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Notes

Introduction

- 1 Theatre programmes included in the Library of Congress catalogue show that the play was staged again in 1916, 1939 and 1954.
- 2 The phrase is from a poster for the 1942 film version of *Twin Beds*.
- 3 See Ekirch's website for an ever-growing list of citations of this finding: <http://www.history.vt.edu/Ekirch/sleepcommentary.html> (accessed 16 August 2017).
- 4 Notable recent examples include Greaney (2018), Walker (2017), Handley (2016), Scrivner (2014), Crary (2013), Derickson (2013), Wortham (2013), Lockley and Foster (2012), Randall (2012), Sullivan (2012), Wolf-Meyer (2012), Williams (2011, 2005), Nancy (2009), Brunt and Steger (2008), Summers-Bremner (2008), Paquot (2003). For a comprehensive list see Sleep Cultures: <http://www.sleepcultures.com/>.
- 5 Harris (1981), Carlano and Sumberg (2006), Reynolds (1952), Gray and Gray (1946), Marx ([1930] 1976), Burgess (1982).
- 6 Eden and Carrington (1961), Wright ([1962] 2004).
- 7 Rybczynski (1987), Cohen (2006), Flanders (2003), Neiswander (2008), Oliver, Davis and Bentley (1981), Worsley (2011), Bryson (2010), Highmore (2014), Rivers et al. (1992).
- 8 See, for example, Attfield (2000, 2007), Mezei and Briganti (2002), Edwards (2005), Sparke (2008), Scott (2013), Pilkey et al. (2017), Gorman-Murray and Cook (2017), Briganti and Mezei (2004, 2006, 2018).

Chapter 1

- 1 The date of publication is uncertain, estimated in the British Library catalogue to be 1915, but the publisher, Allied Newspapers, was not formed until 1924: https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Allied_Newspapers (accessed 10 January 2018). The book is therefore likely to have been published in the second half of the 1920s.
- 2 Relative value calculated using the 'Measuring Worth' website: <http://www.measuringworth.com/> (accessed 13 November 2017).

- 3 Noël Godber's novel *Twin Bedsteads* attributes the adoption of twin beds in part to the availability of hire purchase (1934: 152). The novel is discussed in detail in Chapter 12, 195–8.
- 4 On the figure of the clerk, see Carey (1992) and Wild (2006).
- 5 He defines the word in Betjeman (1933).
- 6 Since two singles equate to one double, the figure is three to one rather than three to two, as in the report.
- 7 The Married Women's Association had several well-known feminists among its members, including the Labour MP Edith Summerskill, writer Vera Brittain, barrister Helena Normanton and campaigner Lady Helen Nutting: <http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cats/65/10644.htm> (accessed 14 November 2017).
- 8 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, s.v. 'Frances, Juanita': <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/63847> (accessed 7 April 2018).
- 9 For more on his life, see Reynolds (1956). For his correspondence with Gandhi, see <https://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/Exhibits/GandhiWebSite/GandhiReynoldsCorrespondence.html> (accessed 3 October 2016).
- 10 On Popenoe, see Garber ([1998] 1999: 208–9).
- 11 See, for example, *Times* (11 March 1967: 2), *Daily Mirror* (11 March 1967: 6).

Chapter 2

- 1 On *Good Words* and other Victorian periodicals, see Vann and VanArsdel (1994).
- 2 The American periodicals were *Appletons' Journal*, *The Chautauquan* and *The Library Journal*.
- 3 On bed-sharing, see Wright ([1962] 2004: 199–202), Ekirch (2005: 276–84), Worsley (2011: 5–6, 8–9).
- 4 On the moral dimensions of public health and sanitary reform, see Bashford (1998: 3–5).
- 5 For an analysis of shift in emphasis from public to domestic hygiene, see Bashford (1998: 1–20) and Allen (2008). For an instance of the coming together of public health and the domestic sphere, see Fyfe (1906).
- 6 Worboys defines the germ theory of disease as 'the aetiological construction of disease in which external agents entered the body to produce septic, infectious and other diseases' (2000: 22). Worboys's book is the fullest account of the uneven rise to pre-eminence of germ theory in Britain; for an account of this process in the United States, see Tomes (1998). See too Youngson (1979: 193–208), Tomes (1990), Adams (1996: 29–35), Bashford (1998: 127–47), and Bivins (2007: 161–2).
- 7 Temkin is here quoting Stillé (1848: 95). For an account of miasmatic theory, see Bashford (1998: 5–7), Worboys (2000: 38–42).
- 8 Sir John Simon's (1874) report had first been published as the introduction to the 'Supplementary report to the Local Government Board on some recent inquiries

under the Public health act, 1858'. On zymosis, see Worboys (2000: 34–5), Tomes (1990: 517–8); on pythogenic diseases see Allen (2008: 10). On filth diseases, see Bynum (1994, 2008), Hamlin (1998), Jackson (2014), Lewis (1952).

