed payment. A rise in consumerism combined with poor bookkeeping and the desire to uphold one's sociability and obligations made it increasingly difficult for debts to be paid on time.²⁵ Since the vast majority of exchanges were transacted on credit, it meant that trust, honesty, and reputation were central factors in virtually all economic exchanges. Because of this, personal characteristics like honesty, trustworthiness and possession of an impeccable reputation became a "type of cultural currency which had an enormous value in terms of social estimation."²⁶ For a consumer it would have been important to be viewed as an individual who was of spotless character and reputation; similarly it was important for a retailer to be seen as trustworthy and honest. Asking a customer to settle an account with cash would have been an intricate matter. During this period, as in earlier periods, the currency was composed almost exclusively of gold and silver coins, the value of which was based on their scarcity.²⁷ The combination of a lack of cash and the social norms dictated by both the culture of credit and polite society put shopkeepers and tradesmen into a delicate position in having to negotiate the social aspect of doing business while trying to stay financially viable. As Nancy Cox observes, the accounts of customers of status seem to have been more likely to run for some time without small payments being provided.²⁸ The more credit-worthy an individual was, the longer their accumulated debts would span and the larger they would become. However, consumers of the middling rank were expected to pay either by installment or in full in a timely manner.²⁹

One of the most interesting aspects of eighteenth-century trade cards is the fact that they often incorporated a reminder of monies owed for goods purchased. Francois Watkins' optometry practice advertised its wide selection of wares using a card which also doubled as a bill for the customer. This card contains a trove of information relating to both advertising and consuming. Watkins' shop made "Spectacles of all Sorts, ground in the correctest Manner, and set in Gold, Silver and Tortoiseshell" along with reading glasses, microscopes, telescopes, opera glasses, mirrors, thermometers and even "all Sorts of Mathematical Instruments finished with the greatest Accuracy."³⁰

Additionally, the handwritten text at the bottom of the page indicates that the transaction took place in July of 1775 and that the Right Honourable Earl of Winterton, Edward Turnour Garth, purchased a case of instruments which cost in total six pounds, eleven shillings.

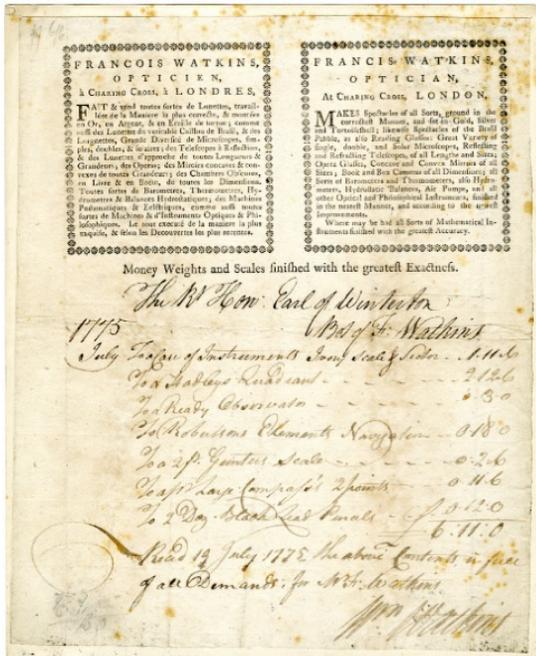


Figure 2. Trade card of Francois Watkins, c. 1775. British Museum, Prehistory and Europe Collection, AN261913001. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The cards were one of the ways a retailer could uphold their social obligation to a loyal customer while also broaching the matter of payment. Such considerations reflect the importance of the social responsibility attached to consumerism. The trade card was able to function as a bill and a reminder that the customer was respected and valued. It would appear that trade cards struck the perfect chord with eighteenth-century consumers: they were an intimate and polite method of signaling the need for payment while simultaneously allowing for the retailer to advertise available merchandise to consumers. Watkins' card illustrates this beautifully: not only do the dates on the account payable reveal its settlement after four months, but the front of the card with its illustration and advertisement highlights the connection between shopkeeper and shopper. With the account settled, Watkins was now able to use the card as a receipt.