- 9 Famously, the so-called 'Great Stink of London' in 1858 was in part caused by the newly overloaded drains and sewers of London emptying into the Thames, prompting Bazalgette's sewer building programme; see Halliday (1999), Jackson (2014: 97–8).
- 10 Teale's book went through four editions (1878, 1879, 1881 and 1883) and was translated into French, Spanish, Italian and German; see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, s.v. 'Teale, Thomas Pridgin', <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36442> (accessed 1 February 2019).
- 11 For contemporary accounts of the International Health Exhibition, see *The Cabinet Maker* (1884) 5.49: 1–6; 5.50: 21–5; 5.53: 81–6. For a recent analysis of the IHE, see Adams (1996: 9–35); the book is a comprehensive analysis of the domestic sanitation movement and its impact. Many of the key domestic sanitarians gave lectures at the exhibition: see Corfield (1884), Edis (1884), Teale (1884), Eassie (1884). See too Sparrow (1909).
- 12 'Phillis Browne' was a pseudonym of the writer Sarah Sharp Hamer. See <http://householdbooks.ucdavis.edu/authors/1596> (accessed 13 September 2016), and Bilston (2004: 244).
- 13 Concern with dust was not the preserve of the anxious household manager, but also the object of serious and contentious scientific discussion: see Tyndall (1871).
- 14 Charles Dickens Jr. noted in 1882, 'As the outfall is now near the mouth of the river, the danger to health of the residents in the metropolis is considerably less than when the sewage was discharged at many points in the upper parts of the stream; but it is still carried by the tide far up the river, and, while that is the case, the sanitary condition of London can never be considered satisfactory' (1882: 95).
- 15 Richardson and Schofield's concern about dust was characteristic of most commentators: the sanitarian architect Robert Edis contended that 'dirt and dust are to a certain extent equally conducive to the unhealthiness and unwholesomeness of our houses as defective drainage and bad ventilation', and cited the case of a man whose wife and children died of 'seemingly untraceable causes' and who concludes that 'dust and dirt meant disease and illness, if not death' (1883: 359, 326).
- 16 On parallels drawn between body and house, see Adams (1996: 65–9), Bashford (1998: 16–19). Richardson contrasts the 'living house' of the body with 'that deadly-lively house' (1887: 188), the home within which the body was currently required to live.
- 17 Note also, however, Schofield's conclusion: 'Let us consider what a grand sphere has been opened up to women by this brief consideration of hygiene. There is no valid reason why each and all should not become intelligent practitioners of preventive medicine. All men's efforts in private life in this direction are useless until the women act, and there is one great consolation, that, as a rule, when a woman knows and understands a thing she does act upon it' ([1890?]: 170–1).

- 18 For further discussion of the importance of gender in these debates, see Adams (1996: 73–102), Bashford (1998: 1–20, 127–48).
- 19 On curtains, see Stanley-Wilde ([1879?]: 17), Edis (1883: 325–6, 354–5), Atkinson (1867: 43).
- 20 The turn to metal bedsteads had, according to the influential German architect Hermann Muthesius, begun in the 1850s, following the Great Exhibition (1979: 226). They were still the orthodox sanitary choice in the 1890s, when Florence Mary Gardiner wrote that ‘iron or brass bedsteads, with a fine woven wire bottom, which can be regulated by means of a key, are all that can be desired from a sanitary point of view’ ([1894?]: 42); in 1907 Cutler calls the choice of a metal bedstead on sanitary grounds ‘very wise indeed’ (82); and as late as 1920, when the sanitarian arguments for metal bedsteads had lost ground, Edwin Bowers still declared, ‘There is only one bed that is absolutely sanitary, safe and sane. This is a well-constructed bed of metal’ ([1919] 1920: 118). But for others the case was no longer compelling: Heal’s furniture store had declared the ‘sanitary’ craze over in 1897 (‘A Consideration of the New Wooden Bedstead’, 1897. Heal’s archive, AAD/1978/2/271); and in 1907 Elder-Duncan refers to the continuing ‘hygienic craze’ of excluding wooden bedsteads as misguided – not because hygiene is irrelevant, but because modern wooden bedsteads with spring mattresses are no more likely to harbour vermin than metal ones (1907: 178).
- 21 On the inadequacy of doors, windows and chimneys for ventilation, see Hall (1861: 254–5).
- 22 On the Hinckes-Bird system, see Richardson (1880: 4.384–5); on the Tobin tube, see Teale (1878: LIII); on the Sherringham, Watson and McKinnell ventilators, see Galton (1883: 523–7). See too Teale’s fire-grate (1883: 544), and Eckford and Fitzgerald (1920: 31, 32).
- 23 A later edition of Teale’s *Dangers to Health* (1883: 140) includes an account of the Floral Art Ventilator.
- 24 For a contrasting evaluation of city and country air, see Hall (1861: 268–9).
- 25 Carbonic acid, or carbonic acid gas, was the term usually used for carbon dioxide: see for example Galton (1883: 486).
- 26 Hall also notes the quantity of ‘effete, decaying animal substance’ (1861: 36) discharged by the lungs and pores of the skin.
- 27 The register regulates the passage of air, heat or smoke in a grate or stove.
- 28 On the perceived dangers of air-borne disease, see Adams (1996: 30–2). The emphasis on clean air in the home was an extension of the medical and public health discourse of the mid-century which had made similar recommendations: Florence Nightingale, a miasmatist, recommended the provision of pure air as ‘the very first canon of nursing, the first and last thing upon which a nurse’s attention must be fixed, the first essential to a patient, without which all the rest you can do for him is as nothing’ (quoted in Johnson [2006] 2008: 123).
- 29 See Crook (2008) for an analysis of the debates about sleep in relation to nineteenth-century boarding schools.

- 30 Alexander Hay Japp was the pseudonym of H. A. Page, a prolific writer who published a range of work – verse, fiction and non-fiction – under seven pseudonyms; see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, s.v. ‘Japp, Alexander Hay’, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34157> (accessed 7 April 2018).
- 31 The Celestial Bed was to be found in the Temple of Hymen on Pall Mall, London. It was an imposing construct: 12 foot by 9 foot, it was designed to help couples with their sexual problems, and featured coloured glass pillars, perfumes, mirrors, erotic paintings, live turtle doves, fresh flowers, flashing lights and organ music: see Syson (2008: 180–8). See too Porter (1982).
- 32 ‘Hygienic practitioners’ such as Wells advocated cures through air, light, exercise, bathing, diet and so on, rather than through drug treatments. Wells is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.
- 33 The book was republished in Montreal in 1870 and in London in 1871. The later editions included case studies as appendices.

Chapter 3

- 1 On the history of these debates, see Brown (1974), Hall (1979), de Klerk (1979), Channell (1991), Allen (2005), Packham (2012). See too ‘Experiments in Vital Force’ (1874).
- 2 I have silently corrected the quotation, replacing the clearly incorrect word ‘goes’ in the original with ‘grows’. On *The Quiver* and other Victorian periodicals, see ‘The Victorian Web’: <http://www.victorianweb.org/periodicals/quiver/cooke.html> (accessed 14 September 2016).
- 3 One origin for eugenics was nineteenth-century self-improvement literature and the desire to control the quality of offspring through attention to the quality of sexual encounter: see, for example, Alcott ([1866] 1972: 20–3, 74).
- 4 For anti-masturbation literature, see, for example, Wells ([1878] [1910?]). For critical discussions of such literature, see Marcus (1966), Mason (2008).
- 5 British periodicals quoting Copland include *The Athenaeum* (1834), *The Mirror* (1840) and *Reynolds’s Miscellany* (1866). American citations of him were included in *Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology* (1849), *The American Medical Gazette and Journal of Health* (1850), and *The Water-Cure Journal, and Herald of Reforms* (1856). See too ‘Transference of Vital Power’, *The Athenaeum* (8 February 1834: 108); ‘The Transferment of Vital Power’, *The Mirror Monthly* (29 August 1840: 134); and ‘Transferring of Vital Power’, *Reynolds’s Miscellany* (3 March 1866: 165).
- 6 For details of Jackson’s publications, see Hoolihan (2001).
- 7 I have been unable to trace the original appearance, as no sets of the periodical are available in UK libraries.
- 8 The article is pasted into my great-grandmother’s household scrapbook. There is no indication of its provenance, but most of her press cuttings were from the Anglo-Indian press of the late nineteenth century.

- 9 John Drysdale published a book on germ theory in 1878. Worboys records that he was a 'Liverpool doctor who published [on] homeopathy, scientific materialism, theories of life and "pyrogens" – fever-producing chemicals in the blood' (2000: 2n.9).
- 10 On Wells see Hoolihan (2004: 555).
- 11 See Richardson (1883: 22–5); Wilson ([1873] 1883: 63–72); Galton (1883: 486–7).
- 12 On the demarcation between orthodox and heterodox medicine, see Brown (1987); Cooter (1988b); Miley and Pickstone (1988). On the international cultures of nineteenth-century heterodox medicine, see Bivins (2007: 95–101); Brown (1988, 1985), Blake (1962: 219–34). On nineteenth-century heterodox health practices, see Stern (1971), Haller and Haller (1974), Nissenbaum (1980), Price (1981), Fuller (1982), Cooter (1984, 1991); Crabtree (1993); Winter (1998).
- 13 Dio Lewis, an American health and exercise reformer, drew a similar conclusion about the companionability of twin beds, although he recommended that they be separated by a curtain; see Chapter 10, 161–2.
- 14 For a full discussion of the implications of this view of vital force for conjugal and sexual relationships, see Chapter 11.
- 15 Advertisements can be seen, for example, in the *Athenaeum* (25 September 1875: 406, 416).
- 16 On Foote's birth-control work, see Cirillo (1974).
- 17 Matthew Browne was one of the pseudonyms of William Brighty Rands (1823–1882), a parliamentary reporter and contributor to many periodicals.
- 18 Emerson, writing in praise of individuality in friendship, stated that 'the only joy I have in his being mine, is that the *not mine* is *mine*. I hate, where I looked for a manly furtherance, or at least a manly resistance, to find a mush of concession' ([1841] 1987: 121–2).
- 19 For Quarll's dream revelation of the 'evil effluvia' issuing from his pillow, see Longueville ([1727] 1744: 244–5).
- 20 See, for example, Mortimer-Granville (1879), Stanley-Wilde ([1879?]), de Manacéïne (1897), Devonshire (1917).