While trade cards enabled shopkeepers to politely request payment, they also conveyed contemporary attitudes toward shopping and its connection to sociability and polite society. Trade cards were handed out to specific, preferred clients; they can be seen as part of what Helen Berry has described as “the application of politeness to social behaviour in shops.”³¹ She suggests that this was necessary within the context of a society where personal acquaintance and credit still had some purchase.³² An individual's capacity to acquire goods was to a large extent determined by their ability to establish a personal relationship with the shopkeeper. For instance, it has been argued that things as common as the mutual return of a steady gaze and a ‘genteel’ deportment were crucial in determining the

relationship between retailer and shopper.³³ Polite society, as Philip Carter has shown, is equated with “relaxed and genuine sociability;” politeness offered the “illusion of a civil society based upon quasi-democratic principles of civic humanism and mutual respect, accessible to anyone who studied and adopted its precepts.”³⁴ Once consumers had mastered the skills required to participate in polite society, and earned a shopkeeper’s trust, they did not have long to wait before they found themselves on a preferred customer mailing list.

As Henry Patten’s card illustrates, consumer desire could be fuelled through the use of both text and image. For example, cards such as Patten’s showed shoppers that things they had never before desired, or even known of, actually existed within London. Furthermore, once these items had entered into a consumer’s field of vision, the trade cards showcasing the goods assisted in making the consumers feel that they wanted or even needed the item. Patten is explicit in what he can offer: “Makes all sorts of the Best & Newest Fashion Razors, Scissors, Lancets, Penknives...Made in the Best Manner at Reasonable Rates.”³⁵ A consumer would not just be buying a penknife or razor from Patten, rather he or she would be buying the best and most fashionable penknife or razor at a reasonable price. As the eighteenth century progressed, there were more places to shop, and an always-increasing range of goods from which to select. Like other forms of advertising, trade cards attempted to sell more than just a single good: they attempted to sell a lifestyle. According to Berry, for a certain section of society at this time, polite shopping rituals “framed the social experience of consumption.”³⁶ Shops provided a venue for social interactions, leisure and also economic exchange, and similar to other social venues during this period, shops came complete with their own implicit rules. Shopping was seen as similar to pleasure gardens and assemblies and was aimed at the middling and upper sorts; as such the rules for social encounter “constituted a form of polite deportment, encompassing gesture, verbal exchange and a ritualized pattern of behaviour.”³⁷ Furthermore, for those individuals with aspirations of upward mobility, the shop provided the perfect venue for exercising and displaying their sociability and ability to participate in the ritual just as well as their social superiors. In this way it is apparent that the shop, its keeper and the wares within played an important role in eighteenth-century society. According to Brewer and Porter:

If every object in the world of goods was emblazoned with meanings, some are more palpably 'heraldic' than others. Objects of conspicuous display, and items specifically intended to be visible and admired, overtly played upon, and reflected, the fact that material life formed a stage with its sets, props and actors engaged in the drama of being.³⁸



Figure 3. Trade card of Christopher Gibson, c.1730-1742. Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints, Drawings and Paintings Collection, British Galleries, room 56d. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Not only is the attempt to sell a lifestyle illustrated beautifully in a trade card from the upholstery shop of Christopher Gibson, but Brewer and Porter's sets, props and actors are also apparent.

Gibson's shop was open for business from approximately 1730 to 1745. Relatively little is known about the shop but it is known to have provided chairs to the East India Company House on Leadenhall Street on at least two occasions during the fifteen-year period of its operation. The scene in Gibson's trade card showcases not only polite society at its apogee but also more practically, what the shopping experience in London would have looked like. Through such trade cards shops captured the consumers' attention with

new and different goods. As Gibson's card illustrates, customers could be drawn in through the sheer variety and options provided: between the chair frames and bolts of fabric, the possibilities for unique furniture are seemingly endless for the discerning customer. Retailers were able to inform shoppers about goods and encourage them to spend time browsing in order to make the process of finding items pleasurable and exciting.³⁹ The scene depicted in this trade card is animated and lively; both the retailer and consumer are enjoying each other's company and the process.⁴⁰ Lights, or as in this case, large windows, illuminated the entire experience, bringing with it an air of honesty, making it impossible to pass off poor-quality goods in such a brightly lit space. As well, many illustrated trade cards indicate the presence of ante-rooms, in which polite customers were invited to take tea before making their purchases.⁴¹ Though this is not directly observable in Gibson's card, there is the possibility that the tea

area was either upstairs or toward the rear of the shop. With the development of ante-rooms for taking tea, the shop became a public space for mixed sociability, a new setting for developing gesture, manners and conversation.⁴² It is evident that for the trade cards' intended audience, polite shopping rituals framed the social experience of consumption. It was developed and sold as a pleasurable daily activity.⁴³