Chapter 4

- 1 For the groundbreaking anthropological analysis of the concept of common sense, see Geertz (1975).
- 2 This is no exaggeration of the case previously made against wooden bedsteads: Benjamin Ward Richardson had insisted that bedsteads needed to be of iron or brass; wooden bedsteads, he wrote, 'are altogether out of date in healthy houses. They are not cleanly, they harbour the unclean, and they are not cleansible like a metal framework' (Richardson 1880: 3.286). See too Gregory's account (1913: 83–4) of the varying fortunes of metal and wooden bedsteads.

- 3 On the compatibility of domestic sanitarianism (of miasmatist origin) and the new germ theory, bringing together 'the new language of germs and bacteriology with established concepts of hygiene, sanitation, public health, [and] personal cleanliness', see Bashford (1998: 140).
- 4 In Heal's brochures for bedsteads, those specifically designated for servants are always shown as single, suggesting that it was taken for granted that this was now the appropriate choice for live-in employees, rather than the bed-sharing indicated in the 'Laws of Life' newspaper article in the *Penny Illustrated Paper* (30 March 1872: 203).

Chapter 5

- 1 Carey (1992), Reed (2002, 2004), Giles (2004).
- 2 Light (1991), O'Shea (1996), Nava (1996). See too Felski (2000), Bowlby (1985, 2000), Rosner (2005), Attfield (2007).
- 3 Christine Frederick applied the rationalist industrial theory and practice of Taylorism in the home: see Frederick (1913), Sparke (2008: 132–8).
- 4 On the place of materiality in the changing meanings of home, see Rybczynski (1987), Cohen (2006), Neiswander (2008), Hamlett (2010).
- 5 For an illuminating analysis of the continuities between the Victorian and the modern, see Feldman (2001).
- 6 A whatnot is a small open stand of shelves, a davenport a small writing desk fitted with drawers and a teapoy a small three-legged table, sometimes (owing to a false understanding of the etymology) incorporating a caddy for tea. Roger Fry (1919) wrote an essay on 'The Ottoman and the Whatnot'.
- 7 Betjeman was, by this time, an apologist and enthusiast for Victorian style, fighting a rearguard action against its denigration by those who favoured a modern or 'contemporary' aesthetic. See David Joel's time chart entitled 'Some influences on the Modern Movement in Furniture' (1953: 232–3) for the progressive view of modern design: the onward march from Paxton's design of the Crystal Palace in 1851, through Ruskin, Morris, Mackintosh, Voysey and so on, all moving towards a utopian present (1950), the moment of 'Design Set Free'.
- 8 There was, for example, a Victorian revival in the 1930s, as well as later, in the 1950s, and Roger Fry uses the vogue for collecting Victorian *objets* to reflect on historical and cultural memory: 'We have just arrived,' he suggests, 'at the point where our ignorance of life in the Victorian period is such as to allow the incurable optimism of memory to build a quite peculiar little earthly paradise out of the boredoms, the snobberies, the cruel repressions, the mean calculations and rapacious speculations of the mid-nineteenth century' (1919: 529). For an account of the reputation of Victorian decorative design in the twentieth century, see Burton (2004); see too Joyce (2007). On the 'othering' of the Victorians in relation to sexuality, see Hall (2015).

- 9 Such clarion calls were not, of course, universally followed: see Oliver, Davis and Bentley (1981: 161–3), Neiswander (2008: 164–8) and Ryan (2011) on the Edwardian predilection for the ‘Tudorbethan’ and Georgian styles.
- 10 On Gloag, see Hooper (2015). The MARS group (Modern Architectural Research Group) was founded in 1933 by a group of architects and critics as ‘a support structure for the motley assortment of British-based architects, engineers and theorists, who shared the ideals of the European modern movement’ but whose ideas were out of kilter with the prevalent conservatism in design in 1930s Britain: <https://web.archive.org/web/20060127011441/http://www.designmuseum.org/design/index.php?id=61> (accessed 20 November 2017). See too Darling (2012: 108–9).
- 11 On British criticism of Art Nouveau, see Neiswander (2008: 151).
- 12 For a discussion of Woolf’s essay and of Bloomsbury’s relation to the Victorians more generally, see Joyce (2007: 1–40).
- 13 On the Memoir Club, see Holroyd (1971) and Lee (2002). The latter notes three essays read to the Memoir Club by Woolf; the first of these, ‘22 Hyde Park Gate’, forms a fascinating companion piece to Strachey’s ‘Lancaster Gate’; see Woolf [1920?] 2002.
- 14 Strachey’s designation of the house as a ‘machine’ predates by a year Le Corbusier’s famous manifesto call in *Vers Une Architecture* (1923) for the house to be a ‘machine for living in’. Strachey, however, identifies that machine-like construct as Victorian retrograde rather than Modern ideal.
- 15 Simmel’s evaluation of the face is also fully Victorian, formalized in the pseudo-science of phrenology.
- 16 ‘Duncan’ was his cousin Duncan Grant, with whom Strachey had later had an affair.
- 17 Taylor discusses G. M. Young’s disapproval of the popular historical debunking of the Victorians by both Strachey and Wingfield-Stratford. On his own behalf, as well as in defence of Young, Taylor calls *The Victorian Tragedy* ‘a terrible piece of scholarship’ and ‘a silly piece of bombast’ (2004b: 82). See too *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, s.v. ‘Stratford, Esmé Cecil Wingfield’, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/59622> (accessed 7 April 2018).
- 18 For the furniture designer David Joel, writing in the early 1950s, Wingfield-Stratford’s assumptions still hold good. Joel too unequivocally associated the double bed with Victorian family life, noting that ‘single beds for married persons were unknown’ (1953: 18). Joel’s own bed designs suggest that twin beds continued to represent a modern sleeping choice for couples well into the post–Second World War period. His ‘Drop-arm’ bedsteads (1953: 152; see Figure 17, 116), patented in 1949, where the sides of each upholstered headboard drop down to reshape the head of the bed as an armchair, signal the bedroom as a site of comfort and leisure (reading, knitting, sewing, doing crossword puzzles), associations far removed from the old-style monumental Victorian double.
- 19 The ‘immensity’ of the marriage bed is often noted. David Joel wrote that ‘in the parents’ room the double bed ... was immense’ (1953: 18). Similarly,

Symonds and Whineray observe that 'it was the custom up to Victorian times for man and wife to share the "family bed," ... a double bed of large dimensions' (1962: 75).

Chapter 6

- 1 Thirteen shillings and sixpence (13s 6d) in 1853 had the purchasing power of £56 at current prices (2011 is the most recent comparative date); £45 is equivalent to £3740. Calculations derived from 'Measuring Worth': <https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/> (accessed 19 September 2016). These prices are for the bedstead alone; mattresses were purchased separately. Heal's range of designs was not exceptional: in 1889, the furniture store Maples boasted that they had 'seldom less than Ten Thousand Bedsteads in Stock, comprising some 600 various patterns' (Barty-King 1992: 39).
- 2 The bed was designed by J. Braune in the Louis XVI style, and 'the complete set would have carried a price tag of £2000, a rather exorbitant figure for those days' (Goodden 1984: 7).
- 3 On the history of the use of room sets at exhibitions and in department stores, see Sparke (2008: 55–72).
- 4 For examples of the many kinds of bedroom suite, see Maples' advertisements from 1889 and 1898: Barty-King (1992: 38, 39, 73).
- 5 This is equivalent to £1801 in 2011: 'Measuring Worth': <https://www.measuringworth.com/> (accessed 21 November 2017).
- 6 A 'French' bedstead identified its style not its provenance; see note 16 below.
- 7 See Chapter 1 and Chapter 11 for a discussion of the press coverage of twin beds.
- 8 The impact of Hire Purchase on furniture sales and attitudes to twin beds is discussed in Chapter 1, as is the work of Betjeman and Orwell; 12–14.
- 9 I have been unable to locate the *Times* review in the newspaper's digital archive; however, see a review entitled 'Naked and Unashamed: French Pictures at the Mansard Gallery' in the *Times*, 4 September 1919: 13. For an extended discussion of the place of the Mansard Gallery in Heal's history, see Heal (2008: 295–306).
- 10 This exhibit is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.
- 11 For a study of the 1925 Paris exhibition, see Gronberg (1998). David Joel describes the Heal's 'Week-end house' at the 1937 Paris exhibition as 'designed with dignity' and 'outstanding' (1953: 120).
- 12 It is unclear whether the twin beds in the Bassett-Lowkes' room were designed by Mackintosh: Billcliffe claims they were (1984: 204), but in the museum guide '78 Derngate, Northampton: Souvenir Guide,' Perilla Kinchin writes that they were 'apparently purchased' (23).
- 13 See Massey (1990: 53–8) on Mackintosh's Mains Street flat and Derngate.