In addition to sociability, the reputation of shops was very important for determining where to browse or buy. In *The Complete English Tradesman*, Defoe set out the importance of reputation-building in retail. Establishing a solid reputation was a crucial part of conducting business for many eighteenth-century tradesmen as they were now operating in an increasingly competitive environment:

Nothing raises the fame of a shop like its being a shop of good trade already; then people go to it, because they think other people go to it...having a shop well fill'd with goods...and selling reasonably, these are the things that bring a trade; for fame of trade brings trade any where.⁴⁴

In heavily populated areas, it was inevitable that retailers selling the same or similar products and services would occasionally end up in close physical proximity. In this case highly visual, portable trade cards conveyed to the public the goods and services the retailer could provide, which helped shopkeepers to gain the upper hand on the competition. Since these cards were not handed out on street corners, but were rather a sign of exclusivity, the card in and of itself was an indicator of the shop's reputation. The reputation of a shop was of particular importance for establishing consumer confidence if the goods sold were unique to that particular shop and not commonly found at local competitors.⁴⁵ Self-promotion was a key strategy to facilitate trade in goods not commonly found. As both Patten's and the following trade card illustrate, the use of superlatives was useful in achieving this task.

Additional indicators of respectability can be noted in the Manwarings Coffee House card as this card provides an interesting representation of contemporary perceptions of the coffee house as a purveyor of respectability. After coffee was introduced to England from Turkey in the 1650s, coffeehouses became widespread. Their chief function was as meeting places where literary and political matters were discussed while news

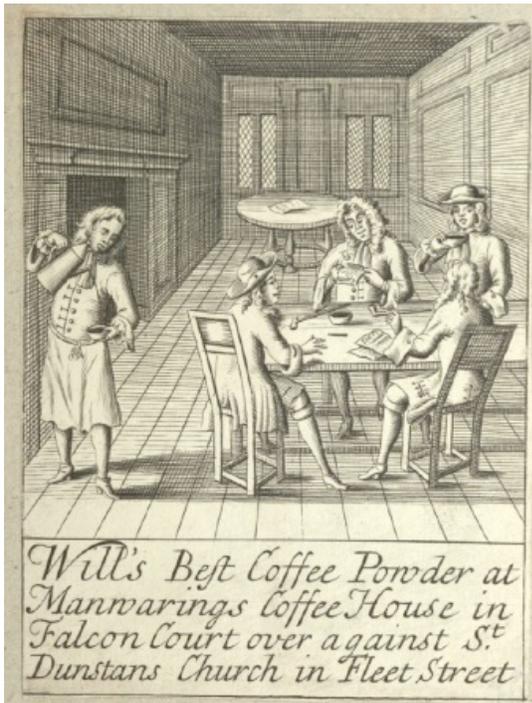


Figure 4. Trade card of Will's Best Coffee Powder at Manwarings Coffee House, c. 1700. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Douce adds. 138 (84).

was circulated. The engraving captures this excellently: the stockinged and wigged men are drinking coffee, reading newspapers and engaging in discussion. Along with tea and punch, non-native beverages became gendered once they began gaining acceptability within eighteenth-century English society. The absence of women from this particular depiction is to be expected, as coffeehouses quickly became male-oriented. While proffering the 'best coffee powder', Manwarings also seems to bolster its reputation by offering an "authentic" coffee experience, as shown by the handle-less drinking vessels. Contrasted with Patten's ornately wrought card and even Gibson's finely detailed piece, we can see that even the most simple of these cards were loaded with symbolism and culturally appropriate references that would have been noted by contemporaries.