- 14 This sense of 'doubling' is also found in Mackintosh's design for the principal bedroom at The Hill House, Helensburgh (1902–1904): the design is annotated 'bed', but without this caption, it would be hard to conclude that this were a design for anything but twins. See http://www.huntsearch.gla.ac.uk/cgi-bin/foxweb/huntsearch_Mackintosh/DetailedResults.fwx?SearchTerm=41116&reqMethod=Link (accessed 23 November 2017).
- 15 On Betty Joel, see Joel (1953: 74, 90, 235); Ryan (1997: 49); West (1997); *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, s.v. 'Joel, Betty', <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/62991> (accessed 15 June 2018).
- 16 'French' bedsteads were those without posts, curtains or canopies, only low heads and ends.
- 17 Images of Betty Joel's designs can be found in Joel (1953: 101, 207). Other 'modern' twin beds are featured in Joel (1953: 89, 102, 152, 165, 172). Joel's appendix 'Chamber of Horrors' – examples of abominable designs of the twentieth century – includes no twins (1953: 200–5).
- 18 Manufacturers appealing to the cheaper end of the market were aware of the implications for space of twin beds; this may account for Myer's decision to produce some models of double beds that mimicked twins; see Figure 6, 95.
- 19 On the importance of Betty Joel's designs in the context of the 1930s, see Massey (2000: 128–34).
- 20 The Deutscher Werkbund was a German association of artists, architects, designers and manufacturers founded in 1907 at the instigation of the author of *Das Englische Haus* [The English House] (1904–5), Hermann Muthesius. It was intended initially to promote good design and quality in machine-made furniture.
- 21 The design of the double bed, but in a single version, can be seen in Goodden (1984: 43); for the twins, see Heal's 'Book of Bedroom Furniture' (1935: 41; Heal's archive, AAD/1978/2/315).
- 22 A detail which suggests something of Heal's reputation among the modernist avant-garde is that in 1927, when Coates married Marion Grove, they had to furnish their rented rooms: 'Wells went to Heals [*sic*] and chose the plainest furniture and haircord carpet and had plain curtains made of corduroy' (Grove, quoted in Darling (2009: 98)). Darling's essay analyses Coates's interiors as (in his own phrase) 'the scene in which the daily drama of personal life takes place' (quoted in Darling (2009: 96)).
- 23 The complete Production Code of 1930 (plus later amendments) is included in Vizzard (1970: 366–81).
- 24 I have found no record of a film entitled *My Awful Wife* in 1947 or any other year. However, Columbia released *Her Husband's Affairs*, starring Lucille Ball and Franchot Tone, in November 1947. Columbia seems to have decided to change the film's title as well as the sleeping arrangement of the principal couple. See *Chicago Tribune* (25 May 1947: 7, 14), where the plot summary of the still-to-be-released *My Awful Wife* is actually that of *Her Husband's Affairs*.

Chapter 7

- 1 On Blount and the Haslemere Peasant Arts Industries, see Crowley and Taylor (2000). See too <http://peasant-arts.blogspot.co.uk/p/introduction.html> (accessed 25 November 2017).

Chapter 8

- 1 Strachey lived at 51 Gordon Square, Bloomsbury, from 1909 to 1924; and at Tidmarsh, near Reading, with the artist Dora Carrington, from 1917 to 1924.
- 2 While it is often thought that Freudian ideas were not popularized in Britain until the 1920s, Dean Rapp (1990) has shown that there was quite widespread exploration of his ideas in the press aimed at the educated lay public from 1912 onwards. On the Bloomsbury group's relationship to Freudian ideas, see too Goldstein (1974), Meisel and Kendrick (1985), Winslow (1990), Johnson (1994); see too Bowlby (1997: 57). For a far-reaching study of the place of different kinds of psychology in how twentieth-century Britons thought of themselves, see Thomson (2006: 1–53 and *passim*).
- 3 Two critical studies take the phrase 'strangers to ourselves' as their title: Kristeva (1991) and Wilson (2002). There is also a novel of this title published by Shashi Deshpande in 2015.
- 4 *Bed Manners* assumes twin beds to be the norm: if a man finds his wife to be a reader, 'Provide separate lights for each bed, if you think the decencies require you to occupy a single room. Under no circumstances share a double bed with anyone who has contracted the habit of reading at night' (Hopton and Balliol 1936: 49).
- 5 The Edwardian novelist and journalist Maud Churton Braby used a similar phrase, expressly identifying it as a twentieth-century view, in her book *Modern Marriage and How to Bear It*: 'I don't know who it was who first coined the phrase "the appalling intimacy of married life"; certainly it is an apt expression, and one wonders at what period in the world's history men and women began to find that intimacy "appalling." It sounds a modern enough complaint, and somehow one feels sure it was never indulged in by our grandmothers, who looked upon their husbands as a kind of visible embodiment of the Lord's Will, and respected them accordingly' (1910: 79–80).
- 6 See Chapter 9, 141–3, for a discussion of the companionate marriage.

Chapter 9

- 1 In addition to the titles referenced in this chapter, the following histories of marriage, the family, love and sexuality in the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries have been consulted: Vicinus (1972), Holtzman (1982), Lewis (1984), Humphries (1988), Perkin (1989), Hall (2000), Seidman (1990), Faulkner (1992), Mason (1994), Summerfield (1994), Hammerton (1995), Davidoff and Hall (2002), Marcus (2007), Coontz (2005), Davidoff et al. (1999), Abbott (2003), Fisher (2006), Simmons (2009), Lettmaier (2010), Szreter and Fisher (2010), Sigel (2012), Bland (2013), Jagose (2013), Langhamer (2013), Nicholson (2016).

- 2 The New Woman was a figure variously comprising some or all of a constellation of characteristics: she was probably feminist, educated, middle class and cultured; she was politically aware: liberal, reformist, in favour of the expansion of the suffrage; her sexual politics were avowedly advanced, against the sexual double standard and in favour of greater equality between the sexes, and greater autonomy for women, whether in terms of education, employment or in marriage. Her fictional incarnations and anatomizations include (among many others) Henry James's Isobel Archer in *Portrait of a Lady* (1881), Olive Schreiner's Lyndall in *The Story of an African Farm* (1883), George Gissing's 'odd women' in his eponymous novel (1893), George Egerton's women characters in the short stories in *Keynotes* (1893), H. G. Wells's *Ann Veronica* (1909) and E. M. Forster's Schlegel sisters in *Howards End* (1910). See Heilman (1998) for a collection of 'New Woman' writings. See too Ledger (1997), Richardson and Willis (2002).
- 3 On Stopes in relation to contemporary ideas about sexuality, see Weeks (1989: 187–94).
- 4 On the importance of the idea of 'the normal' in the work of Stopes, see Doan (2017).
- 5 'The Cupboard' was the name given to the room where the restricted-access collections could be consulted (Hall 1977:101).
- 6 A similar tone is found in Helena Wright's account: 'As the act proceeds, the intensity of pleasure rises, thought is abandoned, a curious freeing of the spirit, very difficult to describe, takes place. It is as if there were, hidden among the sensations of the body, a spiritual counterpart, a pleasure of the soul, only attained for a few seconds, bringing with it a dazzling glimpse of the Unity which underlies all nature' (1930: 64).
- 7 Stopes takes her analogy from the work of the sexologist Havelock Ellis: 'It must be his [the husband's] hand and his bow which evoke the music' (quoted in Bland ([1995] 2001: 259)).
- 8 Her use of this verb can be found in the following places, among others: (Stopes ([1918] 2004: 9; 1928: 19, 20)).
- 9 On douching as a contraceptive practice, see Hutton ([1923] 1960: 147–8). Lella Florence observes that 'Dr. Stopes does not approve of douching, but has been obliged to recommend it in 761 cases on medical grounds'. She notes that Stopes was also 'emphatically opposed to the sheath'. At the Cambridge Birth Control Clinic, to which Florence's study relates, douching continued to be taught, in combination with the Dutch pessary (diaphragm); see Florence (1930: 39, 41, 26, 27–8, 37).

- 10 Stopes once claimed direct inspiration from God for her work: see her *A New Gospel to All Peoples* (1922), which began, 'My Lords [the bishops to whom it is addressed], I speak to you in the name of God. You are his priests. I am his prophet. I speak to you of the mysteries of the union of man and woman' (quoted in Rose ([1992] 2007: 179); see too Hall (1977: 160–1, 163–4)).
- 11 As late as 1953, in the new preface written for the seventh edition of *Enduring Passion*, Stopes was reiterating the point: 'The more *happy*, child-bearing and *enduringly* passionate marriages there are in a State, the more firmly established is that State.' ([1928] 1953: x; original emphasis).
- 12 On connections between Stopes, eugenics and birth-control movements in this period, see Soloway (1982, 1995), Peel (1997), Bashford and Levine (2010), Carey (2012).