When dealing with colonial imports, advertisements included a heavy dose of the exotic. The study of this aspect of eighteenth-century England's material culture provides a fascinating look at a culture's deeply embedded values and assumptions, particularly in respect to Empire. Advertisements reveal what a particular society deems worthy and what goods retailers think consumers would be willing to purchase.⁴⁶ If the advertisement was widely circulated for an extended period of time, its images, sales pitch, and implicit values were inevitably woven into the fabric of popular culture. Trade cards reflect contemporary perceptions of Empire and represent a unique source of cultural documentation because they locate in one medium competing and colluding discourses.⁴⁷ In particular some cards contained highly racialized images of Africans, Indians, Native Americans and Chinese which enticed consumers with the exotic. Such cards reveal to us the importance traders placed on having access to, and featuring images of, wares that in their mind bestowed a level of respectability on the purveyor. This is especially common in shops selling tea, coffee, Eastern goods and China, as well as with apothecaries and importers. The

exotic nature of the wares sold by John Cotterell is emphasized by his card.



Figure 5. Trade card of John Cotterell, c.1751. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection: Trade Cards 6 (18).

Although he styles himself a “China-man and Glass-seller,” the text indicates that his wares are not quite so narrowly defined. In addition to new and used China and glass, Cotterell sold “Laquer’d Wares with Various sorts of fine Teas, Coffees, Chocolate and Snuff, Indian Fans and Pictures, etc.”⁴⁸ Cotterell’s card perfectly depicts eighteenth-century ideas of retailing and respectability, portraying a trove of treasures from afar available to a specific clientele. He was offering his customers the chance to own the luxurious, to have a piece of the Empire in their own homes. From the central depiction of an exotic woman being attended to by servants to the depictions of fans, fine tea and China, this card embodies the spirit of

eighteenth-century consumerism. According to Maxine Berg, “advertisers play on the seductive draw of fantasies and possible worlds. They appeal to the pleasures of looking.”⁴⁹ Cotterell’s artist managed to make a relatively plain card just as multifaceted and interesting as Patten’s and Gibson’s despite the somewhat unadorned portrayal of his wares. Even the simplest pieces of commercial ephemera were loaded with symbolism.

Our understanding of material culture and consumerism in eighteenth-century England has been enhanced in recent years by studies exploring the interconnectedness between retail, credit and sociability.⁵⁰ This paper has built on some of these works by utilizing a much underused contemporary source: the trade card. As the examples provided above have helped to illustrate, trade cards functioned as a means of advertising goods available to a specific clientele, enticing customers to expand their retail tastes, and respectfully communicating debts owed. Long seen as primitive in relation to the developments of the nineteenth century, retailing of the 1700s is now recognized as a dynamic and sophisticated sector of the economy and as such deserves a place within wider studies of consumerism. While Walsh and others have identified the need to include retailing in such studies, few have explored the proliferation of specialized

advertisements such as trade cards. Like print ads and business cards today, trade cards provided customers with a carefully constructed impression of the retailer. They were created using a vocabulary that was culturally specific, both the text and images communicated to shoppers the latest fashions and newest goods that were available for purchase. However, trade cards, unlike other contemporary forms of advertising, were distributed selectively to a known customer base. As respectable participants of eighteenth-century polite society, the recipients of such cards were well-versed in advertising and the consumption of goods. Finally, the function of trade cards within the “web of credit” during this period was two-fold: they allowed both consumer and shopkeeper to keep track of monies owed, as well as providing the seller with a delicate way to broach the issue of payment. Retail marketing throughout the eighteenth century was an integral part of the interaction between retailers and consumers. The interaction that the cards enabled transmitted both goods and messages regarding style, fashion and demand back and forth. Trade cards were an important component in the conversation between buyer and seller which informed decisions about what goods were to be bought and made.

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Endnotes

¹ Trade card of Henry Patten.

² R. Porter "Addicted to Modernity: Nervousness in the Early Consumer Society" in *Culture in History: Production, Consumption and Values in Historical Perspective*, J. Melling and J. Barry eds. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992): 180.

³ J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.) *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1994): 6.

⁴ Hoh-Cheung and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 1989): xiii.

⁵ J. Brewer and R. Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); M. Berg and H. Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury. Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); and W. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability* (London, 2002).

⁶ J. Stobart, "Leisure and Shopping in the Small Towns of Georgian England: a Regional Approach," *Journal of Urban History*, 31 (2005): 480.

⁷ A. Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, 13-37 & 64-67.