Chapter 10

- 1 For discussions of Stopes's relationship to the ideas of writers such as Carpenter and Ellis, see Weeks (1989), McKibbin (2004), Porter and Hall (1995). On Ellis and Carpenter, see Rowbotham and Weeks (1977), Grosskurth (1980), Rowbotham (2009).
- 2 Napheys' book was much republished, not only in the USA, but also – and, as discussed in Chapter 3, in common with most heterodox medical texts – in Britain: editions were published in London and Edinburgh in 1875, and again in London in about 1895. The publisher of the 1889 edition claimed that it had sold 50,000 copies a year for three years.
- 3 On social purity and social hygiene movements, and the cultures of Victorian sexuality more generally, see Weeks (1989: 81–95), Mason (1994), Bland ([1995] 2001), Porter and Hall (1995), Szreter (1996), Hall (2000).
- 4 On Lewis, see Peña (2003: 20–3).
- 5 For a comprehensive study of Orson Fowler and his brothers, see Stern (1971).
- 6 Hopkins was a feminist social purity campaigner. Her essay reached a huge audience: 'over one million copies had been sold by 1909, a figure not including its circulation in *The Blanco Book*, a compilation of White Cross League pamphlets produced for issue to troops' (Hall 1991: 27). The White Cross League was a religiously affiliated organization which produced pamphlets 'aimed at the inculcation in men of a high and single standard of chastity' (ibid.).
- 7 The title page of the British Library's edition of *The Duties of Parents* gives the author (in a handwritten annotation) as 'Thomas J. Haslam'.
- 8 Trall made a very similar case to Duffey: 'whether intended as a love embrace merely, or as a generative act, it is very clear that it should be as agreeable as possible to both parties. Indeed, when it is otherwise to either party, it is a cruelty.... Each must be able to respond to the whole nature of the other – bodily, morally, and intellectually' (Trall 1903: 234).
- 9 Much scholarship has been instrumental in reshaping ideas about Victorian sexuality, including (among others) Marcus (1966), Vicinus (1972), Foucault

(1979), Perkin (1989), Weeks (1989), Seidman (1990), Hall (1991, 2000, 2015), Haste (1992), Mason (1994, 1995), Bland ([1995] 2001), Hammerton (1995), Porter and Hall (1995), Sweet (2001), Sigel (2002, 2012), Cook (2004), Coontz (2005), Marcus (2007), Mason (2008).

Chapter 11

- 1 Letter to Marie Stopes, 28 September 1918. British Library; Papers of Marie Stopes, Add MS 58670. I am grateful to Laura Doan for drawing this to my attention.
- 2 On Stopes's correspondents, see Holtzman (1982), Faulkner (1992).
- 3 As late as 1947, Mass-Observation found that 'among the working-class, *coitus interruptus* is still among the most frequent of birth control [*sic*], and the women are frequently quite unaware of contraceptive measures which they can use themselves' (MOA, File Report 2495: 19).
- 4 The trial of D. H. Lawrence's novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* for obscenity had taken place in 1960; the Beatles' first album was released in March 1963.
- 5 *Time* also reported this judge's 'hoary attack on twin beds' as an 'unholy system' which had 'worked a mighty revolution in the marital relationship' (17 April 1944: 25).
- 6 Mass-Observation File Reports (of which there are over 2000) provided overviews and conclusions of their studies. I am indebted to Claire Langhamer for drawing these materials to my attention.
- 7 On Proops's career, see Patmore (1993).

Chapter 12

- 1 Cheryl Robertson also notes the 'prevailing cultural understanding of the bedroom not as the master's but the mistress's space' in the early twentieth century (1995: 206–7). On the gendering of different rooms of the house, see Hamlett (2010: 73–110).

Conclusion

- 1 See 141–3 for a discussion of companionate marriage.
- 2 Gombrich suggests that a discontinuity or a 'disturbance of regularity' is akin to 'the jolt we receive when passing from order to disorder' (1979: 110).
- 3 A full English translation of *Das Englische Haus* was published in three volumes in 2007. For an account of the work's publication history, see Hill (2008).

- 4 The American Thomas Hamilton Ormsbee observed that many people, desirous of twin beds, literally bisect their old double: they commission 'a patient repair man to make the necessary reduction in width. This cutting off a foot or so robs the beds of proportion, destroys the symmetry of the originals, and turns them into just cut-overs. So much for beds that match exactly.... Therefore, both artistically and financially, if one must have beds of the twin variety it is better to get modern ones' (1946: 123).
- 5 On mathematics and geometry, see Hambidge ([1926] 1967), Hann (2013), Kubovy and Strother (2004). On biology, see Lidwell, Holden and Butler (2010), Washburn (2004a), Wynn (2004). On perception and psychology, see Humphrey (2004), Washburn (2004b). Gombrich (1979) engages with all these approaches.
- 6 Associations between symmetry, balance and order are also confirmed by, among others, Wynn (2004: 27), Lidwell, Holden and Butler (2010: 234), and Hann (2013: 7, 102).
- 7 Lidwell, Holden and Butler suggest that 'symmetric forms tend to be seen as figure images rather than ground images, which means they receive more attention and be better recalled than other elements' (2010: 234). This is compatible with Gombrich's argument, although his analysis suggests that it is the bipartite symmetrical 'larger unit' that draws the attention rather than the individual symmetrical forms themselves.
- 8 On the duity, see 153–5.