Integral for the discussion of trade cards is an understanding of "polite society." According to Lawrence Klein, in his monograph *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral discourse and cultural politics in early eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1994): 11: the word politeness "evoked a scene of refined sociability, an idealised vision of human intercourse, peopled by gentlemen and ladies, sited in the drawing room or coffeehouse, engaged in intelligent and stylish conversation about urbane things, presided over by the spirit of good taste". For further discussion of "polite society" see: P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989); P. Langford "The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002): 311-331; P. Borsay, *Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989); H. Berry, *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England: the Cultural World of the Athenian Mercury* (Ashgate, 2003): 74-5; H. Berry, "Polite Consumption:

Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England," *Transactions of the RHS* 12 (2002).

⁸ Berry, "Polite Consumption," 381.

⁹ Stobart, 480-1.

¹⁰ S. Pennell, "Consumption and Consumerism in Early Modern England," *Historical Journal* 42 (1999): 549.

¹¹ Berry, "Polite Consumption," 376.

¹² C. Walsh, "Shop Design and the Display of Goods in Eighteenth-century London," *Journal of Design History* 8 (1995): 157-76; N. Cox, *The Complete Tradesman: A Study of Retailing, 1550-1820* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); N. Alexander and G. Akehurst, *The Emergence of Modern Retailing: 1750-1950*, (London: Frank Cass, 1999).

¹³ Dr. Philippa Hubbard completed her dissertation, entitled "The Art of Advertising: Trade Cards in Eighteenth-Century Consumer Cultures," in 2009 at the University of Warwick under the supervision of Professor Maxine Berg.

¹⁴ Ambrose Heal, *London Tradesmen's Cards of the XVIII Century: an Account of their Origin and Use* (Toronto: General Publishing Ltd., 1968): v.

¹⁵ Heal, 1 & 2.

¹⁶ Heal, 2, 4 & 8.

¹⁷ Trade Card of Henry Patten.

¹⁸ Trade Card of Henry Patten.

¹⁹ C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: the Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998): 16-17.

²⁰ Cited in Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*: 95.

²¹ M. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 17.

²² Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 95.

²³ Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 95.

²⁴ Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 98.

²⁵ Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 123.

²⁶ C. Muldrew, "'Hard Food for Midas': Cash and Its Social Value in Early Modern England," *Past & Present*, 170 (February 2001): 84.

²⁷ Muldrew, "'Hard Food for Midas'": 78, according to the author: "as a result they [coins] were always in short supply, but their quantity within a nation state such as England could be affected by foreign exchange rates, bimetallism (the difference between

the price of silver and gold), the cost of foreign wars, and trade deficits.”

²⁸ N. Cox, *The Complete Tradesman: a Study of Retailing, 1550-1820* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000): 158.

²⁹ Cox, 157.

³⁰ Trade card of Francois Watkins, c. 1775. British Museum, Prehistory and Europe Collection, AN261913001.

³¹ Berry, “Polite Consumption,” 394-5.

³² Berry, 394.

³³ Berry, “Polite Consumption,” 389.

³⁴ P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain 1660-1800* (London: Longman 2001): 125.

³⁵ Trade card of Henry Patten.

³⁶ Berry, 377.

³⁷ Berry, 377.

³⁸ Brewer and Porter, 6.

³⁹ Walsh, 174.

⁴⁰ Walsh, 174. Claire Walsh has argued that shopkeepers designed their shops in such a way as to reflect the specific nature of the shop’s trading; this played an important part in making shopping pleasurable.

⁴¹ Berry, 386.

⁴² M. Berg, “‘Shopping is a Place to Go’: Fashion, Shopping and Advertising” in *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 266.

⁴³ Berry, 377.

⁴⁴ D. Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman I* (1726): 261.

⁴⁵ Walsh, 174.

⁴⁶ E. Kim, “Race Sells: Racialized Trade Cards in 18th-Century Britain,” *Journal of Material Culture* 7 (2002): 137.

⁴⁷ Kim, 138.

⁴⁸ Trade card of John Cotterell.

⁴⁹ Berg, “Shopping is a Place to Go,” 274.

⁵⁰ Berg, “Shopping is a Place to Go;” Berry, “Polite Consumption;” Cox, *The Complete Tradesman*; Finn, *The Character of Credit*; Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*; Muldrew, “‘Hard Food for Midas.’”

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